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Francine Giese*, Ariane Varela Braga*, Helena Lahoz Kopiske, Katrin Kaufmann, Laura Castro Royo and Sarah Keller

Resplendence of al-Andalus

Exchange and Transfer Processes in Mudéjar and Neo-Moorish Architecture

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Abstract: This contribution presents preliminary results of the research project *Mudejarismo and Moorish Revival in Europe* (2014–2018), funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation and based at the University of Zurich. By focusing on the appropriation of Hispano-Islamic architecture and ornaments in Christian and Jewish contexts, the seven sub-chapters examine the underlying exchange and transfer processes in the Middle Ages and the Modern period, in relation to the complex and multi-faceted phenomena of cross-cultural appropriation and hybridization, as well as the current debates on otherness and national identity.

Keywords: Islamic architecture, Alhambra, al-Andalus, exchange, transfer, Orientalism, ornament

This contribution presents preliminary results of the research project *Mudejarismo and Moorish Revival in Europe* (2014–2018), funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation and based at the University of Zurich. Under the guidance of Francine Giese (Institute of Art History) an international team of researchers examines the exchange and transfer processes in the Middle Ages and the Modern period, focusing on the appropriation of Hispano-Islamic architecture and ornaments in Christian and Jewish contexts. These are treated in seven doctoral and post-doctoral sub-projects, combining the perspectives of art

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history and Islamic sciences, of which we will here present selected outcomes. Central aspects of the project include the complex and multi-faceted phenomena of cross-cultural appropriation and hybridization, as well as the current debates on otherness and national identity.[1] Thus, the Umayyad mosque of Cordoba (eigth to tenth centuries AD), the Almohad Alcázar of Seville (twelfth century), and the Nasrid palaces of Granada's Alhambra (fourteenth to fifteenth centuries) serve as points of reference for recording and studying the reception of Hispano-Islamic architecture outside al-Andalus.

Let's start by highlighting the difference between the concepts of *cultural exchange* vis-à-vis *cultural transfer*. Whereas exchange processes mainly occurred in medieval Spain, unilateral transfers took place particularly in, but not limited to, modern era Europe in which architects appropriated selected motifs chosen primarily on aesthetic grounds.[2] Here, re-contextualization was scarcely effected as the use of the Islamic vocabulary in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was mainly determined by obscure clichés of the Orient.[3] This act of detaching Islamic architectural forms from their original meaning clearly and fundamentally differs from the more comprehensive medieval attitude. Similarly, the multiple cultural ties of medieval Spain – one of the most important contact zones of the time – are not fostered in the nineteenth century anymore. European architecture and interiors of this later era propagate merely hybrid replicas of al-Andalus's Hispano-Islamic heritage.

1 Al-Andalus and the crown of Castile and Leon – artistic exchange in medieval Spain

Medieval Spain's cultural entanglement becomes apparent in buildings such as the Toledan synagogues Santa María la Blanca and El Tránsito; monasteries like the Real Monasterio de Santa María de las Huelgas in Burgos; and the palace complexes of Tordesillas and Seville, erected and/or accomplished under the rule of Pedro I of Castile and Leon (r. 1350–1369). Here, the *transculturality* apparent in Medieval Spain becomes manifest in the appropriation and gradual acculturation of Islamic motifs into the Christian and Jewish architectural repertory,

1 Current information on the research is published on the project's website: www.transculturalstudies.ch.

2 Georgiorakis et al. 2011: 403–404.

3 On the European image of the Orient, and the still ongoing controversial debate on Orientalism, see e. g. Polaschegg 2005; Marchand 2009; Schnepel et al. 2011 or Netton 2013.

a process directly tied to the re-functionalisation and re-contextualisation of the borrowings, as the following examples will demonstrate.[4]

1.1 Stars from al-Andalus – Islamic rib vaults in Christian Chapels

The famous rib vaults of the Great Mosque of Cordoba, executed between 962–965/966 as the most innovative feature of the prayer hall extension of al-Íakam II (r. 961–976), are the starting point of a typology of similar vaults reaching from al-Andalus to Samarkand. Whereas their origin remains an object of debate, their spread in the Islamic World can be traced from those earliest extant examples in Cordoba to their distant Timurid relatives, showing two mainly independent evolutions of one and the same vault type.[5]

In the Cordobese mosque, the four rib vaults emphasise the T-shape marked in the floor plan by their respective position. The first vault was built at the beginning of the central nave (Capilla de Villaviciosa), while the other three vaults crown the *maqsura*[6] in front of the prayer niche. Even though the rib vaults vary one from the other, all four have a non-radial rib scheme – the crossing ribs do not penetrate the central vertex field, which is adorned by a cupola, but are arranged around it (Figure 1). The aesthetic impact of the star-like arrangement of the ribs must have been one of the reasons for the widespread use of this vault type seen not only in al-Andalus and the Maghreb, but also in Christian territories, as has been demonstrated by Antonio Momplet Mínguez and María de los Angeles Utrero Agudo, who have studied Christian examples up to the thirteenth century.[7]

The aforementioned research project covers two monastery complexes in which corresponding rib vaults can be found (Figures 2 and 3). In both cases, the

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4 Speer 2006: XV. The term *transculturality* was introduced by Wolfgang Welsch, see Welsch 1999. The kings of Castile and Leon were deeply influenced by al-Andalus and its cultural achievements, see Ruiz Souza 2004.

5 Giese-Vögeli 2007. The level of development found in Cordoba is indicative of previously existing antecedents. Meanwhile, it is understood that these are not to be located on the Iberian Peninsula. More likely an import from the Near Eastern area took place, whereby Henri Terrasse's theory of a Persian origin, proposed in his fundamental publication "L'art hispano-mauresque" from 1932 gradually gains more credibility, for a synoptic see [Giese-]Vögeli 2000: 25–58; Giese-Vögeli 2007: 123–124.

6 Screen enclosing the area of the prayer niche (*mihrab*) and pulpit (*minbar*), see Petersen 1996: 176.

7 See esp. Momplet Mínguez 1992a, Momplet Mínguez 1992b, Momplet Mínguez 2000 and Utrero Agudo 2009.

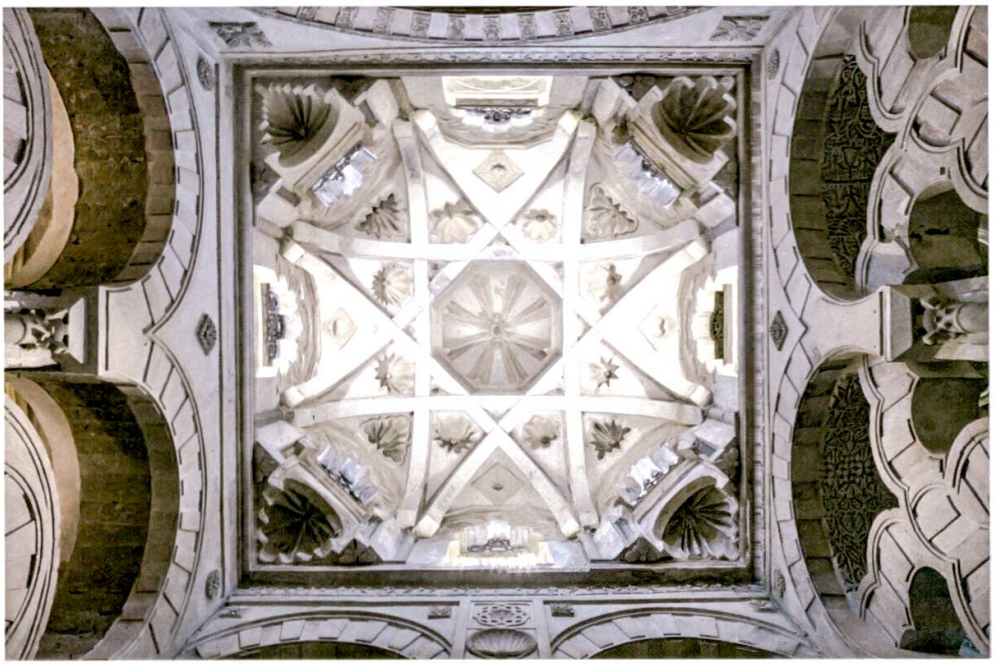

Figure 1: Córdoba, Great Mosque, Maqsura. Western rib vault. © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg/ Thomas Scheidt, Christian Stein.

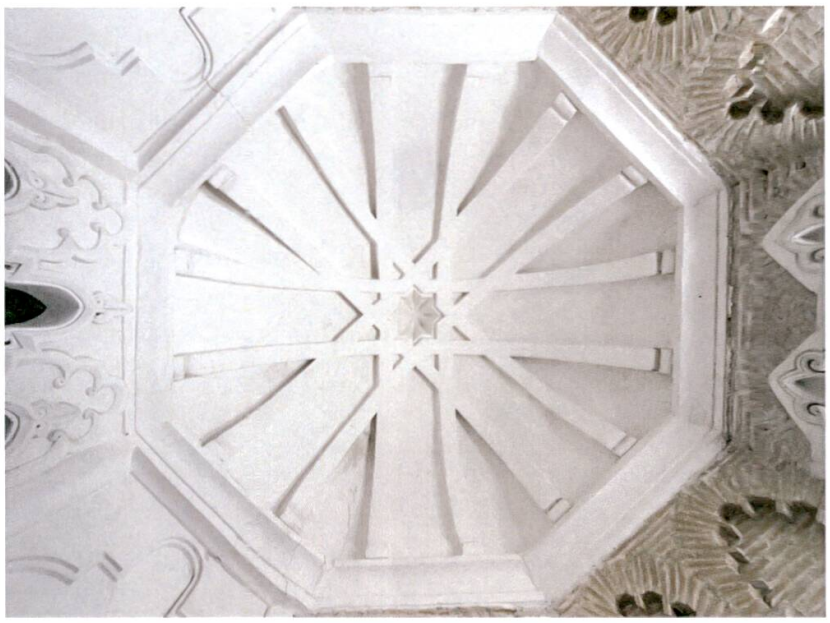

Figure 2: Burgos, Real Monasterio de Santa María de las Huelgas, Capilla de la Asunción. Rib vault. © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg/Thomas Scheidt, Christian Stein.

centralized chapels are domed with an elaborate rib star, which shows an advanced level of development by using an increasing number of crossing ribs, a trend which can already be observed in the Almoravid dome of the Great Mosque of Tlemcen (1135) and the Almohad of the Casa del Patio de

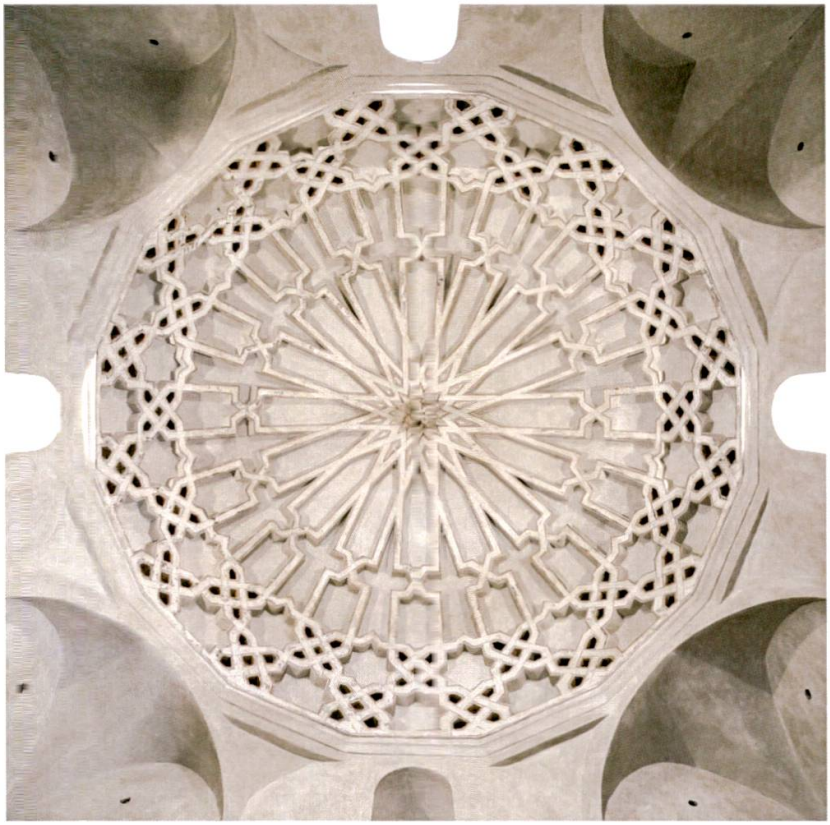

Figure 3: Tordesillas, Real Convento de Santa Clara, Capilla Dorada. Rib vault. © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg /Thomas Scheidt, Christian Stein.

Banderas of the Alcázar of Seville (1180–1190).[8] While the historiographical allocation of the Capilla de la Asunción (late twelfth century/early thirteenth century) in the Real Monasterio de Santa María de las Huelgas in Burgos, donated in 1187 by Alfonso VIII (r. 1158–1214) and Doña Leonor, to either Islamic or Christian architecture is controversial,[9] the Capilla Dorada in the Real Convento de Santa Clara in Tordesillas, built by Alfonso XI (r. 1312–1350), is regarded as a prime example of the so-called *Mudéjar* architecture.[10]

8 Giese-Vögeli 2007: 115–116, 170; Fernández-Puertas 2009a: 233–242.

9 Summarized in Alonso Abad 2007: 334–341.

10 Ruiz Souza 2002; Almagro 2005. The term *Mudéjar* was introduced into art historiography in 1859 by José Amador de los Ríos in his inaugural lecture for the *Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*, see de los Ríos 1859; Borrás Gauli 1990; Ruiz Souza 2006. Unlike other art historical terms, Mudéjar was first used in relation to historic sciences, denoting a group of population, the so-called *mudejares* (Muslims living in Christian Spain), and not a historic epoch, (on the subject, see the contributions of Lahoz Kopiske and Castro Royo below). In the face of Spain's multi-confessional and -ethnical heterogeneity, this term is stretched to its limits, as has been shown in recent times. See Robinson/Rouhi 2005.

Both monasteries were built on the site of a former palace, whose structures had been partly reused within the new building.[11] As Juan Carlos Ruíz Souza has shown on various occasions, Islamic craftsmen from al-Andalus were working in both monasteries, testifying to the transcultural exchange within medieval Spain and materialized in Mudéjar architecture.[12] According to Thomas Glick and Oriol Pi-Sunyer, "cultures are never true 'isolates', but are always permeable to external influences", which are filtered through a "boundary-maintaining mechanism".[13] According to Andreas Speer, the integration and re-contextualization of the borrowed forms requires its linkage to the preexisting vocabulary. Our further research shall thus be concentrated not only on the vaults, but on the entire chapel, analyzing the floor plans and sections, as well as other architectural and decorative features, and clarifying the original use of both chapels. Comparing them to significant Islamic and Christian examples, they will be placed within a wider context.

1.2 Wine leaves and *Ataurique* – overlapping traditions in stucco decorations

In the previously mentioned monastery of Tordesillas, two palatial structures and aesthetic thoughts overlap. The complex is the result of a continuous history, which transformed its spatial and decorative features according to the necessities of the time. Latest in 1361, Pedro I built a sumptuous palace, reusing some structures of the preexisting complex, attributed to his father Alfonso XI.[14] Both the ground plan of Pedro's palace, consisting of several *alhanías* around a central courtyard – the Patio del Vergel – and its decoration adopted several features that show a link between the Castilian-Leonese and the Nasrid architectonical vocabularies.

Two of the preserved spaces, the Capilla Dorada and the Patio Árabe, can be seen as representative of two moments of architectural appropriation. While the Capilla Dorada had introduced Almohad patterns and constructive features, the Patio Árabe, a square courtyard with a portico connecting the older and the newer palaces, introduced the novel Nasrid fashion. Here, the blank surfaces of the walls contrast with the dense stucco decoration of the perimeter frieze, as well as of the *alfices*[15] and spandrels of the horseshoe and polylobed arcades.

11 See below.

12 Ruiz Souza 1996: 32–40; Ruiz Souza 2004: 24.

13 Glick/Pi-Sunyer 1969: 139–140.

14 Ruiz Souza 2002: 235–236; Almagro 2005: 2–5.

15 The term *alfiz* designates the rectangular moulding frame of an arch that constitutes a common decorative feature of Hispano-Islamic architecture.

Several monuments of the fourteenth century located both in Nasrid and Castilian-Leonese territories follow a similar decorative disposition.[16] The general layout of the decoration and, particularly, the employment of decorative motifs and shapes coming from al-Andalus have attracted scholars' interest. The usage of Islamic models in Christian territory, labeled as Mudéjar style, has been reconsidered in recent times as the result of an intertwined society and culture.[17]

Sources on the migration of architects are scarce and mainly gathered in the archives of the former Aragonese Kingdom, but the material remains in Castile demonstrate the transmission of formal vocabularies between Christian and Islamic territories during various centuries, as previously mentioned. To this continuous appropriation of the architecture of conquered areas of al-Andalus one has to sum, according to Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, the consequences of the interregnum of Muĥammed VI (1359–1362) in Granada: the uprising of Muĥammed VI against Muĥammed V (reg Leerschlag 1354–1359; 1362–1391) caused a wave of migration that likely transmitted the coetaneous Nasrid style to northern territories. Here, Nasrid craftsmen worked on the construction and decoration of buildings ordered either by Christian or Jewish patrons.[18]

The connection between Pedro I's palatial complex of Tordesillas and Samuel ha-Levi's synagogue has been stressed by Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza.[19] According to him, the same Nasrid artisans were engaged by Pedro I in Tordesillas and in Seville. It was probably during their journey to the South when Samuel ha-Levi and other Toledan patrons commissioned them. This hypothesis suggests the possibility of a later dating of the synagogue's construction. While the traditional historiography dates the synagogue between 1355 and 1357, Ruiz Souza advocates for a later one. The synagogue could have been built between 1359/1360 and 1361, briefly after the works in Tordesillas.[20] Whether the synagogue of Samuel ha-Levi was built in 1355–1357 or 1359–1361, the fact remains it constitutes an example of appropriation of Nasrid architectural language.

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16 Ruiz Souza 2004, Ruiz Souza 2006.

17 See note 10.

18 See note 12.

19 Ruiz Souza 2002: 137.

20 Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza shares the position of Cecil Roth, according to whom the Hebrew foundational inscription dates the monument into the year 5122 of the Jewish calendar, which corresponds to the years 1361–1362 of the Gregorian calendar. He also shares the argument of Juan Catalina Garcia, who claims that the downfall of the tax collector of Pedro I (1334–1369, reg. 1350–1369), Samuel ha-Levi, was later than the date given by Pedro López de Ayala's chronicle of Pedro I, probably completed after 1369. In summary, Ruiz Souza contends that the synagogue of Samuel ha-Levi would have been built shortly after the Monastery of Tordesillas (1361 would be the deadline of its construction, when Maria de Padilla died). Ruiz Souza 2002: 235–236.

The layout of the walls follows a Gothic prototype, combining a blank surface with perimeter friezes condensing the decoration. On the other hand, the stucco frieze that goes along the upper wall's section and the *alfices* of the doors remits to Islamic models, showing overall decorative patterns based on vegetal and geometric motifs in a style that is very common in Nasrid palaces. This is seen not only in the portico of the Patio Árabe, but also in the synagogue of Samuel ha-Levi. With the exception of the eastern wall, where the *Hekhal*[21] is enhanced through an overall ornamentation, its decoration is concentrated in perimeter friezes that run along the upper third of the walls and contrast with the sober lower surfaces. The inclusion of Nasrid features, and especially the manner in which these are combined with Gothic characteristics, will be exemplified through the analysis of two sections of the stuccoes of the Patio Árabe and the synagogue (Figures 4 and 5).

In the spandrels of the outer side of the polylobed arcs of the Patio Árabe, the surface is divided into two clearly differentiated layers corresponding to the fore- and background (Figure 4). While the background is filled with small and interwoven foliage known as *ataurique*, the foreground is modelled in a more

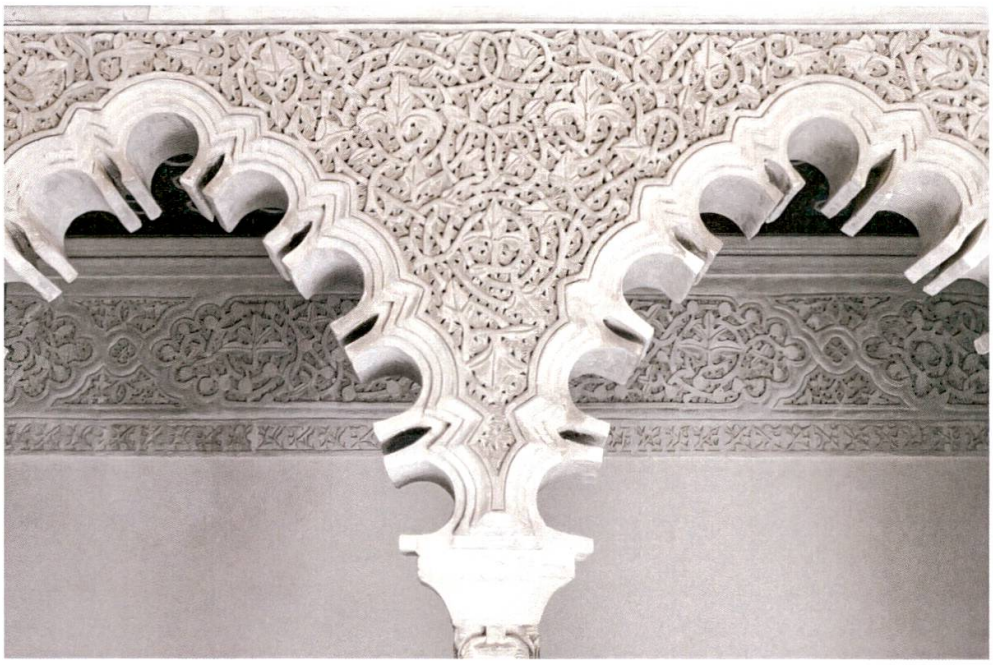

Figure 4: Tordesillas, Real Convento de Santa Clara. Patio árabe. Stucco decoration. © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg/Thomas Scheidt, Christian Stein.

21 The *Heckhal* is the ornamented receptacle that holds the Torah scrolls, located facing Jerusalem.

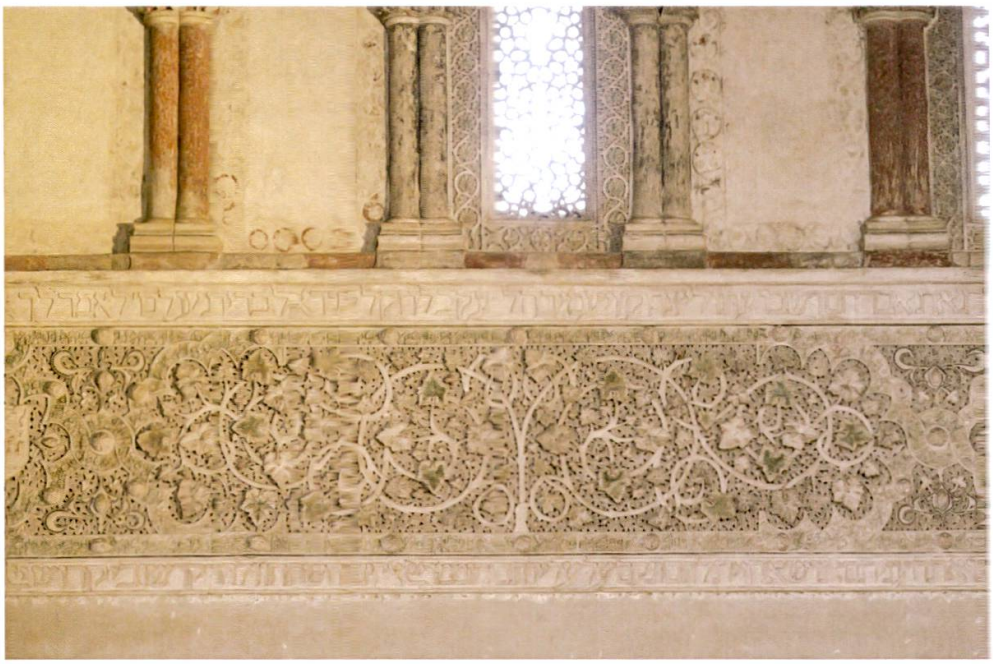

Figure 5: Toledo, Synagogue of Samuel ha-Levi. Stucco frieze at the northern wall. © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg/Thomas Scheidt, Christian Stein, Museo Sefardí de Toledo.

slender and symmetrical fashion. Emerging from the base of the axis located in the exact center of the pair of arcades, slim and concentric lines form successive tendrils. Leaves in a bigger size but equally slender and naturalistic are placed mainly in the center of these tendrils. The arcade's decoration is more naturalistic than the slightly coarser rendering found in the stucco frieze of the patio's gallery, seen in the background of Figure 4. In this case, the vegetal motifs are framed within a rectangular medallion with polylobed ends. Rising from a central axis, lines, tendrils and leaves develop horizontally to both sides in a thicker, more repetitive and schematic fashion. Despite the fore- and background being less visible than the arcade's spandrels, a differentiation can be elucidated.

As in the Patio Árabe, several medallions organize the synagogue's decorative frieze (Figure 5). The medallion's outer lines and the inner composition show parallels to the referred examples of Tordesillas. Rising from the center, the stalks develop towards both ends of the medallion through four slender tendrils, two wide and two narrow, adjusting their size to the available space. Here, again, leaves are placed all along the stalks and in the middle of the tendrils. While the frame and the composition is comparable to the medallion of the Patio Árabe's frieze, the vegetal decoration's fashion resembles more that found in the arcade's spandrels of Tordesillas.

As it has been shown, the similarities between these two examples of decoration, as well as demonstrated in a great number of other monuments

also dated to the fourteenth century, led to the formulation of the Mudéjar style in the nineteenth century. In the following pages, the reappraisal of Islamic aesthetics and Jewish monuments will be considered within the political and ideological context of Spain.

2 Spain's shifting appraisal to synagogues in the nineteenth century

Through the example of Samuel ha-Levi's synagogue, the reconsideration of Jewish architecture in nineteenth century Spain will now be analyzed. The question of whether its successive designations have reflected the different patrimonial values attributed to this monument will arise. For this, it seems relevant to place certain concepts within a theoretical frame. The interpretation and functionality of art within a nationalistic discourse is crucial – art and architecture were considered expressions of the *Zeit-* and *Volksgeist*, the materialization of a given epoch's memories, and were commemorative of concrete events and witness to past ages.[22] Influenced by positivist and romantic principles, national identities were considered to be intrinsically connected to a determined territory and a specific history.[23] Because the roots of modern states and societies were sought in the Medieval Era, its artistic legacy was especially appraised. Attributing patrimonial values to certain monuments implied the selection, recovery and reconsideration of past moments,[24] which would be included in national discourses. Historic memory, original meanings and symbolisms would not only reappear but be updated and related to the current values of a nation, influencing several aspects of the nineteenth century cultural, social and political life while explaining the parallel evolution of the debates on the appraisal of the Islamic and Sephardic architecture and on the religious freedom in Spain.

The great importance given to architectonical remains can be read through Aloïs Riegl's *The Modern Cult of Monuments*. Within this much-debated publication of 1903, Riegl established a system of criteria for preserving and restoring the material legacy attending to its estimation within the inheritor society, differentiating between commemorative and present-day-values, or *Erinnerungs-* and

22 Amador de los Ríos 1859: 6; Hvattum 2013: 1–8; Herrmann 1992: 1–60; Hübsch 1828 [1992]; Riegl 1903 [1995].
23 Espinosa Villegas 2012: 70–73.
24 Riegl 1903 [1995]: 77–78.

Gegenwartswerte.[25] Riegl defined distinct subcategories that specify the various patrimonial values and functions: the age value is that "which appreciates the past for its own sake"; the historical value is the tendency "to select a particular moment from the developmental history of the past and to place it before our eyes as if it were part of the present"; and the deliberate commemorative value is the effort "to keep a moment from becoming history, to keep it perpetually alive and present in the consciousness of future generations".[26] According to Riegl, it is the deliberate commemorative value that can update a monument's identity and symbolic aspect to fulfil the aesthetic and practical needs of the present day, thus permitting the recognition of its *Gegenwartswerte*.[27] In congruence to this view of the patrimonial values, appreciating the Islamic and Sephardic monuments of Spain would lead to the appraisal of the cultural and social contribution of both religious and cultural areas.

The declaration of Samuel ha-Levi's synagogue in 1877 as a national monument recognised its historical and deliberate commemorative value, reloading and updating its symbolism and meaning. The fact that in 1967 the Sephardic Museum was placed in the former synagogue of Samuel ha-Levi and that it constitutes one of the most important destinations of modern tourism in Spain reflects the current importance given to its renewed commemorative function.[28] Today it is a center of interpretation and explanation of the cultural and religious coexistence during the Middle Ages and confirms the peninsula's role as cultural and artistic intermediary between East and West. After an epoch characterized by repression and concealment, the Sephardic past has been reincorporated into the national history and its contribution to Spanish culture has been reaffirmed.

This reincorporation and reaffirmation is the result of several nineteenth century debates about its preservation and patrimonial significance. The synagogue's original values had been transformed parallel to its successive architectural adaptations, renovations and restorations. From its commitment in 1494 to the Catholic religion onwards, the building changed its function, layout and appearance, but above all its significance and esteem. In doing so, the original architectural features were disregarded and the Jewish identity and symbolic contents displaced. The old building was adapted to new practical needs updating also the

25 The *Erinnerungswerte* are characterized as a set of values emerging from the recognition of the monument's belonging to the historical past, whereas the *Gegenwartswerte* are considered those emerging from the satisfaction of the coetaneous practical or aesthetic requirements.

26 Riegl 1903 [1995]: 77.

27 Riegl 1903 [1995]: 77–78.

28 The Sephardic Museum has an average of 300,000 visitors a Laboratorio Permanente de Público 2011, Menny 2015.

patrimonial values. The reason the building was considered relevant and preserved after 1494 could be due to its reconversion to a church and especially the installation of the archives of the Military Order of Calatrava and Alcántara in its interior.[29] Throughout the lines of preserved documents one can glimpse the progressive decline of the building and can follow the constant requests of the priors to invest and undertake an in-depth restoration. They not only referred to the danger of collapse of an historical and religious building but more insistently warned of the possible loss of the very important documents stored in the archives, placing their emphasis on the instrumental value of the edifice.[30] The eighteenth century began well for the Priory as their income increased and a large number of reforms could be accomplished.[31] In 1752 Francisco Pérez Bayer and Francisco Javier de Santiago Palomares published the exceptional *De Toletano Hebraeorum Templo* describing and illustrating the building for the first time. But the traditional impassivity of the Mesa Maestral[32] contributed to a new critical phase by the middle of the eighteenth century when the building was reduced to a parish. Its practical use diminished as a consequence of the decrease of parishioners and tithes and of the removal of the archives.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the building was known as the Hermitage of El Tránsito.[33] Its name did not refer to its former importance and history, but to the oil painting located in one of the chapels attributed to Juan Correa de Vivar's school, *El Tránsito de Nuestra Señora*.[34] The edifice's origins were practically forgotten and it was even speculated to surrender it. It was only in 1830, after a period of near abandonment and neglect, that the architect of the Academy of San Fernando, Antonio González de Monroy, fixed his attention on the monument and recognized the former Church of San Benito.[35] The named recognition encouraged the gradual restitution of its age values, thus recovering the monument's history.

The ideological context of the nineteenth century in Europe and Spain favoured the interest in the historic and artistic value of preserved synagogues in the

29 The first documents that refer to the existence of those archives are dated from 1628. Cadiñanos Bardecí 2011: 213.

30 A series of disputes about the funding of the necessary restorations and reports about the ruinous state of the architecture and inventories ordered by the successive priors are preserved at the Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Military Orders (OM), Leg. 3670, 5243, 5244, 6034, 6035.

31 Cadiñanos Bardecí 2011: 214. AHN, OM legs. 3670, 5243, 5244, 6034, 6035.

32 Subsequent to the installation of these archives in the former synagogue was the transfer of the administrative responsibilities from the Priory to the Mesa Maestral.

33 Cadiñanos Bardecí 2011: 216.

34 Cadiñanos Bardecí 2006: 6–13.

35 Cadiñanos Bardecí 2011: 117.

peninsula, considering both the Sephardim's relevance during the Middle Ages and their fate after 1492. Not only was their history rescued, as José Amador de los Ríos' publication *Estudios sobre los Judíos de España* of 1848 testifies, but numerous romantic authors praised the city of Toledo and its synagogues with descriptions and drawings. For example, in 1857, Gustavo A. Bécquer, emphasized that the synagogues preserved the "vivid memory of the opulence and splendour of the Hebrew race".[36] This "vivid memory" was the historical and commemorative value that the Hermitage of El Tránsito began to recover, progressively revalued not only as the former Church of El Tránsito but as the original synagogue of Samuel ha-Levi.

Bécquer's "vivid memory" could have been seen as a threat to the delineation of the Spanish identity that the reactionary sectors stood for. It was contrary to their interpretation of Spain's Catholic nature. An update of the commemorative value of the synagogue would not only refer to its relevance during the fourteenth century but would also accept the values and occurrences commemorated by the synagogue – the coexistence of religions and governmental support to religious minorities. As a result, a broad academic and political sector rejected not only revaluing the building but also including Jewish historical monuments in Spain's art history. It was partly to this audience to which José Amador de los Ríos submitted the speech "El estilo mudéjar en arquitectura" at the Royal Academy of San Fernando in 1859, beginning with following words:

> I will only claim for your distinguished attention [...], so that you deign to help me in recognising what the Mudéjar race achieved in its [Spain's] enrichment, both in science and in humanities, and especially in relation to architecture.[37]

He advocated to reconsider monuments built in Christian domains with an Andalusí aesthetic as the idiosyncratic art of the peninsular Middle Ages. This architectural style would be named Mudéjar and it would enhance the predominant Christian usage and patronage. Not only Christian but also Jewish buildings were ascribed to the named architectural style. Amador de los Ríos alluded to the synagogue of Samuel ha-Levi explicitly as an example of Mudéjar architecture:

> [Jewry] lacked of the noble art of architecture, as it had not been possible for them to create such an art due of the servitude of so many centuries; and forced to sue relief to the Mudéjar building masters of Toledo, [...] they [Mudéjar building masters] erected the celebrated synagogue that nowadays holds the names of El Tránsito and San Benito.[38]

The Mudéjar synagogue of El Tránsito would be gradually revaluated and included in the art historical debate, a fact that could have signified a further

36 Bécquer 1857 [1933]: 155.
37 Amador de los Ríos 1859: 11–12. Own translation.
38 Amador de los Ríos 1859: 18–19. Own translation.

step toward the reconciliation of the Sephardic past and the acceptance of a national identity based on a transcultural history. The synagogue of El Tránsito would embrace an updated deliberate commemorative value and symbolise the concept of *Convivencia* that Américo Castro would finally introduce in Spanish historiography in 1948.[39] Rescued from becoming history, the synagogue would represent the ideals that the liberal sectors were struggling for, both on a cultural and political level – tolerance and religious freedom.

3 Reviving Hispano-Islamic architecture: Neo-Mudéjar versus Neo-Moorish

The following lines present some aspects that will be treated in detail in the PhD project *Hidden Heritage. Neo-Islamic Architecture in Spain*. Like other European countries, during the nineteenth century Spain was in search of its own identity. While seeking its roots and origins in the Middle Ages, Spain came across a vast architectonical heritage, made of both Islamic and Mudéjar elements.[40] As has been mentioned above, Mudéjar architecture was a cross-cultural medieval style that united both Islamic and Christian traditions, which was brought to the attention of the art historical circle in 1859, by the aforementioned lecture of José Amador de los Ríos at his entry into the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando.[41] By doing so, Amador de los Ríos contributed not only to the rediscovery of Mudéjar architecture, but to its reapplication in contemporary architecture.[42]

Through its quick acceptance by the Academy of Fine Arts, Mudéjar architecture was established as a national style, with all of the ideological, political and

39 The concept of *convivencia* was introduced by Américo Castro in his much debated publication *España en su historia: cristianos, moros, y judíos* (Buenos Aires, 1948), as a mean to express the peaceful coexistence of Muslims, Christians and Jews during Spain's Middle Ages. This conception had its roots in the nineteenth century and is nowadays highly controversial. For further reading, see Wolf 2009; Soifer 2009.

40 Spain's medieval past had already been a matter of interest for other European countries, such as France or England, as illustrated by the many publications appearing from the second half of the eighteenth century onwards, such as Richard Twiss, *Travels through Portugal and Spain*, 1772–1773; Henry Swimburne, *Travels through Spain*, 1775 and 1776; John C. Murphy, *The arabian antiquities from Spain*, 1815; J. Taylor, *Voyage pittoresque en Espagne, en Portugal et sur la côte d'Afrique, de Tanger à Tétouan*, 1826–1832; Girault de Prangey, *Monuments Arabes et Moresques de Cordue, Seville et Grènade*, 1836-1839; Owen Jones, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*, 1842.

41 Amador de los Ríos 1859.

42 Amador de los Ríos 1845: VI; Rodríguez Domingo 1999: 270.

symbolic connotations this implied.[43] Ideologically, this contributed to the perpetuation of a conservative thesis that still considered the cultural heritage of al-Andalus inferior in the history of Medieval Spain.[44] Therefore, it is no surprise that in nineteenth century Spain the Neo-Mudéjar style was chosen to cover the façades of official and representative buildings – for example, churches such as San Fermín de los Navarros (1886) and Virgen de la Paloma (1896) in Madrid; schools like the Escuelas Aguirre in Madrid (1888); and hospitals like the pavilions of the Mental Asylum of Santa Isabel (1851) in Leganés.[45] Instead, the appropriation of Hispano-Islamic architecture stayed assigned to places of leisure – cafés, theatres, health resorts, spas, smoking rooms – following the Orientalist vision.[46]

The main characteristics of the Neo-Mudéjar revival include geometrically designed façades made of brick creating a strong play of light and shade, with the ornamentation normally concentrated on the openings.[47] The most common patterns are formed with triangles and rectangles. The arches of the doors and windows are constructed with a line of bricks that imitate the Islamic horseshoe and round arches. Quadrangular spaces above the main doors that recreate the Islamic *sebka* with polygonal bricks are also common. Occasionally, a frieze of lobed, intertwined arches is located above it. This superposition of decorative registers finishes with a frieze carved in triangular volumes. Coloured tiles, often in the shape of circles or eight-point stars, complement this decoration, a motif inspired by the medieval towers of Teruel.[48]

3.1 The Islamic heritage and the Neo-Moorish style

The revalorization of the Islamic heritage in Spain was not so much promoted by the Spanish but rather by the British and French.[49] According to Ignacio Henares, Spain

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43 About the ideological controversy around the establishment of Mudéjar as a style and the Neo-Mudéjar as the national style, see Urquízar 2009–1010: 210–212; Rodríguez Domingo 1999: 274.

44 Thereon should be brought the famous quote from Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo in his epilogue to *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, (1880–1882): « España, evangelizadora de la mitad del orbe; España martillo de herejes, luz de Trento, espada de Roma, cuna de San Ignacio...; ésa es nuestra grandeza y nuestra unidad; no tenemos otra. El día en que acabe de perderse, España volverá al cantonalismo de los arévacos y de los vectores o de los reyes de taifas ».

45 Rodríguez Domingo 1999: 274; Navascués 1973: 227; Panadero Peropadre 1992: 435.

46 Henares Cuéllar 1995: 17–19.

47 Borrás Gualis 1990.

48 About these particular buildings and the Mudéjar in Aragón, see Gotor 1939; Borrás Gualis 1990, 2008.

49 Henares Cuéllar, 1995: 23–25; Rodríguez Domingo 1999: 269; Calatrava 2011: 39; Talenti 2011: 159–161.

and particularly Andalucía, represented an "immediate Orient, inhabited by a primitive humanity", while at the same time reunited "the legacy of ancient civilizations that lived in Spanish territory".[50] As the Alhambra was considered a symbol of the Orient in western lands, the attendance of both amateurs and scholars from abroad was abundant by the first third of the nineteenth century.

The foreign interest on Spain's Islamic past caused what José Rodríguez describes as "national jealousy",[51] a phenomenon that made Spanish scholars turn their attention to an intense study of their own heritage. Influenced by its own heritage and the European fashion, Spain included the Islamic revival in its architectonical vocabulary. The main sources for this vocabulary – mostly applied in interiors, but also included in some exteriors – were the palaces of the Alhambra in Granada.[52] Plaster casts, colour studies and replicas travelled through the country, both nationally and internationally produced, and served as inspiration and models to nineteenth century architects.[53]

The studies carried out by the Academia considered Islamic architecture worthy of study, but continued to overshadow its social reality as its powerful and representative decoration produced the mistaken thought that it was an art and a way of expression exclusively understandable to the sensorial pleasure as seen in the palaces of the Alhambra and the Reales Alcázares from Seville.[54] Examples of this revival may be seen in the Sala árabe of the Palace of Aranjuez (1847), the Palace of Xifré (1857), and the Arab halls of the palaces of the Salamanca Marquis (1859–1863) and the Duke of Anglada (ca. 1870).

3.2 The palace of Laredo

In the context of the Spanish National identity debate, the Palace of Laredo, located in Alcalá de Henares, provides an interesting case study, through its combination of three different Medieval revival styles: Neo-Moorish, Neo-Mudéjar and Neo-Gothic. Between 1880 and 1882, Manuel José Laredo y Ordoño – member of the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando as well as a painter, a restorer and the mayor of the Alcalá de Heneras (1891–1893) – designed and built the edifice to be his own private residence.[55]

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50 Henares Cuéllar 1995: 23.

51 Rodríguez Domingo 1999: 270.

52 Another important term to remember which expresses the style is *alhambresque*, as seen in the Nasrid palaces. See Raquejo 1995: 29.

53 Henares Cuéllar 1995: 19; Rodríguez Domingo 1999: 268

54 Navascués 1973: 264; Panadero Peropadre 1992: 390.

55 Llull Peñalba 1995, 197. In 1895, the building was sold and transfored into a hotel. Then in 2001 it was designated to be the central office of the CIEHC. The palace was restored five times

The building appears as a medieval castle. It is characterized by a rectangular floor plan, a main tower that stands in the middle of the construction and a minaret on its northwest edge. The main façade presents a tripartite structure and primarily follows a Neo-Mudéjar fashion, the porch in its north corner instead shows Neo-Moorish characteristics (Figure 6). The façade is composed by a rectangular central structure and two higher flanking sections, which are finished off with tiered gables. The three windows located at the central section present a horseshoe arch. The ones at the lateral structures instead are paired and polylobed.

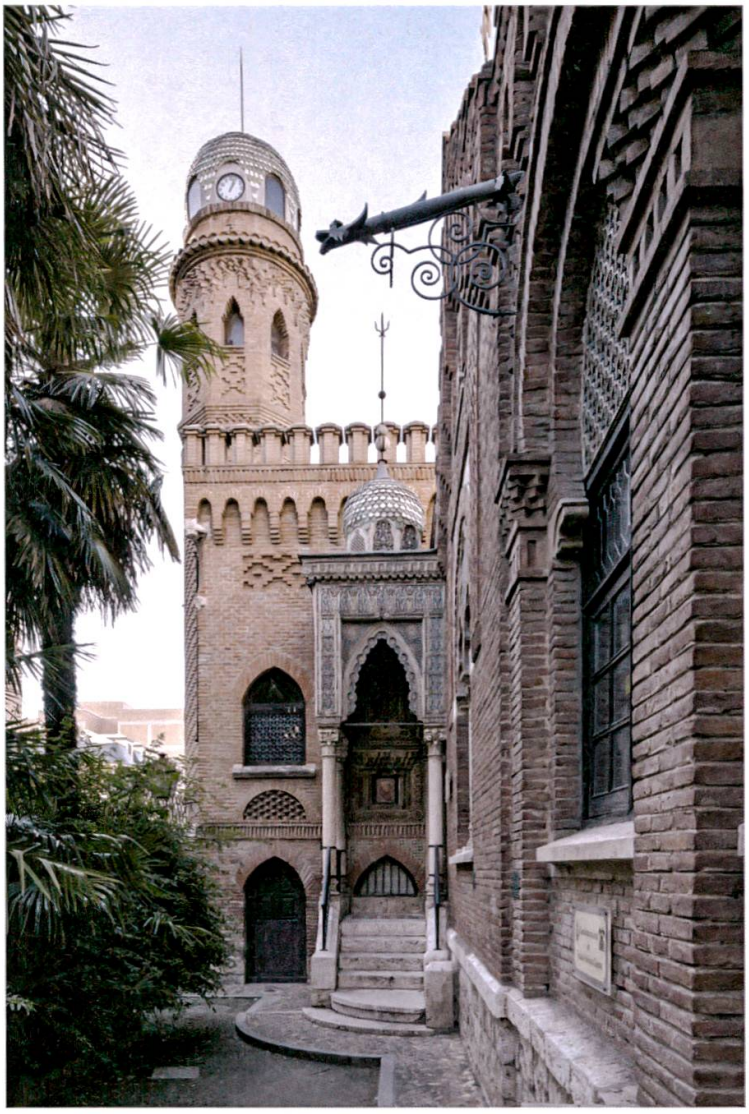

Figure 6: Alcalá de Henares, Palacio de Laredo. Main façade. Porch (Manuel José Laredo y Ordoño, 1880–1882). © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg/Thomas Scheidt, Christian Stein.

by Genoveva Christoff Secretan. Genoveva Christoff Secretan worked on the building in 1987, 1988, 1989, and two times in 1990.

The aforementioned porch, constituting the main entrance of the palace, reproduces some aspects of the eastern pavilion in the Patio de los Leones of the Alhambra: polylobed arches springing from four columns, all of Nasrid designs, support a *muqarnas* vault. The exterior is emphasized by a small dome decorated with coloured tiles, inspired by the Nasrid pavilion altered by Rafael Contreras in the late 1850s.[56] Inside the palace, these two styles are mixed with Neo-Gothic, as may be seen in the spectacular Sala árabe (Figure 7). This unique stylistic combination makes the Palace of Laredo an outstanding example of the eclectic nineteenth century architecture in Spain. As other Neo-Moorish examples in the country, this palace has been very little studied.

Figure 7: Alcalá de Henares, Palacio de Laredo. Sala árabe (Manuel José Laredo y Ordoño, 1880–1882). © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg/Thomas Scheidt, Christian Stein.

The decoration provides information about how the different models travelled from one building to another, and could help in the understanding of the Moorish revival in many ways – as a fashion, as a representation of the national past and as a recovery of Muslim heritage and its valorization. Along with other examples, this PhD project intends to establish a catalogue of this architectural heritage, while also investigating the phenomenon of the Moorish revival in Spain, and relating it to the other examples studied in the project.

56 José Contreras substituted the triangular covers from the pavilions by circular domes. Leopoldo Torres Balbás after undid this when he committed the restorations of the palaces of the Alhambra in 1923–1936. Torres Balbás 1929: 223. See Giese and Varela Braga below.

4 Appropriating Moorish architecture in nineteenth century Germany

The cultural encounters between Spain and Germany in the nineteenth century were manifold, as the publication *Spanien und Deutschland. Kulturtransfer im 19. Jahrhundert* from 2007 has shown.[57] Earlier studies by Stefan Koppelkamm and Anja Gebauer have emphasised the importance of Spain's Islamic heritage as a source for German architects and painters.[58] In the following lines, the focus lies on the transfer media used in nineteenth century Germany to transmit selected motifs taken from the rich building tradition of al-Andalus by architects trained in Berlin and Stuttgart.

4.1 From travelogue to sample book – nineteenth century publications as transfer media

According to Michael Scholz-Hänsel, the publication project *Antigüedades Arabes de España* – initiated in the middle of the eighteenth century by the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, but not published until 1787 and 1804, respectively – played a crucial role in the rediscovery of the architectural heritage of al-Andalus.[59] As Antonio Almagro Gorbea has recently pointed out, the *Antigüedades* set the bar for exactness in measurement, truthfulness in detail-recording, as well as the rendering of original polychromy.[60] This surprisingly scientific approach to the Islamic architecture of al-Andalus, which differs strongly from Washington Irving's romantic visions, was followed in the first half of the nineteenth century by French and British architects and draftsmen, as Lorraine Decléty has shown in 2009.[61] Noteworthy are the works of French photographer, draftsman and lithographer Joseph Philibert Girault de Prangey (1804–1892) from the 1830s and 1840s,[62] as well

57 See Hellwig 2007.
58 Koppelkamm 1987; Gebauer 2000.
59 Scholz-Hänsel 1989. See also Rodríguez Ruiz 1992, who has traced the most important stages of the project's odyssey until its publication.
60 Almagro Gorbea 2015.
61 Decléty 2009: 90.
62 Especially his richly illustrated volumes *Monuments Arabes et Moresques de Cordoue, Séville et Grenade ou Souvenirs de Grenade et de l'Alhambra* (1836–1839) and *Essai sur l'architecture des Arabes et Maures en Espagne, in Sicilie et en Barbarie* (1841). On Girault de Prangey and his legacy, see Pouillon 2008: 446–448, Labrusse 2011a: 114, and Labrusse 2011b: 108–109.

as those of Jules Goury (1803–1834) and Owen Jones (1809–1874), working in Granada at the same time.[63] Their publications were acclaimed worldwide and became one of the most important transfer media in the context of Moorish Revival, in addition to plaster casts and architectural models. Comparable to medieval sample books, they became catalogues of reference for contemporary architects as the Dampfmaschinenhaus (steam machine house) in Potsdam's Sanssouci illustrates, which was built between 1841 and 1843 after plans by Prussian architect Ludwig Persius (1803–1845).[64] Whereas the outside shows a wide array of formal quotations from Pascal-Xavier Coste's *Architecture arabe ou monuments du Kaire* (1839), the interior, executed by Martin Gottgetreu after Persius's plans, is characterized by the Neo-Moorish style. The two-storied front elevation (Maschinenprospekt) dominating the engine room (Figure 8) is particularly noteworthy as it is inspired by Prangey's elevation of the Capilla de Villaviciosa's eastern interior façade of the Great Mosque of Cordoba (Figure 9), which was strongly altered during Ricardo Velázquez Bosco's (1843–1823) invasive restoration at the beginning of the twentieth century.[65]

While the complex system of crossing arches follows its Umayyad model, the ornamentation, as well as the capitals, are taken from Nasrid examples of the Alhambra, as published by James Cavannah Murphy (1760–1814) in his *Arabian Antiquities of Spain* (1813–1816), and by the aforementioned Girault de Prangey. Just in time for painting the interior, the first volume of Goury/Jones's *Plans, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra* was published in 1842, including chromolithographed plates that had a significant influence on the coloration of the Dampfmaschinenhaus.

4.2 In search of authenticity – plaster casts in Neo-Islamic interiors

The importance of plaster casts as a means of transferring Hispano-Islamic models grew in the second half of the nineteenth century. This particular method is noticed in buildings and interiors by German architects such as Carl von Diebitsch (1819–1869) and Emil Otto Tafel (1839–1914).[66] The stucco decoration

63 Goury/Jones 1842–1845; Jones 1856. On Owen Jones, who was one of the most important promoters of the Moorish Revival, see esp. Flores 2006 and Varela Braga 2016.

64 On the Dampfmaschinenhaus, see esp. Staschull 1999.

65 See Giese 2014.

66 On Diebitsch, see Pflugradt-Abdel Aziz 2009; Emil Otto Tafel is far less known and will be the object of further research within the framework of our project.

Figure 8: Potsdam, Dampfmaschinenhaus. Maschinenprospekt (Arch. Ludwig Persius, 1841–1843). © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg/Rose Hajdu.

of Diebitsch's Maurisches Badekabinett (Moorish bath cabinet) in Schloss Albrechtsberg near Dresden (1854/1855) and Tafel's Maurischer Saal (Moorish hall) in Schloss Castell (1891–1894) document extensive studies not only in Nasrid architecture and ornament of the Alhambra but also in Islamic workmanship, especially concerning plaster techniques.[67] These were conducted by Diebitsch and Tafel during their stay in Granada in the years of 1847 and 1891, respectively. Both architects employed plaster panels comparable to those used by

67 For Dresden, see Heller 2015, for Tägerwilen, Meyer 1903.

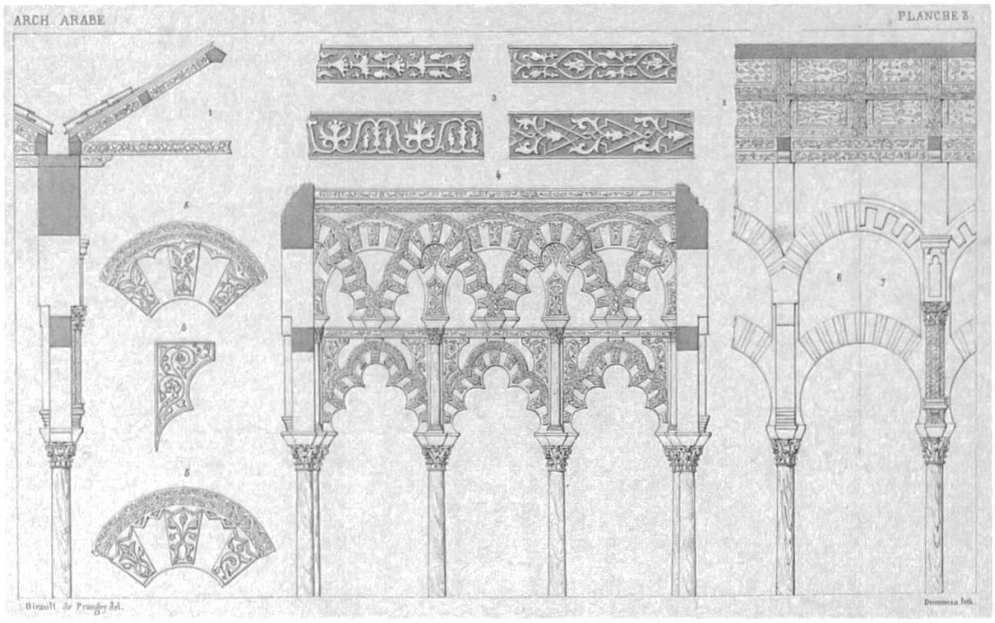

Figure 9: Córdoba, Capilla de Villaviciosa. Eastern interior façade. In: Girault de Prangey, *Essai sur l'architecture des Arabes et Maures en Espagne, in Sicilie et en Barbarie*. Paris, 1841: Plate 3–4.

Nasrid artisans since the early fourteenth century. By that time a more rational way of producing the abundant stucco decoration was established by the Nasrids. In contrast to the earlier, time-consuming technique, where the carvings were made *in situ*, now an almost serial production of plaster panels and other decorative elements was possible, as any number of positive casts could be made from a single master model.[68]

Such panels were already used by Rafael Contreras Muñoz (1824–1890) in the 1850s for the Neo-Moorish interior of the already mentioned Palacio Real in Aranjuez and the Patio árabe of the since destroyed Palacio de Anglada in Madrid.[69] Contreras himself had developed this procedure during his time as head of the restoration workshop of the Alhambra starting in 1847.[70] Instead of the original master models, Contreras took clay imprints of the extant Nasrid stucco decoration, using them to reproduce the missing parts.[71] Through this method not only were replacements produced for the Alhambra, but a lucrative trade of reproductions of original Alhambra decor pieces and miniaturized models

68 See Pavón Maldonado 2004: 723; Rubio Domene 2010: 34.

69 Panadero Peropadre 1994.

70 Rodríguez Domingo 1998: 44–47, 65–66, 127–133, 199–229.

71 Rodríguez Domingo 1998: 110. On the described reproduction technique, see esp. Rubio Domene 2010: 116.

emerged, in which the Contreras family, with their own reproduction atelier, participated significantly, becoming internationally renowned, particularly through Rafael Contreras' exhibits at the World Fairs of London (1851) and Paris (1856), for which he won various prizes.[72]

On his return to Germany, Diebitsch further developed this reproduction technique in his Berlin atelier, using it not only for the above mentioned Maurische Badekabinett but also for his famous exhibition pavilion (Maurischer Kiosk) at the Paris International Exhibition of 1867,[73] whereas Tafel used detailed drawings, blueprints and plaster panels, which he had "studied, recorded and cast" during his Andalusian journey to the Moorish hall at Schloss Castell in Tägerwilen.[74]

These transfer processes between Spain's Islamic heritage and Neo-Moorish architecture in nineteenth century Germany – though explained very briefly and only by a few examples – make palpable the transition from an initially vague mode of reception by means of illustrated books, as exemplified by the Dampfmaschinenhaus, to a precise reproduction of Islamic interiors and ornaments through plaster casts.

5 Casts and models, from *Souvenirs* to learning tools

As seen in this transfer process, the Alhambra palace appears as a privileged model, its visual power imposing itself through different kinds of media, from spectacular exhibition pavilions such as Owen Jones' Alhambra Court at the Crystal Palace in Sydenham (1854)[75] or Diebitsch's Moorish Kiosk (1867)[76] to architectural studies or popular travelogues. This "reproductive continuum,"[77] as Malcom Baker called it, included photographs and plaster casts and architectural models that all contributed, though on different levels, to the diffusion of an international taste for the *Alhambresque* style. In this section, the role of plaster casts and architectural models in Italy will be briefly considered from a

72 Rafael Contreras was decorated in both occasions – London (1851): diploma; Paris (1856): diploma and silver medal, see Panadero Peropadre 1994: 37. The importance of Rafael Contreras and his reproduction atelier was further stressed by Rodríguez Domingo 1998: 155–163.

73 Fehle 1987.

74 Meyer 1903: 177.

75 Ferry 2007.

76 Pflugradt-Abdel Aziz 2009.

77 The term is taken from Baker 2010: 485.

private and institutional perspective through the cases of the Moorish Room at Villa Stibbert in Florence and the Museo di Arte Industriale in Rome.

5.1 Stibbert's Moorish room

The son of a wealthy British colonel, Frederick Stibbert (1838–1906), divided his time between England and Florence, where the family residence was based. He dedicated a grand part of his fortune to establishing an impressive art collection, consisting of European and Oriental weapons, costumes and artworks that were displayed in his Villa on the hill of Montughi. With the passing of the years, Stibbert's home transformed into a spectacular living museum, which has remained almost untouched since his death.[78]

Among the Villa's many historical settings, a Moorish Room (Figure 10) was realized in 1889 for displaying his collection of Islamic weapons and the so-called *Islamic calvacade*, a group of mannequins representing different Muslim warriors. Designed by the architect Cesare Fortini, and most probably under the strict guidance of Stibbert himself, it was adorned by the "stucco decorator"[79]

Figure 10: Florence, Villa Stibbert. Moorish Room (Arch. Cesare Fortini. Decorator Michele Piovano, 1889). © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg/Rabatti & Domingie Photography.

78 Di Marco 2008.

79 Piovano was the "stuccatore ornatista" of the Villa. See Masi 2002–2003: 37.

Michele Piovano who reproduced on the walls and ceiling the ornamentation of the Alhambra palace in Granada. Contrary to other Neo-Moorish examples in Tuscany such as Villa Cora in Florence or the Castle of Sammezzano at Regello, Stibbert's hall offers not a romantic evocation but a precise replica of the Alhambra's ornamentation, although in a white-washed version (even if the project initially included polychromy).[80]

As Martina Becattini remarked, the idea of a Moorish Room must have come to Stibbert many years before, perhaps during his travels in Spain in the summer of 1861, when he visited Granada and the Alhambra palace.[81] A document dated 14 August 1861 indicates that Stibbert acquired from Rafael Contreras, whose name had until now not been recognized, twenty-six "piezas arabes" for the price of 113 *duros*, to be sent by boat from Malaga to his home.[82] As mentioned previously, Rafael Contreras Muñoz was well-known for his plaster cast reproduction of the monument's ornamentation, which not only served to restore areas of the palace that were damaged, but were also used as *souvenirs* sold to tourists, thus also helping to prevent robbery of original ornamentation from the palace's wall.[83] Stibbert bought the "piezas" from the Door of Justice, the Court of Lions, the Hall of the Two Sisters, the Hall of the Ambassadors and the Hall of the Abencerajes. These plaster casts must have served as important visual models for the conception of the Moorish Room. Although they are no longer preserved in the Villa, it has recently been made possible to identify several casts reproducing the exact motifs used in Villa Stibbert now conserved in the cast collection of the Liceo Artistico Statale di Porta Roma in Florence.[84]

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80 Becattini 2014: 67. Although the stuccos are an exact copy of the ornaments of the Alhambra, the room itself is not a replica of a specific room of the Nasrid palace. See Varela Braga 2016.

81 Becattini 2014: 66.

82 Archivio Stibbert, Patrimonio FS, Foreign Bills 1865–1881, c. 73. A special thanks to Simona Di Marco and Martina Beccatini for their collaboration and for granting me access to the material from Villa Stibbert mentioned in this article. The name of Contreras had until now been misread as "Contrevas", see Beccatini 2014b: 19.

83 As has been pointed out by Eggleton 2012: 14.

84 At the current stage of the research, it is however not possible to affirm that these are the original casts bought from Contreras. Until now, the casts were thought to be different from those reproduced in Villa Stibbert, as seen in Monaci Scaramucci 1993: 142–143. The origin of these casts is to this day problematic. According to Monaci Scaramucci, they were not produced by local craftsmen (see Monaci Scaramucci 1993: 140). The school's inventory of 1882 already mentions a group of Moorish casts. Were they copies from Stibbert's casts? As this inventory shows, they were classified together with important examples from the Renaissance (Scaramucci 1993: 138), thus testifying to the international fortune of the Moorish model at the time.

Nonetheless, these casts were not the only *souvenirs* that Stibbert brought with him from Spain that he could use as inspiration for the design of the room. He also acquired a group of photographs illustrating several Islamic monuments in Spain,[85] as well as two small-scale architectural models of parts of the Alhambra. These two models have been on display in the Moorish Room since the beginning of the twentieth century. Although the date of their acquisition is not known, and they do not show any official seal or mark of production, they can be most probably attributed to the studio of Rafael Contreras. Indeed, both stylistically and technically, they are very similar to the Contreras models conserved at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.

The first model (Figure 11) is made of plaster and six alabaster columns, and reproduces the front elevation of the eastern pavilion of the Court of Lions.

Figure 11: Rafael Contreras Munõz (attributed to). Architectural model of the Alhambra, c. 1860 (?), alabaster and polychrome plaster, cm 63 × 49, Museo Stibbert, Florence (inv. 5515). © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg/Rabatti & Domingie Photography.

85 The photographs were pasted in an album that Stibbert bound with his coat of arms in 1863. Archivio Stibbert, Patrimonio Stibbert, Giustificazione di cassa, 1863, carta 181–182.

It illustrates the addition of the polychromatic frieze from the restoration project by Contreras and Juan Pugnaire, dated 1858, a design that owes much to the Orientalist and Romantic perception of the building.[86]

The second model (Figure 12), in plaster painted in polychrome, replicates a smaller portion of the palace, showing three arches supported by golden columns without bases and surmounted by four transennae and a *muquarnas* frieze, which could recall the *mirador* of the Two Sisters, looking into the Court of Lions. It is painted with the three primary colors: blue, red and gold (for yellow), as theorized by Owen Jones[87] and implemented by Contreras in his restoration of the monument.

Figure 12: Rafael Contreras Munõz (attributed to). Architectural model of the Alhambra, c. 1860 (?), polychrome plaster, cm 59.5 × 77, Museo Stibbert, Florence (inv. 5518). © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg/Rabatti & Domingie Photography.

86 My special thanks to Francine Giese for her help in identifying the parts of the Alhambra reproduced by these two models. In the model, the addition of the domed cupola is, however, not present. On Contreras and Pugnaire's restoration of the Court, see Giese 2015: 336–337.
87 Jones and Goury 1842–45.

These small architectural models had not only the advantage of providing a vivid and three-dimensional representation of the Alhambra's architecture and ornamentation, but most importantly, they offered a new level of information as compared to photographs and casts – the presence of polychromy. They would therefore serve as important tools for the implementation of the polychromatic decoration of the room, although it was later abandoned. In that respect, another significant source would have been Owen Jones and Jules Goury's *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra* (1842–45), as well as Jones' *Grammar of Ornament*, both of which Stibbert possessed in his library.[88] Jones' chromolithographs of the Alhambra's ornamentation also played an essential part in forging the visual reception of the monument as strongly polychromatic.[89]

5.2 Didactic models

These different supports – casts, photographs, architectural models, chromolithographs – were not only essential for the recreation of historical settings, but were also fundamental for the diffusion of the Neo-Moorish style in the decorative arts. In the first half of the nineteenth century, following the example of the South Kensington Museum, several collections of applied or industrial art were founded all over Europe.[90] As in London, these museums were often closely related to didactic institutions, the collections serving both students and the enhancement of the taste of the general public.

The importance of copies, two or three-dimensional, had long since been recognized in the academic tradition.[91] The nineteenth century saw, however, an unprecedented enthusiasm for collecting and displaying architectural casts. The vogue for art historical related casts and the faith in their educational value culminated in the International Convention for Promoting Universal Reproduction of Works of Art, promoted by Henry Cole, director of the South Kensington Museum (today the Victoria and Albert Museum), and signed in 1867 by fifteen European princes.[92]

Casts and models of the Alhambra had been present in the collection of the London Government Schools of Design since 1838, when Owen Jones had

88 The year of acquisition of these volumes is not known. See Desideri and Di Marco 1992: 127, 159.

89 Eggleton 2012: 9–10.

90 Pomian 2011.

91 See for instance Frederiksen and Marchand 2010.

92 See Bilbey and Trusted 2010: 466.

donated pieces to this institution.[93] These were integrated into the collections of the South Kensington Museum. In 1862, four small-scale architectural models of the Alhambra by Contreras were purchased for the museum, followed by twenty-six others in 1865.[94]

Casts of the Alhambra were also present since its foundation in 1874 in the Museo di Arte Industriale in Rome. The museum's first catalogue (1876)[95] mentions no less than eight casts out of a total of fifty-three, all from the grenadine palace. They were donated by Alessandro Castellani (1823–1883), one of the museum's founders and art collectors, as well as a member of a well-known Roman family of goldsmiths, whose brother Guglielmo promoted the renewal of Hispano-Islamic patterns and pottery techniques.[96] The catalogue offers a detailed description of the casts (n. 301 to 308), also providing information on the building technique of the Alhambra as well as the translation of the different Arabic inscriptions. It also mentions an architectural model by Rafael Contreras, donated by Prince Marcantonio Colonna.[97] This model, now preserved in the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica at Palazzo Barberini,[98] bears the signature of Contreras in the bottom right front. In a meagre state of conservation, its polychrome paint has, in large part, disappeared, which seems to indicate an extensive use of the model as part of school practice, serving probably as a model often copied and reproduced, and thus playing a significant role, that still must be more closely evaluated, in the diffusion of the Moorish revival in Rome and Italy.

6 Orientalism in the architecture of tsarist Russia

Also in Russia plaster casts and architectural models contributed to the diffusion of the Alhambresque style. Quite a few casts and models of the Alhambra had been present in the collection of the Imperial Academy of Arts in Saint Petersburg since 1862. They served as important didactic devices in teaching students of the architectural department, as will be shown later on.

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93 Rosser-Owen 2011: 46.

94 For an overview of these plaster reproductions in the British context see Rosser-Owen 2011.

95 Museo 1876: 66–69.

96 Benocci 2012: 332 and Colonna 2014–2015: 161.

97 Item number 309, it is described as: "Modellino in gesso dipinto a vari colori con ornamenti ed iscrizioni dorate; della fabbrica Contreras. Rappresenta un arco dell'Alhambra presso il cortile detto della moschea", in: Museo 1876: 69.

98 The model measures cm 39 × 28. My special thanks to Valentina Colonna for this information and to Michele di Monte, for allowing me to see the model.

The fascination for Islamic art and culture in tsarist Russia led to numerous Orientalist productions in architecture and interiors, especially in the nineteenth century. In Saint Petersburg, we know an impressive amount of Neo-Islamic structures – some of them have fortunately survived until today.[99] Russian scholars like Andrej Spaščanskij differentiate two currents in Orientalist architecture. One current creates symbol-like architecture representing a foreign country (for example, Turkey), giving the architect freedom in his artistic decisions due to little information about the possible prototypes. The other current generates more or less exact replicas of historical Islamic architecture, on the basis of descriptions or measurements.[100] Irina Andronova more generally speaks about a sequence of events creating an analogy to the two phases of historicism differentiated in Russia (1830–60/1860–90) – the artistic determination of the theme followed by the will to transpose it more authentically.[101] By looking more closely at two examples chronologically corresponding to this idea, we shall explore the theme further.

6.1 The Turkish bath in the park of the royal residence in Carskoe Selo

The recently renovated pavilion *Tureckaja banja* (Turkish bath) was built between 1850 and 1852 on a spit of land in the great pond of the Ekaterininskij park in Carskoe selo (today Puškin).[102] It is the oldest remaining Neo-Islamic architecture in the surroundings of Saint Petersburg. The Turkish bath consists of rectangular volumes that are combined with a polygonal volume covered by a striking gilded dome. A delicate minaret gives the building the appearance of a mosque (Figure 13).

Tsar Nikolaj I (1796–1855) commissioned the pavilion as a memorial for his military success in the Russo-Turkish war from 1828 to 1829.[103] The Turkish

99 The broadest compilation of Russian Neo-Islamic architecture can be found in a dissertation from 2008. See Andronova 2008.

100 See Spaščanskij 2009, vol. 2: 156.

101 See Andronova 2008: 57–58.

102 During the Second World War, the building suffered damage and was secured makeshift. After being in an alarming state for several years, the Turkish bath has been extensively restored between 2006 and 2009.

103 Ekaterina II established the tradition of celebrating successes in Russo-Turkish wars by erecting new buildings and monuments in the park. The *Tureckij Kiosk* (Turkish kiosk) built from 1779–1782 by the architect Il'ja Vasil'evič Neelov, destroyed in the Second World War, would be another interesting building in this context.

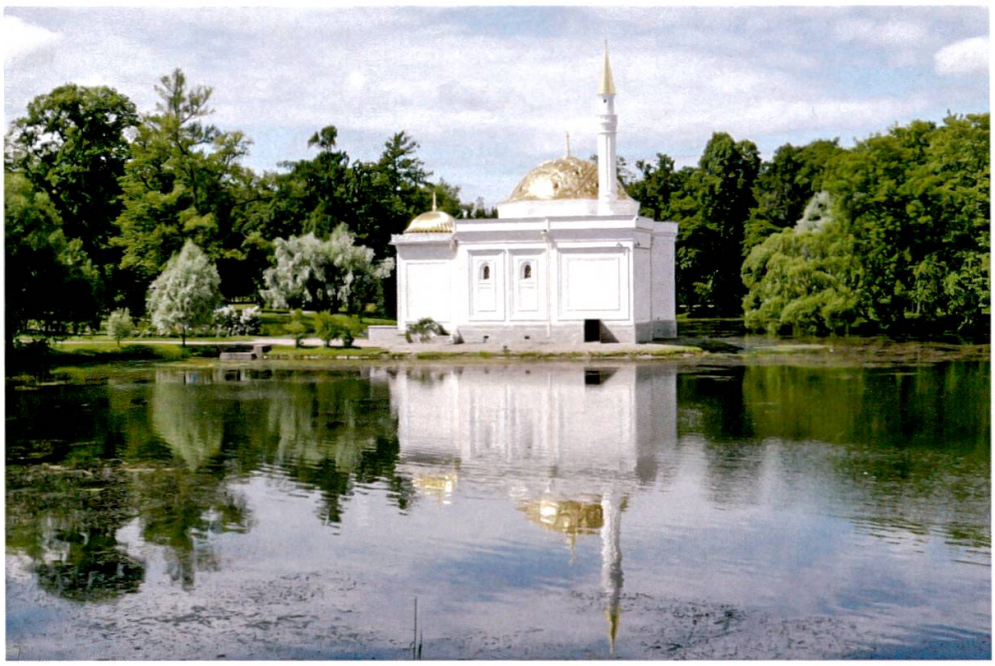

Figure 13: Carskoe selo, Ekaterininskij Park, Turkish bath (Arch. Ippolito Monighetti, 1850–1852). © Katrin Kaufmann, Bern.

bath, destined to be a place of pleasure for the tsar, is without pathos and heroism. However, one aspect characterizes it as a memorial. Inside the pavilion, various trophies taken from the Sultan's palace in Edirne have been installed: marble slabs with Arabic and Ottoman inscriptions, capitals, and, most obviously, several fountains that likely determined the theme of the building.

It was the young architect Ippolito Monighetti (1819–1878) who was responsible for the design of the pavilion and the integration of the Turkish spoils.[104] Monighetti, son of a merchant from Biasca (Switzerland) who emigrated to Russia, was trained in architecture at the Imperial Academy of Arts in Saint Petersburg.[105] He was qualified for the task for two reasons. First, Monighetti had encountered Neo-Islamic architecture already through his teacher at the Academy, Aleksandr Pavlovič Brjullov.[106] Second, Monighetti

104 A first project for the Turkish bath designed by Carlo Rossi had been rejected. See Punin 2011: 58.

105 For biographies of Ippolito Monighetti see Kondakov 1915: 361; Listov 1976 and Martinoli 1998.

106 Aleksandr Brjullov has built several Neo-Islamic buildings and interiors. One of them was a Neo-Moorish bathroom for Empress Aleksandra Fjodorovna in the Winter Palace. The interior, executed in 1837 – at that time Monighetti was a student of Brjullov – does not exist anymore but is passed down in a watercolour by Eduard Hau from 1870. The original plans are kept at the Russian Academy of Fine Arts Museum.

knew Islamic architecture firsthand due to two journeys to Turkey and Egypt after his studies.[107]

An often-cited watercolour by Monighetti, apparently showing a mosque in Edirne, is said to have served him as a model for the Turkish bath. As we don't know any mosque of a similar appearance in the former Ottoman Empire, this drawing must, in fact, be a first draft of the project.[108] Undeniably, the above-mentioned minaret, with its round ground plan of the shaft, an implied balcony and a pointed conical roof ending up in a crescent, is reminiscent of an Ottoman mosque. Monighetti must have chosen this element as a distinctive and symbolic mark, fully aware of the fact that baths with minarets did not exist.[109] With his knowledge, the architect could have given a precise image of a Turkish bath but preferred to interpret its typology. While some elements of the exterior view of the building remind us of Ottoman architecture (the minaret, the *muqarnas* niche over the entrance, and the structure of the facade), other details (like the carved ornament formed from plants at the entry) are evocative of Moorish adornment such as that found in the medieval Nasrid palaces of the Alhambra in Granada. The gilded dome's roof, decorated with stylized plant decoration, impressive in its splendour, is a complete invention of Ippolito Monighetti.

A similar eclectic mix of decoration can be found inside the pavilion. While Monighetti originally planned a usable Turkish bath with a heating system, tsar Nikolaj I restricted the project to a summer pavilion without heating.[110] Still, the interior follows the concept of a bath. After the small vestibule follows a dressing room, a washing room, and the main octagonal hall with a marble basin in the middle, illuminated by forty circular openings in the overlying dome.

To a large extent, the interior decoration of the pavilion has been reconstructed on the basis of historical photographs and detailed investigation of the

107 From 1839–47 Ippolito Monighetti travelled to Italy, Greece and the Orient, first on his own, then on a grant by the Imperial Academy of Arts. He studied the local architecture (mostly antique Greek and Roman structures). In Rome his watercolours caught the attention of tsar Nikolaj I, inspecting the stipendiaries work, which led to Monighetti's employment in Carskoe selo after his return to Russia. See Listov 1976: 11–12.

108 Dmitrij Šerich drew the same conclusion a few years ago; see Šerich 2012: 148.

109 Maybe Ippolito Monighetti followed the European trend of decorating gardens with mosque-like architecture, started by William Chambers in 1761 with his "mosque" in Kew Gardens. See Andronova 2008: 61. A quite exact copy of that "mosque" made in the 1770s stood in Jaropolec, the farmstead of the counts Černyševy in Moscow region. See Evangulova 1999: 21.

110 See the official guidebook of the Tsarskoye Selo State Museum-Preserve; Toeseva 2014: 3.

remaining fragments from 2006 to 2009.[111] This allows for conclusions to be drawn on the decoration mainly consisting of Turkish spoils (most eye-catching are the eight different fountains), stuccowork and painting. Some of Monighetti's creations, again, bear reference to Moorish architecture – certain columns have annulets similar to Nasrid columns, but lack the matching capitals. The decoration of the lower parts of the walls imitates *alicatados*, tile mosaics showing geometric patterns. The pattern used in the octagonal room is typical for Mudéjar architecture and can be found, for example, in the Alcázar of Seville, in the part of the palace built during Pedro I's reign in the fourteenth century. Another important fact becomes evident by examining the painting and stucco decoration in the upper part of the walls – Monighetti picked up ornaments found in the spoils, copied and modified them. As a result, the trophies and the architecture designed by the architect became a persuasive entity. Interestingly, the main part of the Turkish spoils, the fountains dating back to the eighteenth century, are examples of the so-called *Ottoman Baroque*, in part influenced by Western architecture.[112]

Monighetti's knowledge of Islamic architecture was not diffuse. Nevertheless, his pavilion is a mix of diverse architectural styles and his own inventions. The result is a phantasmagorical piece of architecture demonstrating the architect's will of creating his own vision of the Orient.[113]

This Turkish bath is an early work of Ippolito Monighetti, who became a well-known architect in Russia, building easily in multiple different styles that were prevalent in that period. Among his oeuvre, there are several other Orientalist interiors. Until recently, the Persian boudoir, the Turkish cabinet and the Oriental living room (*vostočnaja gostinaja*), built between 1858 and 1860 in Prince Nikolaj Borisovič Jusupov's palace in Saint Petersburg (94 naberežnaya reki Mojki), were ascribed to Monighetti. Contrary to previous knowledge, Monighetti, in fact, had to execute a project made by a French architect.[114] However, in the 1890s Aleksandr Stepanov (1856–1913) redesigned

111 While a big part of the stucco decoration was lost, some of the marble spoils were still in a good condition.

112 The term *Ottoman Baroque* is being discussed controversially in recent research; see Caygill 2011.

113 A similar mix of styles could be found in the furnishing of the pavilion, finished in 1853. Monighetti designed a part of it himself but also went to Moscow to buy Turkish furniture and the typical bibelot displayed in Orientalist interiors like water pipes. See Toeseva 2014: 7–9.

114 Natal'ja Zajceva argued in 2009, that Prince Nikolaj Borisovič Jusupov commissioned the project while living in Paris. Correspondence kept at the RGADA (Rossijskij gosudarstvennyj archiv drevnich aktov) shows that he bought the decoration used in the Oriental living room in the workshop of Michel-Victor Cruchet in Paris. Cruchet produced ornamentation and mouldings

Figure 14: Saint Petersburg, Jusupov Place, Oriental living room (Arch. Ippolito Monighetti 1858–60; Aleksandr Stepanov, 1890s). Courtesy of Jusupovskij dvorec.

the previously mentioned Oriental living room (Figure 14). The result is clearly reminiscent of Moorish architecture and will briefly be put forward as a younger and possibly more authentic replica of the historical Islamic architecture (among others) due to the following reason. During the nineteenth century, in connection with an increased interest for oriental architecture in Russia, Hispano-Islamic architecture got more popular as an archetype for designing Orientalist interiors (for example, smoking rooms) in Saint Petersburg. Since the 1850s, stipendiaries of the Imperial Academy of Arts travelled often to Spain, boosting the knowledge of the local architecture and its decorative details by their studies.

One of these stipendiaries was Pavel Karlovič Notbek (1824–77) who played a major role in disseminating in-depth knowledge of Hispano-Islamic architecture. Notbek spent ten years in Granada where he studied the architecture of the Alhambra. He produced models of some of the most famous rooms of the Nasrid

from *papier mâché* or *carton-pierre* (a mix of *papier mâché* with clay or chalk). His mass-marketed products were cheap and available in any style. See Zajceva 2009.

palace, like the Sala de las Dos Hermanas and the Sala de los Abencerrajes.[115] In 1862 his works were brought to Saint Petersburg by ship[116] where they were acquired by the Imperial Academy of Arts and installed in a distinct room of the main building near the architecture class until 1917.[117] Obviously, Notbek's oeuvre was accessible to students and served didactical purposes. Exceeding, by far, 200 pieces, the Notbek collection contained not only models but also a vast number of plaster casts.[118] Ekaterina Savinova, keeper of the architectural models at the Russian Academy of Fine Arts Museum, is currently investigating this collection.[119]

6.2 The Oriental living room in Prince Jusupov's Palace in Saint Petersburg

Coming back to our second example we can state that the Oriental living room at the Jusupov-Palace symptomatically became a Moorish living room (*mavritanskaja gostinaja*) with the redesign by Stepanov.[120] Almost everything resembles Moorish architecture: the arcade separating the two spaces, the vast application of ornament and the walls structured in three and four zones.[121] The lower wall panels imitate *alicatados*. In the stucco decoration above, niches (reminiscent of *tacas*, usually found in the jamb of doors) and Arabic inscriptions are additionally used to adorn the walls. Still, the entire decoration (architectural elements as well as the ornaments, except some of the Arabic inscriptions) differs in form or application from the obvious archetype. Thus, the interior is not an exact replica in details, although knowledge of them was available in Saint Petersburg. Still it is a detailed interpretation of the overall character of some rooms of the Alhambra.

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115 See Kondakov 1915: 366.

116 To get an idea of the scope of the shipment: 49 chests weighing more than 8 tons were unloaded at the riverbank of the Neva. See NIMRACH. 2000: 84.

117 See Kondakov 1914: 104–105 and NIMRACH 2000: 9.

118 The collection also seems to include a few works made by the reproduction atelier of Rafael Contreras' family; see Rodríguez Domingo 1998: 155–163.

119 I am deeply thankful to Ekaterina Savinova for giving me the unique chance to see some of Notbek's fantastically detailed and beautifully colored models, as they are not on display at the museum at the moment.

120 From the former design remain the topmost frieze, the ceilings and the fireplace, as well as the composition of the room (two spaces separated by columns, with a fountain in the bigger part). See the watercolour by A. Redkovskij (1863), printed in Kukuruzova and Utočkina 2010: 94.

121 The Moorish living room has been renovated during the past three years.

The two indicated examples show that different ways of treating the task to create Orientalist architecture or interiors can be distinguished in Russia. They differ from case to case depending on the aims of the architect and the respective purchaser as well as on the contemporary trends in the architecture of Russia and Western Europe. Orientalism in Russia was affected by European influences and the direct contact with the Ottoman Empire in the Russo-Turkish wars. The geographic and political situation of the country, constantly being at war with its southern neighbour, lets us assume that in tsarist Russia the Ottoman style was more politically charged than in Western Europe, and definitely more charged than the Moorish style. This assumption shall be further explored in the project, as well as the fact that Russian expansion to Central Asia (Turkestan) was almost no issue in the empire's nineteenth century architectural production.

7 "Farbenschiller der gemahlten Scheiben" – stained glass in Neo-Moorish architecture[122]

On 26 September 1857, the Russian Czar Aleksandr II, son and successor of Nikolaj I, visited the Wilhelma, a vast Neo-Moorish palace complex built between 1842 and 1865 in Cannstatt near Stuttgart, by order of the king of Württemberg Wilhelm I. There, a meeting between Napoleon III and Aleksandr II took place within the context of the festivities of the Stuttgarter Kaisertage. It was on this occasion that Karl Ludwig von Zanth (1796–1857), the architect of the Wilhelma, was decorated by the Russian crown.[123] Carl von Diebitsch (1819–1869), another German architect, who also had a predilection for Islamic architecture, received a gift from a member of the Russian royal family. When in 1842 Carl von Diebitsch was studying and drawing La Zisa in Palermo, a Norman castle with elements from the Islamic architecture, the empress of Russia, Aleksandra Fjodorovna (1798–1860), was visiting this very building. She saw Diebitsch's drawing and was very keen to have it. She gave the architect a golden watch in return. As the obituary of Diebitsch reports, this stay in Sicily aroused his interest in "oriental art" and he remembered the encounter with the Russian empress as a good omen.[124] Diebitsch continued his studies of Islamic architecture and applied his gained knowledge to several Neo-Islamic buildings in Germany and later in Egypt.

122 The quote is from Zanth 1855/56: notes to pl. VI.
123 von Schulz 1976: 83.
124 Stier 1869: 418; Pflugradt-Abdel Aziz 2009: 3.

7.1 Stained glass in al-Andalus

Hereafter, a meaningful but widely untreated topic shall be analysed on the basis of two buildings, one each of the above-mentioned architects. Both the Wilhelma and Carl von Diebitsch's Maurischer Kiosk for the Paris International Exhibition of 1867 – or rather shown today in a case of the mostly destroyed Wilhelma – utilize a rich, colourful glazing. The two buildings copy and adapt Hispano-Islamic architecture, whereby the palace complexes of the Alhambra in Granada and the Alcázar in Seville constitute the most important models.

These buildings do not have any glazing. While in other regions of the Islamic World stained glass windows are widespread,[125] in Hispano-Islamic buildings they do not exist. Occasional written sources prove the existence of coloured glazing in the Islamic period. For instance, in the palace of the Taifa kingdom of Toledo and in the mosque of Ceuta glazed windows could be found.[126] Also in the Alhambra stained glass windows existed, as is proven by ca. 1200 glass fragments which were excavated.[127] Also, the Mirador de Lindaraja still has a vaulted ceiling made of stucco and wood with inlaid coloured glass pieces.[128]

In the nineteenth century there were no more traces of stained glass windows from the Islamic period. In 1842 Owen Jones commented in one of his graphics, "the windows over the entrance doorway [of the court of the Fish Pond], are formed of ribs of plaster, and were probably filled in with stained glass: no traces of this can now be discovered."[129]

In the Alhambra, as in all other Moorish buildings, transennae, i. e. pierced stone or stucco grilles, are placed in the window openings. Against this backdrop, the question arises why, for both the Neo-Moorish constructions – the Maurischer Kiosk and the Maurische Festsaal of the Wilhelma – the transennae were not recreated but instead put in rich stained glass windows.

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125 Already, the earliest Islamic buildings of the eighth century in today's Syria and Iraq showed stained glass windows. This tradition was maintained and especially widespread in the Ottoman Empire. The coloured glass pieces were commonly not set in lead but in grilles made of stone, wood or, most of all, stucco. Cf. Bloom et al. 2009, vol. 1: 209–210.

126 Cf. Torres Balbás 1949: 201; Flood 1993: 94; Fernández-Puertas 2009b: 350.

127 Some of the fragments originate from the destroyed Palacio de Alijares (fifteenth century, Granada). Today the fragments are in the Museo de la Alhambra. Rontomé Notario et al. 2006: 157.

128 Fernández-Puertas 2009b.

129 Goury/Jones 1842: notes to pl. IV.

7.2 Carl Diebitsch's Maurischer Kiosk

Diebitsch's Maurischer Kiosk was Prussia's contribution to the world exhibition in Paris in 1867. In 1877 the small building was reconstructed with some changes under Ludwig II, King of Bavaria, in the garden of the castle Linderhof in Ettal by Georg Dollmann.[130]

For a period of six months between 1846 and 1847, Diebitsch was spending 12 hours per day in the Alhambra where he made numerous sketches and watercolours of the building,[131] parts of which he then realized in his Maurischer Kiosk. For example, the Sala de los Reyes or the Sala de las Dos Hermanas of the Alhambra show cupolas with a similar disposal of windows as in the Kiosk. However in the case of the Alhambra, the openings are always transennae. These openings filter the light but do not convey coloured light into a room.

Even though Diebitsch studied the transennae on site, as his detail sketch of a (blank) transenna of the Alhambra shows,[132] he used stained glass in the Linderhof.[133] Hubert Stier, who wrote Diebitsch's obituary, names two things, which were particularly important to the architect and thus could explain his reasoning. First, he emphasises the colour, "Die Bemalung, die Farbe, blieben ihm das erste und hauptsächlichste dekorative Wirkungsmittel." Second, he talks about the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, "dem ganzen Gebiete der mit dem Bauwesen zusammenhängenden gewerblichen Industrie, war seine Thätigkeit zugewendet. Stets festhaltend an dem arabischen Grundmotiv wusste er diese Aufgaben doch mit sinnigem Eingehen auf die Natur des Materials und die daraus erwachsende Form zu behandeln".[134]

Coloured glass windows meet the requirements of a colour effect which suffuses every element of a room. This effect in the Maurischer Kiosk left a deep impression at the world exhibition in Paris:

> Das funkelt und flimmert wie Edelstein, und da das Licht von allen vier Seiten sich durch Fenster und Thüren leise hineinstehlen kann, freilich stets durch Hindernisse von farbigem Glase, von seidenen Vorhängen oder feinen Arabesken unterbrochen, so ist ein unbestimmter Schimmer über die Fülle von Farben und Formen gegossen, welche uns von allen

130 Fehle 1987: 166. Dollmann replaced the original stained glass windows.

131 Cf. Pflugradt-Abdel Aziz 2009: 9, 12; Fehle 1987: 18.

132 Drawing in the Architekturmuseum Berlin, Inv. 41504 (URL: http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/index.php?set=1&p=79&Daten=134765).

133 Diebitsch's stained glass windows were replaced by Dollmann but are documented in a figure in the *Illustrirte Zeitung* of 27 July 1867 (nr. 1256: 69).

134 Stier 1869: 433.

> Seiten umgiebt. Auch oben, rings unter der Kuppel herum, flüstert, so zu sagen, das Licht herein und hängt sich an die tropfsteinartig gebildeten inneren Theile der Kuppel und schaukelt sich auf den zitternden Goldplatten, Glastheilen und juwelenartigen Kugeln und Gehängen des grossen Kronleuchters [...] Das morgenländische Märchen baut sich da oben sein Nest, und wir horchen mit den Augen hinauf.[135]

The "unbestimmte Schimmer" produced by the stained glass seems to respond to Diebitsch's idea of an Oriental atmosphere.

7.3 Karl Ludwig Zanth's Wilhelma

The second example, the Wilhelma, also aims at creating the same Oriental effect. Today, Karl Ludwig Zanth's construction is destroyed, for the most part, but a publication with lithographs the architect made in 1855/56 documents the original shape of the rooms and their stained glass windows.

Many architectural and decorative elements of the castle complex derive from the Islamic architecture, where again the Alhambra constitutes the main building of reference.[136] As with the Linderhof, there is no reception of the transennae of the Islamic-Spanish architecture. Instead, Zanth shows naturalistic plant motifs in an arcature (Figure 15) in the windows of the banquet hall.

Figure 15: Stuttgart Bad-Cannstatt, Wilhelma, Festsaal. In: Ludwig von Zanth, *Die Wilhelma. Maurische Villa Seiner Majestät des Königes Wilhelm von Württemberg*. Stuttgart, 1855/56: Pl. VIII.

135 Zeitschrift für praktische Baukunst 27, 1867: 337; *Illustrirte Zeitung* 27 july 1867, nr. 1256: 70.
136 von Schulz 1976: 161.

It is a rare stroke of luck that the architect spoke specifically about these stained glass windows. In his publication he describes why and how he made them:

> Der Gedanke des Königes [die Fenster] mit Glasmalereien zu schmücken, welche natürliche Blumen darstellen sollten, schien mir am passendsten durch die Annahme verwirklicht zu werden, dass der Fuss der Fensteröffnungen mit Azaleen, Camellien, Rosen und anderen gewählten Zierpflanzen besetzt sey, zwischen denen zarte Schlinggewächse emporrankten und mit ihren Blättern und Blüthenkelchen den oberen Raum ausfüllten.[137]

Zanth informs us that the king had specific ideas about how the stained glass windows should look. Zanth met the king's desire and created a glazing that did not adopt an Islamic design vocabulary but a historic ornamentation style which is well known in Western Europe. The light effect was his main interest for this hall, which should recreate "die Pracht der reichsten maurischen Bauwerke [...] Diese, auf durchsichtigem Glase ausgeführten, Malereien mildern den Glanz des Tageslichtes ohne den Anblick des Himmels ganz zu verhüllen und vermitteln einen wohlthuenden Uebergang zu den farbenschimmernden Wänden".[138] Zanth wanted subdued, coloured light, or a "Farbenschiller der gemahlten Scheiben"[139] as he named it elsewhere, for an effect of an Oriental ambiance.

The two examples of Neo-Moorish buildings, the Maurischer Kiosk, as well as the Festsaal of the Wilhelma, contain rich stained glass windows as their ornamentation elements. Both show a certain liberty in dealing with the original architecture that they copy and adapt in order to reach what was important to the architects: an Oriental atmosphere according to their own ideas.

The abandonment of a direct transfer from Spain closes this insight into the ongoing research of the project *Mudejarismo and Moorish revival in Europe*. The exchange processes between Islamic, Christian and Jewish architecture in medieval Spain – which remain present until the twenty-first century in Neo-Mudéjar architecture – as well as the mentioned transfer media and studied Neo-Moorish buildings of Spain, Germany, Switzerland, Italy and Russia, show the relevance of Islamic architecture and the complexity of cross-cultural mechanisms.

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