2010

From mosque to cathedral: the social and political significations of Mudejar architecture in late medieval Seville

Danya Alexandra Crites
University of Iowa

FROM MOSQUE TO CATHEDRAL: THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SIGNIFICATIONS OF MUDEJAR ARCHITECTURE IN LATE MEDIEVAL SEVILLE

by

Danya Alexandra Crites

An Abstract

Of a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Doctor of
Philosophy degree in Art History
in the Graduate College of
The University of Iowa

May 2010

Thesis Supervisor: Associate Professor Robert Bork

ABSTRACT

During the late Middle Ages, Iberian Christian and Jewish patrons commissioned intriguing monuments that incorporate Islamic-derived features. Determining possible reasons for the patronage of this architecture, commonly referred to as Mudejar architecture, has the potential to provide important insights into the complex, multi-cultural society that produced it, yet studies on its patronage have been limited in number and scope, often applying overarching theories to all Mudejar patronage. However, the reasons for Mudejar patronage cannot be confined to a single broad theory. Instead individual projects and patrons must be studied within their specific contexts and then compared to one another to provide a more accurate understanding of *Mudejarismo*.

This dissertation traces the development of Mudejar architecture in Seville from the time of the city's conquest by Christian forces in 1248 to the early sixteenth century, just after the expulsion of Muslims and Jews from the Kingdom of Castile, in order to demonstrate the changing nature of Mudejar patronage in the city and how it relates to the relations among Christian, Jews, and Muslims. In establishing the chronology and the patronage of Seville's Mudejar monuments through a close analysis of their formal elements, three distinct phases in their construction become apparent: 1) the approximately fifty years following the city's conquest; 2) a period between the earthquake of 1356 and the initial construction of the Gothic cathedral in the 1430's; and 3) the remainder of the fifteenth century through the first years of the sixteenth century. Prevalent features of Mudejar architecture during each of these phases are considered within the socio-political climate of the time as evidenced in primary sources. While economic, social, and demographic factors contributed to the construction of Mudejar architecture in Seville, its patronage was largely the result of the changing political agendas of the city's ruling elite that included ambitions that reached beyond the Iberian Peninsula and issues of hegemony within Castile. Thus, no general theory can

encompass all of the reasons for Mudejar patronage in late medieval Seville, which were varied and continually in flux.

Abstract Approved:_____
Thesis Supervisor

_____
Title and Department

_____
Date

FROM MOSQUE TO CATHEDRAL: THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SIGNIFICATIONS OF MUDEJAR ARCHITECTURE IN LATE MEDIEVAL SEVILLE

by

Danya Alexandra Crites

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Doctor of
Philosophy degree in Art History
in the Graduate College of
The University of Iowa

May 2010

Thesis Supervisor: Associate Professor Robert Bork

Graduate College
The University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

PH.D. THESIS

This is to certify that the Ph.D. thesis of

Danya Alexandra Crites

has been approved by the Examining Committee
for the thesis requirement for the Doctor of Philosophy
degree in Art History at the May 2010 graduation.

Thesis Committee: _____
Robert Bork, Thesis Supervisor

_____
Wallace Tomasini

_____
Barbara Burlison Mooney

_____
Brenda Longfellow

_____
Katherine Tachau

_____
D. Fairchild Ruggles

To Todd, Alexander, and Liam

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the various organizations that so generously provided the funding for this dissertation. Throughout my graduate studies, the Department of Art and Art History at the University of Iowa supported me financially through many fellowships and assistantships that gave me a wealth of experience as a scholar and a teacher. I am also grateful for the research grants that I received from the University of Iowa Student Government and Graduate Student Senate as well as the Program for Cultural Cooperation between Spain's Ministry of Culture and United States Universities.

My sincerest thanks to the many individuals, who provided intellectual support and encouragement for this project. At the Universidad de Seville, Rafael Cómez Ramos, Alfredo Morales, and Antonio Collantes de Terán Sánchez graciously answered my many questions and pointed me to a number of helpful resources. I appreciate the valuable insights of my dissertation committee, particularly Barbara Mooney and Wallace Tomasini, who have worked with me since I began my research on Seville for my Master's thesis. Dr. Tomasini has taught me a great deal about art, history, and life during our many long talks. Special thanks to Dede Ruggles for her willingness to take me on in addition to her Illinois students. Her help has been more than generous. And of course, I am forever indebted to my dissertation supervisor Dr. Robert Bork for his tireless commitment to my development as a scholar through the numerous hours he has spent advising me, editing my work, and advocating on my behalf. I have greatly benefited from Dr. Bork's outstanding mentoring and friendship, and I now have a wonderful appreciation of spires.

Finally, I must thank my family for their support without which this dissertation would not have been possible. My parents William and Ellen Reich instilled in me my love of knowledge and have helped me pursue it throughout my life. From computer

crises to childcare, they have continually come to my rescue, always with words of encouragement. Thank you to my children Alexander and Liam for allowing me to finish my dissertation through their patience and lengthy naps. I would like to thank my husband Todd most of all for being my greatest editor, champion, and friend. His belief in me even when I doubted myself means more to me than I could ever hope to express.

ABSTRACT

During the late Middle Ages, Iberian Christian and Jewish patrons commissioned intriguing monuments that incorporate Islamic-derived features. Determining possible reasons for the patronage of this architecture, commonly referred to as Mudejar architecture, has the potential to provide important insights into the complex, multi-cultural society that produced it, yet studies on its patronage have been limited in number and scope. Most of the early Spanish scholarship on Mudejar architecture focuses on formal issues and simply attributes its patronage to economic factors, an admiring fascination with the exotic, or a desire to subjugate Islamic culture. More recent scholarship has shifted to examining the motivations of patrons in specific case studies; however, many of these case studies are still framed within the overarching theory that Mudejar architecture was the result of a common architectural heritage among Christians, Jews, and Muslims. The reasons for Mudejar patronage cannot be confined to a single broad theory. Instead individual projects and patrons must be studied within their specific contexts and then compared to one another to provide a more accurate understanding of *Mudejarismo*.

This dissertation traces the development of Mudejar architecture in Seville from the time of the city's conquest by Christian forces in 1248 to the early sixteenth century, just after the expulsion of Muslims and Jews from the Kingdom of Castile, in order to demonstrate the changing nature of Mudejar patronage in the city and how it relates to the relations among Christian, Jews, and Muslims. In establishing the chronology and the patronage of Seville's Mudejar monuments through a close analysis of their formal elements, three distinct phases in their construction become apparent: 1) the approximately fifty years following the city's conquest; 2) a period between the earthquake of 1356 and the initial construction of the Gothic cathedral in the 1430's; and 3) the remainder of the fifteenth century through the first years of the sixteenth century.

Prevalent features of Mudejar architecture during each of these phases are considered within the socio-political climate of the time as evidenced in primary sources. While economic, social, and demographic factors contributed to the construction of Mudejar architecture in Seville, its patronage was largely the result of the changing political agendas of the city's ruling elite. Shortly after the city's Castilian conquest, Alfonso X favored Gothic over Mudejar features because of his goals of asserting the new Christian authority in a city still threatened by Muslim forces and creating for himself a cosmopolitan imperial image. By the mid-fourteenth century, when Christian hegemony was no longer a concern, Mudejar forms signified the absolute power desired by Pedro I and his rebellious half-brother Enrique II. The construction of Seville's enormous Gothic cathedral throughout much of the fifteenth century in addition to the patronage of the Catholic Monarchs and the rise of the Renaissance largely ended Mudejar patronage in the city with the exception of centrally-planned chapels and elaborate wooden ceilings, which by this time had become a source of local pride. Thus, no general theory can encompass all of the reasons for Mudejar patronage in late medieval Seville, which were varied and continually in flux.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

Medieval Iberian society distinguished itself from the rest of Europe in its integration of the three monotheistic religions: Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. For nearly 800 years, from the Islamic conquest of Spain in 711 to the expulsions of its Jews in 1492 and its Muslims in 1502 under the Catholic Monarchs, Isabel of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, these three religious groups coexisted in what Américo Castro first termed as the period of *convivencia*, "a living-togetherness" that, he argued, served as the basis of Spanish culture.[1] Historians since Castro have both celebrated the notion of *convivencia* as reflective of the relatively peaceful multi-cultural exchange of this period and condemned it as an overly idealistic portrayal of a society that was in reality in constant conflict, consumed by the *reconquista*, a term that implies that the Christian conquest of Islamic-ruled lands was primarily driven by the desire to reclaim the peninsula in the name of Christianity. Recent studies on medieval Iberian culture have broken down this polarity by exploring the diverse ways in which these three religious groups interacted.[2]

---

[1] *The Spaniards: An Introduction to Their History*, trans. Williard F. King and Selma Margaretten (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 584. For Castro's theories on Spanish history and identity see also *The Structure of Spanish History*, trans. Edmund L. King (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954).

[2] Debates over the use of the terms "*convivencia*" and "*reconquista*" in the scholarship on medieval Iberia are summarized in Jerrilynn Dodds, María Rosa Menocal, and Abigail Krasner Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy: Christian, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 302-309. Two of the more important critiques of *convivencia* include, Thomas Glick, "*Convivencia*: An Introductory Note," in *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*, ed. Vivian B. Mann, Thomas F. Glick, and Jerrilynn D. Dodds (New York: George Braziller and The Jewish Museum, 1992), 1-11, and Alex Novikoff, "Between Tolerance and Intolerance in Medieval Spain: An Historiographic Enigma" *Medieval Encounters* 11 (2005): 7-36. According to Glick, an informed understanding of *Convivencia* must avoid the simple dichotomy of peaceful versus violent interaction and differentiate between inflexible social institutions – religion, marriage, etc. and

The architecture of medieval Iberia embodies the complex relationships among Christian, Jews, and Muslims. Many of Spain's most spectacular monuments were built during *convivencia*, including the Great Mosque at Cordoba[3], the Alhambra, the Cathedral of Seville, and a multitude of other impressive cathedrals and palaces (Figures A1-A3). These monuments stand as conspicuous proclamations of the ideologies of the patrons who built them. Numerous studies have demonstrated the ways in which medieval patrons recognized the ability of architectural forms to carry meaning both through their inherent appearance and through their external associations.[4] In recent years, this approach has become increasingly popular for studying the adoption of techniques and forms found in Islamic Iberian monuments by both Christians and Jews in their secular and religious patronage throughout the Middle Ages.

This dissertation will focus on the branch of this type of architecture commonly referred to as Mudejar and the motivations behind its patronage. I will use the term

---

the cultural interactions essential to living together. Novikoff, in a similar manner, criticizes the search for varying degrees of tolerance and intolerance in medieval Iberian society, arguing that no single concept can express the complexities of this society. The validity of the term *reconquista* has been analyzed most notably by the two foremost Anglo historians of medieval Spain, Peter Linehan and Joseph O'Callaghan. Their studies have shown that although the specific term *reconquista* does not appear in medieval Spanish sources, the concept of reconquest was present in the Christian kingdoms to varying degrees as early as the ninth century, but it was not until the eleventh and twelfth centuries that it became a major justification for the conquest of Islamic territories, see especially Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), chapter four, and O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), chapter one.

[3] In this study, common English forms are used for foreign proper names when available, such as Cordoba instead of Córdova. Diacritics are not used in names transcribed from Arabic.

[4] Paul Crossely has analyzed the contributions of early pioneers in the study of medieval architectural semiotics in "Medieval Architecture and Meaning: The Limits of Iconography," *Burlington Magazine* 130 (1988) 116-21. Moreover, in some cases medieval commentators themselves record their interpretations of architectural forms. For example, Bishop William Durandus of Mende compared the cruciform plan of the typical Christian church to the body of Christ on the cross.

Mudejar to refer to structural typologies and ornamental features that clearly resemble those that appear in the Islamic architecture of al-Andalus, but were produced in those Spanish kingdoms that had been conquered by Christian rulers after 1085, the date of the Conquest of Toledo, the first major Islamic city to come under Christian control. Mudejar architecture became prevalent in much of Spain during the height of the *reconquista* and continued even after the expulsion of Muslims from the peninsula. The development of Mudejar architecture at a time of increasing antagonism between Christians and Muslims might at first seem paradoxical, but the reasons for Mudejar patronage by Christians and Jews are multifaceted and often transcend matters of religious dogma. The purpose of my dissertation is to provide insights into the patronage of Mudejar monuments by specifically examining the architecture of the city of Seville from the year of its Castilian conquest in 1248 to shortly after the city's Muslim population was forced to either convert or leave in 1502. Such a study reveals some of the changing dynamics across time in the relationships among Christians, Jews, and Muslims in late medieval Seville.

In order to pursue a study of Mudejar patronage, the validity of using Mudejar as an artistic category must be examined, taking into account all of its semantic nuances and defining it in a way that promotes rather than hinders the understanding of the monuments that it describes. Like the terms "*convivencia*" and "*reconquista*," the term "Mudejar" when used as an artistic descriptor has been a point of contention in the scholarship on medieval Iberia. The term is a derivative of the Arabic *mudayyan*, meaning "those permitted to remain." Mudejar first appears as a reference to Muslims who lived under Christian ruled lands in texts from the thirteenth century, but it was not

used in reference to art until the nineteenth century. In his 1859 lecture to the Real Academia de las Tres Nobles Artes de San Fernando entitled "The Style Mudejar in Architecture," José Amador de los Ríos with nationalistic fervor proclaimed, "in the grand Era of the Reconquest, the long period, difficult and glorious, in which is born, develops and comes to full flower the national character, a certain architectural lineage distinguishes itself to us among all the manifestations of Christian art, reflecting in a non-equivocal manner the intellectual state of the Spanish nation.[5]" He designated this "architectural lineage" Mudejar, declaring that "it does not have equal nor likeness in other southern nations, since they had no need of the political tolerance that gave life to the Mudejar vassals, nor of the laws that defended and protected them, nor the social alliance, that demanded and obtained their immediate participation in the exercise of the mechanical arts, which eventually came to influence the spheres of the sciences and letters."[6] Other than its supposed uniquely Spanish character, Amador de los Ríos provided few specific parameters for the Mudejar style.[7] He claimed that it was a

---

[5] "en la grande Era de la reconquista, período largo, difícil y glorioso, en que nace, se desarrolla y llega a colmada granazon el carácter nacional, ose señalaros entre todas las manifestaciones del arte cristiano cierto linaje de arquitectura, que reflejando de una manera inequívoca el estado intellectual de la grey española," José Amador de los Ríos, with afterword by Pedro de Madrazo, *El Estilo de Mudejar en arquitectura: discurso* (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel Tello, 1872; reprint, Valencia: Librerías "Paris-Valencia," 1996), 3. Although Amador de los Ríos is accredited with popularizing the use of Mudejar as an artistic style, Manuel de Assas y de Ereño was actually the first scholar to employ the term to describe architecture in a series of articles titled "Nociones fisionómicas-históricas de la arquitectura en España," *Seminario Pintoresco Español* (1857).

[6] "Un Arte que no tiene par si ni semejante en las demás naciones meridionales, como no hámenester ninguna de ellas de la política tolerante que dá vida á los vasallos mudejares de la corona de Castilla, ni de las leyes que los defienden y protegen, ni de la alianza social, que demanda y obtiene su inmediata participacion en el ejercicio de las artes mecánicas, y que lleva al fin su influencia á las esferas de las ciencias de las letras." *El estilo mudéjar en arquitectura*, 3-4.

[7] Despite Amador de Ríos' claim that no other southern "nation" was like Spain, the combination of architectural forms associated with Christian European and Islamic indigenous

distinct style, which combined features of Christian/Western and Arab/Eastern art, and that it was manufactured by Mudejars.[8] He also assigned the Mudejar style a general chronology with its first significant phase in the thirteenth century, its height lasting from the second half of the fourteenth century through the late fifteenth century, and its decline beginning with the religious intolerance of the Catholic Monarchs at the turn of the sixteenth century, though he acknowledges that Mudejar features did survive into the Renaissance period.[9]

Both Amador de los Ríos' use of the term Mudejar and his designation of it as a distinct style was first questioned by his contemporaries, and his definition of Mudejar has been continually debated ever since. Because the bibliography on the definition and credibility of Mudejar as an artistic category is extensive, I will not provide a thorough

---

traditions can also be found in many medieval monuments in southern Italy. See Jill Caskey, *Art and Patronage in the Medieval Mediterranean: Merchant Culture in the Region of Amalfi* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), for a thoughtful analysis on the Christian patronage of Islamic-derived forms in Amalfi (between Naples and Salermo). Norman Sicily, in particular, and late medieval Spain shared socio-political similarities, though, as Gonzalo Borrás Gualís has pointed out, the situations in medieval Sicily and Iberia did have significant differences, primarily the gradual assimilation by northern Iberian Christians of the Islamic culture of southern Iberia as opposed to the brief period of multi-culturalism under a foreign regime in Sicily, see "El arte Mudéjar: estado actual de la cuestión," in *Mudéjar Iberoamericano: una expression cultural de dos mundos*, ed. I. Henares Cuéllar y R. López Guzmán (Granada: Univesridad de Granada, 1992), 19.

[8] He uses the terms "Oriente" and "Occidente" and "cristiana" and "arábiga" in his references to art, *El estilo mudéjar en arquitectura,* 14. On his discussion of the role of Mudejars in Mudeajr architecture, see 18 and 30. The work of Amador de los Ríos and many other scholars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century embody the Orientalist approach so famously critiqued by Edward Said in *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978). While this study analyzes the assertion of Castilian political hegemony over al-Andalus, it is careful not portray late medieval Spain in the simple dichotomies of East vs. West, Muslim vs. Christian, etc.

[9] Ibid., 15-16, 25, note 1, and 34-35.

examination of it in its entirety.[10] Comprehensive historiographies on Mudejar architecture up through the late twentieth century have already been written by the eminent Mudejar art historians Gonzalo Borrás Gualis and Rafael López Guzmán.[11] I will instead present an overview of the historiography on the topic with a more detailed discussion of some of the most recent contributions to the debate.

Early objections to Mudejar as an artistic descriptor and style primarily concerned its inconsistencies with the meaning of the term in a historical context. By the early twentieth century, scholars recognized that Mudejar architecture was not purely the product of Mudejars, and that artisans of multiple ethnicities and confessional origins contributed to the construction of Mudejar architecture. Archeologist and historian of Hispano-Islamic architecture, Leopoldo Torres Bálbas, also pointed out that Mudejar architecture continued to be constructed after Mudejars were forced to convert, and, therefore, became known as Moriscos as opposed to Mudejars. He further suggested that the category of Mudejar be broadened to include works in other countries that were

---

[10] For the most recent comprehensive bibliographies of Mudejar art, see Ana Reyes Pacios Lozano, *Bibliografía de arquitectura y techumbres mudéjares: 1857-1991* (Teruel: Insituto de Estudios Turolenses, 1993) and *Bibliografía de arte Mudéjar, addenda, 1992-2002* (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudéjares and Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 2002).

[11] Gonzalo M. Borrás Gualís, *El arte mudéjar* (Teruel: Insituto de Estudios Turolenses, 1993) chapters one and two, and "El arte Mudéjar: estado actual de la cuestión." Rafael López Gúzman, *Arquitectura Mudéjar: Del Sicretismo Medieval a las Alternativas Hispanoamericanas* (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 2000), chapter one. Borrás Gualís also discusses more recent publications of conference and symposium proceedings in "Historiografía (1975-2005) y Prospectiva de los Estudios sobre arte Mudéjar," in *Actas X Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo. 30 años de Mudejarismo: memoria y futuro [1975-2005]* Teruel 14-16 Sept. 2005. (Teruel: Instituto de Estudios Turolenses and Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 2007), 685-693. In addition to Borrás Gualis and López Guzmán, María Elena Díez Jorge has written extensively on various methodological approaches used in the study of Mudejar art, see *El arte mudéjar: expressión estética de una convivencia* (Granada and Teruel: Universidad de Granada and Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 2001),13-68 and "Lecturas historiofraficas sobre la convivencia y el multiculturalismo en el arte Mudéjar," in *Actas X Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*, 735-746.

influenced by Spanish Mudejar art and architecture.[12] This dissatisfaction with the imprecision of the term correlates with the main critique in scholarship of much of the twentieth century that the monuments deemed as Mudejar are too heterogeneous to constitute a style. Even Amador de los Ríos conceded in a later publication of his lecture that Mudejar architecture varied from region to region,[13] but Mudejar architecture also encompasses various Christian styles, from Romanesque to Renaissance, and features developed during different Islamic periods, from Caliphal (929-1031) to Nasrid (1232-1492). It is also important to recognize that despite the implied dichotomy of the term Mudejar between "Christian" and "Islamic," Mudejar monuments include synagogues built for Jewish patrons, who adapted forms from Islamic architecture to fit their specific needs.

The desire for greater accuracy in describing and defining Mudejar monuments dominated Mudejar scholarship from the late-nineteenth through much of the twentieth centuries, causing a number of debates on how to categorize these monuments. Mudejar monuments were most commonly grouped according to the perceived ethnic and religious origins of their formal elements. Pedro de Madrazo, one of Amador de los Ríos' earliest objectors, argued that the term Mudejar should be replaced with different Islamic categories that he designated as Arab, Mauritanean (North African), and Nasrid (Granadan), while his contemporary Manuel de Assas y de Ereño suggested that the Mudejar architecture be divided chronologically according to Christian styles, such as

---

[12] *Arte almohade. Art nazarí. Arte mudéjar*, *Ars Hispaniae: Historia universal del arte hispánico*, vol. 4 (Madrid: Plus Ultra, 1949), 237-238.

[13] *El estilo mudéjar en arquitectura,* 15, note 1.

Romanesque and Gothic.[14] Both of these systems are problematic. The Islamic architecture of the peninsula is difficult to break down into completely separate categories since some of the same features and motifs that appear in caliphal structures continued to be emulated by successive regimes down through the Nasrids. Since many Mudejar monuments were closely aligned with current architectural developments in Nasrid Granada, they exhibit features from multiple Islamic periods and ethnic groups.[15] While Christian styles are more easily separated and more commonly used to more specifically describe Mudejar architecture, elements from multiple Christian styles also appear alongside Islamic-derived features in the same monument. Categorization according to Christian styles is also difficult to apply to Mudejar monuments that lack any features of these styles, such as Cordoba's synagogue and the former synagogue, now the church of Santa María la Blanca, in Toledo (Figure A4). In the 1930's, French scholar Elie Lambert divided Mudejar monuments into categories based on social rank rather than confessional origin. His "popular" Mudejar tended to be for common people and originated from local Islamic traditions, while his "court" Mudejar was patronized by royalty and the nobility and was often imported from regions in Spain still under Muslim control.[16] However, Lambert's categories are not so neatly divided. Though he

---

[14] Pedro de Madrazo, "De los estilos en las artes," *La Ilustración Española y Americana* 15 and 16 (1888), 262-263, 295-298, 315 and 330-331, and Assas y de Ereño, "Nociones fisionómicas-históricas de la arquitectura en España."

[15] For the relationship between Mudejar and Nasrid architecture see D. Fairchild Ruggles, "Representation and Identity in Medieval Spain: Beatus Manuscripts and the Mudejar Churches of Teruel," in *Languages of Power in Islamic Spain*, ed. Ross Brann (Bethesda: CDL Press, 1997), 103-106.

[16] Elie Lambert, "L'art mudéjar," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 9 (1933): 20-22 and 26-27.

considered the parish churches of Seville to be popular Mudejar, many of these churches have royal patronage and some display features without local precedent.

Lambert also felt a need to qualify Mudejar monuments according to their Christian and Islamic features. He made the somewhat vague claim that Mudejar architecture had to be a "true" synthesis of Islamic and Christian elements, and that simply Islamic-influenced Romanesque and Gothic buildings were not truly of the Mudejar style.[17] The balance between "Christian" and "Islamic" features has led to debates over how much Islamic influence a monument must have to be categorized as Mudejar. Most scholars do not consider isolated features such as polylobed or interlacing arches, or domes with intersecting ribs like those of the Great Mosque of Cordoba, that appear in a significant number of Romanesque churches to be Mudejar, despite their derivation from Islamic precedents (Figures A5 and A6). Borrás Gualis has argued that Mudejar monuments are characterized by forms in addition to an overall "system of construction," and not simply "sporadic" appearances of Islamicizing features.[18] Borrás Gualis is not the first scholar to emphasize the structural component of Mudejar architecture. He cites the earlier work of Francisco Iñiguez Almech and Fernando Chueca Goitia, who both posited that Mudejar architecture was not defined solely by its ornament as others have suggested.[19] In fact, questions of construction technique

---

[17]Ibid., 18.

[18] "Mudejar: An Alternative Architectural system in the Castilian Urban Repopulation Model," *Medieval Encounters* 12 (2006), 331.

[19] Francisco Iñiguez Almech, "Torres mudéjares aragonesas. Notas de sus estrcutras primitivas y de su evolución," *Archivo Español de Arte y Arquología* 39 (1937): 173-189, and Fernando Chueca Goitia, *La arquitectura como estructura y como decoración*, Madrid: Tercer Programa, 1969, cited in Borrás Gulís, *Arte Mudéjar*, 29-30 and 34. The early twentieth-century scholars Vicente Lampérez Romea, and Torres Balbás described Mudejar as an ornamental style,

underlie a significant controversy about categorizing a group of monuments as Mudejar. The twelfth-century brick churches in Old Castile-Leon do not have clearly Islamic-derived aesthetic features, but because they are made of brick, a common construction material in Mudejar architecture, they are often referred to as Mudejar (Figure A7). Some scholars, however, argue that these churches should be called "brick Romanesque."[20] Rather than continuing this debate, I will analyze the role of these monuments, as well as those with isolated Islamic features, in the overall development of Mudejar architecture.

More recent scholarship, which is marked by an increasing number of English-speaking scholars, has questioned not only the need to more specifically categorize Mudejar architecture, but even the utility of Mudejar as a category in general, arguing that it applies unwarranted ethnic and religious associations to the monuments it describes. Borrás Gualis attempted to detach the artistic meaning of Mudejar from its religious associations by defining it as a Spanish phenomenon. According to Borrás Gualis, "The [term] Mudejar has been converted into an artistic expression characteristically Spanish, even surpassing references of religious origin."[21] Whereas he

---

see Lampérez y Romea, *Historia de la arquitectura christiana de Española en la edad media según el estudio de los elementos y los monumentos*, 2d ed. (1st edition from 1908) (Madrid and Barcelona: Espasa-Calpe, S. A., 1930), 485-486 and Torres Balbás, *Arte almohade. Art nazarí. Arte mudéjar,* 246. Juan de Contreras suggested that Mudejar buildings generally have Christian plans with Muslim decoration and structure at times, but that Mudejar primarily consisted of Mulsim ornamental features, see *Historia del arte hispánico,* vol. 2 (Barcelona: Salvat, 1934), 441-442.

[20] Vicente Lampérez y Romea first used the category "brick Romanesque" for these churches, see *Historia de la arquitectura christiana de Española*, 380-403. These churches will be discussed in greater detail in chapter one.

[21] "El Mudejar se había convertido de una expression artística característicaments hispánica, superando incluso las referencias religiosas de origin," *Arte Mudejar*, 90.

has accepted the category of Mudejar, given its separation from the religious and ethnic connotations of the term Mudejar, other scholars are hesitant to embrace Mudejar as a category. Jerrilynn Dodds, one of the primary American scholars of medieval Iberian architecture, has extensively critiqued the classification of monuments as Mudejar. In her study of medieval Iberian synagogues, she notes how the category tends to exclude monuments of Jewish patronage, "a fact that ought to serve as a warning against the habit of establishing artistic classifications in culturally plural societies according to hegemonic categories.[22]" In a major interdisciplinary volume on medieval Castile from 2008, Dodds and her co-authors María Rosa Menocal and Abigail Krasner Balbale show ambivalence in using the term Mudejar to classify Iberian architecture. Like Borrás Gualis, they willingly employ Mudejar, detached from its ethnic and religious meanings, but only in reference to some monuments traditionally considered Mudejar.

> In this volume we demur from abandoning the word "Mudejar" altogether for the twelfth- and thirteenth-century buildings of Toledo: we use it here as a traditional term that has a strong association with the buildings of Toledo in particular. When we turn to the fourteenth-century architecture in Toledo and Seville-the synagogue of Samuel Haveli, the Alcazar of Seville, the palace of Tordesillas, and the other Nasrid and Castilian buildings to which they are intimately connected-we feel, with many of our contemporaries, disposed to abandon the term "Mudejar." Here, scholars ought probably to seek, from within the complex interlocking history of the Castilians and the Nasrids, a term apart.[23]

Dodds, Menacol, and Balbale are correct in distinguishing the cultural implications of monuments pertaining to different periods and socio-political contexts, but their more

---

[22] "Mudejar Tradition and the Synagogues of Medieval Spain: Cultural Identity and Cultural Hegemony," in *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medival Spain*, 114.

[23] Dodds, Menocal, and Krasner Balbale, 328.

limited use of the term Mudejar makes it meaning even more confusing. What is the standard for deciding what monuments should and should not be called Mudejar?

A similar reluctance to use Mudejar as a category is evident in a recent interdisciplinary collection of essays on Castilian culture, edited by Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi. In their introduction, the editors call for a definition of Mudejar that "moves beyond its necessary ties to Islam" and away from its use as "a stable stylistic designator." They propose Mudejar studies be driven by "a focus on the actual object on inquiry, rather than its supposed origins.[24]" In her essay on the Christian consumption of textiles made in Islamic al-Andalus from the same volume, María Judith Feliciano refrains from using the term Mudejar because of its "implications of conquest and submission, of power relations between the 'commissioning conqueror' and the 'servile conquered'." Even though she re-defines "Mudejarismo" as "a pan-Iberian aesthetic vocabulary," "a mediator of hostility and shared traditions," Feliciano still chooses "Andalusi" to describe the textiles discussed in her essay instead of the more polemical term Mudejar.[25]

I. G. Bango Torviso has argued that not only Mudejar but all stylistic categories hinder a clear understanding of medieval architecture because of their inability to accurately describe the formal elements of specific buildings. He provides examples of how the "theory of styles" has subsequently distorted the significance of various medieval monuments by imposing on them a certain cultural or ethnic origins, as in the case of the Mudejar style, and calls for a methodological approach to the study of art that

---

[24] Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi, introduction to *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile*, ed. Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 5.

[25] "Muslim Shrouds for Christian Kings? A Reassessment of Andalusi Textiles in Thirteenth Century Castilian Life and Ritual," in *Under the Influence*, 105-106.

moves beyond classifying it according to formal features.[26] Following Bango Torviso's lead, Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, one of the more prolific figures in contemporary scholarship on the architecture of medieval Spain, has discussed in detail the inherent problems in categorizing buildings as Mudejar. He argues that the meaning of the term varies depending on the author that uses it, and is, therefore, rendered meaningless. He further critiques its definition as a hybrid style of Christian and Islamic features. In multiple articles, Ruiz Souza warns against the sharp distinction between these features. He suggests that structures and features that contemporary scholars qualify as Islamic would not have been perceived that way by medieval Spanish viewers because many of these features, such as horseshoe arches and the centralized domed structures known as *qubbas*, were used in pre-Islamic cultures, and even those elements that can be directly connected to Islamic structures were "assimilated" over long periods of time by the Christian kingdoms of Spain, erasing their associations with Islam. In an article from 2006, he asks

> How long should it take for an assimilated element (technical, formal, decorative, symbolic) to become part of a tradition? Do we not distort reality by trying to identify the ethnic or confessional origins of any individual or architectural element? And of course, we must pose the difficult question of just how often a patron or master would have been conscious of, or concerned about, the different origins of each and every element that constituted local architectural tradition.[27]

---

[26] Isidoro G. Bango Torviso, "El arte construir en ladrillo en Castilla y León durante la Alta Edad Media, un Mudéjar inventado en el siglo XIX," in *Mudéjar iberoamericano: una expresión cultural de dos mundos*, 109-123, and "Crisis de una Historia del art medieval de partir de la teoría de los estilos. La problemática de la Alta Edad Media," *Revisión del Arte medieval en Euskal Herría. Cuad.Secc.Artes Plást,Monum* 15 (1996): 15-28.

[27] Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "Architectural Languages, Functions, and Spaces: The Crown of Castile and al-Andalus," trans. Deborah Roldán and Cynthia Robinson. *Medieval Encounters* 12 (2006): 373. This article is a shorter adaptation of his "Castilla y Al-Andalus. Arquitecturas aljamiadas y otros grados de asimilación," *Anuario del Departmento de Historía y Teoría del Arte* 16 (2004): 17-43.

In a similar vein to Rouhi and Robinson, Ruiz Souza has instead advocated for an approach to the architecture of medieval Spain that privileges the consideration of the specific spaces and functions of a building over its adherence to a particular style.

These scholars rightly assert the need to examine specific projects in determining their meaning rather than applying blanket interpretations for all monuments based on their stylistic categorization; however, despite the problems that can arise by using such a broad stylistic categories, especially the category of Mudejar, categorical terms of some kind are necessary if historians wish to describe and explain the larger patterns of historical change, rather than simply presenting collections of isolated case studies. Categories must be carefully defined and employed in a way that recognizes their shortcomings and limitations. It is further necessary to use stylistic or typological categories that would have been recognizable and meaningful to the society that produced the artworks in question.

Textual evidence indicates that the inhabitants of medieval Spain recognized a category like Mudejar. Various texts, from poems to legal contracts, dating from the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries, characterize at least some architectural forms commonly found in Mudejar architecture, such as *muquarnas* and *qubba* domes, as *"obra morisca"* (literally "Moorish work").[28] López Guzmán cites a particularly revealing document from the early sixteenth century in his defense of Mudejar as an artistic

---

[28] In addition to architecture, the adjective "Morisco" was also used to describe musical instruments and clothing associated with al-Andalus, Díez Jorge, *arte mudéjar: expressión estética de una convivencia,* 147-148. The earliest known reference to *obra Morisca* in relation to architecture appears in the *Libro del Caballero Zifar*, an epic poem composed in the first half of the fourteenth century. Ruiz Souza cites this reference as well as other appearances of *obra morisca* in medieval texts, but he implies that it cannot be compared to the modern term Mudejar because the meaning of Mudejar is too unstable, changing depending on what author uses it, "Castilla y Al-Andalus," 38. However, the similarities in the ways *obra morisca* and Mudejar are applied to architecture are too striking to simply be dismissed. *Obra morisca* may have been used in a more consistent manner than Mudejar is used today, but this hardly negates the similarities between their meanings as artistic descriptors.

category. It records the Count of Tendilla's directions for the appearance of the Renaissance sepulcher of his brother Cardinal Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, now in the cathedral of Seville. Tendilla states, "my desire is that no other work is mixed, neither something French, nor German, nor Morisca, but that everything should be Roman."[29] Granted this specific description is fairly late in date, but fourteenth- and fifteenth-century references to *obra morisca* in architecture suggests some continuity in the use of the term throughout the late Middle Ages. The medieval adjective "Morisca" may not exactly correlate with the contemporary term Mudejar, but it does indicate that medieval Spaniards did distinguish an artistic category similar to Mudejar in that it was connected to the forms of Islamic al-Andalus.

Therefore, rather than obscuring the meaning of the architecture of medieval Spain, I believe that the use of the category of Mudejar, when clearly defined, can contribute to understanding the complexities of the multicultural society that produced it. My definition of Mudejar as an artistic category consists of the following qualifying factors. 1) In terms of architecture, Mudejar encompasses both ornament, such as decorative stucco and tile, and structural typologies, such as lattice-work wooden ceilings and polygonal domes supported by squinches. 2) Mudejar features are most directly derived from sources in the Islamic art and architecture of al-Andalus. I will often refer to Mudejar features as Islamic-derived because they are most commonly associated with Islamic architecture, even though they may have pre-Islamic origins and may not have always been perceived as "Islamic" by medieval viewers. Features common in Christian and Islamic architecture throughout the peninsula, such as unornamented wooden ceilings and the use of brick, will not be described as Mudejar. 3) Mudejar applies to art and

---

[29] "mi voluntad es que no se miezcle con la otra obra ninguna cosa francesa, ni alemana, ni morisca sino que todo sea romano," J. Szmolka Clares, A. Moreno Trujillo and M. J. Osorio Pérez ed. *Epistolario del Conde de Tendilla (1504-1506)*, 504, quoted in López Guzmán, *Arquitectura Mudéjar*, 17.

architecture produced in Christian-ruled Iberia after the conquest of Toledo in 1085. Manifestations of Islamic-derived features in architecture of Christian patronage before 1085 are typically referred to as Mozarabic because of their connections to Mozarabs, Iberian Christians who lived under Islamic hegemony. As the first major Christian victory in the Reconquest, the conquest of Toledo marks a significant shift in the political status of Iberia's Christian kingdoms, and, therefore, provides a convenient point of departure for the development of Mudejar architecture. 4) Mudejar art and architecture is not defined by the ethnicity or religion of the individual, who created it. I will consider the contribution Mudejar artisans and *alarifes* (master builders) to the development of Mudejar architecture, but I will not classify monuments built by a Mudejar labor force as Mudejar, unless they have Islamic-derived features.[30] In this study I will focus on the aesthetic intent of patrons, since the labor forces employed to construct monuments are often anonymous. The study of the monuments categorized as Mudejar, based on the above parameters, reveals how medieval Iberians' perception of Islamic-derived forms was informed by multiple factors that were constantly changing.

Because of the primacy given to formal issues in much of the historiography on Mudejar architecture, relatively little attention has been given until recently to the patronage of Mudejar monuments. For much of the history of the field, Mudejar patronage was largely explained by one or a combination of three overarching theories: pragmatism, a fascination with the exotic and/or admiration of Islamic architecture, and a desire to subjugate Islamic culture. One of the most often repeated theories is that Christian patrons found Mudejar architecture attractive because of the relative cheapness and accessibility of the construction materials, namely wood, stucco, and brick, typically

---

[30] Mudejars did build in other traditions such as Gothic, see Borrás Gualis, *Arte Mudejar*, 126. I use the descriptor "Islamic-derived" to refer to features in Mudejar architecture inspired by the Islamic architecture of al-Andalus, acknowledging that some of these features did not originate in Islamic architecture

used to build it. While this theory is applicable to some cases, frugality was not a primary concern at least in the most elaborate Mudejar structures, such as Pedro I's extravagant palace at the Alcazar (palatial complex) at Seville (Figure A8). Mudejar construction was also not necessarily cheaper than "western" alternatives. Some Mudejar materials, namely wood, were not readily available in all regions of Spain and could be quite costly.[31] Another facet of the practical approach to Mudejar patronage suggests that the rise of Mudejar architecture was the result of the availability of a subjugated Muslim workforce in recently conquered areas, but this theory is also not wholly accurate since records show that Christians also contributed to the construction of Mudejar buildings and that Muslim masters were sometimes sought out and well-paid for particular projects.[32] Furthermore, existing evidence suggests that Muslim population levels at least in newly conquered areas in Castile were small.[33] Most scholars have rejected the theory that Mudejar architecture was seen as exotic.[34] Some have suggested just the opposite - that the patronage of Mudejar architecture was due to Christians' prolonged exposure to and subsequent familiarity with the Islamic structures they appropriated.[35] Admiration is still often cited as a reason for Mudejar patronage, and

---

[31] Borrás Gualis, *Arte Mudéjar*, 100-108, Díez Jorge, *arte mudéjar: expressión estética de una convivencia*, 172-173.

[32] Borrás Gualis, *Arte Mudéjar*, 123, and Díez Jorge, *arte mudéjar: expressión estética de una convivencia*, 171.

[33] Borrás Gualis, *Arte Mudéjar*, 127. In contrast to Castile, many cities in the kingdom of Aragon had fairly large Mudejar populations, see Esteban Sarasas Sánchez, "Los Mudéjares Aragoneses en la Edad Media," in *Los Mudéjares in Aragón*, ed. Gonzalo M. Borás Gaulis. (Saragossa: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada de Aragón, 2003), 13-69, and Ruggles, "Representation and Identity in Medieval Spain," 96-98. For more information on Aragonese masters, see Borrás Gualis, *Arte Mudejar*, 127-137, and "La Arquitectura Mudéjar," in *Los Mudéjares in Aragón*, 89-96.

[34] Teresa Pérez Higuera is one of the few scholars to have still used the "exotic theory" relatively recently, see "El Mudéjar: un opción artística en la Corte de Castilla y León," *Historia del Arte Castilla y León* 4 (1996): 132.

[35] Borrás Gaulis, *Arte Mudejar*, 95-97.

this argument is supported by various texts of Christian authorship that praise Islamic monuments.[36] But to assume that Mudejar architecture was only commissioned because it was viewed as aesthetically pleasing is rather superficial and denies the ability of architectural forms to carry symbolic meaning. The explanation that Mudejar architecture represents the desire of Christian patrons to appropriate Islamic forms as acts of power has been vehemently challenged in contemporary scholarship, mainly because of the argument that Mudejar forms were not viewed by medieval Iberians as Islamic.[37]

As discussed above, much of the current scholarship on Mudejar architecture has shifted to examining the motivations of patrons in specific case studies that integrate methodological approaches from a variety of disciplines; however, many of these case studies are still confined within an overarching theory – the theory that Mudejar architecture was the result of a common architectural heritage among Christians, Jews, and Muslims. But the assertion that medieval patrons viewed Mudejar forms as Iberian rather than Islamic, begs the question posed by Ruiz Souza, "How long should it take for an assimilated element to become part of a tradition?" When did Islamic forms become Iberian, and once they became Iberian, did they ever retain any association with Islam? D. Fairchild Ruggles has suggested that the reception of Islamic art in Christian Spain changed during the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries with the rise of Christian

---

[36] Alfonso X praised the minaret of the Great Mosque of Seville in the *Primera crónica general de España*, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1955) 2: 768-769. Though as I will argue in chapter three, his praise did not solely stem from pure admiration, but it was also intended to accentuate the symbolic power of its appropriation by Christian forces. Other documents record the admiration of Aragonese monarchs of Taifa palaces, Borrás Gualis, *Arte Mudejar*, 112. A Number of texts by northern Europeans also praise Islamic and Mudejar palaces, see Pérez Higeura, *Mudejarismo en la baja edad media* (Madrid: La Muralla, 1987), 14, and Jerónimo Münzer, *Viaje por España y Portugal, 1494-1495*. prologue by Manuel Gómez-Moreno and trans. José López Toro. (Madrid: Colección Almenara, 1951), 36-39 and 121-122.

[37] One exception is Díez Jorge's argument that the churches of Granada were built in the Mudejar tradition in order to encourage Mudejars to come to churches, which were aesthetically familiar to them, *arte mudéjar: expressión estética de una convivencia*, 307-309.

hegemony on the peninsula as Islam increasingly became less of a threat and Christians began to inhabit Islamic built environments. She convincingly presents the late thirteenth and fourteenth-century Mudejar churches of Teruel in Aragon and Pedro I's Mudejar palace in Seville as examples where patrons chose Mudejar over Gothic structures because they identified themselves with the local Mudejar tradition as opposed to the French Gothic style.[38] Ruggles' work echoes that of other scholars, such as Dodds, who have argued that Christian Spanish patrons sometimes associated the art of al-Andalus with Islam when threatened by Islam politically. The work of these scholars primarily concerns art of the ninth and tenth centuries when the majority of the peninsula was under Islamic rule, but David Raizman and M. Pilar Mogollón Cano-Cortés have made this argument regarding the political climates of the cities of Toledo and Badajoz following their Christian conquests in the late eleventh and early thirteenth centuries respectively.[39] Moreover, the use of the descriptor "*obra Morisca*," discussed above indicates that some Islamic-derived architectural features continued to be connected to Islamic origins to some degree throughout the Middle Ages. Thus, no overarching theory for the patronage of Mudejar architecture is adequate. Specific architectural projects and

---

[38] "Representation and Identity in Medieval Spain," 96-106, and "The Alcazar of Seville and Mudejar Architecture," *Gesta* 43 (2004), 96-97. Pérez Higuera also thinks that Mudejar "responded" to the needs of Spaniards to differentiate themselves from Europe, *Mudejarismo en la Baja Edad Media*, 7 and 132, and "El Mudéjar: un opción artística," 10.

[39] O.K. Werkmeister, "Islamiche Formen en spanischen Miniaturen des 10 Jarhunderts und das Problem der mozarabischen Buchmalerei," *Settimane de Studi del Centro Italiano de Studi sull' Alto Medioevo* 12 (1965): 933-967, (Werkmeister has since pointed out that this interpretation does not hold true for all Mozarabic art, see "Art of the Frontier: Mozarabic Monasticism," in *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200*, ed. Jerrilynn Dodds, Charles Little, Serafin Moralejo, and John Williams (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), 121-132; Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain* (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990); chapter three, "Islam, Christianity, and the Problem of Religious Art," in *The Art of Medieval Spain*, 27-37; David Raizman, "The church of Santa Cruz and the Beginning of Mudejar Architecture in Toledo," *Gesta* 38 (1999): 138; and M. Pilar Mogollón Cano-Cortés "Manifestations of Power and Visual Culture: Some examples in Extremaduran Mudejar Architecture," *Medieval Encounters* 12 (2006): 343-346.

their patronage need to be examined in their local contexts, and the patterns of relationship between them need to be taken into account, so that a larger picture of the "Mudejar" architectural phenomenon can emerge. This dissertation will examine specific projects and patrons in late medieval Seville.

In turning from addressing the problems surrounding the definition of Mudejar as an artistic category to examining issues of patronage in the study of Seville's Mudejar architecture, it is natural to begin with a brief overview of the city's monuments and historical significance. Seville has some of the most celebrated medieval monuments in Spain. Its Alcazar was first built during the Caliphal period and continued to be enlarged and remodeled under successive Muslim and Christian rulers. Its most famous addition is Pedro I's lavish Mudejar palace, constructed in the 1360's (Figure A8). Seville's Gothic cathedral, begun in the fifteenth century, is the largest medieval cathedral in the world in terms of area and volume (Figure A3). In addition to its size, the cathedral is also notable because it retains the courtyard and minaret of the congregational mosque that it replaced, which was built under the powerful Almohad Dynasty, a Muslim Berber tribe from North Africa who ruled al-Andalus and the Maghreb for much of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth century (Figures A9 and A10). The minaret, now known as the Giralda, still serves as the main emblem of Seville. Several other palaces and a large number of parish and monastic churches also survive from the medieval city.

Seville provides an interesting case study, not only because of its intriguing monuments, but also because of its long history as a center of power, and because of its relatively rapid transformation from a Muslim stronghold to Spain's most important city during the Spanish Golden Age. It was a significant city since Roman times, and also served as the capital for various Islamic regimes, most importantly the Almohad Empire (1147-1248). Seville continued to serve as the capital of Andalusia after the Christians, led by Fernando III, king of León-Castile, seized it in 1248. It was the favored residence of Fernando's son Alfonso X, "the Wise" and the later monarch Pedro I, "the Cruel."

Throughout its history, Seville benefited financially from its location on the Guadalquivir River, the only navigable river in Spain. The city's economy was particularly prosperous after the Catholic Monarchs, Isabel of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, who ruled from 1474-1516, made Seville the major point of contact between Spain and the New World.

Despite Seville's artistic and historical significance, to date, the scholarship specific to its Mudejar architecture has been limited, particularly in regards to its Mudejar churches. Furthermore, most studies on Sevillian Mudejar architecture offer little insight into why various features were chosen for these monuments. One reason for the dearth of scholarship on Seville's churches is their pronounced Gothic character in comparison to many of Spain's other major medieval centers. Cities such as Toledo, Cordoba, Saragossa and Teruel retain a greater sense of their Islamic heritage in their religious monuments, and, therefore, have been more attractive subjects to Mudejar scholars.[40] Most of Seville's medieval parish and monastic churches are dominated by Gothic features, with Mudejar elements relegated to towers, chapels, and decorative accents (Figure A11). The city's cathedral is entirely Gothic in style, except for the above-mentioned Almohad survivals. However, the Gothic character of the city's religious architecture does not diminish the importance of its Mudejar elements. On the contrary, it makes Seville as an architectural case study even more intriguing since its Mudejar churches differ from those of other cities.

The first work to provide a detailed discussion of Seville's Mudejar architecture was written by José Gestoso y Pérez. In his three volume series, *Sevilla Monumental y Artística*, published 1889-1892, he devoted much of the first two volumes and the beginning of the third to the city's medieval architecture, including its Mudejar parish

---

[40] The parish and monastic churches of Cordoba are also largely Gothic, but unlike Seville's cathedral, Cordoba's cathedral largely consists of the mosque in which it was founded.

churches and Alcazar.[41] Gestoso also wrote several shorter works concerning Seville's Mudejar monuments.[42] Though much of his discussion of these monuments is basically descriptive, his early descriptions provide valuable information for parts of these monuments that have since been altered or lost. Gestoso's theories on the dates and origins of Seville's Mudejar churches have been less helpful since many of them have proved inaccurate.

The next major publication on the topic did not appear until 1932. *Arquitectura Mudéjar Sevillana de los Siglos XIII, XIV, y XV* by Diego Angulo Iñiguez, a Gothic specialist, remains the only comprehensive study solely devoted to the Mudejar churches of Seville and its surrounding areas.[43] Angulo's study is essentially a formal analysis of Seville's churches. Though he deals little with why these churches were built in the Mudejar style, his study is valuable because of his careful research and categorization of these monuments according to their formal traits. His categorization provides a basic chronological framework for Seville's churches. Angulo's explanation for the patronage

---

[41] José Gestoso y Pérez, *Sevilla monumental y artística: historia y descripción de todos los edificios notables, religiosos y civiles, que existen actualmente en esta ciudad y noticia de las preciosidades artísticas y arqueológicas que en ellos se conservan*. 3 vols. (Sevilla: J. G. Hispal, 1889-1892). Earlier in the nineteenth-century, Félix González de Leon wrote basic histories and descriptions of Seville's religious and palatial architecture in his *Noticia artistica, historica y curiosa de todos los edificios publicos, sagrados y profanos de esta muy noble, muy leal, muy heroica e invicta ciudad de Sevilla, y de muchas casas particulares, con todo lo que les sirve de adorno artistico, antiguedades, inscripciones y curiosidades que contienen*. 2 vols. (Seville: Imprenta de J. Hidalgo, 1844; reprint, Sevilla: Gráficas del Sur, 1973), but unlike Gestoso, he did not organize the city's monuments according to designated styles.

[42] His shorter studies include *Guia artística de Sevilla: historia y descripcion de sus principales monumentos religiosos y civiles y noticia de las preciosidades artístico-arqueológicas que en ellos se conservan de arquitectura, escultura, pintura, grabado, orfebrería, cerámica, etc., etc.* (Sevilla: Establecimiento tipográfico de El Órden, 1884), *Historia de los barros vidriados sevillanos desde su orígenes de nuestros días* (Sevilla: Typografía La Andalucía Moderna, 1903), and *Guia del Alcazar de Sevilla: su historia y descripción* (Sevilla: Escuela Tipgráfica Salsiana, 1899).

[43] *Arquitectura Mudéjar Sevillana de los Siglos XII, XIV y XV* (Sevilla: Imprenta Gráficas Marinas, 1932; reprint, Sevilla: Ayuntamiento, 1983). Angulo's study was first delivered as a lecture of the same title at the University of Seville.

of Seville's Mudejar churches is more problematic. According to Angulo, Sevillian Mudejar architecture "is the son of two styles: the Gothic, imported by the Castilians, and the Almohad [a more austere interpretation by the Almohads of earlier Islamic architecture of al-Andalus and the Maghreb], still vigorous among the conquered people at the time of the Conquest."[44] He rather simplistically relegated the formation of Mudejar architecture in Seville to the survival of local construction practices carried about by Mudejar masters, though he did admit the Castilians may have also brought Mudejar traditions from Toledo to Seville.[45] Angulo subsequently strictly viewed the churches' Gothic features as the art of the "conquerors" and their Mudejar features as the art of the "conquered," describing their combination in churches in bellicose terms. This is most apparent in his explanation of the predominance of Gothic vaulting in the sanctuaries of Seville's churches. He stated that "in the presbytery, the fight between the Gothic style and the Morisco was most intense yet. It was the most sacred part of the church and there the conquerors made their maximum sacrifices for making their art triumph."[46] While I will argue that in the years following Seville's conquest, the city's Castilian residents did associate Mudejar forms with the Almohad architecture of the city to an extant, Angulo's placement of Gothic and Mudejar elements in direct opposition to one another creates a distorted image of Mudejar patronage.

Two more studies were done in the 1930's on the Seville's medieval churches. In 1932, Elie Lambert wrote a brief article of Seville's Gothic Mudejar architecture after the reconquest, which examines some of the stylistic origins of the Gothic features of the

---

[44] "hijo de dos estilos:el gótico, importado por los castellanos, y el almohade, vigoroso todavía entre los vencidos al tiempo de la Conquista," Ibid., 6-7.

[45] Ibid., 5.

[46] "en el presbiterio, la lucha entre el estilo gótico y el morisco fué más intense todavía. Era la parte más sagrada y allí hicieron los conquistadors sus máximos sacrificios para hacer triunfar su arte," Ibid., 9.

city's parish churches and makes important formal connections between them and the Cistercian-modeled churches of Burgos.[47] José Hernández Díaz and Antonio Sancho Corbacho wrote a study to document the churches that were severely damaged in 1936 as a result of the Spanish Civil War.[48] Their study relies heavily on Angulo, but it does provide some additional formal observations of these churches that further contribute to the establishment of their chronology.

Since these studies, scholarship on Seville's Mudejar architecture has consisted almost exclusively of brief overviews in articles and general surveys and monographs on individual monuments.[49] Most of these studies are also largely formal in their methodology and seldom address patronage in any detail. In their surveys of Mudejar architecture, Bórras Gualis and López Guzmán provide two of the most recent basic synopses of Seville's Mudejar monuments, summarizing the arguments of earlier scholars.[50] Well-known Mudejar scholars Basilio Pavón Maldonado and Alfredo J.

---

[47] "L'art Gothique a Séville Aprés La Reconoquête," *Revue Archéologique* 36 (1932): 155-165. This article is an elboration of his cursory comments on Seville's churches in *L'Art Gothique en Espagne aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Paris : Henri Laurens, 1931), 283.

[48] José Hernández Díaz and Antonio Sancho Corbacho, *Estudio de los Edificios Religiosos y Objetos de Culto de la Ciudad de Sevilla Saqueados y Destruídos por los Marxistas* (Sevilla: Imprenta de la Garidia, 1936).

[49] Exceptions include Guillermo Duclos Bautista, *Carpintería de lo Blanco en la Arquitectura Religiosa de Sevilla* (Sevilla: EXCMA Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1992), a thorough examination of the design and construction of wooden ceilings in Seville's churches, and Rafael Cómez Ramos, *Arquitectura alfonsí*. Publicaciones de la Excma. Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, Sección Arte, ser. 1, 2 (Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1974), which will be discussed in greater detail below. One more exception is Guadalupe Avílez Moreno, "El Arte Mudéjar en Sevilla y su Influencia en la Nueva España: Arquiectua Religiosa Siglos XIII-XVI" (Ph.D. diss., Universidad de Sevilla, 1980). Avílez Moreno's study categorizes Seville's Mudejar churches according to their formal features and traces these features in the architecture of the Americas. Her discussion of Seville's churches essentially repeats the observations of earlier scholars with the addition of a survey of the available information on Seville's Mudejar masters and artisans. Her comments on patronage are brief. She explains Gothic forms as symbols of triumph and attributes Mudejar features to inexpensive materials and Mudejar labor, 70-72.

[50] *Arte Mudéjar*, and *Arquitectura Mudéjar: Del Sincretismo Medieval a las Alternativas Hispanoamericanas*.

Morales, who specializes in Sevillian medieval architecture, have also written relatively recent brief surveys of the Mudejar architecture of Seville.[51] For the most part, they both posit the traditional general reasons for Mudejar patronage in Seville – a combination of the employment of local Mudejar labor, the low cost of Mudejar construction materials, and an admiration of Islamic architecture, with a primacy placed on the gradual acculteration of Islamic-derived forms. Pavón Maldonado, however, is careful to acknowledge the limited Mudejar population in Seville after its Castilian conquest in his discussion of Mudejar labor. He suggests that Christian patrons selected especially skilled Mudejar masters rather than simply making use of a large Mudejar workforce.[52] Morales' and Pavón Maldonado's reasons for Mudejar patronage have some validity, but they are not sufficient. These two scholars have overlooked important political factors that influenced Mudejar patronage in Seville.

There are a large number of monographs on specific Sevillian churches and monastic complexes, most of which only record detailed descriptions and histories of their respective monuments, though there are a few exceptions that examine issues of patronage.[53] Rafael Sánchez Saus has exetensively studied Sevillian funerary chapels, suggesting possible reasons for the increase in funerary foundations in the late Middle Ages.[54] Both J. Martínez de Aguirre and José María Medianero Hernández argue for the

---

[51] Basilio Pavón Maldonado, "Fronteras artisticas en la Sevilla Arabe-Mudejar," *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid* (1999): 107-143, and Alfredo J. Morales, "Los Inicios de la arquitectura mudéjar en Sevilla," in *Metrópolis Totius Hispaniae. 750 aniversario de la incoproación de Sevilla a la Corona Castellana*. Alcazar de Sevilla, 23 de noviembre 1998 a 3 de enero 1999. ed. Alfredo J. Morales (Seville: Ayuntamiento, 1998), 91-106.

[52] "Fronteras artisticas en la Sevilla Arabe-Mudejar," 125.

[53] See bibliography.

[54] "Aspectos de la Religiosidad Urbana Bajomedieval: Las Fundaciones Funerarias de la Aristocracia Sevillana," in *Actas del IV Coloquio Internacional de Historia Medieval Andaluza: Las Ciudades Andaluzas (Siglos XIII-XVI)* (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 1991), 299-311.

nobility's emulation of royal patronage in their articles on specific monastic monuments.[55] Although not devoted to Seville's Mudejar architecture, Heather Ecker's work on the neighborhood mosques of Seville provides important information on the site selection of the city's Mudejar parish churches and general insights into the city's perception of its Islamic heritage throughout the medieval period.[56]

Rafael Cómez Ramos, another contemporary expert on Sevillian medieval architecture, has made important contributions to the scholarship on Seville's Mudejar architecture with a focus on the thirteenth century, including several books on the art and architecture patronized by Alfonso X and Pedro I, a monograph of the church of Santa Marina, and many articles, one of which is the only detailed study of the medieval structure of the church of Santa Cruz, one of Seville's former synagogues.[57] Cómez not

---

[55] J. Martínez de Aguirre "El refectorio de San Augustín y la asimilación del gótico en Sevilla," *Archivo Hispalense* 75 (1992): 109-129, and José María Medianero Hernández "Las Pinturas Gótico-Mudéjares de La Capilla de La Quinta Angustia (Sevilla)," *Laboratorio de Arte* 8 (1995): 25-50.

[56] Ecker's published studies on the neighborhood mosques of Seville include "The conversion of Mosques in to Synagogues: The Case of the Mezquita de la Juderia," *Gesta* 36 (1997): 190-207; " 'Arab Stones,' Rodrigo Caro's Translations of Arabic Inscriptions in Seville (1634), Revisted," *Al-Qantara* 23 (2002): 394-395; and "How to Administer a Conquered City in al-Andalus," In *Under the Influence,* 45-65, all of which come out of her dissertation "From Masjid to Casa-Mezquita: Neighborhood Mosques in Seville After the Castilian Conquest (1248-1634)." Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, Trinity College, Oxford, 2000.

[57] Cómez works on Seville include: *Arquitectura alfonsí* (Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1974); "La estrella de Solomón en la Iglesia de San Isidoro de Sevilla," *Archivo Hispalense* 58 (1975): 81-85; "El Program Iconográfico de la Portada de la Iglesia de Santa Marína de Sevilla," *Archivo Hispalense*. 186 (1978): 141-149; *Las empresas artísticas de Alfonso X el Sabio* (Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1979); "La portada de la iglesia de Santa Lucía en Sevilla, iconografía y cronología." *Laboratorio de Arte* 3 (1990): 33-44; *Imagen y simbolo en la edad media andaluza* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1990); "Das problem der Sevillaner Sakralarchitektur vor dem Hintergrund der Reconquista." *Kritische Berichte: Mitteilungsorgan des Ulmer Vereins Verband für Kunst- und Kulturwissenschaften* 20 (1992): 7-15; "La Antigua sinagoga del Barrio de Santa Cruz en Sevilla," *Madrider Mitteilungen* 33 (1992): 184-195; *La Iglesia de Santa Marina de Sevilla*. (Sevilla: Diputación de Sevilla, 1993); "Fragmentos de una mezquita sevillana: la aljama de Ibn Adabbas," *Laboratorio de Arte* 7 (1994): 11-23; *EL Alcazar del rey don Pedro* (Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1996); "El Alcazar de Sevilla en dos ejemplos de dominación cultural: Alfonso X el Sabio y Pedro I el Cruel," in *Spanien und der Orient im frühen und hohen Mittelalter; Kolloqium Berlin 1991* (Main am Rhein: P. von Zabern, 1996), 157-164; "La Introduccion de la Arquitectura Gotica en Sevilla

only analyzes the formal elements of Seville's monuments, but he also examines their symbolic significance. He sees Seville's earliest churches as more Gothic than Mudejar because of their predominantly Gothic features. In his first study of Seville's thirteenth-century churches, he calls them "Alfonsine" in place of Mudejar because they were either directly commissioned by or constructed during or shortly after the reign of Alfonso X. Cómez connects the Gothic and fortified appearance of these churches to concerns over Christian hegemony. He has also pointed out Alfonso X's emulation of French courtly models in some of his artistic patronage in and outside of Seville.

Unlike the case with most of Seville's parish and monastic churches, there is a substantial body of scholarship on the city's Alcazar and cathedral, two monuments intrinsically connected to the patronage of Seville's churches. Much recent work has been done on Pedro I's patronage of the Alcazar in particular. These important studies have refuted the myth of Pedro's supposed obsession with Islamic culture, and have instead examined his political motivations in commissioning his palace.[58] Studies on the cathedral have focused on its chronology and aspects of its construction as well as the

---

en el Siglo XIII." in *Metropolis Totius Hispaniae. 750 Aniversario de la Incorporacion de Sevilla a la Corona Castellana* (Sevilla, Real Alcazar, 1998), 107-116; "Nacionalismo e historiografía; el autor de las trazas de la catedral de sevilla" in *Gotische Architektur in Spanien: Akten des Kolloquiums der Carl Justi-Vereinigung und des Kunstgeschichtichen Seminars der Universität Göttingen* (Frankfurt am Main and Madrid: Vervuet, 1999), 335-344; "Arte mudéjar sevillano: la arquitectura en tiempos de Pedro I," in *La herencia de al-Andalus*, ed. F. Roldan Castro (Sevilla: Fundación el Monte, 2007), 101-118.

[58] See Cómez, *El Alcazar del rey don Pedro*; Ruiz Souza, "Castilla y Al-Andalus," 27, and "El Palacio de Comares de la Alhambra," *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* 40 (2004): 84-85; Antonio Almargo Gorbea, "El Alcazar de Sevilla en el siglo XIV," in *Ibn Jaldún: el Mediterráneo en el siglo XIV: auge y declive de los imperios*. Catalog of an exhibition held in the Real Alcazar de Sevilla, May-Sept. 2006, ed. María Jesús Viguera and Inmaculada Cortés Martínez. (Sevilla: Fundación El Legado Andalusí; Fundación José Manuel Lara, 2006), 398-403; and Ruggles, "The Alcazar of Seville and Mudejar Architecture," *Gesta* 43 (2004): 87-98.

identities and origins of it master masons.[59] There has also been speculation on which archbishops and members of the cathedral chapter were responsible for initiating the cathedral project and selecting aspects of its design at various phases of its construction. However, there is little scholarly discussion as to why Gothic features were favored over Mudejar at the cathedral.[60] Most scholarship has assumed that the Gothic style was the automatic choice for medieval Spanish cathedrals and that local tradition contributed little to Seville's cathedral, though Amity Law has emphasized the role of local masters and artisans in its construction.[61]

I will add to the current scholarship a comprehensive study on the patronage of Seville's Mudejar architecture from the second half of the thirteenth through the early sixteenth centuries in order to show how the perception and reception of Mudejar forms varied depending on the interplay of economic, demographic, social, and political factors in a given period. Such an approach to this topic is essential for understanding the shifting social dynamics among Christian, Jews, and Muslims in late medieval Seville. Since this study encompasses such a large span of time, it will focus on the evolution of the city's Mudejar architecture. It is not intended to provide a detailed analysis of all of Seville's medieval Mudejar architecture, though it will thoroughly examine certain monuments and motifs with important chronological or symbolic implications. Instead, my dissertation will offer some possible explanations for when, where, and why the

---

[59] Teodoro Falcón Márquez, *La Catedral de Sevilla: Estudio Arquitectónia* (Sevilla: Excma. Diputación Provincial, 1980); Alfonso Jiménez Martín and Isabel Pérez Peñaranda, *Cartografia de la Montaña Hueca* (Sevilla: Ediciones de Cabildo Metropolitano de la Catedral de Sevilla, 1997); and Alfonso Jiménez Martín, ed. *La catedral gótica de Sevilla: fundación y fábrica de la obra nueva* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, Vicerrectorado de Investigación, 2006).

[60] One exception is Antonio Luis Ampliato Briones, "Una aproximación hermenéutica al espacio catedralicio sevillano," in *La Catedral Gótica de Sevilla*, 383-384.

[61] Amity Nichols Law, "Generating Identity Through Plan and Architecture: Barcelona Cathedral, Gothic Drawing, and the Crown of Aragon," (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2007).

Mudejar style was chosen for both sacred and secular buildings, and how the choice of this style reflects the fluctuating relationships among Christians, Jews, and Muslims in Seville during the late Middle Ages. Seville's Mudejar churches will feature prominently in my dissertation because they provide the largest sample of Mudejar monuments in the city throughout the medieval period. Their function as religious and social centers further makes them more representative of Sevillian society as a whole than palatial architecture. That being said, I will also examine various projects at the Alcazar because of their relationship to the patronage of the city's churches. In several cases the Alcazar and the city's churches shared the same royal or noble patrons. Projects at the Alcazar also established stylistic precedents for Seville's churches. Although I will not classify the cathedral as Mudejar, I will devote significant consideration to its patronage as well due to its impact on the city's Mudejar architecture.

Seville's monuments themselves provide the main body of evidence for this study, though a variety of other primary sources, both material and textual, are also employed. I examine specific stylistic and structural features of the city's architecture in detail in order to more firmly establish their chronology; however, this study is not an archeological survey. Archeological excavations have been carried out at several of Seville's Mudejar monuments, and their published findings are incorporated into my research. In addition to Seville's medieval art and architecture, I discuss for comparative reasons relevant works produced in other important medieval centers, such as Burgos, Toledo, Cordoba, and Granada.

I also draw from a diverse collection of primary documents. Unfortunately, most of the archives of Seville's parish churches were destroyed in the Spanish Civil War, but significant documents concerning the medieval fabric and patronage of the churches of San Andrés, San Pedro, and San Juan de la Palma still remain intact and have even been

partially published.[62] The archives of Seville's monasteries and convents have only fared slightly better.[63] The cathedral maintains an extensive collection of medieval documents, which has been meticulously examined by Alfonso Jiménez Martín, and Seville's municipal archive has an important collection of medieval charters, privileges, and ordinances, including a set of building codes likely established in the thirteenth century.[64] Because of the dearth of documents specifically concerning Seville's medieval architecture, this study relies heavily on early modern histories of Seville and medieval histories of Spain in general as well as royal chronicles, literary works, and legal codes, keeping in mind the biases of these sources.[65]

---

[62] General descriptions of all of the city's parish archives are published in Francisco Morales Padrón, *Los Archivos parroquiales de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Real Academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras, 1982). Specific documents are partially or fully transcribed in María Teresa Dabrio González, *Estudio historico-artístico de la Parroquia de San Pedro* (Sevilla: Excma. Diputación Provincil, 1975); Ana Marín Fidalgo, *La Iglesia Parroquial de San Andrés de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Guadalquivir Ediciones, 2007); and Imculada Ríos Collantes de Terrán and Antonio Sánchez de Mora, "El Mudéjar in la Iglesia Parroquial de San Juan de la Bautista, Vulgo de la Palma; A Propósito de un Documento," *Laboratorio de Arte* 11 (1998): 405-419.

[63] The convent of San Clemente (founded thirteenth century) has a relatively extensive medieval archive, which has been catalogued and partially published. See Mercedes Borrero, *El Real Monasterio de San Clement: un monasterio Cisterciense en la Sevilla medieval* (Sevilla: Ayuntamiento, 1992) and *El Archivo del Monasterio de San Clemente de Sevilla: catálogo de documentos* (1186-1525) (Sevilla: Comisaría de la Ciudad de Sevilla, 1992).

[64] For the cathedral's medieval documents, see *Cartografia de la Montaña Hueca* and "Las Fechas de las Formas: Selección crítica de Fuentes documentales para la cronología del edificio medieval," in *La catedral gótica de Sevilla*, 17-113. Seville's medieval building codes are recorded in a manuscript known as the *Libro del Peso de los alarifes*, Archivo Municipal, carpeto 15, doc. 15, no. 5. Parts of this fifteenth-century manuscript, probably copied from a thirteenth-century original have been published and/or discussed in Andres Grande ed., *Recopitulacion de las Ordananzas de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla* (Sevilla, 1632; reprint eds., Victor Peréz Escolano y Fernando Villanueva Sandino, Sevilla: Gráficas del Sur, 1975), folios 141-146; Cómez, "El Libro del Peso de los Alarifes," in *Actas del I Simposio Internacional del Mudejarismo* (Teruel: Diputación Teruel, 1981), 255-267 and *Arquitectura Alfonsí*, 69-78. In addition to these documents, Seville's rural repartimiento (distribution of lands) from the thirteenth century has been published by Julio Gonzalez, *Repartimineto de Sevilla: Estudio y edición preparada*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas y Escula de Estudios Medievales, 1951). The *Libro del Peso*, *Repartimiento* and other documents from the municipal archive are further analyzed in Antonio Sanchez Collantes de Terán, *Sevilla en la Baja Edad Media. La Ciudad y sus Hombres* (Sevilla: Ayuntamiento, 1979).

[65] See bibliography.

The chapters of this study are primarily divided according to chronological periods with some overlap among the first three chapters. Chapters one and two provide a historical and architectural backdrop for the formation of Seville's Mudejar architecture. Chapter one, titled "Islamic-derived Forms in Christian Architecture before 1248: Divergent Forms, Divergent Meanings," briefly surveys the early assimilation of forms found in the Islamic monuments of al-Andalus by Christian patrons. The purpose of this chapter is not to explain every appearance of an Islamic-derived feature in a Christian monument before the mid thirteenth century, but rather to demonstrate that these forms were adopted in a variety of contexts for diverse reasons, indicating that no single view of Islamic-derived features can be automatically assumed of patrons in thirteenth-century Seville, and to identify what Islamic-derived forms would have been familiar to Castilian settlers in Seville. Since this chapter discusses so many different examples across a large span of time, it also grapples with the problems of categorization as discussed above. The chapter begins with a discussion of churches from the ninth and tenth centuries, labeled Mozarabic after the Christians that had been living under Islamic rule, and ends with Mudejar monuments in Toledo and Burgos constructed shortly before the conquest of Seville. Comparisons between the monuments of Toledo and those of Burgos reveal the importance of the political goals of their respective patrons in the aesthetic outcomes of their buildings. The goals of Burgos' patrons also played a significant in role in the transmission of the forms of the city's church architecture to Seville, a subject that will be explored in detail in chapter three.

Chapter two, "Seville Before and After the Reconquest: the Formation of the Christian City," compliments chapter one by providing a local context for the development of Seville's earliest Mudejar churches. It traces Seville's formation from its Roman origins through the organization of its parishes and the re-distribution of its properties under Fernando III and his son Alfonso X in the years directly following the Castilian conquest in order to explore how the city's Castilian conquerors manipulated

the Islamic city to suit their needs. I argue that they largely maintained the urban fabric of the Islamic city for mainly practical reasons, but in some cases, such as the preservation of the Alcazar and the city's two major mosques, connotations of conquest also played a role. Seville's early modern historians further claim that the city's cathedral and several of its parish churches, which were founded over mosques, were appropriated out of a desire to re-conquer ancient Visigothic churches, but a close examination of thirteenth-century evidence indicates that Seville's new conquerors were not concerned with supposed Visigothic origins of specific churches.

Chapter three, "The Beginning of Mudejar Architecture in Seville: Christian Hegemony and Imperial ambition," analyzes Seville's earliest Mudejar monuments in order to establish their patronage and chronology. This analysis demonstrates that Alfonso X was the driving force behind the construction of these monuments and that his goals of Castilian hegemony both within the Iberian peninsula and beyond lie behind their predominantly Gothic appearance. For Alfonso, Gothic was an unambiguously Christian style that also connected him to the influential French monarch, Louis IX. The would-be emperor sought to transform Seville from an Almohad stronghold to a cosmopolitan European capital through his modifications of the city's Great Mosque turned cathedral, his new Gothic palace at the Alcazar, and his campaign to replace Seville's neighborhood mosques with primarily Gothic churches. Alfonso's projects set the standard for Seville's Mudejar architecture for over a century.

Chapter four, "Mudejar Architecture in Seville 1356-1430: The Legitimate Choice," will survey the Mudejar architecture of Seville from after the devastating earthquake of 1356 to the beginning of construction on the city's Gothic cathedral in the 1430's. Following the same basic format as chapter three, this chapter offers possible explanations for the increased popularity of Mudejar forms during this period. As in chapter three, the appearance of Seville's Mudejar architecture is largely attributed to the patronage of a Castilian king. Pedro I's opulent Mudejar palace at the Alcazar set a new

standard for the patronage of the city's elites. Pedro's motivations for commissioning a Mudejar palace were once believed to have been the result of his supposed fascination with Islamic culture, but more recently it has been connected to his politics. This chapter suggests that his palace was one of his many efforts to associate himself with his father in order to assert his legitimacy over his rebellious half-brother, Enrique Trastamara. This reasoning also explains Enrique's embrace of the palace and its style after his triumph over Pedro.

Chapter five, "Mudejar Architecture During the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries: The Impact of the Cathedral Project and the Catholic Monarchs," discusses Mudejar and Gothic forms in Seville's architecture from the construction of the Gothic cathedral in the early fifteenth century through the reign of Isabel of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, whose rule came to an end with the death of the king in 1516. In this chapter, the patronage of the city's clergy as well as that of the Catholic Monarchs were important factors in the general decline of the popularity of Mudejar architecture in Seville. The influence of German, Flemish and French artisans flooding the peninsula definitely contributed to the cathedral chapter's choice of the Gothic style for their ambitious project, but, somewhat ironically, so did their desire to reference Seville's early Gothic churches. The influence of the Catholic Monarchs on the architecture of Seville was more indirect than that of their predecessors Alfonso X and Pedro I. Isabel, in particular, was a prolific patron of art and architecture. Although she commissioned relatively few monuments in Seville specifically, her patronage throughout Castile continued to fuel the vogue for the Flemish Gothic style. The final blow to Seville's Mudejar architecture, however, cannot be traced to a single patron, but rather the rise of the Renaissance style in Seville, which left room for relatively few Mudejar features in the city's architecture.

Seville's Islamic and Mudejar architecture continue to reflect the social dynamic of the contemporary city. Today, Spain's Mudejar monuments as well as its former

mosques are heavily promoted as national symbols, and they are receiving increasing attention by Spanish scholars. Ironically, in light of Spain's renewed interest in its appropriated Islamic forms, the most recent Spanish buildings to draw from these forms have actually been mosques, such as the Albaicín Mosque constructed in Granada in 2003. Seville's proposed mosque, which will be the largest in Europe, stylistically draws from its medieval Andalusian predecessors in an attempt to revive "Islamic" Spain. Not surprisingly, this project has caused tension between Christians and Muslims in the city. One of the primary goals of my dissertation is to demonstrate that the architectural heritage of Seville does not belong to any single ethnic group or religious sect. My research in Seville has been motivated by my desire to better understand the relations among its medieval Christians, Jews, and Muslims, with the possibility that this will in turn provide a more informed context for contemporary relations among these groups. In cultivating a peaceful society, mutual understanding is crucial that we make every effort to understand each other; examining history is one way towards this.

CHAPTER 1

ISLAMIC-DERIVED FORMS IN CHRISTIAN ARCHITECTURE BEFORE 1248: DIVERGENT FORMS, DIVERGENT MEANINGS

The architectural discourse between Christian-ruled Iberia and Muslim-ruled al-Andalus began long before the conquest of Seville in 1248. Features from the peninsula's Islamic monuments first appeared in northern Christian architecture at least by the tenth century and were employed fairly consistently by the twelfth century. This chapter will briefly survey the adoption of Islamic-derived forms by Christian patrons before the mid-thirteenth century in order to clarify the specific context in which the first Mudejar monuments of Seville were built. Because this survey is so broad in its scope, it is not intended to explain every instance of an Islamicizing feature in a Christian building. Rather, it explores diverse meanings and contexts in which they were created and how they may have informed thirteenth-century Sevillians' understanding of certain architectural forms in light of earlier examples. A significant portion of this survey is devoted to the Mudejar architecture of Toledo and Burgos that was built shortly before the conquest of Seville. The Mudejar monuments of these two important political centers provided potential models for Seville, but, as will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 3, the royal patrons of Burgos developed an architecture that provided a more attractive model for Seville's early patrons. In examining the broader peninsular conditions that gave rise to Seville's Mudejar architecture, this chapter points to the difficulty of defining artistic categories in medieval Iberian architecture. I argue that both the formal elements of a monument as well as the socio-political circumstances in which it was built should be considered in its categorization.

With Alfonso VI's conquest in 1085, Toledo was the first major city of al-Andalus to be incorporated into a Christian kingdom; this event is generally cited as the major impetus for the formation of Mudejar architecture. Some scholars believe that the

direct exposure to the Islamic architecture and artisans of the city was the major factor that led to the "birth" of Mudejar architecture, while others refer to the conquest of Toledo simply as marking the beginning of a period of increased interaction between the Christian Kingdoms and Islamic al-Andalus that contributed to the formation of Mudejar architecture.[1] As López Guzman has recognized, the heralding of 1085 as a point of departure for Mudejar architecture is oversimplified, but still useful on a basic level. He notes that it does mark of period of more widespread knowledge of Andalusian architecture. After 1085, it became relatively common practice for Christian rulers to reside in Islamic palaces acquired through conquest. In addition, from the ninth through the twelfth century Mozarabs, Christians who had been living in al-Andalus, migrated northward, bringing the building traditions of Islamic Spain with them.[2]

Exposure to Islamic building traditions does seem to have been a significant factor in the development of Mudejar architecture, but it was not the only factor. Features from the architecture of al-Andalus were not widely incorporated into the secular and religious architecture of the Christian north until the thirteenth century, over a century after the conquest of Toledo. Moreover, while the conquest of Toledo did lead to increased exposure to the culture and building practices of al-Andalus, the Mozarabic monuments of the tenth century demonstrate that the cultural exchange between Christian and Muslim Spain was already capable of producing northern monuments with Andalusian features. As will be explained below, a number of factors in addition to increased exposure to Islamic building traditions effected the development of Mudejar architecture.

---

[1] Lamperez, 3: 479-480; Torres Balbás, *Ars Hispaniae*, 4: 238; Fernando Chueca Goitia, *Historia de la Arquitectura Española: Edad Antigua, Edad Media* (Madrid: Editorial Dossat, 1965), 469; Borras Gualis, *Arte Mudejar*, 81; and López Guzmán, 189.

[2] López Guzmán, 189-190.

The earliest surviving Islamic-derived forms in Christian settings are found in tenth-century monuments associated with Mozarabs, who had begun to migrate north in the late ninth century at the invitations of Christian monarchs. Subsequently, the architecture constructed as a result of their immigration is most commonly referred to as "Mozarabic.[3]" The terms "Mozarabic" and "Mudejar" as artistic descriptors are problematic in similar ways. Like the term "Mudejar," "Mozarabic" is derived from a medieval term designating a specific people group, and, thus, carries connotations that have often caused inaccurate biases in the interpretation of the architecture that it describes. Mozarabic was first used as a pejorative by zealous Christians in al-Andalus to refer to their brothers and sisters in the faith, who had allowed themselves to become "Arabized" – that is, those who had largely embraced the language, culture, and customs of their Muslim lords.[4] Ironically, the modern usage of the term encompasses both the "untainted" and the "Arabized" Christians, who lived under Muslim rule and their descendants, who maintained aspects of Mozarabic culture, namely the practice of the Mozarabic over the Latin rite.

The association of Islamic culture with Mozarabs has often misled scholars to view Mozarabic architecture as simply derivative of Islamic architecture, but Dodds has demonstrated that this is decidedly not always the case through her analysis of the first building phase of the church of San Miguel de Escalada (Figure A12). Built on the frontier of the Christian kingdom of Asturias around 913, the church was commissioned by Mozarabic monks fleeing the persecution of Christians in Cordoba. Dodds argues that Escalada acted as a symbol of defiance against the Cordoban Caliphate through its

---

[3] Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 49 and 146, note 12, Ruiz Souza, "Castilla y Al-Andalus," 20, Mozarabic monuments built in Christian-ruled Spain are also sometimes referred to as the Architecture of Repopulation, Frontier Art, Austurian pre-Romanesque, and the Architecture of Counts (arquitectura condal).

[4] Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 67.

references to Visigothic churches. The prominent horseshoe arches of its nave arcade and those separating the church's apses from its nave and aisles are closer to Visigothic precedents in their proportion and construction than the horseshoe arches of the Islamic architecture of Cordoba. The use and division of space in the church is also based on Visigothic models.[5] She explains that it is only after the initial Mozarabic buildings of the tenth century that elements overtly modeled off of Islamic monuments begin to appear in Mozarabic architecture in Christian realms.[6] Dodds also addresses the problem of whether or not the term Mozarabic can be applied to architecture that was either constructed or patronized by northern Christians as opposed to Mozarabs. Again using the model of Escalada, which combines Asturian and older Visigothic construction techniques, she suggests that the typology and aesthetic features of a structure make it Mozarabic. She believes that the same is true for tenth-century buildings that were commissioned by northern Christians, such as the church of Santa María de Bamba, which resembles Escalada, and the church of Santiago de Peñalba, which draws from earlier Mozarabic churches that combine Visigothic and Islamic elements.[7] Simply the patronage of a building by Mozarabs does not make it Mozarabic, for Mozarabs continued to commission architecture into the Mudejar period as in the case of Toledo, which will be discussed below.

Despite the problems with the term "Mozarabic," it is useful for distinguishing the first phase of the assimilation of the architectural elements of Islamic al-Andalus by Christian patrons from the following Mudejar period. These two building traditions are, for the most part, separated by differences in both socio-political contexts and time. In

---

[5] Ibid., 48-53.

[6] Ibid., 85.

[7] Ibid., 75-76 and 85-88.

many ways the conditions under which the majority of Mozarabic monuments were constructed are reversed from those that produced Mudejar architecture. Mozarabic architecture was the result of Christians moving north at a time when Iberia was largely under Muslim hegemony. By the eleventh century, Mozarabs were still moving north, but they were joining Christian forces, who were increasingly putting Muslim-ruled Spain on the defensive. The Christian kingdoms were not only acquiring Mozarabs, but they were also making significant gains in Muslim-controlled territories, absorbing the architectural traditions of the lands that they conquered. In terms of style, both Mozarabic and Mudejar architecture combine Islamic-derived features with Christian building traditions, but Mozarabic looks to the old indigenous tradition of the Visigoths, while Mudejar incorporates the newly imported styles of Romanesque and Gothic, only occasionally drawing from the Visigothic tradition.[8] Based on these political and stylistic conditions, the construction Mozarabic architecture came mostly to an end in the late tenth century with the exception of a few transitional buildings.[9] Around the year 1000, both Visigothic and Islamic architectural forms in Christian-ruled Spain were largely subsumed by the growing popularity of the Romanesque style.[10] Monumental

---

[8] As will be discussed below, it has been argued that some thirteenth-century Toledan churches contain intentional references to Visigothic architecture, but these churches also incorporate newer Romanesque elements. Moreover, Mudejar monuments also incorporate Islamic-derived features, namely polylobed arches and domes like those at the Great Mosque of Cordoba, that are not present in surviving Mozarabic architecture.

[9] The most notable exception is the monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos, where the late eleventh-century cloister and portal of the Virgin from the first half of the twelfth century, show a combination of Mozarabic and Romanesque elements. Meyer Schapiro's examination into the reasons for the integration of local Mozarabic and French Romanesque forms at Silos is still one of the foundational studies of the monastery, see "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos," in *Collected Papers*, I: *Romanesque Art* (New York: George Braziller, 1977), 28-101 (originally published in the *Art Bulletin* 13 (1939): 113-174.) Another transitional building is the Mozarabic monastery of San Baudelio de Berlanga, where at least a horseshoe portal was constructed around 1100, see Milagros Guardia Pons, "Relire les espaces liturgiquies à travers la peinture murale: la programme iconographique de San Baudelio de Berlanga (Soria)," *Les Cahiers de Saint Michel de Cuxa* 36 (2003): 79-97.

examples of Islamic-derived features did not resurface in Christian religious architecture for another century, and even then, these features, such as polylobed arches or domes with intersecting ribs like those of the Great Mosque of Cordoba, appear as the only references to Islamic architecture in otherwise Romanesque churches. Because of their isolation within Romanesque churches, these Islamic-derived features are usually not included in discussions of Mudejar architecture, despite their significance in the process of the assimilation of Islamic architectural typologies and motifs into Christian buildings.

Individual features of Islamic monuments were adapted for Christian churches for a variety of reasons. Some of them result from the continuation of Islamic building traditions by local Mudejar artisans. This seems to be the case at Segovia's earliest church, San Millán, likely dating to the first half of the twelfth century. San Millán is a regional interpretation of the late eleventh-century Cathedral of Jaca in Aragon. Among many other similarities, both churches have ribbed domes over their crossings. At Jaca, the ribs emanate from the center of the dome, but at San Millán, two pairs of ribs intersect, forming a square in its center. This same pattern is present in one of the domes at the mosque of Bab al-Mardum (later known as the church of Santa Cruz or El Cristo de la Luz), built between 999 and 1000 in nearby Toledo (Figure A14). The original wooden ceiling at San Millán may have also been a Mudejar response to Jaca. Remains of a ceiling resembling the ceiling of the Great Mosque of Cordoba in both construction and ornament were covered in the seventeenth century by the church's current vaults. This ceiling is one of the earliest examples of the adoption of Islamic-inspired coffered wooden ceilings (*artesonados*) into Christian churches, one of the most common traits in

---

[10] For a discussion of the political implications of this shift in architectural patronage, see Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 112-113.

Mudejar church architecture.[11] The original covering at Jaca has also been replaced, but there is strong evidence suggesting that the cathedral had a wooden ceiling like those of Lombard churches such as the Cathedral of Modena.[12] Tax records prove that Segovia did have a Mudejar population in the twelfth century,[13] making it plausible that the dome and ceiling of San Millán were the work of local Mudejars. Mudejar artisans have also been connected to the unusual interlacing arches and horseshoe arches in the Romanesque cloister at San Juan de Duero (early thirteenth century) in the province of Soria (Figure A13). Lamperez suggested the employment of local Mudejars in the construction of the cloister, claiming that Soria had a large Mudejar population.[14] However, because San Juan was a Templars' church, its cloister may have also been a reference to the crusade against Islam. This was possibly the function of the Cordoban-like domes that appear in two Templars' churches, built around 1200 – Vera Cruz in Segovia and Torres del Río in Navarra. It is generally assumed that during the Middle Ages, centrally-planned churches built throughout Europe by the various military orders dedicated to recovering Jerusalem were in intended evoke the Holy Sepulcher. Dodds has argued that Torres del Río, which stands on the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela, with its centralized plan and vault of interlacing ribs represented the Spanish "Crusade" against Islam by alluding to the Holy Sepulcher and the Great Mosque of Cordoba (Figures A5 and A6). She also points out that Islamic precedents for these

---

[11] Katherine Watson, *French Romanesque and Islam: Andalusian elements in French architectural decoration c. 1030-1180*, eds. A. R. Hands and D. R. Walker. BAR International Series 488 (Oxford: BAR, 1989) 1: 30-31.

[12] Walter Muir Whitehill, *Spanish Romanesque Architecture in the Eleventh Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941), 239-240.

[13] Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, *Los Mudejares de Castilla y Otros Estudios de Historia Medieval Andaluza* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1989), 21.

[14] Lamperez, 1: 555.

churches were appropriated by military orders, as in the al-Hizam palatial oratory in Toledo, which Alfonso VIII gave to the Order of Calatrava, who renamed it the Chapel of Bethlehem.[15] Domes supported and ornamented with interlacing ribs can be found in a number of other Romanesque churches both on and off the road to Santiago, including several cathedrals and the above-mentioned Segovian church of San Millán, indicating that that they did not always carry connotations of crusade.[16] The early assimilation of these domes as well as Islamic wooden ceilings into Christian churches possibly contributed to their prominence in later Mudejar architecture. These two types of coverings are the only Mudejar features to consistently appear in Seville's Mudejar churches throughout the late Middle Ages and into the early modern period. With the exception of Mudejar bell towers, they are also the only two monumental Mudejar features present in Seville's earliest churches.[17]

---

[15] Dodds, "Islam, Christianity, and the Problem of Religious Art," 35, and *The Arts of Intimacy*, 164-165. Dodds has argued for a crusading context for Islamic-derived features at several other churches as well. She connects the red and white voussoirs of the arcade at the cloister of San Pedro de Cardeña, a monastery associated with El Cid and the great critic of Islam Peter the Venerable, to the arcades at the Great Mosque of Cordoba, *The Arts of Intimacy*, 36-37. She also points to the Islamic-like non-figural ornament of the portal of the church of San Pedro de la Rua in Estella on the way to Santiago de Compostela as a crusader interpretation of Islamic architecture, "The Problem of Religious Architecture," 36.

[16] Other Romanesque examples of these domes include San Miguel de Almazán (Soria), the Cistercian monastery of Armentiera (Galacia), the Capilla de Talvera in the cloister of the Cathedral of Salamanca, and Sainte-Croix in Olorón and the Hospital Saint-Blaise (French Pyrenees). Many of these churches as well as examples of domes with ribs that do not intersect are discussed by Torres Balbás in *Ars Hispaniae*, 4: 249 and 252. It should be noted that in these domes ribs are structural as well as ornamental and require technical knowledge of Islamic architecture. While understanding structural principles presents more of a challenge than copying ornament, Christian patrons would not have had difficulty in finding masons, who could replicate ribbed domes. As in the case of San Millán, ribbed domes were sometimes the result of the expertise of the available workforce.

[17] The exact appearances of the wooden ceilings of Seville's earliest churches are uncertain since they no longer survive, but based on later medieval examples in the city, it is logical to conclude that early ceilings were also built in the Mudejar tradition.

Early examples of isolated Islamic-derived features in Christian churches are also important for the understanding of later Mudejar architecture in that they demonstrate that even in its earliest stages, the assimilation of the architectural features of al-Andalus into Christian monuments occurred for a variety of reasons that depended on context. Whereas local tradition may have been the primary factor for the appearance of these features in some cases, such as at San Millán, in other instances, like Torres del Río, these motifs were likely purposely sought out to convey a message of crusade. Therese Martin has further demonstrated that Islamic-derived ornamental features were incorporated into Romanesque churches as a form of political propaganda beyond the call for crusade. She links Urraca of León-Castile' s employment of Islamic motifs in the church of San Isidoro, which served as the royal pantheon of the kings of León and a pilgrimage church on the road to Santiago, to the queen's efforts to assert her legitimacy by connecting herself to her father Alfonso VI. According to Martin, San Isidoro's horseshoe portal with polylobes and the polylobed arches of the crossing, which are the first monumental polylobed arches in a Christian monument, were meant to evoke the no longer extant cathedral/mosque of Toledo. She compares San Isidoro's crossing arches to a similar monumental polylobed arch at the Great Mosque of Cordoba, speculating that such arches were also present in Toledo's congregational mosque. (Figure A15). Toledo was Alfonso's most important conquest and the city where he name Urraca his successor.[18] Although isolated, the ribbed domes, ceiling, and arches discussed above are clearly derived from an Islamic architectural tradition and are, therefore, important for understanding the development of later Mudejar architecture. Some of these features were the result of local tradition or available workforce, but in at least several instances

---

[18] *Queen as King: Politics and Architectural Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), 105-109.

they are the result of a patron intentionally desiring to evoke a particular Islamic monument in order to convey a specific political message.

Despite the significance of these Islamic-derived features, several brick churches in and around Sahagún in León are often recognized as the earliest group of Mudejar monuments. Ironically, the features of these churches are not clearly derived from Islamic precedents, causing some debate as to whether or not they should be classified as Mudejar. There is no conclusive evidence for their chronology, but most scholars date the earliest churches at Sahagún to the first half of the twelfth century.[19] The church of San Tirso is one of the better preserved and is largely representative of the group (Figure A7). Though the church has been somewhat modified, it retains its basic original plan and elevation. It is a basilica with a nave and two aisles terminating in three semi-circular apses. San Tirso is unusual among the first Sahagún churches in that it has a fairly large transept that projects slightly beyond its nave. Modern wooden ceilings cover the nave, aisles, and transept (the original wooden ceilings no longer survive), while hemispherical domes rise above its apses.[20] Like many of these churches, San Tirso's central apse was begun in stone, but completed in brick. Two levels of blind arcades of rounded arches ornament the exteriors of all three apses. Rectangular moldings enclose the taller arcades that alternate from apse to apse with shorter arcades.

---

[19] As in the case of Toledo's parish churches, which is discussed below, the primary evidence for dating these churches lies in documents proving their existence in the second half of the twelfth century, but not necessarily the date of the construction of their current edifice. However, the churches of Sahagún differ from those of Toledo in that they were not founded over mosques, making it more plausible that early references to them correlate with their current edifices. In some cases, stylistic features and the fabric of the churches provide some general clues for their chronology. They can at least be securely dated to sometime during the twelfth century. For a detailed analysis of these churches and their chronology, see Manuel Valdés Fernández, *Arquitectura Mudéjar en León y Castilla* (León: Collegio Universitario de León y Institución "Fray Bernardino de Sahagún" C.S.I.C., 1981), 115-135.

[20] According to Valdés, a late nineteenth-century report on repairs made to the church records the preservation of fragment of an *artesonado* ceiling, 124. However, based on this brief reference, it's impossible to know if this fragment was from the original ceiling of the church.

Scholars have been divided on how to classify these churches since the turn of the twentieth century. One camp argues that they are not Mudejar structures, and instead labels them "Brick Romanesque" due to their lack of overtly Islamicizing features and their reliance on Catalan Romanesque models. The other camp claims that they should be called Mudejar because of their possible construction by Mudejar bricklayers, their decorative use of brick, the standard material of Mudejar construction, and their Islamic-like motifs.[21] In many ways these churches defy categorization. Since this area of Spain, known as the Meseta Superior (upper plateau), was under Islamic rule for such a brief period of time, it virtually lacks any Islamic monuments, with the exception of a few fortresses, making it difficult to directly connect Sahagún churches to local Islamic precedents. There is a good chance that the churches were built by imported Mudejar bricklayers, though there was also a local brick construction tradition that dated prior to the churches due to the scarcity of stone in the region. Documentary evidence records the presence of Mudejar artisans from Toledo in the Meseta Superior as early as the ninth century and specifically around Sahagún in the mid-eleventh century.[22] Stylistic similarities between the churches of Sahagún and thirteenth-century brick and stone churches in Aragon, which had a relatively large Mudejar population throughout the Middle Ages, has led several scholars to speculate the possible presence of Aragonese artisans.[23] But simply the presence of brick and Mudejar artisans does not make these churches "Mudejar" for brick and Mudejar artisans can be employed in the construction of edifices of various styles. The ornamental features of these churches could also have

---

[21] For the historiography and the various arguments of this debate, see Váldes, 31-41, Pérez Higuera, *Arquitectura Mudejar en Castilla y León*, 37-44, Bango Torviso, "El Arte Construir en ladrillo en Castilla y León," 119-123, and Borrras Gualis *El Arte Mudéjar* and "Mudejar: an Alternative Architectural System,"332.

[22] Pérez Higuera, *Arquitectura Mudejar en Castilla y León*, 14.

[23] Ibid., 54, and Valdés, 134.

been adapted from a number of building traditions as Manuel Váldes has demonstrated, exemplifying the difficulty of separating their "Christian" from their "Islamic" motifs. Several of the churches feature horseshoe arches, but as with the horseshoe arches of Mozarabic architecture, these arches are more akin to Visigothic rather than Islamic precedents in their form.[24] The origin of the ornamental brick friezes found in many of these churches is more difficult to pinpoint. These friezes create a diamond motif by turning the bricks at an angle so that only their corners show. Similar friezes are used in Lombard Romanesque structures and in later Catalan Romanesque churches; however, they also appear in Spanish Islamic architecture as at the Toledan mosque of Bab al-Mardum. Valdés explains that the presence of these friezes in both Romanesque and Islamic structures can be traced to shared Byzantine models (for example the Arian baptistery in Ravenna).[25] One decorative feature that he does associate with an Islamic tradition is the use of rectangular moldings around arches, which he compares to the *alfices* used around windows and portals in Andalusian architecture.[26] Motifs that clearly reference Islamic precedents, such as interlacing arches and polylobed windows that can be traced to examples in Toledo, do not appear in León and Old Castile until the middle of the thirteenth century, and even at this time Romanesque features still dominate the churches.[27]

The conflict over the classification of the early churches at Sahagún may be impossible to resolve, and, at this point, adds little to the overall understanding of their contribution to the development of Mudejar architecture. A more fruitful approach to the

---

[24] For example, the transverse arches at San Tirso and the arches on tower of San Pedro de las Dueñas, see Valdés, 52 and 78.

[25] Ibid., 72-73.

[26] Ibid.,, 64-65.

[27] Pérez Higuera, *Arquitectura Mudejar en Castilla y León*, 65-69, and Valdés, 95-96.

study of these churches lies in examining the aesthetic intent of their patrons. Unlike the twelfth-century patrons at the churches of Torres del Río and San Isidoro, the patrons of Sahagún's earliest churches were not purposefully employing Islamic motifs. They clearly wanted to mimic the great Catalan Romanesque churches of Ripoll and Cardona as opposed to the famed mosques and palaces of Cordoba and Toledo. As the stone foundations of the apses demonstrate, brick was only employed out of economic necessity, and not because of an aesthetic preference. Moreover, Bango Torviso has made the important point that during the Romanesque Period, the exteriors of Spanish brick and stone churches alike were painted, and would have, therefore, looked very similar.[28] Any Islamic references in the ornament of these churches was due to their probable construction by Mudejar bricklayers. These churches can thus be understood to represent a practical adaptation of possible Mudejar construction rather than a desire to appropriate aspects of Islamic monuments.

Dating to at least the first quarter of the thirteenth century, the parish churches of Toledo are the earliest surviving group of churches on the peninsula to thoroughly integrate features clearly derived from Islamic monuments with Romanesque and Gothic elements.[29] Like the twelfth- and thirteenth-century churches of León and Old Castile,

---

[28] "El Arte Construir en ladrillo en Castilla y León," 123.

[29] The parish churches of Toledo are the earliest group of overtly Mudejar churches, but there were possibly earlier examples of churches with some Mudejar features, such as the towers of San Nicolás and San Pedro el Viejo near Madrid, which have been dated to the late twelfth century, see Manuel Gomez-Moreno, "La torre de san Nicolás, en Madrid," *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología* 1 (1927): 129-132, and Luis Caballero Zoreda and José Ignacio Murillo Fragero, "Cómo se construye una torre Mudejar. La torre de la iglesia de San Pedro el Viejo de Madrid," *Arqueología de Arquitectura* 3 (2004): 39-60. Early monastic houses in Toledo featured Islamic forms because they were founded in former Islamic palaces. Some scholars have also dated several Mudejar churches in Daroca (Aragon) to the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries, though Borrás Gualis, who specializes in Aragonese Mudejar, dates them to the middle of the thirteenth century, see Joaquín Yarza Luaces, *Arte y Arquitectura en España 500-1250* (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 1979; reprint 2007), 321, and Borrás Gualis, "Arquitectura Mudéjar," 78-82.

most of Toledo's medieval parish churches have rounded brick apses covered by half domes and ornamented with several stories of blind arcades (Figure A16). At Toledo, however, arcades of simple round arches are mixed with arcades featuring horseshoe, polylobed and pointed arches. Toledo's churches also differ from those of León, in that their brick and rubble construction follows the local the building tradition of the city's Islamic architecture.[30] Furthermore, Islamic-derived features in Toledan churches, such as horseshoe arches inscribed within polylobed arches, are not isolated as they are in the twelfth-century domes and arches described above. Various combinations of horseshoe, polylobed, and interlacing arches decorate the portals and interior walls of the churches as well as the exterior of their apses. Arcades of horseshoe arches supported by columns and covered by wooden ceilings are also typical of Toledo's medieval churches, though these arcades can just as easily be attributed to a Visigothic as opposed to an Islamic tradition. The adherence of Toledo's churches, both in terms of construction and style, to the architecture of the Islamic city is most striking at the parish church of Santa Cruz (El Cristo de la Luz), where the apse of the church was added to a late tenth/early eleventh-century mosque of Bab al-Mardum that serves as its nave (Figure A17). Both structures are constructed of the same materials and have similar ornament. Two stories of rounded, polylobed and horseshoe arcades cover the exteriors of the mosque and the apse, though their arcades differ in proportion. The juxtaposition of the two structures is more apparent on the interior, where the open space of the slightly taller apse with its half dome contrasts with the fairly cramped interior of the prayer hall of horseshoe arcades covered by nine small domes with ribs forming various geometrical patterns. However, the ornament of the interior of the apse, like its exterior ornament, provides some continuity with the mosque.

---

[30] Raizman, 129.

Although Toledo's churches are the first group of thoroughly Mudejar monuments, just how early they were constructed is disputed. Most scholars date Toledo's earliest churches to the second half of the twelfth century, but David Raizman has questioned this conclusion because of the lack of solid evidence supporting it.[31] The main body of evidence used in dating these churches consists of various twelfth-century documents that mention specific parish churches. Raizman points out that these documents only prove the existence of these parish churches; they do not necessarily correlate with the present edifices of the churches.[32] His observation is particularly pertinent since Toledo's churches were initially founded in mosques that were later replaced by newer structures with the possible exception of several Mozarabic churches. The presence of churches dedicated to the Mozarabic rite *after* the city's Christian conquest has also led to faulty assumptions about the chronology of the city's churches. Many scholars have claimed that the six churches used by Toledo's Mozarabic community in the thirteenth century were initially built under Muslim hegemony and were modified and enlarged after 1085, but according to Raizman documentary evidence suggests that there were only three Mozarabic churches in the Islamic city and that after Toledo's conquest, the city's Mozarabs were forced to give up their churches within the walls of the city and relocate to different facilities.[33] The relocation of two Mozarabic

---

[31] Raizman provides a brief historiography of the dating of Toledo's churches in note 21, page 139.

[32] Ibid., 133-134. Raizman explains that most of the twelfth-century references to churches come from the "Mozarabic" documents, a collection of property transactions and donations that in many cases were witnessed by parish clerics. One church, not mentioned by Raizman that has been dated to the twelfth century based on documental and architectural evidence is the church of San Andrés. Pavón Maldonado claims that one of the portals of the church dates to the first half of the twelfth century, but he does not explain why, see *Arte toledano: islámico y mudéjar* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1973), 63.

[33] Raizman, 135 and note 29, page 140. The Archbishop of Toledo, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (1208-1247) mentions six churches where the Mozarabic rite was continued after the city's conquest in his history of Spain *Historia de rebus Hispanae sive Historia Gothica*. ed., Juan

churches is further confirmed by recent archeological excavations that have identified the remains of mosques within the fabric of the current structures.[34]

Raizman argues that construction did not begin on the Toledo's parish churches until the first half of the thirteenth century. He dates the apse of Santa Cruz in particular to this period because its frescoes were likely painted by the same artist who illuminated a 1220 copy of Beatus of Liébana's Apocalypse commentary. Although Raizman only provides specific evidence for Santa Cruz, he further argues for the later dating of Toledo's churches based on the city's political status during the first half of the thirteenth century. According to Raizman, large-scale construction in Toledo during the second half of the twelfth century would have been unlikely due to the repeated attacks against the city by Islamic forces and the internal strife throughout Castile during the minority of Alfonso VIII (1158-1214) which lasted until 1170. In contrast, following the Christian victory at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, Toledo was no longer threatened by Islamic incursions and its municipal institutions achieved significant political power within Castile.[35]

Fernández Valverde (Turnholt: Brepols, 1987), book four, chapter three. Although Rodrigo does not record the names of these churches, a fourteenth-century document records them as Santas Justa y Rufina, San Lucas, San Sebastián, San Marcos, Santa Eulalia and San Torcuato. The extramural church of Santa Leocadia likely functioned as a Mozarabic church before and after the conquest, see Raizman note 23, page 139, and note 30, page 140. Santa Leocadia is mentioned in two twelfth-century documents, but the earliest surviving elements of the church date to the mid-thirteenth century, see Raizman 133.

[34] Tobias Ruetenik "Transformation of Mosques into Churches in Toledo," "East Meets West in the Middle Ages": the Fourth Annual Medieval Graduate Student Symposium, University of North Texas, January 30-31, 2009, online at http://www.art.unt.edu/medieval-symposium/presenter.php?ident=12. Remains of mosques have been found so far at seven Toledan churches, including the former Mozarabic churches of San Sebastian and Santas Justa y Rufina. In addition to Visigothic and Islamic remains, a Kufic inscription citing the Qu'ran and mentioning the construction of the mosque was discovered at Santas Justa y Rufina

[35] Ibid., 136. One possible motivation for twelfth-century construction not cited by Raizman is Pavón Maldonado's suggestions that Mozarabic churches were enlarged to accommodate the Christian refugees fleeing Almoravid and Almohad persecution over the course of the twelfth century, see *Arte toledano*, 63. But, to date, there is no evidence in the fabric of the city's former Mozarabic churches to confirm his theory.

Based on his re-dating of Toledo's churches to the early thirteenth century, Raizman offers a political interpretation of their Mudejar features. He posits that the incorporation of Islamic forms in the churches of Toledo was increasingly embraced only after the pivotal battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, which put Islamic Spain on the defensive.[36] Eleventh-century Castilians entering Toledo may very well have viewed the local building tradition as partly the product of the Islamic forces that still threatened the city, and, therefore, would have been hesitant to construct new churches in this tradition. At the time of Toledo's conquest in 1085, Islamic-derived features in the architecture of Christian-ruled Spain were virtually absent. They only appeared prominently in some Mozarabic churches that were by this time a century old.

However, because of these earlier Mozarabic churches and churches built in Toledo under Muslim hegemony that no longer survive today but existed at the time of the city's Castilian conquest, Toledo's new Castilian residents also likely associated the style of the city's architecture with its Mozarabs. To eleventh-century Castilians, the horseshoe and polylobed arches present in Toledan churches and mosques may not have been considered strictly as either Christian or Islamic, but they were probably viewed as "other." Toledo's Mozarabs were separated from their fellow Castilian Christians by language, culture and religious rite, and in some respects the city's new Castilian magnates treated them the same as their Muslim neighbors. Both Mozarabs and Muslims were forced to relinquish their houses of worship to the new Castilian parochial system. According to Toledo's thirteenth-century Archbishop Rodrigo Jimenez de Rada, the city's Mozarabs were often at odds with Alfonso VI and the French Archbishop that he appointed, though there is reason to be skeptical of Rodrigo's account.[37] While the

---

[36] Raizman, 138.

[37] For Rodrigo relationship with Toledo's Mozarabs and their social status in Toledo after its conquest, see Ecker "From Masjid to Casa Mezquita," 1: 48-51.

social status of Toledo's Mozarabs steadily improved during the twelfth century, they did not enjoy substantial political power until Alfonso VIII (1158-1214) awarded them prominent positions in governing Toledo for helping him regain control of the rebellious city.[38]

Several of Toledo's churches betray their Mozarabic patronage through their combination of Visigothic and Islamic architectural features. For example, Santa Eulalia's horseshoe arcades resemble Visigothic prototypes, but the rectangular *alfices* (embrasures) around the arches and the lattice work screens above them stem from the architecture of the Umayyads, the first caliphal dynasty (661-750) (Figure A18).[39] The parish church of San Roman reflects the complex process of the incorporation of Toledo's Mozarabs into the upper echelons of the Castilian clergy and nobility. Exactly when the church was initially constructed in unknown, but it was at least remodeled in the early thirteenth century, likely under the direction of both Archbishop Rodrigo, who consecrated it in 1221, and the Mozarabic archdeacon Garcia Illán. San Roman's arcade is similar to that of San Eulalia with the addition of painted red and white voussoirs, figures in its intrados and spandrels, and Latin inscriptions of the *alfices* framing its arches (Figure A19). Painted Arabic inscriptions and elaborate apocalyptic scenes also ornament the church. Dodds argues that Rodrigo, who realized the importance of working with the Mozarabic nobility to accomplish his political goals, orchestrated the iconography of the apocalyptic scenes, drawing from Mozarabic manuscripts to create a "cosmic" metaphor for the Spanish crusade against Islam, which he strongly supported.[40] Some scholars have classified these churches as Mozarabic architecture instead of

---

[38] Dodds, *Arts of Intimacy*, 180.

[39] Ibid., 140-141.

[40] Ibid., 173-184.

Mudejar, but the term Mudejar better reflects the socio-political climate in which they were constructed as well as their incorporation of Romanesque elements.[41]

A contrast between the socio-political contexts surrounding the construction of Toledo's and Seville's earliest Mudejar churches, built within several decades of one another, provides possible reasons for the difference in the amount of their Mudejar features.[42] Raizman suggests that Toledo's Mudejar churches were not constructed until the early thirteenth century in part because their patrons were hesitant to adopt the features of local monuments built under Muslim hegemony until Muslim military forces were no longer a threat.[43] By the thirteenth century, Toledo was a secure distance from the Christian/Islamic frontier, but Seville was not. I will argue in chapter three that Gothic features in Seville's thirteenth-century parish churches were favored over Mudejar forms in part because they were clearly associated with Christian Europe as opposed to the more ambiguous religious connotations of some Mudejar features that by the mid-thirteenth century were common to both Christian and Muslim Spain, or of other Mudejar features that emulated Seville's Islamic architecture. Since Christian hegemony in the city remained somewhat tenuous after its conquest by the Castilians, the new regime needed churches that would clearly announce their identity. Primarily Mudejar parish churches would not have been as affective in asserting Christian authority in the city since they would have resembled in many ways the mosques that they replaced. As the example of Santa Cruz demonstrates, the patrons of Toledo's churches did not feel the need to clearly distinguish their churches from the mosques that preceded them.

---

[41] Lamperez, 1: 244-250.

[42] Some of Cordoba's Mudejar churches, including San Pablo, Santa María Magdalena, and Santa Marina, were also likely built slightly earlier than those of Seville, but because Cordoba, which was conquered in 1236 by Fernando III, was basically in that same political situation as Seville, its churches, some of which were also patronized by Alfonso X, will be considered in chapter three.

[43] Raizman, 138.

Seville's position on the frontier partly explains the Gothic character of its parish churches compared to those of Toledo, but the presence of an influential Mozarabic population in Toledo was also a significant factor in accounting for the aesthetic differences between the two cities' first churches. The building traditions of Islamic Toledo were adopted and subsequently preserved by the city's Mozarabs, who remained somewhat resistant to Castilian culture through much of the later Middle Ages.[44] The sense of tradition perpetuated by the Mozarabs was so strong in Toledo that Archbishop Rodrigo even acknowledged it in the city's new Gothic cathedral. The polylobed arcades of the cathedral's choir triforium may have been intentional references to the mosque that the cathedral replaced (Figure A20).[45] It is interesting to note that the Cathedral of Toledo is the only thirteenth-century Spanish cathedral to have such conspicuous Islamicizing features. Ironically, these arches were possibly the result of the city's "islamicized" Christians rather than its Muslim population. In Seville, unlike Toledo, there were likely no Mozarabs left in the city when the Castilians conquered it in 1248.[46] They had fled Seville during the eleventh century due to persecution under the Almoravids and the Almohads, some probably seeking refuge in Toledo. And, while Rodrigo accepted Islamicizing motifs in the cathedral and parish churches of Toledo, the primary patron behind Seville's early churches, Alfonso X, did not have to make any aesthetic concessions to gain the support of a local Mozarabic population. He instead

---

[44] Toledan Mozarabs retained their own liturgy into the fifteenth century.

[45] Henrik Karge, *La Catedral de Burgos y la arquitectura del siglo XIII en Francia y España*, trans. Cristina Corredor, Castilian ed. (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León y Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 1995),173-174. The cathedral also incorporated spolia from the mosque it replaced, including the column shafts of its choir screen and a capital in the chapel of Santa Lucía, which will be discussed in further detail in chapter two.

[46] González, 1:303-307, and Rafael Valencia, *Sevilla Musulmana Hasta la Caida del Califato: Contrabucion a su Estudio* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1988), 771-772. Some Mozarabs were brought to Seville by the Castilians for administrative reasons because of their literacy in Arabic, see Ecker, "From Masjid to Casa Mezquita," 1: 48.

sought to associate himself with the influential French monarch Louis IX through his primarily Gothic churches. For this reason, the mainly Gothic-Mudejar monastic complex of Las Huelgas in Burgos, the capital of Castilian royalty, provided a more fitting model for Seville's churches than the anachronistic parish churches of Toledo.

The relationship between Sevillian churches and Las Huelgas will be examined in detail in chapter three, but a brief discussion of its Mudejar Capilla de la Asunción is appropriate for this chapter since the chapel predates Seville's churches. The convent and royal pantheon was founded in 1180 by Alfonso's great-grandfather and namesake Alfonso VIII, one of the leaders of the Christian coalition at Las Navas de Tolosa, and his French wife, Leonor Plantagenet, the grandmother of Louis IX. Sometime during the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, the couple began construction on the Gothic church, modeled on French monastic houses of royal patronage. But shortly before the construction of the main church, they also commissioned what was likely a provisional church consisting of a single nave and a polygonal sanctuary. The sanctuary was later remodeled to its present centralized plan, probably to serve as the funerary chapel of Alfonso VIII and Leonor. In its current state, the Capilla de la Asunción follows the basic form of the *qubba*, a structure common in Islamic architecture that typically consists of an octagonal dome fitted over a square plan through the use of squinches (the term *qubba* literally means dome) (Figures A21 and A22). *Qubbas*, developed at least as early as the eighth century, were commonly used as funerary chapels and palace oratories beginning under the Abbasid Caliphate (750-1258). A number of early examples survive in Spain and north Africa, including the *mihrab* dome at the Great Mosque of Cordoba (tenth cent.), the oratory of the Aljafería in Saragossa (eleventh cent.), and the Qubba Barudiyin in Marrakesh (twelfth cent.). The ornament of the Capilla de la Asunción is largely based on Almohad precedents, though several polylobed niches and windows

from the original sanctuary resemble the Mudejar forms of Toledo's churches (Figure A23).[47] The pattern of the interlacing ribs that run across the chapel's dome and the three small *muqarnas* domes of the adjacent vestibule resemble domes of the Almohad minaret at Marrakesh, which dates to the late twelfth century (Figure A24). The *muqarnas* domes also recall domes of Almohad remains at Seville's Alcazar. The decorative stuccowork of the chapel's walls draws from several Almohad mosques in Morocco.[48]

The dates of the transformation of the sanctuary into a chapel are disputed. Gema Palomo Fernández and Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza attribute the remodeling to Alfonso X, who finished several parts of the monastic complex around the 1270's.[49] Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras has contended that the chapel with its ornament dates to Alfonso VIII's and Leonor's patronage of the convent because its design was intended to symbolize the union of their royal houses. She claims that its ornament represented Iberian precedents, whereas its centralized plan was common in both Iberian and French monastic architecture. Sánchez Ameijeiras draws a particularly compelling parallel between the Capilla de la Asunción and the Chapel of Saint Catherine at the abbey of Fontevrault, the pantheon of the Plantagenet dynasty that included the sepulchers of Leonor's parents, Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine. Both chapels have a square plan that utilizes

---

[47] Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras, "El 'çementerio real' de Alfonso VIII en Las Huelgas de Burgos," *Semata: Ciencias Sociales e Humanidades* 10 (1998): 79-80.

[48] Torres Balbás, *Ars Hispaniae*, 4: 41-43.

[49] "Nuevas hipótesis sobre Las Huelgas de Burgos: Escenografía funeraria de Alfonso X para un proyecto inacabado de Alfonso VIII y Leonor Plantagenet," *Goya* 316/317 (2007): 33-35. Palomo Fernández and Ruiz Souza believe that the chapel was a part of the building campaign carried out under Alfonso X because of similarities in the chapel's plasterwork to that in other structures at the complex constructed during his reign. They also claim that the chapel could not have been built before the conquest of Cordoba in 1236 because of its similarities with al-Hakam's additions to the Great Mosque of that city, though they themselves undermine this argument by their observation that Christians began to adopt architectural elements from al-Andalus long before they made major conquests in the region.

squinches to transition to an octagonal ribbed vault, though the arrangements of the ribs at the two chapels differ.[50] It is possible that Alfonso X may have further embellished the chapel, but Alfonso VIII and Leonor are likely responsible for its centralized plan. An early thirteenth-century date would make the Capilla de la Asunción the earliest surviving *qubba* of Christian construction, but *qubbas* were prevalent in the former Islamic palaces appropriated as Christian residences and monasteries. Moreover, as previously discussed, domes with interlacing ribs were also fairly common in Castilian and Leonese churches as early as the mid twelfth century. The Capilla de Talvera, built around 1200,[51] in the cloister of the old Cathedral of Salamanca even has the same rib pattern as the Capilla de la Asunción. Given Alfonso X's familial ties to Las Huelgas, the Capilla de la Asunción likely inspired the Mudejar *qubba* chapels of Seville's early churches.

The features of Seville's first Mudejar churches must be understood in light of the long history of the appropriation of the architectural forms of al-Andalus by the Christian kingdoms of the north. This process began centuries before the conquest of Seville in 1248, with the initial northern migrations of Mozarabic populations, but this early phase of the assimilation of Islamic-derived architectural features largely came to a close by the year 1000. Because of differences in socio-political climate and style in addition to chronology, this phase is better understood as Mozarabic rather than Mudejar. Approximately a century later, Islamic-derived features resurfaced in Iberia's Christian architecture. These features, which were at first isolated within Romanesque or Gothic churches, were adopted for a variety of reasons that sometimes seem intended to reference Islam. However, they also demonstrate how some features, such as Cordoban-

---

[50] Sánchez Ameijeiras, "El 'çementerio real,' 95-102.

[51] Torres Balbás, *Ars Hispaniae*, 4: 252.

inspired domes and wooden ceilings, became common elements in Castilian architecture, possibly explaining why such domes and roofs were prevalent in Seville's early churches. The earliest thoroughly Mudejar structures, Toledo's first parish churches and the Capilla de la Asunción at the convent of Las Huelgas in Burgos, likely date to the early thirteenth century, but were built under different very different socio-political contexts. Toledo was a city tied to tradition, where Castilian magnates new to the city had to negotiate with a local Mozarabic population even into the thirteenth century. Thus, its Mudejar churches in many ways resembled the architecture of the city built before it came under Castilian rule in the late eleventh century. On the other hand, Burgos, a city only briefly under Islamic rule, had long been a favorite capital of Castilian monarchs by the thirteenth century. The city's royal patrons were more receptive to the new innovations from France and al-Andalus. The political connotations of Las Huelgas better served the ambitions of Seville's early Castilian patrons, namely Alfonso X, than those of Toledo, and, thus, became a model for Sevillian monuments, a subject to which I will return in chapter three.

CHAPTER 2

SEVILLE BEFORE AND AFTER THE RECONQUEST: THE FORMATION OF THE CHRISTIAN CITY

On November 23, 1248, after nearly sixteen months under siege, the Muslim defenders of the city of Seville finally surrendered to the Christian forces led by Fernando III. In December, Fernando made his triumphal entry into the city and took possession of its Great Mosque, consecrating it to the Virgin. He then proceeded to establish a diocese in the city and re-distribute lands to his allies. Fernando's son Alfonso X continued to organize the resettlement of Seville after his father's death in 1252. The redistribution of land (*repartimiento*) in and around the city proved to be a challenge. Alfonso had to issue three *repartimientos* (1252, 1255, and 1263) in order to attract and retain enough Christian settlers to occupy one of the largest cities in al-Andalus.[1] As Fernando had done in most of his previous conquests, he expelled Seville's Muslim residents. The exodus of Seville's Muslims as well as the abandonment of property by its new Castilian owners left large areas of the city vacant. The population of the city possibly dropped from as many as 83,000 residents prior to the Castilian siege to 24,000 or fewer shortly after the conquest.[2] Documentary evidence proves that some Muslims remained in the

---

[1] Ecker, "From Masjid to Casa-Mezquita,"1: 126-127 and 147-148. No urban repartimiento survives for the city of Seville, but portions of the repartimiento of the rural areas in the province of Seville have been preserved and were published by González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*. This repartimiento was compiled under Alfonso X between 1252 and 1253, though the earliest surviving copy dates to the fifteenth century, see González, 1: 94.

[2] It is virtually impossible to provide accurate population estimates for Seville in the thirteenth century. These estimates are simply speculations by Torres Balbás and González in their studies on the Islamic and Christian city, see Torres Balbás and Henri Terrasse, *Ciudades Hispanomusulmanas*, 2d ed. (Madrid: Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales y Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1985), 1: 106, and *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, 1: 316-317. The first existing census information for Seville dates to 1384 and records 15,000 Christian residents for the city. González suggested that the lower number than his estimate for the thirteenth century was the result of the plagues of the fourteenth century and the exclusion of minorities in the census.

city, but the majority fled with what they could carry.[3] They left behind a city with a complex urban structure that had been continually evolving since the Roman period.

This chapter examines how the view of Seville's pre-reconquest urban fabric by its first Castilian rulers set the stage for the development of its early Mudejar architecture. Despite successive regime changes from the Romans to the Visigoths, followed by various Islamic dynasties and finally the Castilians, significant aspects of the city's infrastructure remained the same. This continuity was due in part to practicality, especially in relation to Seville's thirteenth-century Castilian residents, who lacked the manpower to reshape the city. However, their appropriation of major Almohad civic and religious centers was more than just mere expediency: it also signified their hegemony over the newly conquered city. The conversion of the Almohad mosque into Seville's cathedral, in particular, was an assertion of Castilian authority. According to early modern historians of Seville, the Castilians' seizure of the Almohad Great Mosque and several of the city's smaller neighborhood mosques was also driven by their desire to restore early Christian and Visigothic churches. While some of Seville's mosques were indeed founded over or at least near churches, existing primary evidence suggests that reclaiming specific Visigothic sites was not a major objective of the city's Castilian conquerors. Because Seville's neighborhood mosques lacked the symbolic value of its Almohad and Umayyad congregational mosques, many were replaced relatively quickly by the city's earliest Gothic-Mudejar churches.

By the time Fernando and his army entered Seville in 1248, the city was close to 2,000 years old. Civilization began to develop on the banks of the Guadalquivir River

---

[3] Most scholars agree that some Muslims stayed in the city based on documental evidence and the difficulty of expelling an entire population. For several sources on the subject, see Valencia, *Sevilla Musulmana Hasta la Caida del Califato*, 36-39, Antonio Sanchez Collantes de Terán, "Los Mudejares Sevillanos," in *Actas 1 Symposio Internacional de Mudejarismo* (Teruel: Diputación Provincial, 1981), 225-235, and Ecker, "From Masjid to Casa-Mezquita," 1: 112-117.

during the Bronze Age, and by the ninth or eighth century BCE a significant urban settlement had formed on the site of the current city. However, little is known about the appearance of the city until the Roman period. The Romans both destroyed and rebuilt Seville during the Punic Wars at the end of the third century, but the Roman name for Seville - Hispalis - does not appear in the textual record until 49 BCE when it is mentioned in Julius Caesar's *Commentarii de Bello Civili*. According to Isidore of Seville, who remains one of the main sources for the city's Roman history, Caesar made Hispalis an official Roman colony in 45 BCE, naming it Julia Romula Hispalis. Isidore claimed that Caesar chose Julia and Romula in honor of himself and Rome and Hispalis (translated by Isidore into Latin as (*palus*) *his palis* – 'on these piles') in reference to the foundations of the city's buildings, which supposedly consisted of wooden poles driven into the swampy ground of the area.[4] Hispalis, however, is not a Latin word, but is Semitic in origin (Jews were well-established in Spain by at least the third century BCE.).[5] Isidore must have tried to reconcile the name of the Roman city with its physical remains; pine posts have been excavated in two different locations in the Seville.[6]

Elements from the Roman city still survive today. Some of the most conspicuous include several columns from a temple and a large basin now in the courtyard of Seville's

---

[4] Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies*. trans. W. J. Lewis, J.A. Beach and Oliver Berghof with the collaboration of Muriel Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 305.

[5] The first known record of Jews in Seville dates to 716, though most scholars believe that Jews lived in the city before this date. Seville had one of the largest Jewish populations in Andalusia throughout the Middle Ages, see Norman Roth, *Jews, Visigoths and Muslims in Medieval Spain: Cooperation and Conflict* (New York: E.J. Brill, 1994), 11 and 138-140.

[6] Antonio Blanco Freijeiro, "La Sevilla Romana," in *Historia del Urbanismo Sevillano (De la prehistoria a los visigodos)* (Sevilla: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de Santa Isabel de Hungria, 1972), 4-9, and *La Ciudad Antigua: de la prehistoria a los visogodos*, Historia de Sevilla, vol. 1 (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1979), 105-107.

cathedral.[7] Archeological excavations have also revealed that the major political and cultural centers of Roman Seville are the same as those of the modern city. The Imperial forum of Hispalis is at least partially located under the plaza in front of the collegiate church of El Salvador; whereas, the Republican forum and a later mercantile forum were in the vicinity of the cathedral and Alcazar.[8] Even the Roman city's two major streets can be distinguished in Seville's current street plan. The Calle de Aguilas and the Calle de la Alhóndiga have been identified as the *Decumanus Maximus* and the *Cardo Maximus* of the Roman city because they are relatively wide and straight streets that intersect where the Imperial forum is thought to have been (Figure A25). Since these streets run at angles instead of perfect north/south and east/west axes, Antonio Blanco Friejeiro believed that either the Roman plan of the city was not a perfect grid or that the streets were altered during the Visigothic or Islamic periods.[9] Additional elements of the Roman city lasted well into the medieval period. The Roman wall, which was built in 49

---

[7] Three columns from a Roman temple stand on the Calle Mármoles (Marbles Street). Two more columns were moved from this site in the late sixteenth century to the Almeda de Hércules because of the tradition that the Greek hero founded Seville by erecting six columns on the location of the current city. The basin is similar to one from Nero's Domus Aurea in Rome. It may have come from a cistern, which was discovered under the nearby Archbishop's palace and was used as late as the twelfth century, see Blanco Freijeiro "La Sevilla Romana," 19-21, and Enrique Larrey Hoyuelos and Javier Verdugo Santos "La Recuperación de la ciudad Antigua en el contexto de la expansion urbana del siglo XII. Aportaciones de la excavación relizada en el Palacio arzobispal de Sevilla," in *El Último Siglo de la Sevilla Islámica (1147-1248)*, ed. Magdalena Valor Piechotta (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla y Gerencia Municipal de Urbanismo, 1995), 167-171.

[8] Blanco Freijeiro *La Ciudad Antigua,* 130-134, and Larrey Hoyuelos and Verdugo Santos, 167.

[9] Blanco Freijeiro *La Ciudad Antigua,* 127-128. The nature of Roman Seville's street pattern is somewhat ambiguous. Hugh Kennedy explains that the narrow, seemingly haphazard streets typically associated with Islamic cities often began to take form in late antiquity due to shifts in urban development. He also points out that not all Roman cities were planned according to a strict grid, see "From polis to medina: Urban Change in Late Antique and early Islamic Syria," *Past and Present* 106 (1985): 11-17. This could be the case for Seville, since remains of the third-century city may have informed the plan of the Roman city.

BCE, was the primary wall around the city until the tenth century.[10] Seville's ancient aqueduct was not reconstructed until the twelfth century. As late as the fifteenth century, the Muslim author al-Himyari stated that, "a great number of antique vestiges are found in Seville, as well as majestic porticos that prove the existence of temples in the city.[11]"

Hispalis flourished for nearly five hundred years until it was repeatedly attacked by barbarian tribes in the fifth century CE. First the Vandals and then the Suevi conquered and temporarily occupied Seville. In the sixth century, the Visigoths took the city, calling it Spalis. As was Visigothic custom, the new rulers of Seville appeared to have largely adopted the Roman urban environment as well as Roman customs. Virtually nothing remains in the city that was solely constructed under the Visigoths.

Visigothic hegemony came to an end when the city fell in 712 to a contingent of Arab and Berber forces led by the Umayyad general Musa ibn Nusayr.[12] Now under the name of Ishbiliya, Seville became the Umayyad capital of al-Andalus, but was quickly replaced by Cordoba in 716. By this time, the population of Seville had a complex ethnic and religious make-up consisting of Christians with indigenous, Roman, and Visigothic ancestry, Muslim Berbers and Arabs from various tribes, and Jews. Moreover, within the first century of Arab rule, many of the city's Christians converted to Islam. Its ruling class included vestiges of the old Visigothic aristocracy, who had intermarried with the most prominent Arab tribe in the city, the Yemenis. This ethnic diversity and change in

---

[10] Valor, "Las defenses urbanas y Palatinas," in *El Último Siglo de la Sevilla Islámica*, 49.

[11] al-Himyari (Abu `Abd Allah Muhammad ibn `Abd al-Mun`im), *La péninsule Ibérique au moyen-âge d'après le Kitab arrawd al mi`tar fi habar al-aktar d'Ibn `Abd al Mun`im al-Himyari; texte arabe des notices relatives à l'Espagne, au Portugal e au sud-ouest de la France*, trans. E. Levi-Provençal (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1938), 27, cited in José Guerrero Lovillo, "Sevilla Musulmana," in *Historia del Urbanismo Sevillano*, 29.

[12] There are varying accounts of the Muslim conquest of Seville, but most Muslim sources attribute it to Musa ibn Nusayr, see Jacinto Bosch Vilá, *La Sevilla Islámica, 712*-1248, Historia de Sevilla, (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1984), 15-20.

leadership is reflected in the oldest surviving Islamic construction in Seville, the courtyard and base of the tower of the collegiate church of El Salvador. They are all that remain of the congregational mosque built in ninth century, which was likely built over a Visigothic basilica in the old Roman forum.

Despite several rebellions against the caliphs of Cordoba, Seville did not regain its primacy until the demise of the caliphate in 1031, and the subsequent splintering of Islamic rule on the peninsula into separate kingdoms known as taifas (party kingdoms). Under the ‘Abbadids, Seville once again became the most important city in al-Andalus, as the center of a taifa kingdom that had absorbed Cordoba into its territories. Despite its power as the capital of the dominant Muslim kingdom of al-Andalus, Seville was eventually forced to become a tributary of Castile. Due to the Castilian threat, the taifas of Badajoz and Granada sought military support from the Almoravids, a Berber tribe of fundamentalist Muslims from North Africa. The Almoravids halted the Christian incursion into al-Andalus, but soon thereafter imposed themselves as rulers of al-Andalus. Seville fell to the Almoravids in 1091, but their control of al-Andalus was relatively short lived because they were replaced by a second group of Muslim Berbers from North Africa, the Almohads. Having already asserted their control over the Maghreb, they conquered Seville in 1147, and in 1172, made it their Andalusian political capital. Under the Almohads, Seville’s economy and population grew, with the exception of its Christian and Jewish inhabitants. These minorities had suffered increasing restrictions under the Almoravids and were eventually expelled altogether by the even more religiously conservative Almohads.[13]

Seville’s most famous Islamic monuments were built under the Almohad caliph Abu Ya´qub Yusuf. Although many of them only survive in fragments, their original

---

[13] For a discussion of these populations under Islamic rule, see Bosch Vilá, 348-354.

appearance was recorded by the caliph's chronicler Ibn Sahib al-Sala.[14] Ya´qub Yusuf expanded the Almoravid city walls, parts of which are still intact today, rebuilt much of the Alcazar, improved the shipyards, and moved the main city center from the site of the Imperial Roman forum to the location of the current cathedral. There he built a new congregational mosque; its minaret, now known as the Giralda, still stands as the primary symbol of the city (Figures A9 and A10). One of his other lasting contributions to the city was the restoration of the Caños de Carmona, the old Roman aqueduct, which served as the Seville's primary water source into the late nineteenth century.

An Almohad structure that survives today, the defensive tower now known as the Torre del Oro, together with its now missing twin on the opposite bank, was built on the banks of the Guadalquivir after Ya´qub Yusuf's reign (Figure A26), but by the time the tower was begun in 1220, Almohad rule in al-Andalus was rapidly declining. During its final years of Muslim hegemony, Seville struggled to find a leader that could maintain its independence from Castile. Its local leaders seceded from the Almohads for a time, claiming allegiance to the rebel Ibn Hud (1229-1238), who eventually became a vassal of Fernando III and as a result was murdered by one of his own lieutenants. Seville returned to Almohad rule and later looked to the Hafsids for support before falling victim to Fernando in 1248.

Not surprisingly, it appears that the general appearance of the city changed little after it passed back into Christian hands. It would have been both impractical and unnecessary for the new settlers to carry out any major changes in the city's urban fabric. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Castilians had been occupying major Muslim cities since Alfonso VI took Toledo in 1085. For the most part, Castilian life in the thirteenth century had adapted to the labyrinth-like streets and inward-looking structures

---

[14] Ibn Sahib al-Sala. *Al-Mann bil-Imama*. trans. A. Huici Miranda (Valencia: Anubar, 1969), 195-203.

of the Islamic city. Interestingly, significant alterations to the city do not seem to have occurred until the end of the fifteenth century. And even then, the Castilians had retained enough of the Islamic city for the Bavarian humanist and geographer Hieronymus Münzer to comment in 1494 that, "innumerable monuments and antiquities of the Saracens remained in the city."[15] Parts of Seville's Islamic street plan are still relatively well-preserved today, particularly around the cathedral and the old *Judería* (Jewish quarter) (Figure A25). The city's streets were modified only gradually, despite the contrast between the relatively comprehensive municipal ordinances of Castile and the more laissez-faire approach of Islamic local government to urban development.[16] For example, a building code, which likely originated under Alfonso X, mandated that the projecting second stories of houses, which were typical of Islamic domestic architecture, had to be tall enough for an armed knight to be able to pass through, but as late as 1410, a house and several overhangs on a street near the cathedral had to be demolished because they inhibited the passing of processional crosses. Further evidence of the persistence of the Islamic city plan can be found in a decree issued by Enrique III in 1403, prohibiting residents from incorporating dead end streets into their houses, another typical feature of Islamic Seville.[17] It was not until the end of the fifteenth century that many of Seville's

---

[15] Jerónimo Münzer, *Viaje por España y Portugal (1494-1495)*, prologue by Manuel Gómez-Moreno, trans. José López Toro (original text Latin) (Madrid: Colección Almenara, 1951), 61-62.

[16] While medieval Castilian and Muslim laws concerning public verses private space sharply contrasted, the Castilians of Seville retained many Islamic municipal market and zoning regulations, see Thomas Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle: Social and Cultural Change in Medieval Spain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 174, and Bosch Vilá, 283-288. It should also be noted that the planning of the Almohad city was not completely organic. For example, the regular grid of streets and blocks in the San Vicente Neighborhood likely dates to the Almohad period. For a discussion of the Almohad city, see Margaret Ann Kaluzny, "From Islamic Ishbiliya to Christian Sevilla: Transformation and Continuity in a Multicultural City" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2004), chapter three (see 111-113 specifically for the regular street plan of the San Vicente neighborhood).

[17] Many of Seville's early building and planning codes, such as the one restricting overhangs, are recorded in the *Libro del Peso de los Alarifes*. The earliest version of this book is

irregular plazas (open public areas), dating from at least the Islamic period, were enlarged and formalized. The fact that a significant number of the modified plazas were those in front of the houses of the nobility, gives credence to Diego Jorge's hypothesis that the remodeling of formerly Islamic cities at the dawn of the Renaissance was due to changes in taste, namely a desire for classicism, and not a rejection of Islamic forms due to religious ideology.[18]

Although evidence from the fifteenth century suggests that the Castilians retained much of the Islamic fabric of Seville immediately following their occupation of the city, it is impossible to know precisely what they preserved and what they replaced. We do know that Alfonso X addressed the practical needs of rebuilding the shipyards and repairing the city's wall fairly soon after his father's death in 1252.[19] He may have begun his campaigns to rebuild parts of the Alcazar and to erect the city's parish churches over neighborhood mosques (local oratories as opposed to the city's two congregational mosques) at this time as well, though most of the earliest evidence for this construction dates to the 1270's.[20]

Practical necessity also likely influenced the preservation of the general districts of the Islamic city, since it appears that the Castilian division of the city into twenty-four

---

a 1443 copy of an original manuscript that Cómez has attributed to the reign of Alfonso X, see "El Libro del Peso de los Alarifes" in *Actas del I Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo* (Madrid: Diputación Provincial de Teruel, 1981), 255-267. For fifteenth-century decrees enforcing these original ordinances see Antonio Collantes de Teran, *Sevilla en la Baja Edad Media. La Ciudad y sus Hombres* (Sevilla: Ayuntamiento, 1977), 74-76. The organization of Seville's initial municipal government was modeled off that of Toledo, see Ecker, "From Masjid to Casa-Mezquita," 1:118-120.

[18] Collantes de Teran *Sevilla en la Baja Edad Media,* 77. and Díez Jorge, *El Arte Mudéjar*, 237-242.

[19] Cómez, *Arquitectura alfonsí*, 135.

[20] A detailed analysis of these buildings is carried out in chapter three.

parishes was based on existing neighborhoods.[21] Spanish scholars have offered a variety of theories as to how the city's parishes were determined, but Ecker has demonstrated that they were probably based on the selection of neighborhood mosques, which would serve as the churches for their respective parishes. Using the sites of the city's current churches, she observed that out of the twenty-one mosques that were chosen from the approximately one hundred neighborhood mosques in the city all but three were located on major city streets, and, therefore, could easily be identified by a survey of the city carried out on foot. Ecker's is a persuasive explanation that provides a logical alternative to the popular theory that the city's parishes were determined from the vantage point of the Giralda. The selection of prominently placed neighborhood mosques would also explain the seemingly erratic placement and sizes of the parishes.[22]

Ecker's theory is contingent on the assumption that most if not all of Seville's original parish churches were initially housed in converted mosques. Although this is likely the case, there is still scholarly debate on the subject. Only two of the city's parish churches can be confirmed to have been mosques, the collegiate church of El Salvador and the church of San Juan de la Palma. El Salvador was founded in the congregational mosque of the Umayyad Period (711-1031). A seventeenth-century church largely replaced the ninth-century mosque, but parts of the mosque still exist including two inscriptions, the base of its minaret, and parts of its courtyard (Figures A27 and A28).

---

[21] The earliest list of parishes is recorded in the *Libro de Repartimiento*. It includes San Nicolás, San Ildefonso, San Esteban, Santa Catalina, Santiago, San Pedro, San Andrés, San Martín, San Juan de la Palma, San Marcos, Santa Marina, Omnium Sanctorum, San Gil, San Julián, Santa Lucía, San Miguel, San Lorenzo, San Vicente, San Román, Santa María Magdalena, San Bartolomé, El Salvador (the parish of the collegiate church), and Santa María (whose parish church was in the cathedral), see González 2: 120-122. The parish of San Isidoro is not included in this list, but it is mentioned in a charter from 1251, see Ecker "From masjid to casa-mezquita," 1: 125.

[22] Ecker, "How to Administer a Conquered City in Al-Andalus," 47-50. For Ecker's argument as well as a critique of the theories of Spanish scholars see "From Masjid to Casa-Mezquita," 1: 131-141.

One of these inscriptions is on a column, which once stood in the prayer hall. It dates the mosque's foundation to 829, during reign of the caliph 'Abd al-Rahman II under the direction of Ibn 'Adabbas, (governor) of Seville.[23] The other inscription, carved on a marble panel originally located on the minaret, names the patron who reconstructed the upper portions of the tower after the earthquake of 1079. The parish church of San Juan de la Palma, built over the neighborhood mosque of Umm al-Rashid, also conserves an eleventh-century inscription on a marble panel from the mosque's minaret, which names its patron.[24]

In addition to the bell towers of El Salvador and San Juan de la Palma, it has been argued that the bases of several more towers are also the remains of minarets, though only one of these towers, that of Santa Catalina, contains substantial evidence of Islamic construction.[25] Angulo proposed that the first three meters of the Santa Catalina's tower

---

[23] Bloom notes that this inscription does not specifically mention the minaret of the mosque and that the minaret more likely dates to the second half of the ninth century, see *Mosque: Symbol of Islam*, Oxford Studies in Islamic Art, vol. 7 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 105.

[24] All of these inscriptions are now housed in the Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla. For transcriptions of them see Torres Balbás, "la primitiva mezquita mayor de Sevilla," *Al-Andalus* 11 (1946): 429-439 and Heather Ecker, " 'Arab Stones,' Rodrigo Caro's Translations of Arabic Inscriptions in Seville (1634), Revisted," *Al-Qantara* 23 (2002): 394-395.

[25] Archeologists Magdalena Valor Piechotta and Isabel Montes, "De mezquitas a iglesias: el caso de Sevilla" in *Religion and Belief in Medieval Europe, Papers of the 'Medieval Europe Brugge 1997' Conference*, vol. 4, eds. G. De Boe and F. Verhaeghe (Zelik: Instituuut voor het Archeologisch Patrimonium, 1997) claim that the bell towers of San Gil, San Marcos, Santa Catalina, Santa Lucía, and Santa Marina all have "vestiges" of former minarets, but they do not describe these "vestiges," 146. Angulo also suggested that the base of Santa Marina may be from a minaret, but his theory is based on a legendary account, and, is, therefore, less plausible, see 150. In her monograph on San Pedro, María Teresa Dabrio González alludes to the possibility that the first level of the church's tower may be from a minaret due to similarities in its stone and brick construction and in its fenestration to Islamic towers, but she also notes that the same type of construction is also used in Mudejar construction in Seville. She compares the brick with stone quoins of San Pedro to the base of the Giralda, but the Giralda actually has full courses of stone at its base as opposed to brick with stone quoins. The base of San Pedro is actually more similar to that of the tower of Santa Marina, which was likely constructed at the end of the thirteenth or the early fourteenth century as will be discussed in chapter three. For Dabrio González's discussion of San Pedro's tower, see *Estudio historico-artístico de la parroquia de San Pedro*. (Sevilla: EXCMA Diputacíon Provincil, 1975), 10 and 32-35.

may be from an earlier minaret since its interior plan changes from a circle to a square at this height.[26] Curiously, he does not mention the fact that the ashlar masonry of this section also differs from the brick construction of the rest of the tower (Figure A29). The same type of construction can be found in the Giralda, the minaret of the Almohad Great Mosque, and the remains of the minaret at El Salvador (Figures A9 and A27). The bases of these two towers are composed of ashlar masonry taken from surrounding Roman edifices.[27] Both the change in plan and material of the base of Santa Catalina's tower strongly suggests that it was the foundation of a former minaret.

Besides the evidence that some bell towers were built over minarets, most scholars assume that Seville's parish churches were founded over mosques largely because of Alfonso X's unprecedented donation of neighborhood mosques to the Church of Seville in 1252. With the exception of three mosques, which he reserved for his Jewish allies, the king donated the all of the city's mosques to the Church at the request of his brother, Don Felipe, who had been made archbishop-elect of Seville in 1249. Alfonso's *privilegio rodado* reads, "And I give, moreover, to the Church of Seville, at the request of don Felipe, my brother, [Archbishop] -elect of the same place, all of the mosques that are in Seville, as many as there were in the time of the moors, that it possess them freely and discharged from previous obligation forever, in perpetuity, part from three mosques that are in the Jewish quarter, that are now synagogues of the Jews."[28]

---

[26] Angulo, 149.

[27] The stone foundation of the Giralda has the remains of a sacred inscription, suggesting that it may have come from a Roman temple, Raphael Mazano Martos, "La arquitectura en Sevilla medieval," in *Breve historia de la arquitectura en Sevilla*, Alfonso Jiménez Martin, et. al (Sevilla: Monte de Piedad; Cája de Ahorros, 1985), 18. On the tower of El Salvador see Torres Balbás, "La primitiva mezquita mayor de Sevilla," *Al-Andalus* 11 (1946), 436.

[28] This translation is taken from Ecker "From Masjid to Casa-Mezquita," 1:124, who also provides a transcription of Alfonso's *privilegio rodado* as follows: "Et do demas a la eglesia de Sevilla, por ruego de don Felippe, mio ermano, electo desse mismo logar, todas las mezquitas que son en Sevilla, quantas feuron en tiempo de moros, que las aya libres et quitas pora siempre por iuro de herredat, fueras tres mezquitas que son en la iuderia, que son agora sinagas de los

The donation, however, gives no indication of how the church used these mosques. Ecker argues that this donation comprised the approximately eighty neighborhood mosques that were used as mortmain properties by the church, and not the mosques that were probably re-consecrated as parish churches. She reasons that the mosques/parish churches already belonged to the church since the city's parishes were organized around them at least a year before Alfonso's donation as evidenced by a document from 1251 that mentions a parish by name – that of San Isidoro.[29] Ecker's theory, therefore, indicates that Alfonso's donation of neighborhood mosques to the Church of Seville cannot prove that the city's parish churches were founded over mosques.

The first written records explicitly stating that most of Seville's neighborhood mosques were used for parish churches only appear in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century histories of the city.[30] The seventeenth-century chronicler of the city Diego Ortiz de

---

judios," see 2: 42 (documentary appendix II.) Archeological evidence confirms that at least one of Seville's former synagogues (now the church of Santa María la Blanca) was also originally a mosque, see Diego Oliva Alonso, "Sector sureste: el barrio de San Bartolomé," in *El Último Siglo de la Sevilla Islámica*, 196-197. In addition to the mosques in this donation, citing Seville's seventeenth-century chronicler, Ortiz de Zúñiga, González believed that Alfonso also gave a mosque to the city's Muslims and one to the city's Genoese traders, see 1: 531. However, only the mosque given to the Genoese can be confirmed by a primary document. Alfonso X had initially given the mosque to a nobleman before the 1252 donation, and after this owner either died or left the city, Alfonso gave it to the Genoese in 1261. The king also gave two more mosques away before 1252 - one to a mayor of the city and the other to the monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos just outside the city's walls, see Ecker, "From Masjid to Casa-Mezquita," 1:145-146 and Documentary Appendix 17 for the donation to the Genoese.

[29] Ibid.,1: 124-125.

[30] As Ecker has noted ("From Masjid to Casa-Mezquita," 135, note 342), the first of these historians Luis de Peraza in his *Historia de Sevilla*. (1535), does not mention the subject, but the following three historians Alonso Morgado, *Historia de Sevilla* (Sevilla: La Imprenta de Andrea Pescioni y Juan de Leon, 1587; reprint Sevilla: Ariza, 1887), 335-336, Rodrigo Caro *Antigüedades y Principado de la Ilustrissima Ciudad de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Andres Grande, 1634; reprint Sevilla: Alfar, 1982), f. 22b, 48a, and 63a, and Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Anales eclesiásticos y seculars de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla, metropolis de Andalucía* (Madrid: en la Imprenta Real, 1677; reprint, ed. José Sánchez Herrero (Seville: Guadalquivir S.L., Ediciones, 1988), 1: 245-251, all claim that the majority of the city's churches were founded over mosques.

Zúñiga, who provides one of the more lengthy early discussions of the history of the city's parish churches, claimed that many of them were mosques, but he also listed a significant number of exceptions - the churches of Omnium Sanctorum, San Pedro, San Isidoro, San Miguel, San Bartolomé, Santa Lucía, San Marcos, La Magdalena, San Gil and San Lorenzo.[31] As will be addressed below, Zúñiga's accuracy concerning the origins of Seville's churches is not wholly accurate, but even if his exceptions are correct, they do not totally disprove Ecker's theory that the city's parishes were formed around existing mosques. Mosques still could have served as the basis of the city's division, with some additional parishes added by the Castilians.

Since the nineteenth century, most Spanish scholars have considered all of the city's parish churches to have originated in mosques.[32] Gestoso thought that the bell towers of many of the churches were preserved minarets because of their resemblance to local Almohad towers and that the domed chapels of at least two of the churches, San Pedro and Santa Marina, were the mihrabs of the mosques over which they were built; however, more recent scholarship has proven Gestoso wrong.[33] Antonio Ballesteros Berretta believed that all of Seville's parish churches were founded over mosques and that several of them still retained elements of the original mosques in their construction as

---

[31] "The remaining parish churches . . . they have nothing that supposes greater antiquity than that of our conquest. (Las demás Parroqias . . .nada tienen que suponga mayor antiguedad que la de nuestra conquista.), " Zúñiga, 1: 251.

[32] In addition to the scholars specifically mentioned in the text, Lamperez , 27; Hernández Díaz and Sancho Corbacho, 119; Torres Balbás, *Ars Hispaniae*, 4: 292; Morales, "Los Inicios de la arquitectura mudéjar en Sevilla," 97-100; Valor and Montes, 141-148; Rafael Valencia Rodríguez, "El espacio urbano de la Sevilla árabe," in *Premios Ciudad de Sevilla de Investigación 1986* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1988), 279; Collantes de Teran *Sevilla en la Baja Edad Media,* 427; González, 1: 531-532; and Francisco Collantes de Terán y Delorme, "Sevilla Múdejar," in *Historia del Urbanismo Sevillano*, 57, also assume that Seville's parishes churches were originally housed in mosques.

[33] For Gestoso's discussion of towers, see *Sevilla Monumental y Artística*, 1: 67-144. He also claimed that mihrabs still exist in San Pedro and Santa Marina, 1: 197 and 235.

well. He seems to have based his claim on the collection of thirteenth-century documents concerning the city's mosques; however, these documents concern the sale and rental of mosque properties owned by the church, and not the mosques that were converted into churches.[34] Angulo made the logical suggestion that Seville's parish churches originally incorporated the structures of the converted mosques, but that parts of the mosques were gradually replaced until nothing significant of them remained. He speculated that in many of the city's first parish churches an apse and façade portal were added to the existing mosque, changing the main axis of the building from north-south to east-west for liturgical purposes.[35] Angulo's hypothesis is supported by extant converted mosques with added apses, such as Santa Cruz in Toledo or the Andalusian example of the hermitage of the Concepción in Almonaster la Real outside of the city of Huelva, where an apse was added to the mosque probably in the second half of the thirteenth century.[36]

In contrast to his Spanish colleagues, Cómez has argued that not all of Seville's parish churches were originally placed in mosques, citing the regular plans of larger churches, namely Santa Marina and Omnium Sanctorum, as evidence that they were not adapted to a preexisting structure. He further claims that Santa Marina was built on a virgin site because according to the *Libro de Repartimiento* the area where it is located was covered with orchards.[37] Neither of Cómez's arguments is very convincing. The

---

[34] Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta. *Sevilla en el siglo XIII* (Madrid: Establecimiento tipográfico de Juan Pérez Torres, 1913), 148-149, and appendix J.

[35] Angulo, 43.

[36] For a discussion of the hermitage, see Morales, "Los Inicios de la arquitectura mudéjar en Sevilla," 100-101. Angulo also discusses the hermitage at Almonaster, but he believes the structure was originally a Visigothic church that was already oriented to the east, see 12. For additional examples of apses added to mosques, see Valor and Montes, 14-145.

[37] Cómez, *La Iglesia de Santa Marina de Sevilla*, 24-26. Ecker has also argued against Cómez's claim that parish churches were built in the northern zone of Seville to attract settlers by pointing out the parishes were established before the first *repartimiento* of the city, see "From Masjid to Casa-Mezquita," 141-142 and "How to Administer a Conquered City in al-Andalus," In *Under the Influence,* 48-49, note 8. However, as I will argue in chapter three, Cómez's argument

regularity of the current plans of Santa Marina and Omnium Sanctorum do not prove that they were not originally founded over mosques, which may have been later demolished. Santa Marina's location in an orchard actually reinforces the theory that it was founded over a mosque, since, as Ecker has noted, some of Seville's mosques, particularly those converted into parish churches, were completely surrounded by gardens.[38] Other Sevillian mosques, including the Almohad Great Mosque, had orchards in their courtyards.

Given the confirmed examples of El Salvador and San Juan de la Palma as well as the re-consecration of neighborhood mosques in other cities, most of Seville's mosques, if not all them, were likely housed in former mosques. The use of Seville's neighborhood mosques as churches was primarily a matter of practicality. The mosques could easily be modified to fit the needs of the Roman liturgy by adding an apse to their eastern wall. These mosques were also conveniently located in the commercial and social centers of their neighborhoods. Furthermore, the construction of new churches immediately upon the Christian occupation of the city would have been a challenging undertaking, though not impossible as some have suggested.[39]

---

is not completely invalid. The northern parishes churches were probably founded in mosques, but were rebuilt relatively quickly with fortified churches in order to encourage settlement in that region of the city.

[38] Ecker, "From Masjid to Casa-Mezquita," 2: 36. While some neighborhood mosques in Seville had gardens surrounding them, it was typical for Great Mosques in al-Andalus, including the Almohad Great Mosque of Seville, to have orchards contained within adjacent courtyards, Ruggles, *Islamic Gardens and Landscapes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 93-94.

[39] Morales claimed that the Christian population of Seville immediately following its Castilian conquest was too small to construct all new parish churches, "Los Inicios de la arquitectura mudéjar en Sevilla," 100. But the size of Seville's workforce is irrelevant since, as will be discussed in chapter three, masons were brought in from Burgos to construct the city's parish churches.

But beyond practicality, the re-consecration of these mosques - especially the city's Great Mosque - as churches signified regime change. Few acts are as emblematic of conquest as the seizure of the most sacred centers of a community and their subsequent conversion into the cult sites of the new authority. The appropriation of the sacred sites of the conquered by the conquerors was standard practice during the Middle Ages throughout the environs of the old Roman Empire.

The Great Mosque of Damascus provides one of the most well-known examples. The eighth-century mosque incorporates elements of both the Roman temple and Christian church that preceded it. With the rise of Christianity throughout the Roman Empire in the fourth century, Christians demolished most of the first-century Temple of Jupiter and constructed a church to contain the head of John the Baptist. After the Umayyads conquered Damascus in 636, the site was initially shared by the city's Christians and Muslims until Caliph al-Walid (705-715) commissioned an ostentatious mosque to replace the church as a demonstration of his power in what was now the Umayyad capital. Supposedly al-Walid himself began the demolition of the church by driving a golden pick into the building in order to quiet the outcry of Damascus' predominantly Christian population.

The symbolism of converting sacred sites was not lost on Christian victors during the *reconquista*. Written records referring to the conversion of mosques into churches date as far back as the ninth century, and a number of texts from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries record how the congregational mosques of conquered cities were ritually cleansed of the "filth of Muhammad" and triumphantly consecrated as churches.[40]

---

[40] Most of these sources use the word "filth" or some form of it (*suziedat, spurcicia*, etc.) in reference to Muhammad. For discussions of these sources and their terminology see Julie Harris, "Mosque to Church Conversions in the Spanish Reconquest," *Medieval Encounters* 3 (1997): 161-163; Joseph O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 204-205; and Amy Remensnyder, "The Colonization of

By the time of Fernando III's conquest of Seville in 1248, the ritual conversion of congregational mosques into cathedrals may have been standard protocol, but it was still a powerful act of conquest.[41] No building had greater symbolic significance in thirteenth-century Seville than its Almohad congregational mosque. Fernando waited nearly a month after Seville's capitulation to transform the mosque into the city's cathedral on December 22, 1248, the 185th anniversary of the removal of the remains of San Isidoro from Muslim Seville to Christian León.[42] He dedicated the church to the Virgin, the patroness of the *reconquista*.[43] Presumably, Fernando had the mosque ritually cleansed according to custom, sanctifying the building for Christian use.[44] The city's converted neighborhood mosques were likely not only cleansed, but it is also

---

Sacred Architecture: The Virgin Mary, Mosques, and Temples in Medieval Spain and Early Sixteenth-Century Mexico," in *Monks and Nuns, Saints and Outcasts: Religion in Medieval Society. Essays in Honor of Lester K. Little*. eds. Sharon Farmer and Barbara H. Rosenwein. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000),194.

[41] On the various reasons for the conversions of mosques into churches, see José Orlandis, "Un pronelma eclesiástico de la Reconquista española: La conversión de mezquitas en iglesias cristianas," in *Mélanges offerts à Jean Dauvillier* (Toulouse: Centre d'Histoire Juridique Méridionale, 1979), 595–604; Pascual Buresi, "Les conversions d'églises et de mosquées en Espagne aux XIe–XIIIe siècles," in *Religion et société urbaine au Moyen âge : études offertes à Jean-Louis Biget par ses anciens élèves*, eds. Patrick Boucheron and Jacques Chiffoleau, Publications de la Sorbonne, Histoire ancienne et médiévale 60 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2000), 333-350; Harris, "Mosque to Church"; O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade* (204–06); and Remensnyder, "Colonization of Sacred Architecture."

[42] *Primera crónica general de España* (also known as the *Estoria de España*), ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1955), 2: 767, 769.

[43] Remensnyder argues that a large number of the converted mosques were dedicated to the Virgin at least in part because of her role as patroness of the Reconquest. She further points out that Alfonso X identified the Virgin in this role in his *Cantigas*, "Colonization of Sacred Architecture," 202–05.

[44] AlfosnoX's *Siete Partidas* provides the guidelines for consecrating a new church, and there is evidence that they were at least partially followed in the conversion of the Great Mosque at Cordoba, see Ecker, "From Masjid to Casa-Mezquita," 1: 108. The only primary source to mention the conversion of the Almohad congregational mosque at Seville, the *Primera crónica general*, does not describe this consecration ritual at Seville, but given the precedent at Cordoba and Alfonso's record of it, at least a similar process must have taken place at Seville. For a discussion of the conversion process at Seville, see Kaluzny, 168-169 and 184.

probable that many of them were at least partially replaced with "Christian" structures by the end of the thirteenth century, a subject to which I will return in the next chapter. The fabric of Seville's Great Mosque, however, was largely maintained until the fifteenth century, when a Gothic cathedral was built in its place. While replacing the mosque with a Gothic cathedral would have been a challenging, if not impossible, undertaking during the thirteenth century due to economic constraints, the mosque's preservation for such a long period of time was not the result of pure practicality. The only Sevillian mosque to be preserved even longer than the Almohad congregational mosque was the Umayyad congregational mosque that was converted into the collegiate church of El Salvador. The preservation of this mosque into the seventeenth century further confirms the power that the Christian rulers associated with the appropriation of important Islamic sacred structures.

The Almohad mosque's minaret, now known as the Giralda, was an especially prominent beacon of victory for both Muslim and Christian rulers.[45] The tower was finished in 1198 when the caliph al-Mansur commissioned its large finial (*yamur*), consisting of four bronze balls, in honor of his victory over Alfonso VIII of Castile at Alarcos four years earlier (Figure A10).[46] According to the *Primera crónica general,* the epic history of Spain compiled by Alfonso X, his father, Fernando III had his standards

---

45 Discussions of the conversion of minarets, including the Giralda, to Christian bell towers as triumphal symbols can be found in Jonathon Bloom, "Mosque Towers and Church Towers in Early Medieval Spain," *Künstlerischer Austausch – Artistic Exchange: Akten des XXVIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte, Berlin, 15.-20. Juli 1992*, ed. Thomas W. Gaehtgens (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), 1: 361; Ali Asgar Alibhai, "The Reverberations of Santiago's Bells," *La Corónica* 36 (2008): 154–55; and Harris, "Mosque to Church," 160.

46 Bloom discusses the significance of Almohad minarets as symbols of "Islam triumphant" over Christianity, see *Minaret: Symbol of Islam*, 118-124. He further explains that minarets had been a sign of Muslim dominance in Iberia since the second half of the ninth century – the period when the earliest Iberian minarets were constructed, becoming competing forms with church towers as evidenced by St. Eulogius' lamentation of the destruction of church towers by Muslims in 850, 103-104.

raised over the minaret on the day that the Muslims surrendered Seville to the Christians.[47] A fourteenth-century addendum to Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's history of Spain further records that after the Christians entered Seville, the city's Muslims begged Alfonso for permission to tear down the mosque and the Giralda, but he refused, threatening death to any Muslim who would remove even one brick from the edifice.[48] Though the veracity of this anecdote cannot be confirmed, it does coincide with Alfonso's admiration of the Giralda as recorded in the *Primera crónica*.[49] More importantly, through the description of the Muslim population's lack of control over one of their important cultural symbols, the text shows Seville's complete subjugation to Christian rules. Therefore, Alfonso's denial of their request was an act of dominance, and not simply the result of his appreciation of the minaret, as others have suggested.[50] Through Fernando's and Alfonso's appropriation of the Giralda and the mosque, above all, they became symbols of Christian triumph not unlike Muslim luxury items taken in battle and placed in Christian churches as trophies.[51]

---

47 *Primera crónica general*, 2: 767

48 *Chronica de España por el Arzobispo Don Rodrigo Ximénez continuada desde el año 1243 en que la dejo hasta el de 1395 cuya continuacion esta incompleta como manfiesta la ultima foxa*, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, ms. 83-7-21, fol. 255, cited in Morales, "Los Inicios de la arquitectura mudéjar en Sevilla," 105. This account of Alfonso and the Muslims of Seville is often repeated though rarely cited in literature on the Giralda.

49 *Primera crónica general*, 2: 768–69

50 Cómez Ramos, *Arquitectura alfonsí* 2; and Morales, "Los Inicios de la arquitectura mudéjar en Sevilla," 93.

51 For several examples of such appropriations, see Harris, "Muslim Ivories in Christian Hands," *Art History* 18 (1995): 213–21; Avinoam Shalem, "From Royal Caskets to Relic Containers: Two Ivory Caskets from Burgos and Madrid," *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 24–38; Dodds, "Islam, Christianity, and the Problem of Religious Art," 32–35; and Ruiz Souza, "Botín de guerra y tesoro sagrado," in *Maravillas de la España medieval: Tesoro sagrado y monarquía*, ed. Isidro Gonzalo Bango Torviso (León: Junta de Castilla y León, Caja España, 2000), 1: 31-39. Ruiz Souza makes the important distinction that not all Muslim items in churches can automatically be interpreted as symbols of victory, but he mentions several examples that undoubtedly functioned in this manner including a *yamur* taken after the conquest of Granada, "Botín de guerra" 37.

Alfonso's and his father's use of the power of appropriation is even more apparent in their conversion of the Great Mosque of Cordoba, an extraordinary sanctuary built during the height of the Umayyad Caliphate. By the thirteenth century, the Great Mosque had become a key emblem of the struggle between Christian and Muslim Spain.[52] Its lamps, which were fashioned from the bells of Santiago de Compostela that were taken when the building was burned by al-Mansur in 997, were particularly potent signifiers of Muslim hegemony. After Fernando's conquest of Cordoba, in a highly symbolic act, he forced Muslim prisoners to carry the bells back to Santiago.[53] An anecdote from the contemporary *Latin Chronicle of the Kings of Castile*, also known as the *Crónica latina*, demonstrates that the Muslim residents of Cordoba were well-aware of the symbolic value of the mosque. According to the anecdote, they threatened to demolish the mosque if Fernando did not accept their terms of surrender.[54] The reaction of Cordoba's Muslims to the seizure of their Great Mosque is similar to the account from the *Crónica latina* of Seville's Muslims, who wanted to destroy their beloved mosque and minaret rather than see it turned over to Christian hands. These Christian depictions of Muslims are bound to be biased, but even if they exaggerate the reactions of the conquered Muslims of Cordoba and Seville, they do record the Christian perception that appropriating such monuments, rather than allowing them to be destroyed, was an act of dominance.

---

[52] Dodds, "The Great Mosque of Córdoba," in *Al-Andalus: the Art of Islamic Spain*, ed. Jerrilynn D. Dodds (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art. Distributed by H.N. Abrams, 1992), 17–18, 24.

[53] *Primera crónica general*, 2: 734

[54] *The Latin Chronicle of the Kings of Castile,* ed. and trans. Joseph O'Callaghan, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 236 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2002), 140-141. Ecker cites this passage as evidence of the Castilian admiration of the mosque, "The Great Mosque of Córdoba in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Muqarnas* 20 (2003): 120. In this article she also provides a detailed description of the construction and the restoration carried out at the mosque under Alfonso X, see 118–26.

Primary sources make it clear that Fernando's re-consecration of Seville's Great Mosque signified the conquest of the city in the name of Christianity, but early modern sources further assert that the appropriation of the Great Mosque as well as the neighborhood mosques converted into parish churches was a reclamation of specific sacred sites that had originally served as places of Christian worship under the Visigoths. This may have been the case at least in Toledo, where supposed Visigothic origins for the converted mosque were explicitly cited in the cathedral's endowment, made by Alfonso VI within two years of his conquest of the city in 1085.[55] Proving that the reclamation of particular monuments was a driving force for the Christian conquest of the cities of al-Andalus nearly two centuries later is more difficult, however. Medieval texts make no such explicit connections between Seville's cathedral and late medieval parish churches and their possible Visigothic antecedents, for example, although the city's Visigothic heritage appears to have been recognized in a broad sense.

The city's thirteenth-century conquerors were certainly aware of Seville's importance in the Visigothic Church. The city was the home of the famed early medieval scholar and archbishop of Seville San Isidoro (560-636). It was also the see of Andalusia until the Almohads took over the city in 1148. The city's early Christian status is emphasized in the *Primera crónica*, which purposed to make known "how the Christians later began to recover the land."[56] According to the *Crónica*, the Sevillian Church was

---

[55] Whether or not Alfonso VI actually believed that Toledo's Great Mosque was once the city's Visigothic cathedral is uncertain. As Peter Linehan explains, his evocation of the mosque's Visigothic past in his endowment may have had more to do with asserting his authority over the local Mozarabic population rather than reclaiming a Christian holy site from Islam. The city's Great Mosque had been a Visigothic church, but it was not the cathedral. The Mozarabic church of Santa María de Alficén, located east of the city, stood on the site of the old Visigothic cathedral or at least near it, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 216-217.

[56] "cómo fueron los cristianos después cobrando la tierra," 1: 4. Translation from R.J. González-Casanovas, *Imperial Histories from Alfonso X to Inca Garcilaso: Revisionist Myths of Reconquest and Conquest* (Potomic, Maryland: Scripta Humanistica, 1997), 47. See González-Casanovas in general on the rhetoric of the *Primera crónica general*.

originally the head of the Spanish church, and its primacy was not transferred to Toledo until after Isidoro's successor converted to Islam.[57] The *Crónica* further records that Fernando III made his triumphal entry into Seville on the 185th anniversary of the transfer of the remains of Isidoro, and that once he had settled in the city, he began to "restore to the honor and praise of God and Holy Mary, his mother, the archiepiscopal see, which since ancient times was deserted and vacant and orphaned of its dignified pastor.[58]" The *Crónica* then describes how Fernando endowed the cathedral, though interestingly, it never refers to the cathedral as a former mosque, but only as Sancta María.[59]

References to Visigothic origins for specific parish churches in Seville do not begin to surface in the written record until several centuries after the city's Castilian conquest. They are most prevalent in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century histories of the city, including those by Luis de Peraza, Alonso Morgado, Rodrigo Caro, and Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga. These historians unanimously claimed that the current cathedral occupies the same location of Visigothic cathedral, which was supposedly converted into a mosque.[60] Their primary evidence for the Christian lineage of the site is the *Virgin de la Antigua*, a fresco of the Virgin and Child that they believed was preserved from the Visigothic

---

[57] *Primera crónica general*, 1: 278-279. The tradition that the primacy of the Spanish Church moved from Seville to Toledo is recorded in two of the major thirteenth-century histories of Spain, the *Primera crónica general* and the *Cronicon mundi* by Lucas of Tuy, former canon of León. It is absent from *De rebus Hispanie* by Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, Archbishop of Toledo, probably because of his desire to retain Toledo's primacy over Seville, see Linehan, "La función de la historia en la reconquista de Sevilla," *Revista de Occidente* 224 (2000): 94-105.

[58] "rrefrescar a onrra et a loor de Dios et de sancta Maria su madre, la siella arçobispal, que antiguo tienpo auie que estaua yerma et bazia et era huerfana de so digneral pastor," *Primera crónica*, 2: 769.

[59] Ibid., 2: 769-770. Ecker has also noted that the *Crónica* does not call the cathedral a mosque, see "From Masjid to Casa-Mezquita," 1: 109.

[60] Luis de Peraza, *Historia de Sevilla* (manuscript c. 1535-36), ed. Francisco Morales Padrón (Seville: Artes Gráficas Salesianas, 1979), 39; Morgado, 351; Caro, f. 22; and Zúñiga, 1: 19, 56, and 251.

cathedral through divine intervention that prohibited the Muslims from destroying the sacred image (Figure A30).[61] According to these historians, the Virgin appeared to Fernando III one night shortly before the conquest of Seville and miraculously transported him to the Great Mosque where he discovered the fresco hidden in one of its walls. The *Virgin de la Antigua*, however, is far from Visigothic. The fresco has been retouched multiple times, but its basic style draws from Byzantine and French precedents that date it to the second quarter of the fourteenth century. The fresco was painted on a pillar of the cathedral/mosque and preserved during the construction of the Gothic cathedral. It was not moved to its current location, the Capilla de la Virgen de la Antigua, until 1578.[62] The legend of Fernando's discovery of the *Virgin de la Antigua* in the Great Mosque was likely derived from similar earlier accounts involving Fernando and thirteenth-century statues of the Virgin in the Great Mosque, but as Amy Remensyder has pointed out, these accounts do not mention Visigothic origins for the site of the cathedral or for the statues.[63]

Not surprisingly, in addition to the cathedral, early modern historians of Seville also attributed Visigothic ancestry not just to the cathedral, but also to several of the city's parish churches, though they did not fully agree on which churches have a pre-

---

[61] Peraza, 45; Morgado, 350-351; Caro, f. 53a, and Zúñiga, 1: 28-29. Caro believed that the Virgin dated to the Roman period and that the Visigothic cathedral replaced a Temple to Jupiter.

[62] José María Medianero Hernández provides the most comprehensive study of the image to date in *Nuestra Señora de la Antigua: La Virgen "decana" de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Arte Hispalense, 2008). In addition to his stylistic analysis of the fresco, he also disproves its formerly accepted early fifteenth-century date, which was based on the faulty identification of the female donor kneeling to the right of the Virgin as doña Leonor de Alburquerque, see 25-28.

[63] "The Colonization of Sacred Architecture," 201, note 60. Similar legends surround Marian images in several other cities as well, see Angela Muñoz Fernández, "Cultos, devociones y advocaiones religiosasen los orígenes de la organización eclesiástica cordobesa siglos XIII-XIV)," in *Andalucía entre Oriente y Occidente (1236-1492): Actas del Coloquio internacional de historia medieval de Andalucía*, ed. Emilio Cabrera (Córdoba: EXCMA Diputación Provincial de Córdoba, Servicia de Publicaciones, 1988), 139.

Islamic past.[64] Most of their alleged evidence for the origins of the churches includes various relics discovered in the structures or inscriptions on no longer extant sepulchers and altarpieces, dating them to the Visigothic or early Christian periods. The earliest documented "discovery" of such evidence is a statue of the Virgin found under the bell tower of the church of San Nicolás in the late fifteenth century.[65] Similar to the legend of the *Virgin de la Antigua* at the cathedral, this image of the Virgin was believed to have survived from an early Christian church that was taken over by the Muslims. The legendary past of the sacred site of San Nicolás reaches even beyond the early Christian period into pagan antiquity. The original church reportedly replaced a temple and was named Santa María Soterraña (the underground Mary) for the nearby cave where the pagans practiced many of their rituals.[66] Not surprisingly, the statue of the Virgin, consequently named *Santa María Soterraña*, was not made in the early Christian period, but instead likely dates to the time of its dubious discovery.[67]

---

[64] According to Peraza the churches of San Miguel, San Esteban, and San Juan de Bautista were founded in the Visigothic period, see 31-35. Zúñiga is the most detailed source for the pre-Muslim origins of Seville's parish churches. He claimed that San Román, San Martín, San Julian, San Ildefonso, San Nicolás, and possibly Santa Marina had been churches during the Visigothic period, 248-251. Morgado lists the same churches as Zúñiga with the exception of San Julián, 335-336. Caro's list is also similar to that of Zúñiga, though he excludes both San Julián and San Martín, see f. 22b.

[65] Ecker explains that although J. Matute y Garviria dates this discovery to 1492 in his *Noticias Relativas de la Historia de Sevilla* (1828), it must have occurred earlier since Santa María Soterraña is mentioned in a 1485 donation to the Convent of Santa Madre de Dios, see "The Conversion of Mosques to Synagogues in Seville," 207, note 71. For a transcription of the document, see page 203.

[66] Like the Virgin de la Antigua, this legend is recorded in several early histories of the city, see Morgado, 337; Caro, f. 22b; and Zúñiga 1: 249.

[67] The statue is typically dated to the fifteenth century, see Alfredo J. Morales, María Jesús Sanze, Juan Miguel Serrera, and Enrique Valdvieso, *Guía Artística de Sevilla y su Provincia* (Sevilla: EXCMA Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1981), 91, and Cristina Enrique Pareja López and Matilde Megía Navarro, *El Arte de la Reconquista Cristiana*, Historia del Arte en Andalucía, vol. 3 (Sevilla: Gever, 1990), 306-307. María de Mena believes that statue to have been largely remade in the sixteenth century, 297.

The claims of Seville's early modern historians concerning the origins of their churches are unreliable at best. They were obviously biased by their desire to promote their native city through emphasizing its Christian heritage. Ecker has connected their accounts of the supposed early Christian and Visigothic foundations of Seville's churches to the contemporary pan-European obsession with finding sacred remains from these periods. The discovery of early Christian churches and relics was particularly important for raising the status of Andalusia. The region lacked relics since they were taken north before or during its Muslim occupation and remained north even after the Reconquest.[68] (The transfer of the bones of San Isidore from Seville to León, provides one of many examples.) Seville's historians were eager to find evidence of the city's ancient Christian history in order to prove its prestige among northern cities, whose sacred past had not been broken by such a prolonged period of Muslim hegemony. In the specific case of the seventeenth-century historian Rodrigo Caro, Ecker has demonstrated the influence of Pedro de Castro, Archbishop of Seville (1610-1623), who was fanatical in his quest to find new relics. She has also suggested that Caro and his contemporaries may have intentionally been trying to suppress the city's Muslim history so that it would not detract from its early Christian legacy.[69] When Muslims are mentioned in these histories, they are often portrayed as unholy usurpers of sacred Christian sites. Caro indignantly stated

---

[68] Ecker, "Arab Stones" lists multiple factors that contributed to the increased interest in 'sacred history' during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, particularly in Spain. They include the publication of Gregory XIII's *Martyrologium Romanum* in 1583, the discovery of an early Christian catacomb in Rome in 1578, and the bull by Gregory XIII allowing Spanish churches to venerate saints "natural" to their diocese (before 1585), see 364-367. On the expedition of relics from Andalusia see William Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 126, cited in Ecker, "Arab Stones," 368, note 59.

[69] Ecker, "Arab Stones," 363 and 374-379.

that the Muslims "perpetuated the memory of their insolent victory" through the conversion of churches into mosques.[70] Zúñiga lamented how the Muslims "profaned" Seville's Visigothic cathedral by replacing it with a mosque.[71] Perhaps the most telling example is Zúñiga's account of the Muslims pillaging the burial site of St. Isidore. He claimed that the minaret of the mosque of Ibn 'Adabbas, the congregational mosque under the Umayyads that was later replaced by the collegiate church of El Salvador, was built with stones from the church that held the saint's tomb. The vileness of this act in the eyes of the author is emphasized by the divine retribution that it incurred. According to Zúñiga, the mosque's muezzins lost their ability to speak when trying to make the call to prayer because God would not permit, "such sacred stones to serve such a profane use.[72]"

There are multiple reasons to be skeptical of the ancient Christian and Visigothic history of Seville as recorded by historians such as Caro and Zúñiga. However, there is admittedly some truth to their biased portrayals of Muslims desecrating the Visigothic churches of Seville. Archeological evidence indicates that an early Christian church, possibly the city's original cathedral, was not on the site of the Almohad Great Mosque, where the cathedral now stands, but it was near it. In 1976, a fourth-century baptismal, which was modified during the Visigothic period, was excavated in the Patio de Banderas of the Alcazar (a palatial complex begun in the tenth century under the Umayyads), just

---

[70] Caro, f. 22a.

[71] Zúñiga, 1:19.

[72] "que piedras tan sagradas sirviesen á uso tan profano," Zúñiga, 1: 246.

southeast of the cathedral.[73] The approximate date of this baptismal pool coincides with the transferal of the relics of St. Vincent from either Valencia or Portugal to Seville.[74] Isidore of Seville does mention the church of San Vicente in his history of the Vandals, but he does not refer to it as the cathedral, nor does he mention its location.[75] The original location of the tombstone of Archbishop Honoratus, Isidore's successor, also suggests that the Visigoth cathedral may have been located on the site of the Alcazar. The tombstone is currently resides in the courtyard of the cathedral, but according to a seventeenth-century source it was moved there from the Alcazar.[76] Furthermore, the site of the Alcazar would have been a likely location for a church during the Early Christian and Visigothic periods, which at that time was just outside the walls of the city in a former Roman necropolis. Antonio Blanco Freijeiro suggested that a wealthy citizen may have donated the land at the site for the construction of Seville's cathedral, since similar sites were donated for the Constantinian churches of St. Peter's, the Lateran, and St. Paul's Outside the Walls in Rome.[77] The extramural site would have also been typical of early Christian churches in Spain, particularly martyria, which were often

---

[73] M. Bendala and I. Negueruela, "Baptisterio paleocristiano y visigodo en los Reales Alcázares de Sevilla," *Noticiaro Arqueológico Hispano* 10 (1980): 335-379.

[74] Blanco Freijeiro, *La Cuidad Antigua*, 171.

[75] Isidore of Seville, *History of the Goths,Vandals, and Suevi*, trans. Guido Donini and Gordon B. Ford, Jr. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), 34.

[76] F. Fernandez Beltrán, *Comprabación de la piedra sepulchral del venerable Honorato, successor del glorioso Doctor San Isidoro de Sevilla, hallada en un fundamento de los Reales Alcázares*, 1630, cited in Blanco Freijeiro, *La Cuidad Antigua*, 171.

[77] Blanco Freijeiro, *La Cuidad Antigua*, 171-175.

erected outside city walls in suburban cemeteries.[78] Given this archeological evidence it appears likely that a Visigothic church, if not Seville's first cathedral, was located on the current site of the Alcazar. What became of this early Sevillian church is uncertain. It may have been destroyed by the Viking raid on Seville in 844, but it is also possible that it was incorporated by the Muslim rulers of Seville as a part of their Dar-al-Imara (house of the governor), built on the same site in 913-914 under the caliphate.[79] While the site of this Christian church was not used for Seville's Almohad congregational mosque as the city's early modern historians had speculated, it was converted into the most important secular center of the Islamic city.

As in the case of the current cathedral, it appears that Zúñiga was also not entirely wrong about the Umayyad use of *spolia* from a Visigothic church for their congregational mosque, the mosque of Ibn 'Adabbas. Archeological remains suggest that this site was also an important center during both the Roman and Visigothic periods. The general area surrounding the current church of El Salvador was the main forum of Roman Seville. Based on the church's location within the forum as well as the testimony of the chronicler Espinosa y Cárcel, who claimed to have seen remains of an Imperial Roman structure during the construction of the church in the late seventeenth century, Blanco suspected that the site of the church was the location of the forum's basilica. He further suggested

---

[78] Michael Kulikowski, "Cities and Government in Late Antique Hispania: Recent Advances and Future Research," in *Hispania in Late Antiquity: Current Perspectives*, ed. and trans. Kim Bowes and Michael Kulikowski (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), 64, and Kulikowski, *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities* (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 2004), 228-229.

[79] The site may have even retained some of its religious status. Ibn Sahib al-Sala mentions a small mosque connected to Dar al-Imara that was taken over by the Almohads, see *Al-mann bil-imama*, trans. Ambrosio Huici Miranda (Valencia: Impreso por Anubar, 1969), 196.

that the Roman basilica was eventually converted to the Visigothic cathedral, replacing the original cathedral located outside the city walls.[80] Recent excavations in other Spanish cities indicate that the transition of Christian religious centers from extra-mural locations to old Roman civic centers was fairly typical during the late fifth and early sixth centuries.[81] Blanco's theory is also supported by the Roman and Visigothic *spolia* still present in the courtyard and former minaret of El Salvador. The arcade of the courtyard includes three Visigothic and ten Roman capitals, and a large marble stone with the remains of a Latin inscription incorporated in the base of the church's bell tower.[82] The establishment of Visigothic cathedrals in Roman fora and the presence of *spolia* at El Salvador lends credence to Zúñiga's claim that the minaret of the former mosque was constructed with stones from the church that held St. Isidore's remains. The archeological evidence at the Alcazar and the current church of El Salvador also indicates that the Muslim rulers of Seville took over the sites of two of the city's most important Visigothic churches for their primary secular and religious centers, providing some validity to Caro's claim that the Muslims of Seville appropriated churches as symbols of their authority.

In addition to archeological evidence, Muslim historians also indicate that mosques were erected over or near churches in Seville. The tenth-century historian Abu

---

[80] Blanco Freijeiro, *La Cuidad Antigua,* 131-132 and 175.

[81] Kulikowski, "Cities and Government in Late Antique Hispania," 64-65, and *Late Roman Spain*, 228-229.

[82] For commentary on the capitals see, Cómez, "Fragmentos de una Mezquita Sevillana: La Aljama de Ibn Adabbas," *Laboratorio de Arte* 7 (1994): 16, and for the base of the tower see Torres Balbás, "La primitiva mezquita mayor de Sevilla," 436.

Bakr Ibn Al-Qutia recorded that the Sevillian Mosque Kanisa Rubina was constructed next to the church of the same name. Rubina is likely the Arabic form of Rufina, the third-century saint martyred with her sister Justa in Seville.[83] This same church is mentioned by the twelfth-century author Ibn Khayr, who claimed that the church was converted into the mosque known as rabita Bab al-'Anbar. The church/mosque was outside of the original walls of the city to the northeast.[84]

Like the thirteenth-century Castilian conversion of mosques, the eight-century Muslim conversion of churches was likely a combination of practical and symbolic factors. The incoming Berber and Arab Muslims, coupled with the recent converts to Islam among the local population, would have necessitated a significant number of new mosques, and fewer churches. Some churches were likely seized by Muslim conquerors, but some were actually purchased, such as the church of San Vicente in Cordoba, later replaced by the city's famous Great Mosque.[85] The conversion of churches also provided Muslim rulers with a way to demoralize the more hostile factions among local Christians. This may have been the case in Seville. According to the late thirteenth-/early fourteenth-century Muslim chronicler Ibn Idhari al-Marrakushi, Sevillian Christians revolted against their new rulers once it became clear that they were there to stay.[86] The Muslim conquerors of Seville were certainly aware of the protective powers

---

[83] González,, 1:525, and Valencia, *Sevilla Musulmana Hasta la Caida del Califato*, 569 and 583.

[84] Ibid., 151-152, 583, and 592. Ecker suggested that the mosque may have been converted to the church of Santa Catalina, see "From Masjid to Casa-Mezquita," 2: 29.

[85] Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 61.

[86] Bosh Vilá, 17-18.

that Christians connected to their churches. Hydatius, a fifth-century chronicler, describes how God struck down the Vandal King Gunderic after he sacked the Sevillian church of St. Vincent. This tale of divine wrath is repeated by Isidore of Seville in his history of the Vandals.[87] By taking over Christian churches, Seville's Muslim rulers took away the Christians' hope for divine intervention, and, more importantly, the centers of their communities.

Archeological evidence and medieval Muslim histories strongly suggest that at least some mosques in Seville were originally churches, but to what extent the thirteenth-century Castilian conquerors of Seville were aware of specific sites that had once been Christian sacred centers is unknown. The reference to the conversion of churches into mosques in general in the *Primera crónica* indicates that they may have believed some mosques in Seville were Visigothic churches. They may have even known about specific churches through the descendants of Seville's Mozarabs, who must have maintained at least some of the city's Visigothic churches after the Muslim invasion. As previously mentioned, Seville remained the See of al-Andalus until the ascent of the Almohads in 1147. There was a significant Mozarabic population in the city during the early twelfth century. In his account of market and moral regulations for Seville, the Almoravid author Ibn Abdun mentioned the city's Christians on several occasions.[88] During Almoravid persecutions and after the Almohad expulsion of Mozarabs, Seville's remaining

---

[87] Pedro Castillo Maldonado, "*Angelorum Participes*: The cult of the saints in late antique Spain," in *Hispania in Late Antiquity*, 184. Isisdore of Seville, 34.

[88] Muhammad b. Ahmad Ibn Abdun, *Séville Muslumane au Début du XIIe Siécle: Le Traité d'Ibn 'Abdun sur la Vie Urbaine et les Corps de Métiers* trans. E. Lévi-Provençal (Paris: G.P. Maisonneuve, 1947), 108-109, 112-113, and 127-128.

Christians fled to Africa, Castile, and Portugal, but contemporary documents record the presence of at least some Christians in the city and the province into the early thirteenth century.[89] These Christians and their descendents may have retained knowledge of their abandoned churches in Seville. The Castilians of the thirteenth century may have also been aware of former Mozarabic churches through their contacts with the city. Seville had been a tributary of Castile off and on since the middle of the eleventh century, requiring Castilian emissaries to travel to the city to collect payments. Another avenue for contact was trade. Due to Seville's location on the Guadalquivir River, the city enjoyed an active international trade throughout the Middle Ages that in some aspects changed little despite various regime changes. For example, Genoese traders operated in the same district of the city both prior to and after its Castilian conquest.[90] Even if the Castilian conquerors of Seville did not know which mosques in the city were once Visigothic churches, they may have known if some of them were Mozarabic churches, which still would have justified their reclamation of the mosques.

But despite the probability that Fernando and his contemporaries were aware that at least some of Seville's mosques were at once churches, there is little evidence that they knew, or at least were largely concerned with which mosques were churches. Their limited interest the Visigothic origins of specific mosques is most apparent in the textual record of the thirteenth century. As previously mentioned, the *Primera crónica* only mentions the general practice of converting churches into mosques; it does not mention

---

[89] González, 1: 305, and Valencia, *Sevilla Musulmana Hasta la Caida del Califato,* 772.

[90] Bosch Vilá, 320. Feliciano also discusses the active textile trade between Castile and al-Andalus in general, see 101-131.

any specific examples in Seville despite its emphasis on Fernando's restoration of the Sevillian Church. The absence of Visigothic churches and images of the Virgin in Alfonso X's *Cantigas de Santa María* is also very telling. Several of the *cantigas* are dedicated to Alfonso's and his parents' veneration of statues of the Virgin, but Visigothic origins are not ascribed to any of them, even the one honored posthumously by Fernando in the mosque/cathedral of Seville.[91]

The lack of knowledge and/or concern over Visigothic churches after the Castilian conquest Seville is further reflected in the establishment of city's parish churches. Neither the method by which the new Christian rulers of the city selected mosques for conversion nor the saints to which they dedicated these converted mosques indicate any concerted effort to restore Visigothic churches. As discussed above, it appears that the neighborhood mosques that were converted into churches were in most cases chosen due to their location on major city streets. This selection process favored convenience over any ideological program. The names of Seville's parishes also do not readily reflect an agenda of reconquest.[92] Out of the original twenty-four parishes in the

---

[91] See *Cantigas* 122, 256, 292, 324, and 345. For an English translation of the *cantigas* see *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X, The Wise*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, vol. 173, trans. Kathleen Kulp-Hill with an introduction by Connie L. Scarborough (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000).

[92] Various attempts have been made to fit the names of Seville's parishes into a coherent program, but they were likely simply named after the most popular saints of the period. Antonio Ballesteros Beretta argued that don Remondo, the first archbishop of Seville after the Reconquest, named the parishes after those of his native city of Segovia, but Ecker explains that only just over half of the parish churches in Seville have the same names as the parishes of medieval Segovia, see "From Masjid to Casa-mezquita," 1: 136-137. Julio González suggested that the names of Seville's parish churches corresponded to the Church Triumphant over a pagan city, connecting the names of parishes to important figures in the Litany of the Saints, but not all the names correspond to the Litany. González also reluctantly admitted that names could have been the result of the preference of the population, see 1: 356-357. Robert Ignatius Burns thought that the parish names were probably at least in part conventional because of the similarities between those of Seville and Valencia, but he also pointed out that convention came out of the devotional

city only four have namesakes that can clearly be connected to Seville's Visigothic past – San Isidoro, San Ildefonso and San Julián, both Visigothic archbishops of Toledo, and San Vicente. Angela Muñoz Fernandez's study of the naming of the religious institutions of thirteenth-century Andalusia indicates that Visigothic saints were not a popular choice throughout the region. This observation in addition to her proposition that the prevalence of churches dedicated to sainted bishops may have reflected the increase of pontifical authority during the period[93] suggests that the Sevillian churches of San Isidoro, San Ildefonso, and San Julián were not necessarily dedicated to these saints because of their Visigothic status, but rather because of their positions as bishops. The notable absence of the names of Rufina, her sister Justa, and Hermenegildo, the Visigothic prince also martyred in Seville for his faith, further suggests that the idea of reclamation did not play a part in the naming of Seville's parishes.[94]

Finally, what is known about the actual structure of the churches in the thirteenth century does not appear to reflect a desire to evoke their possible Visigothic past. Instead, Seville's new Castilian residents were more concerned with replacing their converted neighborhood mosques with churches that referenced relatively recent Gothic and Mudejar monuments. Only two parish churches, Santa Marina and El Salvador,

---

practice of the people of late medieval Iberia, and Valencia in particular, whom he characterized as "seafaring, warfaring, militantly Christian, frontier people, who appreciated the need for penance . . .and could not afford to be unmindful of martyrdom," see *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Reconstruction on the 13th-century Frontier*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 1: 125 and 2: 428, note 84. Muñoz Fernandez concluded that the names given to Andalusian churches were largely due to the preferences of their individual patrons rather than comprehensive programs, 135-143.

[93] Muñoz Fernandez, 142. See her chart on 144 for parish names in Andalusia.

[94] It should be noted that in 1295 the Augustinians founded a Sevillian monastery dedicated to San Leandro, brother of Isidore and the archbishop, who converted Hermenegildo.

retain Visigothic and late Roman *spolia*, and there is no indication that this *spolia* was viewed in the late medieval period as remains of Seville's early churches as it possibly was at the Cathedral of Toledo.[95] At Toledo, the jasper column shafts of the fourteenth-century screen surrounding the choir stalls and a capital in the thirteenth-century chapel of Santa Lucía are traditionally assumed to be survivals of the city's Visigothic churches including the cathedral, though it is more likely that the shafts and capital are from the mosque which preceded the thirteenth-century Gothic cathedral.[96] Visual reminders of Toledo's status under the Visigoths would have appealed to Rodrigo Jimenez de Rada, the archbishop of Toledo responsible for the construction of the cathedral, which began in 1222. Foreseeing the Christian conquest of Seville, Rodrigo desperately wanted Toledo to retain its primacy over Isidore's hometown. However, Rodrigo makes no explicit

---

[95] In addition to Santa Marina and El Salvador, the parish church of Santa María La Blanca also has two likely Visigothic columns and capitals in one of its portals, but because the church was a synagogue until the end of the fourteenth century, the survival of these columns and capitals cannot be interpreted as an intentional reference to a Visigothic church by Seville's thirteenth-century Castilian conquerors. In fact, the presence of the Visigothic elements at Santa María seems to suggest that the use of *spolia* in the city's thirteenth-century structures was not a matter of religious symbolism, but rather practicality.

[96] For this legend, see Harris, "Mosque to Church," 167, George Edmond Street, *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain* (London: J. Murray, 1865; reprint New York: Arno Press, 1980) 1: 342. Clara Delgado Valero believed that the column shafts and capital were from the tenth-century construction at the mosque, see *Toledo islámico: ciudad, arte e historia* (Toledo: Zocodover, 1987), 266; however, the shafts are too short to have been used in the arcades of the mosque's prayer hall. (Special thanks to Tobias Ruetenik for sharing this observation with me.) Dodds has also argued that the iconography and Mudejar forms of another thirteenth-century church in Toledo, the parish church of San Román, at least in part, reference the city's Visigothic past, see *The Arts of Intimacy*, 176-180 and "Rodrigo, Reconquest, and Assimilation: Some Preliminary Thoughts About San Román," in *Spanish Medieval Art: Recent Studies*, ed. Column Hourihane (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies; Princeton: The Index of Christian Art Princeton University, 2007) 215-244.

reference to the Visigothic origins of the site of the cathedral,[97] leaving one to wonder whether medieval viewers saw the column shafts and capital as historical references to the Visigothic cathedral or to the Taifa mosque, which had served as the cathedral for nearly a century and a half. Whatever the intention was at Toledo, the surviving architectural *spolia* present in the Sevillian churches of Santa Marina and El Salvador lack any tradition of Visigothic origin as well as the distinctive concentration of a large quantity of *spolia* amassed in the Toledan choir screen. In the Sevillian parish church of Santa Marina, the use of several Roman columns to support arches in the church's sacramental chapel (Figure A31), which has been dated to the thirteenth century, could have been symbolic, but it also could have simply been practical.[98] As previously discussed, Roman and Visigothic capitals are also incorporated in the courtyard of the church of El Salvador. These capitals are from the sahn of the Umayyad congregational mosque, which was largely rebuilt in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.[99] Therefore, their preservation in the thirteenth century can probably be explained by the

---

[97] In an endowment for the cathedral from July 10, 1238, Rodrigo references the Visigothic past of the Church of Toledo and the physical transformation of the cathedral/mosque into a Gothic cathedral, but he does not mention a Visigothic structure having been replaced by the mosque, see *Los Catularios de Toledo: Catalogo Documental*, ed. F. J. Hernández (Madrid: Fundacion Ramon Areces, 1985), no. 449. For a partial transcription in English, see Lucy Pick, "Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada and the Jews: Pragmatism and Patronage in Thirteenth-century Toledo," *Viator* 28 (1997): 219.

[98] For the dating of the chapel and its columns see Cómez, *La Iglesia de Santa Marina*, 47.

[99] Cómez thinks that the capitals are from the central nave of the mosque since there is no absolute proof that the current courtyard occupies the same location of the sahn, see Ibid., 16.

desire to maintain the courtyard of this important mosque, rather than an effort to keep fragments of a Visigothic church.

Seville's Castilian conquerors utilized the Islamic city in ways that met both their practical and symbolic needs. Like the regimes who preceded them, the Castilians maintained much of the infrastructure of the city, some of which dated as far back as the Roman period. Massive changes to the city were not only unnecessary, but also impossible given the relatively small number of settlers in such a large city. The Castilians' reuse of Islamic Seville's civic and religious centers involved both practicality and their desire to assert their hegemony. All of Seville's original parish churches were likely founded over neighborhood mosques. Initially, these mosques provided convenient structures for Christian worship, but they were replaced with largely Gothic structures as soon as possible to signify the presence of the new Christian regime. In contrast, the physical structures of the Almohad and Umayyad congregational mosques that were converted into the city's cathedral and collegiate church held much more symbolic weight. Unlike the converted neighborhood mosques, these mosques were preserved for centuries as symbols of triumph. The symbolism of the city's mosques, however, was likely relegated to their triumph over Almohads and not to their desire to regain Visigothic churches (as sixteenth- and seventeenth-century historians of the city had claimed). Archeology and histories written during the Muslim occupation of Seville provide evidence that some of the city's mosques were actually once churches, but it appears that by the thirteenth century, Seville's new Castilian residents were either unaware of or not concerned about which particular mosques had been churches. Their main goal was to quickly establish their presence in the recently conquered city. The

conversion of mosques into churches dedicated to popular saints of the period provided both a symbolic and a practical means towards this goal. The city's neighborhood mosques also became the setting for Seville's earliest Mudejar architecture.

CHAPTER 3

MUDEJAR ARCHITECTURE IN SEVILLE BEFORE 1356: CHRISTIAN HEGEMONY AND IMPERIAL AMBITION

Chapter two demonstrated that the Christian conquerors of Seville retained a large part of the Islamic city's fabric for practical reasons, but that they also recognized the symbolic power of appropriating major civic and religious monuments, particularly Seville's two most important mosques. This chapter will argue that Seville's new Christian magnates, namely Alfonso X (1252-1284), further asserted their rule by replacing those neighborhood mosques that previously served as their churches with Gothic structures and by founding a large number of religious houses throughout the city. It was particularly important for Alfonso X to establish his authority over his new Muslim subjects and in the eyes of his Christian contemporaries. His father Fernando III left Alfonso the responsibility of organizing and maintaining his many conquests, which included the major cities of Cordoba, Seville, and Jaen. According to Alfonso's own *Primera crónica general*, on his deathbed, Fernando warned his son, "My Lord, I leave you the whole realm from the sea hither that the Moors won from Rodrigo, king of Spain. All of it is in your dominion, part of it conquered, the other part tributary. If you know how to preserve in this state what I leave you, you will be as good a king as I; and if you win more for yourself, you will be better that I; but if you diminish it, you will not be as good as I."[1] Alfonso took his father's words to heart. His reign was consumed by efforts to create an empire that not only included lands within Spain, but also those of the Holy Roman Emperor, a title he long pursued but was never able to obtain.

---

[1] *Primera crónica general*, 2:772-73. Translation from O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade*, 8.

Alfonso's patronage in Seville reflects his political ambitions. Known as "the Wise" for his intellectual achievements, Alfonso was deeply interested in Islamic culture and actively patronized Mudejar art and architecture, but in his new capital of Seville, he needed an architectural style that would signify the triumph of Christianity as well as to enhance his international status. The Gothic style fulfilled both of these needs; it was the main style for the religious and palatial architecture of Christian Europe during the thirteenth century. Furthermore, it was closely associated with the prestigious court of Louis IX, the model Christian king of the period. The Gothic style of the royal convent of Las Huelgas in Burgos provided a specific model for Alfonso's sacred and secular architecture in Seville. The combination of Gothic and Mudejar features at Las Huelgas represented the union of its Castilian and French founders, ancestors of both Alfonso and Louis.[2] In addition to his churches that recall Las Huelgas, Alfonso also commissioned an elaborate iconographical program in Seville's converted Great Mosque to further his imperial agenda. This political interpretation of Alfonso's Sevillian monuments is supported by his patronage outside of Seville, which also conveys an imperial image of the king and, at least in the case of Cordoba, creates a visible Christian presence in a frontier city.

This chapter begins with a discussion of Seville's parish churches since they represent Alfonso and his allies' greatest effort at reshaping the landscape of the Islamic city, but before the meaning of these churches can be interpreted, their chronology and patronage must be firmly established, which requires a close analysis of their structure and related textual sources. Seville's parish churches were probably initially housed in converted mosques. Although the evidence for their chronology is limited, it suggests that the majority of these mosques were either completely replaced or at least

---

[2] Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras, "El 'çementerio real,' 95-102, and chapter one, 55.

significantly modified with primarily Gothic structures within the first century after the Christian conquest, and much of this Gothic construction probably took place under the reign of Alfonso X. It should be noted, however, that dating the surviving medieval components of Seville's parish churches is problematic, since many of them have been substantially altered if not entirely rebuilt since their original construction. All of the churches have undergone extensive restorations, especially after the devastating earthquake of 1356 and, more recently, the destruction that resulted from the Spanish Civil War in 1936, during which many portions of their archives were destroyed. Another difficulty in establishing secure dates for the city's parish churches is the fact that their basic design changed little for over two centuries, making it hard to know what construction at them is original and what has simply been remodeled. Unlike the complex interior spaces necessary for Mozarabic liturgy of earlier Spanish churches, which involved screens separating the nave from a choir divided into multiple chambers,[3] the churches built in Seville after the Reconquest were designed for the practice of the Roman rite, resulting in relatively simple plans without such complex subdivisions. Even some specific aspects of these churches, such as the profiles of the ribs used in their vaults, changed little until the fifteenth century.[4] The primary clues for determining the chronology Seville's churches lie in their decorative details, heraldry that identifies their patrons, and the few remaining contemporary documents concerning them.

The one thirteenth-century parish church of Seville that can be precisely dated is that of the Sevillian suburb of Triana, just across the Guadalquivir from the cathedral

---

[3] For example, the plan of San Pedro de la Nave, dating to the late seventh/early eighth century. For more information on the Mozarabic rite and church design, see Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 20-24. On ritual space in Medieval Spanish churches in general, see López Guzmán, 149-167.

[4] J. Martínez de Aguirre, "El refectorio de San Augustín y la asimilación del gótico en Sevilla," *Archivo Hispalense* 75 (1992): 109-129.

(Figure A25). Nicknamed the Cathedral of Triana because of its large size, Santa Ana is by far the most ambitious of Seville's early parish churches (Figure A32). According to a nineteenth-century inscription, which is supposedly a copy of an earlier inscription no longer extant, the king dedicated the church to St. Ann to express his gratitude to the Virgin for healing him of an eye ailment. This inscription dates the commencement of the construction of the church to 1276, though Zúñiga claimed that the church was begun in 1280.[5] Work on the church continued at least into the early fourteenth century, and, according to Zúñiga, it was partially subsidized through indulgences granted by Archbishop Don Remondo and several of his successors.[6] Santa Ana is unlike most other medieval Sevillian churches because of its impressive size as well as the relatively good condition of its original structure. Except for several additions, the replacement of its west and south portals, and some possible modifications made to the westernmost bays of its nave and aisles, the basic plan of the church has not been significantly altered.

The church is constructed primarily of brick, typically considered a Mudejar material, but it is entirely Gothic in style except for its tower and some minor decorative details. Both Santa Ana's plan and its vaulting are similar to much of the earlier thirteenth-century church architecture of the city of Burgos, including its cathedral.[7] Its

---

[5] Morales Padrón and Babío Walls, 1, and Zúñiga, 1: 317–18.

[6] Zúñiga stated that Santa Ana was begun in 1280, but construction progressed very slowly. He also claimed that Archibishops D. Garcia (1286-1294), D. Sancho (1294-99), D. Almoravit (1299-1303) and their successors gave indulgences for donations to its construction, see 1: 317-318. Zúñiga explained that Alfonso built the church in Triana since the location of the current church, San Jorge, within the castle of Triana was inconvenient for parishioners. Cómez believes that Santa Ana was finished by the early fourteenth century based on the heraldry found in the church's keystones, capitals, and northern portal; however, this heraldry was used by various kings and nobles throughout much of the century, see "La introduccion de la arquitectura gótica en Sevilla en el siglo XIII," in *Metropolis Totius Hispaniae*, 112. Martínez de Aguirre argues that the nave vaults of the church date to the second half of the fourteenth century, though he doesn't explain why, see "El refectorio de San Augustín," 118.

[7] Lambert, "L'Art Gothique A Séville Aprés La Reconquéte," *Revue Archéologique [du Centre de la France]* 36 (1932): 158, and Cómez, *Las empresas artísticas de Alfonso X el Sabio* (Sevilla: EXCMA Diputacion Provincial, 1979), 97–98

plan consists of a nave and two aisles, which are virtually the same height, though the nave is slightly taller (Figure A33). The aisles end in small five-sided apses, while the *capilla mayor*, or sanctuary, includes a five-sided apse preceded by a rectangular bay. Brick compound piers support the pointed arches of the main arcade. The entire church is covered with stone rib vaults, another rare feature among the city's early churches.[8] Quadripartite vaulting divided by ridge ribs covers both the aisles and the nave. The responds of the vaults are supported by corbels decorated with human figures or heraldry belonging to Don Juan Manuel, one of the brothers of Alfonso X, and his descendants (Figure A34).[9]

The Mudejar features of the church are limited to a few minor decorative elements and its bell tower. The origins of some of the decorative elements often referred to as Mudejar are difficult to determine. Because of the combination of the Burgos-inspired ridge ribs and the star and scalloped shell patterns, found in Islamic architecture, that decorate several of the keystones of the vaulting, Cómez has speculated that Mudejar masons worked under masters from Burgos.[10] However, similar star and scalloped shell patterns also appear in Romanesque and Gothic structures. Some of the ornament of the church's westernmost nave bay has also been described as Mudejar, including the cusps around its arches and the zig-zag molding flanking the ridge rib of the vaulting, but this

---

[8] Some scholars argue that the rather basic compound piers of Seville's churches are based on examples from the Almohad Great Mosque. This may be the case, but it is difficult to prove since compound piers are common in Romanesque and Gothic architecture as well.

[9] This heraldry consisting of either a lion or a castle flanked by winged arms bearing swords is present in the eastern most bays of both the aisles and the western most bay of the south aisle. The same heraldry was used by the Manuele family through most of the fourteenth century, see Jirí Louda and Michael Maclagan, *Heraldry of the Royal Families of Europe* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc./Publishers, 1981), tables 47-48, but Angulo claims that the form found in Santa Ana belongs to the early fourteenth century, 20. It is interesting to note, however, that an almost exact match of the castle used in the heraldry can be found in the plasterwork of the dado of the royal chapel in the Cathedral of Cordoba, which dates to the mid-fourteenth century.

[10] Cómez, *Arquitectura alfonsí*,154.

ornament does not clearly resemble any Andalusian precedents. The stylistic deviation of this bay may indicate that it was rebuilt, as Hernández Díaz and Sancho Corbacho suggested, by Pedro I.[11] An eighteenth-century document records another aspect of the church that was clearly derived from an Islamic precedent. According to the document, the exterior of the church at one point had stepped crenellation, like that of Seville's Almohad congregational mosque.[12] Santa Ana's most significant Mudejar aspect is its tower, located on the north side of the church's façade (Figure A35). The tower was not a part of the church's initial building campaign since it blocks the oculus window of the church's north aisle. Various dates have been assigned to the tower, ranging from the first half of the fourteenth century to the beginning of the fifteenth century.[13]

Santa Ana's north portal, the only portal of the church to survive in its original state, is also derived from precedents in Burgos, specifically several portals at the royal convent of Las Huelgas, and it contains some Mudejar ornament (Figures A36 and A37). The stone portal is comprised by a series of columnar jambs with clover-leaf capitals. Pointed archivolts, surrounded by a gabled *alfiz* (embrasure), spring from the impost above the capitals. The outermost archivolt is ornamented with diamond points, while a zig-zag molding adorns the two directly underneath it. This ornament is often referred to as Mudejar, though at least the zig-zags can be found in Iberian Islamic architecture and early Romanesque architecture.[14] Heraldry representing the castles and lions of Castile-

---

[11] Hernández Díaz and Sancho Corbacho, 34.

[12] María de los Angelos Martínez Valero, *La Iglesia de Santa Ana de Sevilla* (Sevilla: EXCMA Diputación de Sevilla, 1991), 50.

[13] Cómez dates Santa Ana's tower to the first half of the fourteenth century, *Arquitectura alfonsí*, 140, and Angulo guessed that it could date between the reign of Pedro I and c. 1400, 21-22, and 155. Neither author provides convincing evidence.

[14] Watson, 1: 15. A gabled *alfiz* over a polylobed arch and zig-zag patterns over the extrados of arches can be found at the Great Mosque of Cordoba. I have not yet been able to identify Islamic examples of the diamond-point pattern. It should be noted that reconstructing a corpus of motifs for Islamic Andalusian architecture is difficult, since many monuments have

León is present in the keystone of its main arch and in a relief just above its *alfiz*, further suggesting the church's royal patronage. Santa Ana became the model for other architectural commissions of the Sevillian aristocracy through the fourteenth century, such as the only other entirely vaulted parish church of the city, San Miguel (no longer extant), the parish church of the Asunción in Huévar, and the parish church of San Antón de Trigueros in Huelva, which was commissioned by Alfonso's daughter doña Beatriz. Santa Ana's influence is also apparent in the monastic churches of San Isidoro del Campo in Santiponce, Santa Clara de Moguer in Huelva, and to some extent Santa Inés in Seville.[15]

Unlike Santa Ana, the typical medieval Sevillian parish church has a simple plan consisting of a nave flanked by two aisles and terminating with a polygonal apse (Figure A38). However, most Sevillian churches are like Santa Ana in their primarily brick construction and their nave arcades of pointed arches on compound piers. The nave of a typical church is covered with a wooden ceiling. Though the original designs of the wooden ceilings of these churches are unknown, the earliest surviving medieval examples are *artesonado* (coffered) ceilings decorated with *lacería*, interlacing bands common in Islamic design, often in the shape of stars, and *lazos*, knots formed by interlocking geometrical patterns (Figure A39).[16] In contrast, the *capilla mayor* has Gothic rib vaulting (Figure A40). Rectangular buttresses receive the thrust of the apse vault, which is crowned on the exterior with a cornice placed over rolled corbels like those at the Great

---

been altered or no longer survive, but it is worth making an effort to distinguish where certain motifs appeared in order to identify what monuments and regions were familiar to masons working Seville. Such information is important for revealing the origins of these masons and interpreting the meaning of these motifs.

[15] Cómez, "La introduccion de la arquitectura gótica en Sevilla," 112.

[16] Though these churches likely had wood ceilings over their naves, the earliest existing ceilings of this type date to the fifteenth century at the churches of San Vicente, San Isidoro, San Pedro, San Esteban, and the Convent of Santa Clara, see Duclos Bautista, 296.

Mosque of Cordoba (Figure A41). The west façade has three oculus windows corresponding to the heights of the nave and aisles, and a simple Gothic portal (Figure A11). In addition to these standard features, many of the churches have small chapels located off of their aisles and under their bell towers (Figure A38). Besides the decorative details of the doors and apses, this type changed little throughout the development of Sevillian church architecture until the sixteenth century.

The relatively well-preserved parish church of Santa Marina provides an important point of departure for dating Seville's other typical medieval churches because it follows the standard format described above, and several parts of the church can be fairly securely dated to the first several decades following Seville's Christian conquest (Figures A11). Santa Marina was consecrated in 1252, and its initial Christian construction was likely begun while Don Felipe was archbishop-elect of Seville (1249-1258) since tiles, depicting his coat of arms were found in the original floor of its Capilla de la Piedad during a nineteenth-century restoration. Though parts of Santa Marina were probably constructed in the thirteenth century, it is impossible to know whether or not the entire church was built at this time or if only some additions were made to the mosque over which it was founded. Cómez argued that the entire church was at least initially built in the thirteenth century because of its regular plan and the possibility that it was built in an orchard and not over a preexisting mosque. Zúñiga recorded that Pedro I "rebuilt" ("reedificó") the church of Santa Marina, among others, in 1356 (presumably because of the destruction caused by the earthquake that year, though oddly Zúiñiga dates the earthquake to 1396).[17] There is some speculation as to what exactly Zúñiga meant by the term "rebuilt." Cómez suggests that it meant restored as opposed to rebuilt, while Francisco Collantes de Terran believed that it meant finished because Zuñiga described

[17] Zúñiga, 2: 142.

many of the city's parish churches as "remaining in the humility of their principal structure." Collantes de Terran interpreted "their principal structure" to be the mosques over which the churches were founded, concluding that the remaining parts of these mosques were finally replaced after the earthquake.[18] This possibility was also presented by Angulo in his theory that Santa Marina's apse and portals were added to an existing mosque, and its nave and aisles were built by Pedro.[19] The term certainly means more than repaired since Zúñiga states that the archbishop at the time made sure that the churches would be "repaired" *and* "rebuilt" ("reparasen y reedificasen").[20] Likely the term means more than restored, if church officials wanted to replace the "humilities" of their churches, which could be read as either older, outdated Christian structures or, as Collantes de Terran and Angulo suggested, mosques that were still in use at this time.

Despite the vague terminology used by Zúñiga, several parts of Santa Marina can be reasonably dated to the thirteenth century on the basis of close examination of the structure. The first of these components is its *capilla mayor*, which consists of two rectangular bays with quadripartite vaulting and a five-sided vaulted apse (Figures A11 and A40). A ridge rib runs the length of the vaults, and three Gothic windows with stone tracery light the apse. The Mudejar elements of the *capilla mayor* are confined to the zig-zag moldings on the ridge rib, the *alfices*, surrounding the exteriors of the windows,

---

[18] Cómez, *Santa Marina*, 35, and "Arte mudéjar sevillano: La arquitectura en tiempos de Pedro I," in *La Herencia de Al-Andalus: Conferencias pronunciadas en el curso La Herencia de al-Andalus, noviembre 2006. abril 2007*, ed. F. Roldan Castro (Sevilla: Fundación el Monte, 2007), 103. Cómez also notes Zúñiga's neglect to mention the earthquake in his discussion of the work done on the parish churches. Francisco Collantes de Terran, "La Sevilla que vio Guzmán el Bueno," *Archivo Hispalense* 27 (1957): 16.

[19] Angulo, 35 and 43.

[20] For Zúñiga's description of this work, see 2: 142. According to Zúñiga, "Deben mucho á este Prelado [Arzobispo don Nuño] las Iglesias Parroquiales y sus Clérigos, á cuyas rentas propias mandó poner cobro, y atendió á que se **reparasen** y **reedificasen**, porque muchas permanecian en la humildad de su principio, y á su ruego, el Rey **reedificó** las de San Miguel, Omnium Sanctorum, Santa Marina, San Roman . . ."

and the rolled corbels, which support the exterior cornice of the apse (Figures A40 and A41). Angulo claimed that the *capilla mayor* was a part of the original Gothic church because its exterior decoration differs from the apses of Sevillian churches more securely dated to the second half of the fourteenth century.[21] Hernández Díaz and Sancho Corbacho observed that the *capilla mayor's* windows and the corbels supporting the responds of its vaulting stylistically date to before 1350, which corroborates with Angulo's opinion on the date of the structure, but they also called to attention the fact that these features differ from those of Santa Ana and the presbytery of the parish church of San Gil, which were likely also built during the thirteenth century. Hernández Díaz and Sancho Corbacho further noted that the spiral staircase leading to the roof of the apse is typical in fourteenth-century church construction.[22] However, the differences among the windows and corbels of Santa Marina, Santa Ana and San Gil do not necessarily mean that they were built at different times; they may indicate the presence of several workshops in the city during the second half of the thirteenth century. Furthermore, the stair turret of Santa Marina could have easily been added to the apse of the church in the fourteenth century. Finally, the rolled corbels on the exterior of the apse closely resemble those present on the portals of several Cordoban parish churches dated to the thirteenth or early fourteenth century (Figure A42).[23]

---

[21] Angulo, 33 and 35.

[22] Hernández Díaz and Sancho Corbacho, 105.

[23] These churches include the north portal of Santa María Magdalena and the north portal of San Pedro. The south portal of San Miguel also has the same type corbels, but has been dated slightly later than the other two doors, see María Ángeles Jordano Barbudo, *Arquitectura medieval cristiana en Córdoba: desde la reconquista al inicio del Renacimiento* (Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 1996), 32, 74, and 79. Rolled corbels also appear in parts of Sevillian churches dated to the second half of the fourteenth century, but these corbels have only five rolls as opposed to the six rolls of those on the apse of Santa Marina.

The west façade portal of Santa Marina is generally believed to date to the thirteenth century as well (Figure A5). The basic style of the stone portal is similar to Santa Ana's north portal, though it lacks a gabled *alfiz*. The ornament of its capitals is also different from that of Santa Ana's portal; lion and human heads as well as vegetal forms decorate the capitals of Santa Marina's jambs. Four canopied statues of saints, possibly all Santa Marina, appear in the spandrels of the portal, while a figure of God the Father presides over the center of its archivolts. In place of an *alfiz*, the portal has a cornice supported by lion-head corbels interspersed with low relief horseshoe arches. Angulo dated the portal to the thirteenth century based on its similarities with the north portal of Santa Ana.[24] Several scholars have also dated the sculpture of the portal to the thirteenth century. Cómez claimed that the heraldry of Alfonso X, consisting of a lion and a castle, appears in the right-hand frieze, but these figures are too badly eroded to identify figures with any certainty.[25]

In addition to the Santa Marina's primarily Gothic *capilla mayor* and west façade portal, three of its more overtly Mudejar structures, its bell tower and the Capillas de la Piedad and Santísimo Sacramento, may also date to the thirteenth century. Various dates have been suggested for the church's tower, but Cómez has provided the most convincing argument. Assuming that the west façade of the church dates to the same time as its portal, Cómez argues that the ashlar quoins that connect the fabric of the tower to the façade of the church show that the two structures were built at the same time (Figure A13).[26] The windows of the west front of the tower are each decorated with interlacing

---

[24] Angulo, 45.

[25] Hernández Díaz and Sancho Corbacho, 106, Cómez, *La Iglesia de Santa Marina*, 54. For the iconography of the portals sculptural program see Cómez, "El Program Iconográfico de la Portada de la Iglesia de Santa Marína de Sevilla,"141-149.

[26] Cómez, *La Iglesia de Santa Marina*, 51-52. Cómez has also compared the tower to one depicted in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, an illuminated collection of songs made for Alfonso X (1252-1284) as additional evidence for his claim, though the two share limited similarities.

polylobed arches enclosed in an *alfiz* that forms a knot at its center. Similar windows can be found on the Almohad tower known as the Torre de Abdelazíz, located near the cathedral, and they continued to be popular in Seville's Mudejar architecture throughout the fourteenth century. A simple arched window opens to the belfry, but it appears to have been modified from its original form. The tower has a square plan and stairs that angle around a central core, which is also square. Groin vaults cover the stairs, except for the first floor vaulting, which resembles the dome on squinches found in the Nasrid Torre del Homenaje in the Alhambra, built in 1238. The crenellation of the tower is from the late nineteenth century; a drawing from 1878 suggests that it was originally crowned by a simple parapet, like the one found on the apse of the church.[27]

Santa Marina's Capilla de la Piedad and Capilla Santísimo Sacramento were possibly constructed in the thirteenth century, as heraldic tiles located in their foundations suggest. The original designs of these two *qubba* chapels probably resembled their current state of a square plan covered by a polygonal dome resting on squinches, but it is difficult to confirm since both chapels have been modified. Both chapels were likely originally intended to be funerary chapels, which helps explain their *qubba* form, which was common in Islamic funerary architecture. The most direct inspiration for these chapels likely came from the first known *qubba* of Christian construction, the Capilla de la Asunción in the convent of Las Huelgas in Burgos (c.1187). This chapel was likely built by Alfonso VIII as a temporary funerary chapel to be used until the completion of

---

More recently, Cómez has suggested that the tower of Santa Marina may have been rebuilt by Pedro I in the fourteenth century, but his argument for this date is less substantial, see "Arte Mudéjar Sevillano," 106-107. Both Gestoso, *Sevilla Monumental y Artística,* 131-132, and Torres Balbás, *Ars Hispanaie*, 4: 297, claimed that the tower is the minaret from the original mosque that housed the church, but they don't provide any evidence for their theory. Angulo refers to a legend that an image of La Piedad was found in the tower in 1356, suggesting that the tower was re-constructed at this time, see 35 and 150.

[27] Cómez, *La Iglesia de Santa Marina*, 51-52.

the main church.[28] In view of the influence of the architecture of Burgos present in Santa Marina's vaulting and west façade portal, it is logical to assume that the Capilla de la Piedad and the Capilla Santísimo Sacramento were inspired by the Capilla de la Asunción, though local Islamic *qubbas* may have also served as models for the chapels. Mudejar tiles decorated with *lacería* and heraldry pertaining to Don Felipe were found in the Capilla de la Piedad. Several scholars have argued that this chapel with its sixteen-sided dome was adapted from the *mihrab* of the mosque over which the church was founded.[29] While this may be the case, Cómez observed that with the exception of the dome of the chapel, which was probably constructed in the fifteenth century (Figure A44), the course of the bricks on the west wall of the chapel is consistent with that of the south side of the apse, which likely dates to the thirteenth century.[30] Like the Capilla de la Piedad, the Capilla Santísimo Sacramento also has a square plan that uses squinches to transition to a sixteen-sided dome, but its dome is covered with multiple ribs forming concave segments that radiate from its oculus (Figure A45). This dome is derived from precedents in North Africa, such as the *mihrab* dome at the Great Mosque of Kairouan, Tunisia, begun in the ninth century. In 1964, restorers of the chapel discovered remains of a tomb decorated with tiles displaying what is most likely the heraldry of the Hinestrosa, a noble family cited in the *Repartamiento* of Seville. Cómez compared the vault of the chapel to thirteenth-century Nasrid vaults in Granada, suggesting that the structure of the chapel is contemporary with the tomb placed in it.[31] Even if the current

---

[28] Ruiz Souza, "Capillas Reales funerarias catedralicias de Castilla y León: nuevas hipótesis interpretativas de las catedrales de Sevilla, Córdoba y Toledo," *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 18 (2006): 32-35, and chapter one, 54-55.

[29] Gestoso, *Sevilla monumental y artística,* 1: 252, and G. J. de Osma, *Apuntes sobre cerámica morisca. Azulejos sevillanos del siglo XIII* (Madrid: Imprenta de Fortanet, 1909), 10.

[30] Cómez, *La Iglesia de Santa Marina*, 61.

[31] Ibid., 47-48. The tiles of the Hinestrosa tomb can now be seen on the altar of this chapel.

chapel is a later medieval construction, the Hinestrosa tomb proves that a Christian structure existed in this location in the thirteenth century.

Several parts of Santa Marina lack any distinguishing features that could be used to determine their chronology. Angulo suggested that the north and south portals of the church also existed prior to the building activity of Pedro I because of their similarity to the façade portal, but he also admitted that the simplicity of the two doors do not allow them to be securely dated (Figures A46 and A47).[32] Other than sharing the same basic structure of pointed archivolts rising from a series of jambs, the north and south portals differ entirely from the façade portal. They are made of brick and lack sculptural ornamentation. Unlike the jambs of the façade portal, the jambs of the north and south portals are rectangular and are topped with a simple stringcourse instead of sculpted capitals. Their cornices are also unornamented. The absence of any distinguishing detail in Santa Marina's main arcade makes its dating difficult as well (Figure A48). According to Angulo, the arcade of pointed arches over cruciform piers dates to the reconstruction by Pedro I. He believed that the portals and the *capilla mayor* were initially added to the original mosque, whose interior was replaced after the earthquake of 1356.[33] Although Cómez agrees that work on the arcade may have been done under Pedro, he thinks that the monarch simply restored the arcade and did not modify it from its original appearance.[34]

Based on the available evidence, a substantial part of Santa Marina, namely its apse, west façade, tower, and two of its Mudejar chapels, was likely constructed during the thirteenth century because their stylistic features and the heraldry found in the

---

[32] Angulo, 46.

[33] Ibid., 35.

[34] Cómez, *La Iglesia de Santa Marina,* 35.

chapels. Therefore, Gothic forms dominated the façade and apse of the church, while predominantly Mudejar structures were limited to its tower and peripheral chapels. An analysis of Seville's other medieval churches demonstrates that this same juxtaposition of Gothic and Mudejar elements is true of a significant number of their features, which based on stylistic and documentary evidence, date to the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. A detailed discussion of these features is necessary in order to establish their chronology, which is still debated among scholars. Following an analysis of these churches and the flawed arguments against their early construction, a discussion of the symbolic precedents to the Mudejar towers and chapels of these churches will explain how they worked in conjunction with Gothic forms to promote Alfonso X's political goals.

The Gothic portals of at least seven other Sevillian parish churches can be dated to the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth century due to their basic stylistic resemblance to the west portal of Santa Marina together with sculptural details and textual evidence. Of these portals, those belonging to the west facades of San Julián, Santa Lucía, and Omnium Sanctorum share the closest similarities (Figures A49-A51). Angulo even attributed the portals of Santa Marina and San Julián to the same workshop.[35] All four portals have columnar jambs with sculpted imposts and pointed archivolts decorated with diamond points and zig-zags. Except for the portal of Omnium Sanctorum, they also have canopied statues. The statues and canopies of Santa Marina

---

[35] Angulo, 46. It should be noted that the original façade portal of Santa Lucía was moved to the church of Santa Catalina in 1929 for conservation reasons. In regards to the façade portal of Omnium sanctorum, according to Hernández Díaz and Sancho Corbacho, it is a fourteenth-century copy of the façade portal of Santa Marina because, in their opinion, the quality of its sculpture is closer to that of the church's south portal, which likely dates to this period. Their assessment is rather dubious since the sculptural ornament of the façade and south portals of Omnium Sanctorum are completely different, making their quality difficult to compare. Moreover, the south portal is in a much better state of preservation than the façade portal, also complicating such a comparison between the two. The erosion of both the façade portals of Omnium Sanctorum and Santa Marina further make judgments of quality problematic.

and San Julián are very similar in form and share some of the same motifs, such as bases composed of twin lion heads. Santa Lucía's statues are somewhat like those of Santa Marina and San Julián, but both its statues and canopies have been altered from their original appearance. Santa Marina's and San Julián's portals also share nearly identical corbels under what remains of their cornices. Santa Lucía's portal does not have the same lion-head corbels, but its rolled corbels are the same as those of the apse of Santa Marina. Unfortunately, the original cornice and corbels of the west portal of Omnium Sanctorum has been entirely lost. Although the sculpture on the jamb capitals of the four portals varies, they are all ornamented with disembodied heads. The heads of Santa Marina's capitals are too eroded to make out much detail, and the style of the surviving head on the capitals at San Julián is unique among Sevillian churches. But the heads of Santa Lucía's and Omnium Sanctorum's jamb capitals are similar, possibly even by the same workshop. The strongest evidence for dating Santa Lucía's west portal to the thirteenth century is the heraldry consisting of a lion and a castle, located on the portal's right-hand impost (Figure A52). Cómez, who argues that this is the same heraldry found on the portal of Santa Marina, has matched it to the lion and castle on a seal of Alfonso X, located in the Municipal Archive of Seville.[36] Further evidence that the west portal of Omnium Sanctorum was constructed during the thirteenth century is given by Zúñiga, who reported that the royal arms of Portugal appeared over one of the portals of this church because of the donations made in 1269 to the churches of Seville by Don Dionis of Portugal, the grandson of Alfonso X.[37] However, Zúñiga's claim cannot be confirmed, since no such heraldry currently exists.

---

[36] Cómez, "La Portada de La Iglesia de Santa Lucía en Sevilla, Iconografía y Cronología," 37.

[37] Zúñiga is cited in Angulo, 55.

While it is likely that the west portals of San Julián, Santa Lucía, and Omnium Sanctorum were built during the reign of Alfonso X, the dating of other parts of their structures is more speculative. Most of the original fabric of San Julián and Santa Lucía has been completely remodeled with the exception of their surviving portals. Angulo placed the construction of the south and north portals of San Julián and the south portal of Santa Lucía in the thirteenth century because they share similarities in their basic design with the analogous portals at Santa Marina (Figures A53, A46, and A47).[38] His conclusion is conjectural at best since these portals lack the detail needed to securely date them. The south portal, the apse, and several windows in Omnium Sanctorum probably date to the second half of the fourteenth century, and were possibly part of the reconstruction under Pedro I as recorded by Zúñiga, but the dating of its nave is uncertain. The only evidence to suggest that the nave predates these later elements is the statement by Zúñiga that the church was not founded over a mosque. Interestingly, the plan and size of the nave is nearly identical to that of Santa Marina, but this similarity proves little since the chronology of Santa Marina's sanctuary is also uncertain.

Some construction at the church of San Andrés probably took place during the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. In her monograph on San Andrés, Anna Marín Fidalgo lists several reasons for the early chronology of the church, though not all of them are entirely convincing. She first cites several tile fragments found in the church by Gestoso, one with *lazo* ornament, presumably from a decorative dado, and one with heraldry consisting of two dogs that have been dated by various scholars to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries because of their style and technique.[39] The *lazo*

---

[38] Angulo 36-37. He also dated the north portals of San Gil and Omnium Sanctorum to before 1350 because of their basic similarities with Santa Marina, these doors are too generic to be securely dated.

[39] Marín Fidalgo, *La Iglesia parroquial de San Andrés de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Guadalquivir Ediciones, 2007), 28. These tiles are reproduced in Gestoso, *Historia de los Barros vidriados*

tile fragment is a notable exception to the virtual lack of surviving Mudejar ornament in the interior of Seville's thirteenth-century parish churches. Whereas these tiles support Marín Fidalgo's dating of the initial construction of the church, her other evidence does not. She also claims that the design of a stucco *alfiz* over a now closed arched doorway in the church's presbytery dates to this period (Figure A54). Her dating of this *alfiz* is based on its similarity to several other *alfices* in Seville and Cordoba that she claims, without providing any explanation, also date to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. These stucco *alfices* more likely date to the late fourteenth century. Marín Fidalgo's other evidence for San Andrés' early construction is also faulty. She incorrectly assumes that Torres Balbás was referring to the chapel of San Lucas in San Andrés, when he said that a chapel of San Lucas in Seville was founded in 1310 by Fernán González. Exactly which chapel Torres Balbás meant is unclear. It appears that he, himself, may have been mistaken, confusing San Lucas with San Lorenzo. The chapel founded by González is actually in the parish church of San Lorenzo, which Torres Balbás seems to have incorrectly identified as San Lucas.[40] Marín Fidalgo also claims that the remains of San Andrés' south portal date to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, though her reasoning for this conclusion is unclear.[41] Only fragments of the brick portal survives (Figure A55). Part of a painted *alfiz* frames the right side of several partial arches. The portal is similar to the west portal of Santa Catalina, which is also not easily dated, though I argue in the next chapter it probably dates to the second half of the fourteenth century.

---

sevillanos (Sevilla: Typografía La Andalucía Moderna, 1903; reprint Seville: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1995), 53, figure 13, and 94, figure 23.

[40] Marín Fidalgo, *La Iglesia parroquial de San Andrés*, 29, and Torres Balbás, *Ars Hispaniae*, 4: 290.

[41] *La Iglesia parroquial de San Andrés*, 79

The west façade portal of San Andrés has been dated to the thirteenth century as well, though this is also difficult to prove. Much of its sculptural ornament has been badly damaged or replaced.[42] Angulo thought that the portal may have been a part of the Santa Marina group of portals, but he was unsure since the portal's jamb capitals are in such a poor state of preservation (Figure A56).[43] What ornament does survive of these capitals has clover leaves somewhat similar to those on the north portal of Santa Ana. The impost profiles of San Andrés' portal are more like those of the south portal of Omnium Sanctorum, which probably dates to the second half of the fourteenth century (Figure A57), but it lacks the high cornice of Omnium Sanctorum's portal and other portals dating to the turn of the fifteenth century.[44] The lion-head corbels of San Andrés' portal are also more similar to the natural lions of thirteenth-century portals rather than the stylized lions of late fourteenth/early fifteenth-century portals.

The original construction of San Lorenzo is even more difficult to date than that of San Andrés since the entire body of the church has been rebuilt since the medieval period, but it does appear that this church also had a Gothic façade portal relatively soon after the conquest of Seville. Its earliest component is what likely was at one time part of its west façade entrance, which is now almost entirely hidden behind the organ and choir stalls of the church (Figure A58). Angulo, and Morales following his lead, date this Gothic door to the thirteenth or early fourteenth century due to the similarity of the decorative vegetal motifs on its archivolts to the ornament on the top-story window of the tower of Don Fadrique, a mirador built in Seville by Alfonso X's brother shortly after the

---

[42] The portal's canopy statues were replaced in the mid-fifteenth century by the sculptor Lorenzo de Bretaña, who also worked on the cathedral, Marín Fidalgo, *La Iglesia parroquial de San Andrés*, 54.

[43] Angulo, 47.

[44] These portals, which will be discussed in the next chapter, include the west portals of San Marcos, San Esteban, and San Juan de la Palma.

conquest of the city.[45] In addition to this entrance, two *qubba* chapels and the church's tower date to the medieval period (Figure A59). Angulo and Morales date the Mudejar tower to the fifteenth century because of its construction and placement in front of the original portal, but the dates of the two medieval Mudejar chapels are more ambiguous. Zúñiga recorded the foundation of a chapel in the church in 1310 by Fernán González, but due to the extensive remodeling of the church it is difficult to know whether this date is connected to one of the existing medieval chapels or one that has been demolished.[46]

San Isidoro, like San Lorenzo, presents a chronological conundrum as well due to the poor preservation of the medieval fabric of the church. At least the south portal of the church can be dated to the thirteenth or early fourteenth century with some certainty due to its similarity to the north portal of Santa Ana (Figures A60 and A36). Both have similar structure and decoration, including a gabled *alfiz*, a distinctive feature that does not appear in any other church in Seville. Another distinguishing feature of this portal further suggests its early construction date. The six-pointed star inscribed within a circle that appears in the portal's gable resembles stars found in the keystones of the vaulting at Santa Ana and at Alfonso X's Gothic palace at the Alcazar. The only feature of the portal that complicates its chronology is its placement in relation to the rest of the church. The portal is unusual in that it opens off of a vestibule instead of opening directly onto the church's south aisle like the side portals of other Sevillian churches. This vestibule and the chapel directly to the left of it appear to be stylistically later than the portal. Angulo offered several possible explanations for the discrepancy in the styles of these

---

[45] This ornament is currently obscured by the liturgical choir and the organ of the church.

[46] Angulo, 42-43, 45. For the tower see 159. Alfredo J. Morales, *La Iglesia de San Lorenzo* (Sevilla: EXCMA Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1981, 15 and 27-31). Both Angulo and Morales believe that initially the plan of the church was like that of Santa Marina, having only two aisles instead of the four aisles of its current plan. Such a reconfiguration may have resulted in the destruction of preexisting chapels.

structures, the most plausible being that an effort was made to conserve the portal even though the structures around it were replaced. He believed that the portal may have been affixed to a mosque that was replaced with a Gothic church sometime in the fourteenth century.[47] The so-called "star of Solomon" displayed in the portal's gable could support Angulo's theory. This type of star functioned as an apotropaic symbol during the late Middle Ages that in some cases was even employed to ward off the evil intents of Muslims.[48] Such a symbol would be appropriate for sanctifying a re-consecrated mosque, though it should be noted that, somewhat ironically, it was also a common motif used by Mudejar masons in Seville.[49] San Isidoro's west façade portal is more problematic than the south in determining dating (Figure A61). It is unique among the portals of Seville's medieval churches. The portal's simple design consists of two slightly pointed arches, one enclosed in the other, without any molding. An *alfiz* encompasses the top half of the outer arch. Angulo suggested that both of the arches might have originally been horseshoe arches because of the apparent alterations made to the fabric of the door.[50] If he is correct, then the portal was intentionally made to look more Gothic at some point. Due to its lack of ornament and basic ashlar construction it cannot be dated with any certainty.

The façade portal of San Martín is yet another example of a Sevillian portal that may date to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century (Figure A62). Although the current structure of San Martín is dated to the first quarter of the fifteenth century, except for the tower, which may have been built somewhat later, Angulo suspected that the

---

[47] Angulo, 40-41.

[48] Cómez, "La Estrella de Salomón en la Iglesia de San Isidoro de Sevilla," 81-85.

[49] Cómez, *Arquitectura alfonsí*,154.

[50] Angulo, 39.

initial construction of the church was much earlier because of the simplicity and the style of the vegetal decoration of this door. The irregularity of the church's current plan also led him to believe that the church was rebuilt during the century after the Christian conquest of Seville. Based on the thirteenth or early fourteenth-century example of the church of Pueblo del Río, Angulo speculated that the original structure of San Martín, like the current church, consisted of a single vaulted nave, but was more narrow. He suggested that the trapezoidal western most bay of the current church was made to fit the older façade.[51] While his claim that the original church was vaulted cannot be confirmed, the ornament of its façade portal does closely resemble one of the vegetal motifs on the thirteenth-century north portal of Santa Ana, suggesting that yet another parish church had a Gothic portal by the early fourteenth century.

Most of the surviving thirteenth-century or early fourteenth-century features of Seville's churches discussed thus far have been portals, but at least one church in addition to Santa Ana and Santa Marina retains much of its thirteenth-century structure. The design of San Gil is an interesting anomaly among the parish churches of Seville. More ribs appear in the vault of its apse than in most of the other Sevillian churches (eight as opposed to six), and its arcades are also taller and wider than those of the majority of the city's churches (Figures A63 and A64). San Gil's most distinguishing aspect is its wide transverse bay separating the apse from the nave. The vaulting of this bay is higher than that of the apse, and the tower of the church is attached to the north side of the bay.[52] Due to the irregularity of the church's plan, Angulo concluded that it was modified throughout the late medieval period, but he did suggest that its northern portal belongs to the Santa Marina group and that the *capilla mayor* of San Gil dates to the late thirteenth

---

[51] Ibid., 29-30.

[52] Hernández Díaz and Sancho Corbacho made these observations, see 68.

century because of modifications made to its original fabric possibly under the rule of Pedro I (1350-1369). He further surmised that unlike San Gil's current structure of two aisles and a Mudejar wooden ceiling over its nave, the original plan of the church lacked aisles and had a vaulted nave.[53] Hernández Díaz and Sancho Corbacho presented more convincing evidence that San Gil actually does retain its original plan. They argued that the church was begun before 1350 because of the similarities between its unusual plan and that of two Romanesque churches in Segovia, San Lorenzo and San Juan de Caballeros, both of which have aisles and are not vaulted. These two churches also have an apse followed by a wider transverse bay with an adjacent tower. Moreover, like San Gil, San Juan has wide pointed arcades in its nave arcade.[54]

San Gil does resemble other medieval parish churches of Seville in that it is primarily Gothic in style with some Mudejar elements. The church retains its original rib vaulting over the apse, pointed arcades, and one of its Gothic portals. Besides the possibility that the nave of the church was originally covered by a Mudejar wooden ceiling, Hernández Díaz and Sancho Corbacho believed that two other significant features of its initial construction were derived from Islamic precedents. The first is the use of columns to support the two middle buttresses of the apse (Figure A65). Though these columns have early Gothic capitals, Hernández Díaz and Sancho Corbacho compared them to the columns supporting the arcades of the Great Mosque of Cordoba.[55] The second Islamic-derived characteristic that Hernández Díaz and Sancho

---

[53] Angulo, 27-29. He dates the modifications of the *capilla mayor* based on retrofitted tiles supposedly dating to the reign of Pedro I, but these tiles have since been removed. Angulo also believes that the transverse bay was the first bay of the vaulted nave.

[54] Hernández Díaz and Sancho Corbacho, 68-70.

[55] At the Mudejar church of San Miguel in Cordoba, columns support the cornice of the church's south portal, which was probably constructed during the second half of the fourteenth century, see López Guzmán, 244-245.

Corbacho claimed belonged to San Gil's original construction, or at least shortly after, is the church's tower, presumably because its location follows the plans of the above mentioned Segovian churches. The tower does have a *qubba* chapel at its base, but it lacks any ornament and its original belfry.

Further evidence that much of San Gil was built in the thirteenth-century is found in the activities of its probable patron, Don Remondo, the first archbishop of Seville and a close ally of Alfonso X. Don Remondo was born in Segovia, educated in France, and ordained in Rome in 1215. He later became archbishop of Segovia. Doña Berenguela, the mother of Fernando III, appointed him to be secretary, notary, and confessor to her son. Remondo proved to be a loyal servant to the royal family, faithfully serving Fernando III, Alfonso X, and Alfonso's son, Sancho IV. After the conquest of Seville, Fernando gave him large portions of land and generously endowed the church of Segovia. Due to his close connections to the royal family, it is not surprising that after Don Felipe stepped down from his position as archbishop-elect of Seville, Remondo was appointed as his replacement. Both before and during his tenure as archbishop from 1259 to 1286, he played an active role in Seville's *repartimiento*, and he effectively organized the city's cathedral chapter. He was also part of an embassy sent to Rome, whose purpose was to persuade the pope to appoint Alfonso as the next Holy Roman Emperor.[56]

---

[56] For general information on Don Remondo, see Manuel González Jiménez in collaboration with Mercedes Borrero Fernández and Montes Romero-Camacho, *Sevilla en tiempos de Alfonso X* (Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1987), 191-202; María Teresa Laguna Paúl, "La capilla de los Reyes de la primitiva Catedral de Santa María de Sevilla y las relaciones de la corona castellana con el cabildo hispalense en su etapa fundacional (1248-85)," in *Maravillas de la España medieval: Tesoro sagrado y monarquía*, ed. I. G. Bango Torviso, vol. 1 (León: Junta de Castilla y Léon, 2001), 239-240. Laguna Paúl also suggests that Alfonso patronized the church in exchange for Don Remondo's help in his imperial quest, see 239. For his role in shaping the cathedral chapter, see Isabel Montes Romero-Camacho, "El nacimiento del cabildo-catedral de Sevilla en el siglo XIII (1248-1285)," *Archivo Hispalense* 77 (1994): 449-453.

According to Zúñiga, Remondo was involved in Alfonso's architectural endeavors as well. He claimed that Santa Ana was partially subsidized through indulgences granted by Remondo and several of his successors[57] No primary documents connect Remondo with San Gil, but Zúñiga recorded that the church was commissioned by the archbishop, who named it for the parish church where he was baptized in his hometown of Segovia.[58] Zúñiga's claim cannot be verified, but Remondo did patronize the church of San Gil in Segovia, whose medieval structure has, unfortunately, been lost.[59] Zúñiga also stated that San Gil was not founded over a mosque, but several authors have argued otherwise.[60] Due to Remondo's high position and close connection to Alfonso X, it is logical that he would take part in the effort to "Christianize" Seville and make it a fitting capital city for a prospective emperor by commissioning a Gothic church.

Despite stylistic and documentary evidence indicating that construction took place at many of Seville's parish churches during the thirteenth and early fourteenth century, it is necessary to address several arguments against this early chronology. Several scholars have argued that the local diocese lacked the funding for any significant construction activity in the thirteenth century.[61] It is true that the Castilian Church was financially

---

[57] 1: 317–18.

[58] Cited in Hernández Díaz and Sancho Corbacho, 67.

[59] Ecker, "From Masjid to Casa-Mezquita.," 1:137. Ecker observed that no primary documents cite Don Remondo as patron of San Gil in Seville, see Ibid.,1: 130, note 340, but this is not surprising due to the paucity of thirteenth-century documents pertaining to the parish churches of Seville.

[60] Zúñiga, 1: 251. Several authors believe that the church was founded over a mosque, see Ecker, "The conversion of Mosques in to Synagogues," 191; Gestoso, *Sevilla monumental y artística,* 1:214; and Angulo, 28.

[61] Ecker "From Masjid to Casa-Mezquita,"1:130. Lambert claimed that Alfonso X could not afford to fund church construction throughout Seville based on the fact that he commissioned only one Gothic church in the city, Santa Ana de Triana, "L'art Gothique a Séville Aprés La

strapped due to the *reconquista*, but the Sevillian Church was well-funded by the unprecedented donations made by Alfonso X. His privileges included property as well as the *diezmo eclesiástico*, or ten percent of income, to be paid to the church by the *consejos*, or town councils, of the Archbishopric of Seville. Beginning in 1261, one-third of this ten percent was dedicated to the maintenance and construction (*fábrica*) of the city's churches. The king also required Jews and Muslims to make contributions to the church.[62] Alfonso's motivations for funding the Sevillian church were in part the result of his personal and political relationships with its archbishops, Don Felipe and Don Remondo. The financial support of the nobility, such as Don Felipe and the Hinestrosa, also contributed to the construction of the parish churches.

Another argument against the early dating of so many parish churches is the lack of a skilled labor force due to the difficulties of repopulating the city after the Christian conquest. Estimates for Seville's Christian population right after the Reconquest range from 14,400 to 24,000 residents, making it one of the largest cities on the peninsula in the thirteenth century, but the city's population declined significantly into the fourteenth century after the Marinid invasions of 1275 and 1277 and various breakouts of plague and famine. Seville's population after the Reconquest, even at its height, was smaller than it had been under the Almohads. Thirteenth-century documents record that

---

Reconoquête," 159. But Lambert does not take into consideration evidence that Alfonso also patronized other churches in the city.

[62] For a list of Alfonso's donations to the Sevillian church, see Laguna Paul, "La capilla de los Reyes," 237; Romero-Camacho, 427-448, and Ladero Quesada, *Historia de Sevilla: La Ciudad Medieval (1248-1492)* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1976), 166-171. Alfonso's stipulations for the allocation of the *diezmo* were also confirmed by his son Sancho IV, see *Recopilación de los usos de Sevilla en material de diezmos y misiones de la vecindad, redactada por el concejo de la ciudad tras recibir a dos mandaderos del concejo de Murcia con una carta de Sancho IV*, Archivo Municipal de Murcia, serie 3.a Libro 1, fols. 1r-3v. published in José Damián González Arce, *Documentos medievales de Sevilla en el Archivo Municipal de Murcia: Fueros, Privilegios, Ordenanzas, Cartas, Aramcles (Siglos XIII-XV)* (Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 2003), 236-239.

buildings in the city had begun to deteriorate due to insufficient number of residents.[63] However, the aforementioned stylistic attributes of the thirteenth-century churches of Seville strongly suggest that a significant number of workers were imported from Burgos. The features of these churches also attest to the presence of Mudejar workers in Seville, despite the expulsion of the city's Muslim population by Fernando III. A number of thirteenth-century documents further prove that at least some Mudejars remained in or were summoned back to Seville after the expulsion. According to somewhat later sources, a number of these Mudejars worked in construction.[64] Between masters from Burgos and local Mudejar *alarifes*, Seville would have had an adequate workforce to begin constructing its churches.

While the discussion of Seville's first parish churches thus far has been primarily focused on establishing their thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century chronology, several additional conclusions about their significance can also be made based on the evidence already presented. First, at least parts of the churches of Santa Marina, Santa Lucía, Santa Ana, and possibly Omnium Sanctorum and San Gil were patronized by Alfonso X or those closely associated with him. Second, though several aspects of these churches, such as their wooden ceilings and brick construction, were likely the result of practical measures, their most prominent features, their Gothic stone portals and vaulting, indicates that economy was not the only factor in determining their design. Third, these Gothic features and probably the churches' Mudejar chapels can be traced to examples in the church architecture of Burgos, and specifically to the royal convent of Las Huelgas.

---

[63] Julio Gonzalez, 1:316, and González Jiménez with Borrero Fernández and Romero-Camacho, 16-18. For more information on the negative effects on Seville's late medieval population see Ladero Queseda, *Historia de Sevilla,* 62-64.

[64] These sources record that Alfonso X hired Muslim workers to repair the *Caños de Carmona*, Seville's aqueduct, and that he exempted some Muslim *alarifes* from certain taxes and fees required to work in the city, see Cómez, *Arquitectura alfonsí* 29-31 and 87.

One reason for the construction of so many Gothic parish churches in Seville was the new residents' need to have both physically and symbolically Christian strongholds in a city that was continually threatened by Muslim uprisings and invasions during the second half of the thirteenth century. Although Seville's post-conquest population was large relative to other recently conquered cities, it still did not merit the establishment of twenty-four parishes, the most parishes of any Castilian city.[65] Moreover, Seville's population was substantially smaller than it had been under Almohad control, leaving parts of the city vacant and vulnerable. The defense of the city was a primary concern for its new Christian rulers. Both Fernando III and his son were well aware of the difficulties of maintaining control of newly conquered cities with a limited number of Christian settlers. Unlike his predecessors, Fernando had implemented a policy expelling the Muslim inhabitants of a newly conquered city.[66] Despite this, some Mudejars either remained in or immigrated to Seville in the decades following the conquest, but a set of ordinances regulating the Muslims of the city from 1274, which cites documents issued under Fernando, demonstrates that these residents caused a great deal of anxiety among their Christian neighbors.[67] In response to the Muslim threat, Alfonso X's first building projects in Seville were concerned with defense; after succeeding his father, he immediately rebuilt and enlarged the *Atarazanas* or shipyards and repaired the city's walls.[68] Seville in particular occupied a precarious position on the border of Christian

---

[65] Ladero Quesada, *Historia de Sevilla*, 164

[66] Fernando did allow Muslims to stay in some of the smaller cities that he conquered due to the dearth of Christian settlers. This is true of a number of towns outside of Seville, including Lebrija. But Muslims even in these towns were expelled by Alfonso X after the revolt of 1264, see S.I. Gozalo Martínez Díez, "Las Capitulaciones con las ciudades musulmanas conquistadas," *Archivo Hispalense* 77 (1994): 285.

[67] This document, which also regulates Jews and converts, is from the *Establecimientos y Constituciones* of Seville in the municipal archive of Murcia. Translations of regulations over Muslims can be found in Ecker, "From Masjid to Casa-Mezquita,"1:115-116.

[68] Cómez *Arquitectura alfonsí*, 135.

and Muslim Spain, and the city's relations with Islamic rulers to the south were far from stable. According to the fourteenth-century *Chronicle of Alfonso X*, before Alfonso took the neighboring town of Tejada in 1253, Seville "was much embattled and not secure. Its inhabitants often came under heavy attack by the Moors and suffered great harm."[69] The kingdom of Granada posed one of Seville's greatest threats. Although Ibn al-Ahmar (Muhammad I), the founder of the Nasrid dynasty of Granada, was a vassal of Fernando and aided him in the siege of Seville, his relationship with Alfonso X was more turbulent. According to the fourteenth-century *Chronicle of Alfonso X*, Alfonso expressed his disdain for the Granadan ruler by describing him as, "the enemy of God and of the faith, and of the king and his kingdoms.[70]" Ibn al-Ahmar was equally suspicious of Alfonso, and in 1264 he instigated a revolt among the Mudejars of Castile. The Mudejars of Seville were ordered to capture Alfonso, but the king was absent from the city when the revolt began. Although the Muslims did gain control of the city, the Christians reasserted themselves the following year. Alfonso seems to have been on slightly better terms with Ibn al-Ahmar's son Muhammad II, but their truces were still less than stable. A year after Alfonso had knighted him as his vassal, Muhammad II assisted Marinid forces in ravaging Christian cities in Andalusia.[71] The Marinids returned in 1277 and invaded the regions of Seville, Cordoba, and Jerez before they were driven back.

---

[69] *Chronicle of Alfonso X*. Trans. Shelby Thacker and José Escobar (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002), 30. The *Chronicle of Alfonso X* was written under Alfonso XI sometime between 1325 and 1350. It should be noted that the part of the chronicle from which the narrative on Tejada comes was likely largely based on oral tradition, and, therefore, is not entirely accurate, see introduction by Joseph O'Callaghan, 10-12.

[70] *Chronicle of Alfonso X*, 110-111.

[71] Even after this invasion, Alfonso spoke highly of Muhammad II in his first will. For a discussion of the ambiguous nature of the relationship between the two kings see Colin Smith, "Convivencia in the *Estoria de España* of Alfonso X," in *Hispanic Medieval Studies in Honor of Samuel G. Armistead*. ed. E. Michael Gerli and Harvey L. Sharrer (Madison: The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, Ltd., 1992), 295.

Given these threats to Seville's limited Christian population, thinly spread over a large area, the city's large number of parishes can be explained, at least in part, by Peter Linehan's assertion that the thirteenth-century Castilian frontier parish provided social cohesion and security to disparate populations.[72] The churches were established not to accommodate large numbers of settlers, but rather to encourage them, by providing social and defensive centers throughout the city. In a similar vein, Cómez has suggested that Alfonso X may have constructed large parish churches in under-populated regions of the city to attract settlers for defensive purposes. He further argues that the design of these churches, with their towers, crenellation and small windows, proves their intended defensive function.[73] Even if Seville's many parish churches were never actually used to defend the city from Muslims, they at least served as symbolic fortresses of faith.[74]

---

[72] Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 262-263. Ecker has effectively demonstrated that Seville's parishes were formed by condensing the existing Islamic city's neighborhoods and that, for the most part, mosques on major streets were selected to serve as parish churches. She implies that the city's elevated number of parishes was due to its large size in terms of area ("From Masjid to Casa-Mezquita" 131–32; "How to Administer" 48–49). Although Ecker disagrees with Linehan's theory based on the small size of the city's population ("How to Administer" 61), his theory does not require a large population. In fact, Robert Burns made a similar point in describing the use of parishes as a colonizing tool in Valencia following its conquest by Jaime I of Aragón in 1238. According to Burns, parishes were formed to establish a Christian presence in recently conquered lands and not to accommodate parishioners. Thus, parishes, complete with churches housed in former mosques, were created even in regions lacking a Christian population, see "The Significance of the Frontier in the Middle Ages," in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, eds. Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 326; *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia* 54–59).

[73] Cómez *La Iglesia de Santa Marina*, 18–19, and 34.

[74] There is no textual evidence that Seville's parish churches were used for defensive purposes until Zúñiga recorded that they served as garrisons in feuds among the city's fifteenth-century nobility. He specifically records that in 1470 the church of San Marcos was set on fire during a conflict between noble families, see Enrique Morales Méndez, "La nobleza sevillana sus luchas y su arquitectura," *Laboratorio de Arte* 7 (1994): 60. Isidro G. Bango Torviso has given examples of defensive features, such as towers and crenellation, used on churches for purely symbolic and for functional reasons, though he claimed that by the late Middle Ages, these features were usually functional, see "El verdadero significado del aspecto de los edificios: De lo simbolico a la realidad functional. La iglesia encastillada," *Anuario del Departamento del Historia y Teoría del Arte* 9–10 (1997–98): 59–66.

Gothic parish churches, as opposed to mosques, gave settlers a visibly Christian environment for their community's center.[75] It is true that many of the settlers coming to Seville would not have found the features of the city's mosques completely foreign. Mudejar churches and chapels with some similar features were constructed in the major Castilian cities of Burgos and Toledo in the early thirteenth century, but unlike Seville, these cities had also long been secure in Christian hands. The Christians of Seville needed churches that differed significantly and visibly from the mosques they replaced. Thus, the construction of Gothic parish churches allowed the newly formed Christian community of Seville to establish and maintain its authority over the already established Muslim culture of the city.

Further proof that the Gothic style was seen as a Christian style in post-conquest Seville is found in the absence of significant evidence of Gothic features in the city's thirteenth-century synagogues. The first three synagogues to be established in Seville after the Castilian conquest were placed in mosques donated by Alfonso.[76] The synagogues were later converted into the churches of Santa María de la Nieve (popularly known as Santa María la Blanca), Santa Cruz, and San Bartolomé Nuevo after the

---

[75] Cómez has posited that the replacement of mosques with Gothic parish churches was an assertion of Christian authority in the city, see "Das problem der Sevillaner Sakralarchitektur vor dem Hintergrund der Reconquista," *Kritische Berichte: Mitteilungsorgan des Ulmer Vereins Verband für Kunst- und Kulturwissenschaften* 20 (1992): 7-8 and 14. Burns made the same argument in regards to Valencia, see "The Significance of the Frontier in the Middle Ages," 326; *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia,* 88–90. Also in a similar vein, Pascual Buresi has attributed the replacement of mosques with more "Western" (i.e., Romanesque and Gothic) structures throughout Iberia in the thirteenth century to the desire to eradicate references to the period of Peninsular Muslim hegemony. He briefly lists several other contributing factors to the erection of these new structures as well, including Alfonso X's imperial aims, see "Les conversions d'églises et de mosquées en Espagne aux XIe–XIIIe siècles," 347–49.

[76] The total number of synagogues that were in Seville during the late Middle Ages, is uncertain, but it was more than three, and possibly as many as 23, see Francisco Cantera Burgos, *Synagogas españolas: con especial estudio de la de Cordoba y la toledana de El Tránsito*. 2nd ed., (Madrid: Instituto "Benito Arias Montano," 1984), 291-302 and Ecker, "The conversion of Mosques in to Synagogues," 198.

pogrom of 1391. These synagogues/churches have been almost entirely rebuilt since the Middles Ages, but surviving structural and textual evidence from Santa María la Blanca and Santa Cruz provides insight into their medieval appearances.

Santa María la Blanca retains medieval elements in two of its portals. Angulo placed the church's west portal with the Santa Marina group because of its basic similarities to these portals, but this portal, much of which is the product of modern restoration, was likely constructed after the synagogue was converted into a church (Figure A66).[77] With the exception of the diamond points around its outermost archivolt, the portal has lost all of its original sculptural detail, making it difficult to date; however, its general style and placement on the west façade suggest that it is a Christian construction. All three of Spain's surviving medieval synagogues, and a fourth one destroyed in 1899, are or were thoroughly Mudejar without any significant Gothic features. A Gothic synagogue does survive in Portugal, but it was not built until the fifteenth century. Spain's Mudejar synagogues, which have been dated from the late thirteenth century to the mid-fourteenth, are closer in date to the conversion of Seville's first synagogues.[78]

---

[77] Angulo, 48. The portal was remodeled in 1741, and much of its medieval fabric has been remade. Cantera Burgos assumed the portal to date after the 1391 pomgrom, see 296.

[78] Dedicatory inscriptions date two of these synagogues - that of Isaac Menhab in Cordoba (1314-1315) and Samuel Halevi (El Tránsito) in Toledo (1360). Because of their similarity, the synagogue in Segovia was probably built around the same time as the synagogue that is now the church of Santa María la Blanca, Toledo, but no conclusive evidence exists for the chronology of either structure. The Toledan synagogue has received the most scholarly attention of the two. Carol Herselle Krinsky connects it to a Joseph ben Meir ben Shoshan, who patronized a synagogue in 1180, see *Synagogues of Europe: Architecture, History, and Meaning* (New York and Cambridge, 1985), 334. Based on archeological excavations, Pérez Higuera divided its construction in to two phases, one before a fire in 1250, and the other to the repairs made after the fire, see "Sinagoga de Santa María la Blanca," in *Arquitecturas de Toledo. Vol. 1: Del Romano al Gótic*. ed. D. Peris Sanchéz (Toledo: Junta de Comunidades de Castilla-La Mancha, 1992), 285-293. Ruiz Souza has made a strong argument that the current structure of Santa María dates to the fourteenth century based on the style of its octagonal pillars and decorative ornament, see "Sinagogas sefardíes monumnetales en el contexto de la arquitectura medieval hispana," in *Memoría de Sefarad: Toledo, Centro Cultural San Marcos, octubre 2002-enero 2003*, ed. Isidro Bango Torviso (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior 2002), 229-232.

Given the paucity of surviving synagogues in Spain, it is not inconceivable that Gothic synagogues were built earlier, though there is no clear evidence of thirteenth-century Gothic features at Seville's former synagogues. Spanish Jews did sometimes adopt Christian styles for their synagogues. A thirteenth-century description of synagogues at Agreda describes their exteriors as resembling those of churches.[79] It would also be logical to assume that Alfonso X's elite Jewish subjects would want to imitate the architecture associated with the Christian nobility as a way of demonstrating their own high social rank. Despite the anti-Semitic laws in Alfonso's *Siete Partidas* and depictions in his *Cantigas*, legal documents demonstrate that Jews, particularly in Seville, enjoyed prominent positions and economic success under Alfonso and his son Sancho IV (1284-1295).[80] Furthermore, most of the Jewish population of thirteenth-century Seville would have been comprised of Alfonso's allies, since there were likely very few, if any Jews in the city prior to its Castilian conquest.[81] But even among Seville's Gothic portals, the high cornice of Santa María Blanca's portal is more akin to later fourteenth-century examples than to those of the thirteenth century. The location of the portal on the west façade of the former synagogue also suggests that it dates to after its conversion. Most Spanish synagogues were oriented east/west with their torah niches (*arons*) on the east wall, and their stands for the reading of the torah (*bimahs*) either centrally placed or on the west wall,[82] but their entrances were typically on the north and south facades.[83]

---

[79] Juan Zozaya, "Material Culture in Medieval Spain," in *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims and Christians in Medieval Spain*, 166.

[80] González Jimenez, "Judíos de Sevilla baja Alfonso X," in *Sevilla en tiempos de Alfonso X el Sabio,* Manuel González Jemenez, Mercedes Borrero Fernández, and Isabel Montes Romero-Camacho (Sevilla: Servicio de Publicaciones del Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Sevilla,1987), 93.

[81] Ecker, "The Conversion of Mosques to Synagogues," 201, note 7.

[82] Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-century Spanish depictions, such as a *Haggadah* at the British Museum and a painting of *Jesus Among the Doctors* at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, show centralized *bimahs*, but as Rachel Wischnitzer has explained, in small synagogues, such as

Unlike Santa María la Blanca's west portal, its south portal is not Gothic, but has columns with Visigothic or Islamic capitals (Figure A67).[84] This portal, consisting of a round, brick arch enclosed in an *alfiz* and supported by two columns, has been almost entirely overlooked in the scholarship of the city's medieval architecture.[85] The portal's capitals, at least, were probably spolia from the mosque that once stood on the site of the current church, but it is unclear when the portal was constructed.[86] Diego Oliva Alonso has suggested that it was a constructed sometime after 1391 by the Stúniga, the noble patrons of the church, as a private entrance from their adjacent palace. Canteros Burgos believed the portal was from the synagogue, a logical deduction because of its location. Given the portal's style and location, it is likely that it was the main entrance to the synagogue and was incorporated into the Baroque church as was the Gothic west portal.

The no longer extant synagogue/church of Santa Cruz likely conserved much of the structure of the mosque in which it was founded. Writing several decades after the

---

the one at Cordoba, *bimahs* had to be placed on the west wall due to spatial constraints, *The Architecture of the European Synagogue* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1964), 37-38.

[83] The main entrances of the synagogue of Samuel Halevi and the synagogue of Isaac Mehab are located on their south sides. The placement of the entrances of Santa María la Blanca in Toledo is uncertain, but was likely on its north or south side. Cómez states that the Sevillian synagogue that is now Santa Cruz, had a main western entrance, presumably because the existing plan of church has western entrance and it supposedly keeps plan of synagogue, see "La antigua sinagoga del barrio de Santa Cruz, Sevilla," *Madrider Mitteilungen* 33 (1992): 190. This evidence, however, is far from conclusive.

[84] The portal's east capital closely resembles a Visigoth capital from the patio of the mosque converted in the second half of the thirteenth century to the convent of Santa Clara in Cordoba, see Jordano Barbudo, *Arquitectura Medieval Cristiana en Córdoba,* 247, fig. 2. The origin of the west capital is more difficult to discern since its foliate ornament has so badly deteriorated.

[85] The few brief scholarly references to this portal include Dan Halpern, *Ancient Synagogues of the Iberian Peninsula* (Gainsville: University of Florida Press, 1969), 43, Cantera Burgos, 296, and Oliva Alonso, 197.

[86] Part of the foundations of the mosque still remain under the current church, see Oliva Alonso, 196-197.

church was destroyed by the French in 1810, Felix González de León recorded that the building's arcades were made of round arches on granite columns of various heights and widths.[87] Cómez has identified four of these columns, which he describes as Tuscan, as those reused in the fence surrounding the gardens of the pavilion de Chile in Seville. The columns likely predate the Castilian conquest of the city. He also claims that several Visigothic capitals in the gardens of Murillo, near the plaza where the synagogue once stood were from the synagogue/mosque.[88] Based on González de León's description and Cómez's findings, the arcade of the synagogue likely reused elements of the mosque over which it was founded. Even more telling is González de León's statement that with the demolition of Santa Cruz, "perished the unique and last mosque which remained from the time of the Moors."[89] Unlike Seville's thirteenth-century Christian patrons, who wanted to transform the mosques that served as their churches into more Gothic-looking structures, the city's Jewish patrons appear to have been content to maintain or at least reuse much of the structure of the mosques that they converted into synagogues, suggesting that they, too, viewed Gothic as a Christian style.

Seville's thirteenth-century patrons clearly desired Gothic features for their parish churches, but they also selected various Mudejar features for several reasons. Some of these Mudejar elements, such as the wooden ceilings decorated with *lacería*, may have been the result of practical concerns rather than aesthetic preferences. Early *qubba* chapels were likely made popular by the Capilla de la Asunción at Las Huelgas, the

---

[87] Felix González de León, *Noticia artística, historica y curiosa de todos los edificios publicos, sagrados y profanos de esta muy noble, muy leal, muy heroica e invicta ciudad de Sevilla, y de muchas casas particulares, con todo lo que les sirve de adorno artistico, antiguedades, inscripciones y curiosidades que contienen* (Sevilla: Impr. de J. Hidalgo, 1844; reprint Sevilla: Graficasdel Sur, 1973), 28.

[88] Cómez, "La antigua sinagoga,"193.

[89] "perecio la única y últia mezquita que restaba del tiempo de los moros," *Noticia artística,* 42, note 10, cited in Cómez, "La antigua sinagoga," 187.

model monument of Castilian sovereignty during the thirteenth century. However, the prominence of Mudejar features in the church towers erected during this period, that of Santa Marina, San Gil, and possibly Santa Ana, is more difficult to explain. The massive stone bell tower of Las Huelgas, built during the second half of the thirteenth century, would have been difficult to replicate at Seville's more humble, brick parish churches, but the Gothic stone and brick tower at the Sevillian palace of Alfonso X's brother indicates that Gothic towers at the city's churches would not have been unconceivable. Why then did patrons not choose Gothic in accordance with the other conspicuous features of their churches? Local minarets did provide the most convenient models for bell towers because of their abundance as well as their brick construction, but it is unlikely that the aesthetic of the most visible structures of the city's churches was not considered for its symbolic significance. Seville's Mudejar church towers can best be explained by the precedent of the Giralda, the symbol of Christian triumph in the city. The early bell towers of Seville's parish churches are far too simple to be considered direct imitations of the Giralda, but their references to local minarets, which also signified Almohad authority,[90] albeit on a smaller scale, still could have carried the same connotations of conquest associated with the appropriated minaret of the Almohad Great Mosque. Most of Seville's earliest parish churches likely appropriated minarets for their bell towers, which were replaced in the second half of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with the exceptions of churches entirely rebuilt after the medieval period. Minarets were replaced rather than reused at Santa Marina and San Gil possibly to accommodate the construction of the new churches. In the case of the bell tower of Santa Ana, which may date to the early fourteenth century, the church was not built over a mosque.

---

[90] For minarets as symbols of Almohad power, see Bloom, *Minaret: Symbol of Islam*, 118-124, and chapter two, 76, note 46.

In addition to Seville's parish churches, its early monastic foundations also played a role in securing the city, but since they were not the civic centers of their respective neighborhoods, it was not as crucial that they look Christian. A relatively large number of religious houses (fifteen in all, including five military orders) were founded in the city during the thirteenth century with the help of the crown, the archbishop, and the nobility.[91] Quesada attributes this proliferation of monasteries and convents to the religious revival of this period and the desire of the nobility to establish familial sepulchers.[92] Fernández Mercedes Borrero suggests that another reason for the establishment of so many religious houses in Andalusia in general during the thirteenth century was to bring Christian populations to newly conquered territory.[93] Like the larger parish churches of Seville, many of its monasteries and convents were founded on the city's periphery, where they could establish a Christian presence in sparsely populated regions. According to tradition, Fernando III is credited for founding the city's first religious houses; however, the surviving primary documents concerning them

---

[91] These religious houses and the dates that they were likely founded include the monasteries of La Santísma Trinidad (Trinitarians, 1253), Santo Domingo de Silos (Benedictines, 1253), San Pablo (Dominicans, by 1255), San Francisco (Franciscans, 1280), San Augustíne (Augustinians, c.1290), and Nuestra Señora del Carmen (Carmelites, 1290) and the convents of Santa Clara (Clares, 1260), San Clemente (Cistercians, 1260), San Leandro (Augustinians, 1295), and Santa María de las Dueñas (Cistercians, 1299). The military/religious orders in the city were the Capilla del Castillo de San Jorge de Afama (Augustinians and later Cistercians, 1249), Priorato de Santiago de la Espada (Augustinian, 1250), Orden de Alcántara (Cistercian, 1250), San Benito de Calatrava (Cistercian, 1250), and San Juan de Acre (1250), see Ladero Quesada, *Historia de Sevilla*, 204-206; Martínez de Aguirre, "El refectorio de San Augustín," 109-111, and Kaluzny, 190-191.

[92] Ladero Quesada, *Historia de Sevilla*, 175-177.

[93] Mercedes Borrero Fernández, "Los Monasterios Femeninas en Tiempos de Fernando III," *Archivo Hispalense* 77 (1994): 496. She points out that more religious houses were founded in Andalusia during the thirteenth century than in the fourteenth century and the fifteenth century up to the reign of the Catholic Monarchs.

indicate that most of these communities were actually established during Alfonso X's reign and were at least partially patronized by the king.[94]

The medieval fabric of these monastic complexes is even more poorly preserved than that of Seville's parish churches, and most of the information concerning their original structures comes from later histories of the city rather than primary sources. Various texts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries claim that several of Seville's religious houses were founded over existing houses, mosques, or palaces from the Almohad city. Two thirteenth-century documents mention palaces and houses incorporated into monasteries.[95] It is safe to assume that most of the monastic complexes reused existing structures since this was standard practice at the time, particularly in re-conquered cities. Out of Seville's fifteen initial monastic foundations, significant evidence concerning the appearance of their medieval structures survives for San Clemente, Santa Clara, San Augustin, San Pablo, and San Francisco.[96]

According to a privilege granted to the Cistercian convent of San Clemente in 1310 by Sancho IV, the convent actually was founded by Fernando III in honor of his conquest of Seville on the feast day of this saint, but the earliest document in San Clemente's archive suggests that Don Remondo, who also patronized the convent, was responsible for organizing it. This privilege from 1284 grants Remondo's request to

---

[94] Cómez, *Arquitectura alfonsí*, 53-54, and Ladero Quesada, *Historia de Sevilla,* 175-177.

[95] These sources are discussed in Cómez, *Arquitectura alfonsí,* 53-54. In his sixteenth-century history of Seville, Morgado claims that Santo Domingo de Silos and San Clemente were founded over a mosque and a Muslim palace respectively, 392-393 and 438. A document from 1266 refers to a palace in San Francisco. The sale of houses to San Clemente is recorded in a document from 1268, see Cómez, *Arquitectura alfonsí*, 54.

[96] There is some additional evidence for the appearance of the medieval structure of one more monastery, but the dating for this structure is uncertain. According to Cómez's interpretation of an image from the seventeenth-century notebook of D. Joaquín González Moreno, the complex at Santisma Trinidad had at least one Gothic and one Mudejar door as well as a window with some colored tiles, see *Arquitectura alfonsí,* 53.

Alfonso X that the convent be placed under royal protection. San Clemente benefited from the continuous patronage of the kings of Castile through the reign of Fernando IV (1295-1312), and during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, some female members of the royal family were entombed there.[97] The majority of the medieval structure of the convent was replaced during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but an archeological excavation of the site carried out in the 1990's provides some idea of its medieval appearance.[98] The convent was founded over an Islamic palace. An eighteenth-century copy of a privilege made by Alfonso X in 1255 refers to the "edifice" of the convent, but this edifice was likely the Islamic palace over which the convent was founded.[99] Miguel Ángel Tabales suggests that construction did not begin until 1280, when it is believed that a group of nuns came to the convent from Cordoba. This first building campaign likely lasted into the early fourteenth century. Archeological evidence shows that only some of the foundational walls of the Islamic palace were incorporated into the new convent. The limited reuse of the palace was likely due to its deterioration after a fire, as opposed to a resistance to Islamic forms.[100] In fact, the remains of this initial campaign include both Gothic portals and Mudejar windows, some of which were located in the convent's original church (Figures A68 and A69). The Mudejar windows of the convent as well as the brick pattern of its surviving original walls imply that Mudejar workers

---

[97] See Borrero Fernández, *El Real Monasterio de San Clemente,* 36-38, for a discussion of these documents and 54-70 for a history of the royal patronage of the convent.

[98] A detailed report of this excavation is published in Miguel Ángel Tabales, ed. *El Real Monasterio de San Clemente: una Propuesta Arqueológica* (Sevilla: Universidad de Seville, 1997).

[99] This privilege was actually granted to the Order of San Juan of Jerusalem, but it mentions San Clemente as bordering the property given to the order. For a transcription of the section concerning San Clemente, see Borrero Mercedes, *El Real Monasterio de San Clemente,* 36. The phrase used in the document to refer to San Clements is "*ad aedificandum*."

[100] Ángel Tabales, *El Real Monasterio de San Clemente*, 72.

were involved in its construction because of their similarity to the local Almohad building tradition.[101] Sometime during the first third of the fourteenth century, a second church was begun in the location of the current church (b. 1588). A window similar to those of the original church was found in the remains this church behind the altarpiece of the actual church. The second church was probably finished under Pedro I, who had lived in the convent as a boy and patronized it as king.[102]

Mudejar features were even more prominent in the thirteenth-century structure of the convent of Santa Clara, which was founded over a Mudejar palace. Santa Clara was also supposedly founded by Fernando III, but the Clares did not have a permanent residence until Alfonso X's son Sancho IV (1284-1295) granted them the former palace of his uncle Don Fadrique in 1289. As at San Clemente, recent archeological excavations of the convent have yielded valuable information about both monastic and palatial architecture in late medieval Seville. Shortly after Fernando III conquered Seville, he gave his son Don Fadrique an Almohad palace at the northwestern corner of the city. Don Fadrique subsequently leveled most of the Islamic construction, dating to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, in order to build a new palace.[103]

The only part of his palace that survives fully intact is its free-standing tower, built in 1252 according to an inscription on its entrance. This three-story tower, the work of masons from Burgos, exemplifies the transition from Romanesque to Gothic forms in its rib vaulting and the round and pointed arches in its entrance and windows (Figures

---

[101] Ibid., 34, for a detailed discussion of the windows, see 188.

[102] Ibid., 77-82.

[103] Pablo Oliva Muñoz, Álvaro Jiménez Sancho, and Miguel Ángel Tabales, "Primera fase de Estudios Arqueológicos en el Real Monasterio de Santa Clara de Sevilla," *Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía* (2003): 340 and 345-346. Don Fadrique even had a limestone cap placed over part of the Islamic palace in order to create, in the authors' words, "a 'tabula rasa'" for his new palace.

A70 and 71). The vaulting of the tower's top floor was modeled after the vaulting of the four chapels off of the choir of the church at Las Huelgas. This style of vaulting is formed by a series ribs radiating from its center. Squinches with three liernes transition the vault to the square bay that it covers. The vaults, which are similar to the domes over Islamic *qubbas*, are present in earlier Plantagenet Gothic structures, such as the vaults of the sacristy of the church of Sainte Radégonde in Poitiers.[104] Despite the strategic position of Don Fadrique's palace near the Guadalquivir River, as José García-Tapial y León has pointed out, the palace's tower was not used for military purposes because of its distance from the walls of the city. Therefore, Don Fadrique must have desired a tower from which he could admire his palace's gardens and, more importantly, a tower that would demonstrate his own prestige.[105] Elevated structures used for viewing the surrounding landscape, known as miradors, were present in earlier Islamic palaces of al-Andalus, such as the famed Madinat al-Zahra' outside of Cordoba, and they often carried connotations of control and dominion.[106] Islamic miradors certainly influenced Don Fadrique's tower in concept; however, in terms of structure, Don Fadrique turned instead to the aristocratic towers that he had seen in Italy for general models.[107]

In addition to the tower, parts of the foundation and walls of Don Fadrique's palace are incorporated into the current edifice. Based on these remains, García-Tapial y León has reconstructed the basic plan of the palace (Figure A72). Unlike the structure of

---

[104] Cómez, "La introduccion de la arquitectura gótica en Sevilla," 110-111 and 111, note 25, and Lambert, "L'art Gothique a Séville Aprés La Reconoquête," 160.

[105] José García-Tapial y León, "Descripción del convento," in *Real Monasterio de Santa Clara: Historia y descripción*, José García Tapial y León, Carmen Hernández Rey, and José Solís Guzmán (Seville: Colegio Oficial de Aparejadores y Arquitectos Técnicos de Sevilla y Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 2006), 13-14.

[106] Ruggles, *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision in the Palaces of Islamic Spain* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 101-109.

[107] José García-Tapial y León, 13-14.

the tower, the palace more closely adheres to Islamic precedents, making it the first primarily Mudejar palace built in Seville that did not largely incorporate an earlier Islamic palace. Its four halls enclose a central, rectangular courtyard. The remains of a square tower from the center of its west façade recall Granadan palaces, but the construction of the surviving walls of the palace suggest that bricklayers were imported from Toledo to build it. Found in what was the palace's main hall, a Mudejar plaster frieze similar to Toledan designs further confirms the presence of artisans from that city. In addition to this frieze and a doorway enclosed in an *alfiz*, Gothic features have also been found in the remains of the western tower, including a frieze with Gothic script and four trefoil windows. The height of the windows of the tower also indicates that the palace was much taller than its possible Islamic precedents.[108]

Don Fadrique's Mudejar palace presents an interesting anomaly in what we know about the thirteenth-century architecture of Seville in that he chose to build a largely Mudejar structure. His replacement of a relatively new Almohad palace with a Mudejar one indicates that the prior structure must have either been damaged in the siege of the city or it could have lacked accoutrements that the *infante* deemed necessary. Don Fadrique's importation of artisans from outside of Seville also suggests that he was not simply drawing from local examples and available labor for his palace. It is curious that he did not construct a Gothic palace as did his brother, Alfonso X, in parts of Seville's Alcazar. Don Fadrique's choice was likely inspired by contemporary Islamic and Mudejar palaces that were modified or built by nobility in other Spanish cities, such as Toledo. Or perhaps he was influenced by the Islamic palaces he saw in Tunis after being exiled there by Alfonso X for taking part in a rebellion against the king, but there was a twenty-year lapse in construction between the Gothic tower and the Mudejar palace. Don

---

[108] Oliva Muñoz, Jiménez Sancho, and Ángel Tabales, 345-348.

Fadrique returned to Castile from exile in 1272, only to be executed by his brother five years later, and it is not known if he spent any of this interval in Seville.[109] While such a lapse could explain the opposing styles of the tower and palace, a more likely reason for this contrast is the difference in the function of the two structures. The Islamic palaces of al-Andalus presented luxurious models for the domestic residences of Christian patrons that were practical for warmer climates. In contrast, the tower of Don Fadrique functioned as a sign of personal power. Don Fadrique may have not considered the miradors of Islamic palaces conspicuous enough models for his tower, due to their incorporation within the main structure of the palace. He also likely preferred a Gothic tower to symbolize his status. As evident in the city's parish churches, Gothic was the style of power and authority in thirteenth-century Seville. The exception to this rule is the appropriation of specific Islamic monuments, such as the minaret of the Almohad Great Mosque. This tower, which had come to represent the triumph of Christianity over Islam, may have legitimated the use of minaret-like bell towers in Seville's parish churches, but this religious symbolism was not a factor in Don Fadrique's palace. Don Fadrique's rebellion against Alfonso X indicates that he was not committed to supporting his brother's efforts against Islamic forces on the peninsula; his primary concern was advancing his own political agenda. Ironically, because Don Fadrique's tower proclaimed his secular authority, he turned to the Gothic style. While Gothic represented Christianity in the city's churches, it was also associated with the prestige of the city's ruling elite. Alfonso employed prominent Gothic features in his palace at the Alcazar, Seville's most prestigious secular monument.

---

[109] Don Fadrique was executed in Burgos under ambiguous circumstances, see O'Callaghan, *The Learned King: The reign of Alfonso X of Castile*, Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 241-243.

According to the archeological record, the nuns of Santa Clara did not make any significant modifications to Don Fadrique's palace for nearly a century.[110] This lack of alteration may have been due to financial constraints, but the patronage of Sancho IV and his wife María de Molina would seem to indicate that this was not the case. More likely, the nuns did not alter the palace because it was sufficient for their practical and aesthetic needs. Its courtyard plan easily adapted to a cloister. Its Mudejar décor was appropriate for the nuns for the same reasons that it served Don Fadrique: a luxurious Mudejar palace made a comfortable setting for the unwed daughters and widows of the nobility, who were at ease in such an environment. In this respect, Don Fadrique's palace continued to serve as a palace as opposed to Seville's largely Gothic parish churches that acted as fortresses of faith.

While Mudejar forms were prominent in the convents of San Clemente and Santa Clara, the surviving evidence for the thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century construction at the monasteries of San Pablo, San Francisco, and San Augustín indicates a preference for Gothic. According to modern sources, either Fernando or Alfonso founded Seville's two mendicant monasteries, San Pablo and San Francisco.[111] All that remains of their medieval monastic complexes are the plan of the church of San Pablo and a description of the church of San Francisco. Although the relatively large church of San Pablo (now the parish church of Santa María Magdalena) was rebuilt during the Baroque period, it still retains its medieval plan, which consists of a nave and two aisles followed by five-aisled transept and a polygonal apse (Figure A73). The church of San Francisco was destroyed in 1890, but Felix González de Léon briefly described it in the mid-nineteenth

---

[110] The nuns did not even construct a church until the fifteenth century. Oliva Muñoz, Jiménez Sancho, and Tabales Rodríguez hypothesize that they used the north hall of the palace for their church up to this time, see 348-349.

[111] Comez, *Arquitectura Alfonsí*, 54, and Ladero Queseda, *Historia de Sevilla*, 175-177.

century. He claimed that the church had a very high and wide nave with no aisles, and that the entire church was vaulted and made of stone. He also said that two chapels flanked either side of the *capilla mayor*, causing Angulo to believe that the transept and apse of San Francisco was similar to that of San Pablo.[112] The five-aisled transepts with polygonal apses of these two churches were clearly modeled on the church of Santa María de las Huelgas (Figure A74). Angulo does acknowledge their similarity to Las Huelgas, but he dates the churches of San Pablo and San Francisco to the reign of Pedro I, primarily because of the donations made by Pedro to the two monasteries after the earthquake of 1356.[113] However, it is more logical to conclude that Pedro's donations were for repairs, and the churches were actually built in the thirteenth century since Las Huelgas inspired features of the city's thirteenth-century parish churches. In addition to Santa Ana, Alfonso X commissioned large churches at San Pablo and San Francisco that were based on the prestigious precedent of Las Huelgas in order to demonstrate his authority.

The desire to demonstrate status and Christian authority also explains the Gothic construction at the monastery of San Augustín, which was founded in the 1290's by the Ponce de Leóns, one of the most powerful noble families of Seville during the late Middle Ages.[114] Zúñiga records that the monastery's church was built in 1314, but nothing remains of this medieval structure.[115] The only medieval building of the complex to survive is the refectory, which has been securely dated to the second third of

---

[112] Angulo, 15-17.

[113] Ibid., 15-18, especially note 3, page 18.

[114] For the historiography of the dating of San Augustín's foundation, see Martínez de Aguirre, "El refectorio de San Augustín," 109-111.

[115] Cómez cites Zúñiga, "La introduccion de la arquitectura gótica en Sevilla," 112, note 36.

the fourteenth century. Its dating is based on the heraldry portrayed on the keystones and corbels of its stone Gothic, whose ribs share the same profiles as those found in thirteenth-century Sevillian monuments, such as Alfonso X's Alcazar and the *capilla mayor* of Santa Ana. J. Martínez de Aguirre suggests that the surprising use of such expensive yet archaic vaulting on a fairly mundane structure was intended to show the prestige of the monastery's patrons by imitating the earlier refectories of the royal monasteries of San Pablo and San Francisco that could have used the same style ribs.[116] The minimal presence of Mudejar ornament in the predominantly Gothic and historicizing refectory of San Augustín provides further evidence that in the years following Seville's conquest, its nobility associated Gothic architecture with power and prestige.

Like Seville's large number of parish churches, the sheer number of the city's thirteenth-century monasteries and convents as well as the placement of many of them at the edges of the city indicate that they also contributed to the establishment of Christian rule. Though there is not enough evidence concerning the original structures of these religious houses to make any holistic conclusions of how their style may have compared to their neighboring parish churches, the tower of Don Fadrique, the churches of San Pablo and San Francisco, and the refectory of San Augustín confirm that the Gothic style represented power and authority in post-conquest Seville. However, the reuse of Don Fadrique's Mudejar palace by the nuns of Santa Clara and the Mudejar construction at San Clemente suggest that Mudejar forms were more widely accepted in monastic settings than in the city's parish churches. This difference in the employment of Mudejar forms can be attributed to the difference in the primary function of the religious houses versus the parish churches. As previously stated, the parish church, as the visible

---

[116] Martínez de Aguirre, "El refectorio de San Augustín," 112-125.

embodiment of the ideologies of its parishioners, acted as the social, religious, and defensive center of its community. It was a visible embodiment of the ideologies of its parishioners. Though the monastery could also serve as a stronghold in the case of an attack on the city, it was primarily a place of religious retreat, typically for widows and unmarried sons and daughters of the nobility. The limited accessibility of the monastic complex as well as its residential function made it not a symbol of a Christian community asserting its authority, like the parish church, but a comfortable dwelling for the nobility more akin to the palaces of al-Andalus, where domestic comfort had been brought to an art by Muslim patrons. The churches of San Pablo and San Francisco and the refectory of San Augustín were exceptions because of the desires of their patrons to express their authority.

Alfonso was particularly anxious to demonstrate his authority not just over his Muslim and Christian subjects, but also among his Christian peers. Throughout much of his reign, he was consumed with acquiring the title of Holy Roman Emperor. His imperial struggle became such a drain on Castile's resources that it contributed to the rebellion of the nobility against the king. While Alfonso X was the first Spanish king to actively pursue the title of Holy Roman Emperor, the attainment of an empire both within and beyond the Iberian Peninsula had been on the minds of the kings of Castile and Léon for generations. Alfonso VIII of Castile (1158-1214) may have had this future objective for his grandson when he attempted to create a union between his daughter Berenguela (Alfonso X's grandmother) and Conrad of Hohenstaufen, son of Emperor Frederick I. The same can be said for Berenguela when she arranged for her son Fernando III to marry Beatrix of Swabia, granddaughter of Frederick.[117] Fernando certainly did not have time to be concerned with the position of Holy Roman Emperor, but several

---

[117] Cayento J. Socarras, *Alfonso X of Castile: A Study on Imperialistic Frustration* (Barcelona: Ediciones Hispam, 1976), 95-103.

thirteenth-century texts, which include the history of Spain written by his close advisor Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada and his son Alfonso's *Siete Partidas*, demonstrate that the crusading king wished to be known as the emperor of Spain, rather than just king of Castile-Léon. The idea of a Spanish empire dated back to the tenth century with the kings of Léon, who thought it was their duty to conquer all of the peninsula as it had been under the Visigoths.[118]

Aware of this legacy and eager to further his own imperial goals, Alfonso planned to make Seville a capital befitting an emperor, and one way he sought to do this was through the city's architecture. His architectural commissions not only established a Christian authority in the city in general, but they also reinforced his own connections to the great monarchs of Christendom. Through their Gothic style, Seville's early parish churches and several of its monastic structures provided emblems of Christianity in a Muslim landscape, but their imported French style was also at least partially informed by Alfonso's desire to associate himself with the influential Louis IX, the model Christian king of thirteenth-century Europe. Alfonso desperately tried to gain the support of the French king in his bid for the position of Holy Roman Emperor. In 1257, he sent ambassadors to France to win over Louis, and over a decade later, he married his son Fernando de la Cerda to Louis's daughter Blanche in a ceremony so expensive that his nobles protested.[119] Alfonso also employed architecture to emphasize his familial ties to Louis, who was Ferndando III's cousin. Louis' mother, Blanche of Castile, was the daughter of Alfonso VIII and Eleanor of England, who founded the royal convent Las Huelgas. Alfonso looked to Las Huelgas as the model of his architectural commissions in Seville because the convent symbolized the union between the French and Castilian

---

[118] Socarras, 99-100, and O'Callaghan, *The Learned King*, 147-148.

[119] O'Callaghan, *The Learned King,* 200 and 214

royal families through its combination of imported French Gothic and Andalusian architectural elements. Eleanor and Alfonso began construction on both the church, which draws from various monastic foundations of the French monarchy,[120] and on the aforementioned Capilla de la Asunción, which is based on French and Andalusian precedents. Alfonso X actively patronized Las Huelgas, finishing its church and cloister as well as constructing at least one of its centrally-planned chapels.[121] Through their adoption of the Gothic features and the Mudejar chapels of Las Huelgas, Seville's churches evoked Alfonso's prestigious pedigree and the authority of the Castilian monarchy.

In addition to constructing Gothic churches, Alfonso also commissioned a Gothic palace at the Alcazar, constructed by masons from Burgos and local Mudejar *alarifes* at the Alcazar as a symbol of his authority among his European peers and his Muslim subjects. Like the appropriation of the Almohad Great Mosque, the appropriation of the Alcazar by Christian forces signified victory. Fernando III demanded that it be turned over to Christian hands same day as the city's capitulation.[122] Alfonso was keenly

---

[120] These monuments include churches in Paris, Angers, Laon and Soissons, see Henrik Karge, *La Catedral de Burgos y la arquitectura del siglo XIII en Francia y España*. trans. Cristina Corredor (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y Léon, Consejería de Cultura y Turismo,1995),164-165, and Lambert, *L'Art Gothique en Espagne aux XIIe et XIIIe Siècles* (Paris: Henri Laurens, Éditeur, 1931), 195-201.

[121] Palomo Fernández and Ruiz Souza have made a strong case for Alfonso's patronage of parts of the church, including its cloister, and the Capilla del Salvador, see 24–37. For his possible role in constructing the Capilla de la Asuncíon, see 34-35. Work on the Capilla de Santiago may have begun under Alfonso as well; there are similarities between some of its plasterwork and that of structures at the convent constructed during Alfonso's reign, but other aspects of its plasterwork stylistically date to the fourteenth century, see José María Azcárate Ristori, "La Capilla de Santiago en las Huelgas de Burgos," *Reales Sitios* 8 (1971): 51; María Luisa Concejo Díez, "El arte mudéjar burgalés de los siglos XIII-XV," in *El arte gótico en el territorio burgalés*. eds. Emilio Jesús Rodríguez Pajares and María Isabel Bringas López. Colección "Arte en el territorio burgalés" (Burgos: Universidad Popular para la Educación y Cultura de Burgos, 2006), 155–56; and Ruiz Souza, "La planta centralizada en la Castilla bajomedieval," *Anuario del Departamento del Historia y Teoría del Arte* 13 (2001): 16.

[122] *Primera Crónica General*, 2:767

aware of the Alcazar's significance as well. He tore down the most prominent Almohad palace in the complex and replaced it with a larger, fortified Gothic-Mudejar one that was probably finished around 1270.[123] Like so many of Seville's thirteenth-century monuments, Alfonso's palace has been largely remodeled. The ground level of the palace only retains its basic plan, some of its vaulting, and the buttresses and crenellation of its south facade. In plan, the palace follows earlier Islamic models, but its structure and ornament was largely Gothic. The original plan of the ground floor probably consisted of two rectangular halls preceded by a portico and flanked by two smaller halls running perpendicular to the main halls. Only one main hall survives in the current plan (Figure A75).[124] Plans consisting of long rectangular halls with smaller chambers on either side were common in Islamic Andalusian palaces. All of the palace's halls were originally covered by ribbed groin vaults and were divided by arcades of pointed arches.

The main hall opened onto a garden of Almohad origin, now known as the Patio del Crucero, because of its division into four sunken gardens by two intersecting walkways that form a Latin cross. Only the vaulted sublevel of the central walkway, which Alfonso rebuilt, has survived intact (Figure A76). It has a central pool running the length of the walkway. Later misleadingly called the baths of "María de Padilla," the mistress of Pedro I, the pool was actually used for irrigation. As in the palace above, ribbed groin vaults rise over it, but pointed barrel vaults cover the narrow the passages on either side of the pool. The keystones of the central vaults are ornamented with stars and scalloped shells similar to those at Santa Ana. Interestingly, two series of three small

---

[123] Cómez, *Arquitectura alfonsí*, 138, cites a document from 1271 that mentions the chapel of San Clemente in the Alcazar.

[124] On the original plan of the palace see Marín Fidalgo, *El Alcázar de Sevilla bajo los austrias: estudio arquitectónico e histórico* (Seville: Ediciones Guadalquivir, 1987), 529. For descriptions of the original palace in general, see López Guzmán, 254-257, and Cómez, *Arquitectura alfonsí*, 138-139.

groin vaults, join the central pool and passages with the sublevel passages of the cross arms. The arrangement of these small vaults recalls transitional bays from the Almohad Alcazar that employ three small *muqarnas* vaults. Because of these small groin vaults and the keystones of the central vaults, Cómez has speculated that Mudejar masons worked under a Castilian master at the Alcazar.[125]

Alfonso's replacement of the most important Almohad palace of the Alcazar with a fortified mainly Gothic palace demonstrates that he wished, as Ana Marín Fidalgo has recognized, to proclaim the presence of a new regime in the city.[126] But Alfonso was also thinking beyond Seville when he built his new palace. López Guzmán posits that Alfonso's imperial ambitions motivated him to replace the Almohad palace because he needed a larger palace that would be suitable for the protocol of an international court.[127] But if size was the sole motivation, Alfonso could have accomplished this by simply modifying and enlarging the existing Almohad palace. Louis VII's admiration of Alfonso VII's adapted Alcazar in Toledo demonstrates that European royalty found Islamic palaces suitable for court life.[128] Alfonso, however, wanted a palace that clearly signified his authority within Castile and abroad. Like Seville's parish churches that imitated Las Huelgas, Alfonso's Gothic-Mudejar palace in Seville reinforced the king's identity as ruler of Castile and a powerful king within greater Christendom.

Alfonso's Gothic commissions helped make Seville a cosmopolitan capital, but he began transforming the city into the political capital of Castile by establishing the Almohad Great Mosque as the new royal funerary church, replacing that of Las Hueglas

---

[125] Cómez, Ibid., 139.

[126] Ana Marín Fidalgo, *El Alcázar de Sevilla bajo los austrias*, 58.

[127] López Guzmán, 257.

[128] Ibid., 256.

in Burgos. He buried his father in front of the main altar in the *capilla mayor* at the east end of the cathedral on the last day of May in 1252. The very next day, he was proclaimed king and knighted in a ceremony in which he was hoisted above his father's tomb, possibly on a shield in the Visigoth tradition, in front of an audience of nobles. An eighteenth-century account of this ceremony claims that Alfonso knighted himself with the assistance of a mechanical statue of Santiago, patron saint of the Reconquest, but no contemporary sources confirm this spectacle. Even without the supposed presence of St. James, such a ceremony involving tomb and shield was unusual for Castilian monarchs at the time, and it shows Alfonso's awareness of the power of symbolism.[129] Alfonso later instated an annual ceremony in the cathedral, honoring his father, and placed Fernando's sword in the cathedral. Sometime during the 1260's, Alfonso rearranged the internal organization of the cathedral converting the *capilla mayor* into a *capilla real*, and placing a new *capilla mayor* in the western half of the cathedral. The two sections of the cathedral were placed on either side of the major north/south aisle of the original configuration of the mosque, which became the main processional nave of the cathedral (Figure A77). It is uncertain how much Alfonso X altered the structure of the mosque to create his royal burial chapel, but it was apparently separated from the *capilla mayor* by an open passageway and an iron screen.[130]

After moving the body of his mother Beatrice of Swabia from Las Huelgas to Seville in 1279, Alfonso commissioned a series of elaborate funerary sculptures for his

---

[129] A letter by Jaime of Aragon confirms that Alfonso was raised above his father's tomb, see Laguna Paúl, "La capilla de los Reyes," 237. For additional accounts of this ceremony, see Linehan, *History and Historians*, 426, and O'Callaghan, *The Learned King*, 5-7.

[130] See Laguna Paúl, "La capilla de los Reyes," 241, for dating of Alfonso's modifications. Knowledge of Alfonso's changes to the mosque come from descriptions of the mosque/cathedral from the *Libro Blanco*, a record made in 1411 of the chapels and burials in the mosque/cathedral, and the seventeenth-century historian Pablo Espinosa de Monteros, both of which are discussed in Ecker, "From Masjid to Casa-Mezquita," 109-112.

parents and himself that were eventually finished under his son Sancho IV.[131] Though only fragments of these sculptures survive today, they are known through a mid-fourteenth-century text and a description and accompanying illustration in Alfonso's *Cantigas de Santa María*.[132] The sculptures consisted of life-like portraits of the three monarchs seated on thrones above their caskets and placed under tabernacles. A statue of the Virgin and the Christ Child also accompanied the monarchs, signifying, as Amy Remensnyder has stated, Alfonso's belief that earthly rulers were the *vicarios de Dios*.[133] All of the statues were plated with silver and adorned jewels, gold crowns, and clothing made from ornate textiles. Andalusian textiles with Islamic-derived patterns also covered the caskets. Although the materials that comprised the sculptures were of Iberian manufacture, the inclusion of figures seated on thrones under tabernacles, deviated from the typical reclining effigies used in Castile and León or the stone caskets

---

[131] Alfonso did not specifically dictate arrangements for his tomb, but he probably intended for it to be incorporated with that of his parents, see Remensnyder, "Marian Monarchy in Thirteenth-Century Castile," in *The Experience of Power in Medieval Europe, 950–1350*. eds. Robert F. Berkhofer III, Alan Cooper and Adam J. Kosto (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2005), 253–54.

[132] The most detailed description of the sculptures dates to 1345, but they are also described in *Cantiga* 292. A basic illustration is also included with the *Cantiga*. These references are recorded in Martínez de Aguirre, "La Primera Escultura Funeraria Gótica en Sevilla: La Capilla Real y el Sepulcro de Guzmán el Bueno (1248-1320)," *Archivo Español de Arte* 68 (1995): 113-116; Laguna Paúl, "La capilla de los reyes de la primitiva Catedral de Santa María de Sevilla y las relaciones de la corona castellana con el cabildo hispalense en su etapa fundacional (1248–85)," 244-45; O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the "Cantigas de Santa María:" A Poetic Biography*. The Medieval Mediterranean 16 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 50-55, and Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras, "La fortuna sevillana del códice florentino de las Cantigas : tumbas, textos e imágenes," *Quintana* 1 (2002): 258-260.

[133] "Marian Monarchy," 258-259. According to Remensnyder, Alfonso's devotion to Mary was not only the result of his view of her as the divine counterpart to earthly rulers, but also because of his desire to be Holy Roman Emperor and to honor the Virgin through his military campaigns against the Muslims. Like earlier Holy Roman Emperors, he founded a military order (that of *Santa María de España*) dedicated to the Virgin, and the purpose of the order was to conquer Muslims in the name of Christianity, see Ibid., 262–63.

of Castilian royalty found at Las Huelgas.[134] Rocio Sánchez Ameijeiras has suggested that Alfonso sought less traditional models for his funerary sculptures in order to create an imperial image of his dynasty and to promote the proposed sainthood of his father.[135] Suggested sources for these unusual effigies, which range from illuminated Spanish royal portraits to earlier German tombs of Holy Roman Emperors, further support her argument.[136] While a combination of models may have been used, Sánchez Ameijeiras draws the most direct connection to the enthroned cadaver of the legendary eleventh-century warrior El Cid, which Alfonso's *Primera crónica* describes as seated perfectly preserved under a tabernacle for ten years before it was placed in a sarcophagus.[137] She explains that this image of El Cid likely stemmed from Otto III's description of the seated effigy of Charlemagne, likely known to Alfonso as well. By evoking El Cid and Charlemagne through the enthroned effigy of his father, Alfonso emphasized the Fernando's identity as a Christian conqueror and would-be emperor.[138] Also telling of Alfonso's promotion of the conqueror/emperor image of his father is the surviving laudatory inscription written in Latin, Castilian, Arabic and Hebrew that was placed on Fernando's casket. The inscription describes him as he, "who conquered all of Spain, the

---

[134] *Cantiga* 292 records that the silverwork was done by an artisan from Toledo, Laguna Paúl, "La capilla de los reyes," 245, and funerary silks were often made in Andalusia, see Feliciano. For traditional funerary monuments in Castile and León, see Laguna Paúl, Ibid., 245 and Sánchez Ameijeiras, "La fortuna sevillana," 262.

[135] Fernando III was referred to as a saint as early as the 1330's, but he was not officially canonized until 1670. Sánchez Ameijeiras also suggests that Alfonso may have been inspired to commission an elaborate funerary monument for his parents because of the contemporary monuments of two other sainted kings, Louis IX and Edward the Confessor, see "La fortuna sevillana,"263-264.

[136] Martínez de Aguirre, "La Primera Escultura Funeraria Gótica en Sevilla,"120 and Laguna Paul, "La capilla de los reyes," 245.

[137] *Primera Cronica General,* 2: 640-643.

[138] Sánchez Ameijeiras, "La fortuna sevillana,"262-264.

most loyal, true generous, energetic, elegant, illustrious, patient, and humble, who most of all feared God and rendered to Him the greatest service."[139] While Castilian, Arabic and Hebrew were employed to show that Fernando was ruler over all three religious groups of Castile-Leon, the addition of Latin connected him to the greater Christian Empire of Europe, perhaps a sign that Alfonso had still not completely given up hope of becoming Holy Roman Emperor after his rejection by the pope in 1275.[140] These luxurious and unusual sepulchers were intended to convey power and authority by combining the royal and imperial iconography of European models with the lavishness of Andalusian ornament, indicating that Alfonso believed a Spanish empire was still within his grasp. Alfonso's commission of an iconographical program painted on the piers flanking the main aisle of the converted mosque also attest to his imperial ambitions. This program included an image of St. Helena followed by a representation of Ferdinand III, connecting him with the Christian Emperor Constantine. Alfonso's preservation of Seville's Great Mosque as a victory monument was a direct assertion of his authority over the local Muslim population. By implanting the mosque with imperial imagery, he was able to use it to reinforce his right to become the next Holy Roman Emperor or at least emperor of Spain.

Because Seville was frontier city and Alfonso's new capital, its architecture as a whole most clearly represents the king's efforts to secure his father's conquests as well as his desire to portray himself as a Christian emperor, but these goals can also be seen in his patronage in other cities. Following the important precedent set by his father at the cathedrals of Toledo and Burgos, Alfonso also contributed to the construction of Burgos

---

[139] The marble inscription can still be seen in the capilla real of the Cathedral of Seville. Translation from O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the "Cantigas de Santa María,"* 55.

[140] Sánchez Ameijeiras argues that this inscription not only shows Alfonso's political goals, but it was also intended to aid in the conversion of the non-Christian dignitaries, who read it, including the kings of Granada and Egypt, "La fortuna sevillana,"260-261.

as well as the cathedral of León, both of which contain imperial imagery and connect him to the French monarchy. Similar themes were present in his Mudejar palace at Segovia. Alfonso's patronage of religious and secular architecture at Cordoba, where he continued church construction campaigns begun under his father and likely constructed part of the Alcazar, closely mirrors his work at Seville.

Some scholars argue that the cathedral of Toledo, which was patronized by Fernando (possibly in an effort to get his son Sancho elected as Archbishop of the see), should be understood as a symbol of the triumph of Christianity over Islam since the predominantly Gothic cathedral replaced the city's Great Mosque.[141] However, the primary reason for the construction of the new Gothic cathedral was to exalt the position of the see of Toledo and its Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada. Rodrigo was an avid supporter of Fernando's crusading campaigns. Although construction began on the cathedral in 1222, Rodrigo delayed the ceremonial laying of the first stone until 1226 so Fernando could participate.[142] The Archbishop reportedly wanted to replace Toledo's cathedral/congregational mosque because of its dilapidated state, but he was also well-aware of the cathedral project of his colleague, Archbishop Mauricio of Burgos, which was partially funded by Fernando as well.[143] Rodrigo and Mauricio had studied together in Paris, making them familiar with the innovative Gothic style. The two cathedrals, which both draw heavily from the French cathedral at Bourges, were begun within a year of one another.[144] Unlike Burgos, however, Toledo has Islamicizing features in addition

---

[141] Karge, 175, and Raizman, 138.

[142] Jiménez de Rada, *Historia de rebus Hispanae,*book nine, chapter thirteen. A papal bull from 1222 gave permission for the construction of the cathedral, Karge, 168.

[143] The poor condition of the mosque is cited as the reason for the construction of the cathedral in the above-cited bull, see Karge, ibid.

[144] See Karge, 28, for the relationship between the two archbishops. Burgos is generally believed to have begun in 1221, a year before the commencement of construction at Toledo, see Karge 39 and 168.

to its French influence. The polylobed arches of its choir triforia may have been due to Rodrigo's efforts to acknowledge Toledo's former Great Mosque, and, therefore, recognize the strong sense of tradition preserved in the city by its Mozarabic population (Figure A20). The cathedral's combination of Gothic and Islamic-derived features may have also appealed to Fernando, who desired to be emperor of Christian and Muslim Spain.

Like his father, Alfonso also patronized Gothic cathedrals, though his patronage more overtly conveyed his political agenda. Alfonso's patronage of the cathedral of Burgos began in 1257 with his donation towards the construction of both the north and west façade portals (Figure A78). Unfortunately, the three portals of the west façade were replaced in the late eighteenth century, but a drawing and a written description made shortly before their demolition record that their tympana were filled with scenes of the Virgin's assumption, conception, and coronation, a fitting theme as the west portal was the royal entrance to the church.[145] Of the west façade's surviving sculpture, Cómez speculated that the couples located in arches in between the portals depict the main patrons of the original and the Gothic church, Alfonso VI and Fernando III, and their respective archbishops. He also argued that the gallery of kings above the rose window represent the eight kings of Castile and León from Fernando I to Alfonso IX, father of Fernando III, and that the figures adorning the façade's towers are members of Fernando's immediate family.[146] While Cómez's interpretation of the iconography of the west façade remains speculation, most scholars agree that the king and queen depicted in the second bay of the north wall of the cloister, which was also constructed under Alfonso's reign, are Fernando III and Beatrice of Swabia, who were married in the

---

[145] Ibid., 48, fig. 4, and 119.

[146] Cómez *Empresas artísticas*, 167-168.

cathedral (Figure A79). Alfonso X has also been identified as one of the other kings present in the cloister's sculptural program. Henrik Karge argues that these sculptures as well as the number of royal ceremonies held at Burgos between 1255 and 1260 demonstrate that the cathedral chapter wanted Burgos to be an important center for Alfonso's possible empire.[147] In addition to the cathedral's sculpture, several elements of the Cathedral's design, which were carried out under Alfonso X's patronage, can also be associated with his imperial ambitions, due to their heavy reliance on Parisian models, including the royal abbey church of Saint-Denis and Louis IX's Sainte-Chapelle.[148]

Alfonso's imperial agenda is clearly reflected at the cathedral of León, begun in 1255 (Figure A80). The Archbishop of León Martín Fernández, who was one of Alfonso's primary allies in his quest for the title of Holy Roman Emperor, partnered with the king in the construction of the new cathedral.[149] León, which shared two master masons with Burgos, is also largely based on French models, including Saint-Denis and the coronation Cathedral of Reims. León was the Spanish equivalent to the contemporary churches of Westminster Abbey (b. 1250) in England, and Cologne Cathedral (b. 1248) in Germany, both of which also looked to the Rayonnant style of Saint-Denis and Reims for models that promoted kingship. Like Cologne, León combined architectural elements of royal French churches with an elaborate iconographical program that also exalted the sovereignty of the king.[150] The alternating heraldry of Castile-León and the fleur-de-lis

---

[147] Karge, 122-123. Cómez has argued that the pair on the cloister's north wall is Alfonso X and his wife Violante of Aragón, see *Empresas artísticas*, 170.

[148] Karge, 179-184.

[149] Fernández helped arrange the marriage between Alfonso's son Fernando de la Cerda and Louis IX's daughter Blanche.

[150] For a description of Cologne's iconographical program see Christopher Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral: the Architecture of the Great Church 1130-1530* (London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd, 1990), 152-153.

of Louis IX ornament the entrance to the crossing of the cathedral and the iconography of its French-style stained glass windows proclaim Alfonso's imperial intentions through their depictions of the Castilian king and his heraldry next to French fleur-de-lis. Particularly telling is the series of panels in the northern choir that depict Alfonso carrying the imperial orb and leading a procession of knights, who raise banners with the heraldry of Castile-León and Swabia.[151]

Alfonso also employed an iconography of kingship at his palace in Segovia, constructed sometime between 1258 and 1263. Unlike his palace at the Alcazar of Seville, what remains from his palace in Segovia is primarily Mudejar. The differences in the styles of these two palaces are likely due to several factors. Segovia, unlike Seville, was neither a frontier town nor the capital of Alfonso's would-be empire, allowing it to be constructed in the local vernacular style. In Segovia, Alfonso did not have to differentiate his monuments from local architecture to clearly assert his presence in the city or to make the city more cosmopolitan. The palace at Segovia also differed from Seville's in that it was built over a Christian palace, built under Alfonso VIII in the mid-twelfth century, which may have also been Mudejar. Even though Alfonso's palace at Segovia was mostly Mudejar, it did express his imperial ambitions through the iconography of its Sala de los Reyes. The walls of this hall were lined with painted figural portraits of Castilian kings based on French models, yet another example of Alfonso's desire to be seen as a king worthy of the title of emperor (Figure A81).[152] Given Segovia's royal portraits, it is reasonable to conclude that Alfonso's Sevillian palace may have had a similar program, lost during the remodeling of Charles V.

---

[151] Karge, 187-194, and Cómez *Empresas artísticas*, 73-84. See Cómez, ibid., 176-184 for a discussion of the iconographical program of León's stained-glass windows.

[152] These portraits were destroyed in a fire in 1862, but they are known through drawings. For a description of Alfonso's work at Segovia, see Peréz Higuera, *Arquitectura Mudejar*, 83-84.

Alfonso's patronage in Burgos, León and Segovia, in addition to his monuments in Seville, clearly demonstrate that he employed architecture to formulate his imperial identity, but his patronage in Cordoba is most like that of Seville in its dual expressions of Christian hegemony and imperial ambition. Similarities between Alfonso's patronage in Seville and Cordoba are not surprising since the two cities were conquered by Fernando III in just over a decade of one another. After Fernando's conquest of Cordoba in 1236, as he would later do in Seville, he immediately expelled the city's Muslim population, consecrated the city's Great Mosque and established its parishes. He also founded the mendicant monasteries of San Pablo and San Pedro el Real and may have patronized the construction of their Gothic churches.[153] Little of the medieval fabric of San Pedro remains, but San Pablo remains largely intact (Figure A82). Stylistically, these churches are the earliest churches in the city. They follow Cistercian precedents with some, possibly later, Mudejar additions.[154] Their style has been attributed to the first bishop of Cordoba, the Cistercian monk Lope de Fitero.[155]

The majority of Cordoba's fourteen original parish churches have been dated to the second half of the thirteenth century or to the early fourteenth century based on stylistic and documentary evidence.[156] Like the parish churches in Seville, those in Cordoba were originally founded over mosques, and there appears to have been a desire to erect them relatively soon after the city's conquest. A number of thirteenth-century

---

[153] A foundational charter dates San Pablo to 1241. San Pedro Real's foundational charter no longer survives, but the monastery is mentioned in a privilege from 1246, Jordano Barbudo, *Arquitectura medieval Cristiana en Córdoba*, 117.

[154] Jordano Barbudo, Ibid., 116-124 and 42-54.

[155] Lambert, *L'Art Gothique*, 283.

[156] Jordano Barbudo date most of Cordoba's parish churches to the early fourteenth century, see *Arquitectura medieval Cristiana en Córdoba,* 23-143; whereas, Cómez places many of them in the thirteenth century, see *Empresas artísticas*, 92-112.

documents, dating as early as 1250, record donations made by various clergy, nobles, and Alfonso X for the construction of the parish churches.[157] As at Seville, the churches on the city's outskirts were likely constructed first, suggesting security concerns.[158] With the exception of their stone construction, Cordoba's early parish churches closely resemble those at Seville. They are primarily Gothic, and the ridge ribs of their vaults and the ornament of their portals indicate that they, too, were constructed by masons from Burgos (Figures A83 and A84).[159] The similarities in the development of the early churches of these two cities can be explained by their shared patron, Alfonso X. Since Cordoba was a recently conquered city, Alfonso had the same goal of establishing a Christian presence with Gothic churches there as he did in Seville, and he naturally employed the same masons from Burgos in both cities. Although Cordoba was not Alfonso's capital, María Ángeles Jordano Barbudo has argued that prestigious, new Gothic churches were important for Cordoba because of a desire to proclaim the Christian usurpation of the renowned former capital of the Umayyad Caliphate.[160]

Alfonso's patronage in Cordoba further resembles his patronage in Seville through his construction of a Gothic Alcazar and his preservation of its Great Mosque. Parts of Alfonso's palace, which he built near the Umayyad Alcazar, still survive, including the Torre de Leones, which has vaults modeled on those of the crossing chapels at Las Huelgas.[161] The preservation of the Great Mosque symbolized Christian

---

[157] Jordano Barbudo, *Arquitectura medieval Cristiana en Córdoba*, 24, and Cómez *Empresas artísticas*, 96-97.

[158] Cómez, *Empresas artísticas,* 95-96.

[159] Lambert, *L'Art Gothique*, 283-284.

[160] Jordano Barbudo, *El Mudéjar in Córdoba*. Estudios Colección Cordobeses (Córdoba: Diputación de Córdoba, 2002), 44.

[161] There is some debate as to whether the Alcazar was begun under Alfonso X or Alfonso XI, but architectural and documentary evidence suggest that at least parts of it were

hegemony. Alfonso ordered Mudejar craftsmen to make extensive repairs to the building, but it appears that he did not make any significant modifications to the structure.[162] Manuel Nieto Cumplido has called to attention the erroneous attribution of the cathedral's elaborate Mudejar *capilla real* to Alfonso, demonstrating that the chapel was instead patronized by queen Doña Constanza for the internment of her husband Fernando IV in 1312.[163] It seems that at both Cordoba and Seville, Alfonso believed that preserving the city's mosque made a more powerful political statement than constructing a Gothic edifice over it.

The development of Seville's architecture after the city's Christian conquest through the first half of the fourteenth century reflects the desire of their royal and noble patrons to promote Christian hegemony in the city as well as individual authority, and in the case of Alfonso X, imperial ambition. For the parish churches of Seville, the assertion of Christian authority was accomplished through both their sheer number and the destruction or partial replacement of the mosques over which they were founded in favor of Gothic structures. It was crucial for these churches to look Christian due to their

---

constructed under Alfonso X, see Cómez, "La introduccion de la arquitectura gótica en Sevilla,", 110.

[162] For a discussion of Alfonso's restoration efforts, see Ecker, "The Great Mosque of Cordoba in the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries," *Muqarnas* 20 (2003): 120-124. Alfonso did found the Chapel of San Clemente in the mosque, but it is unclear whether or not he actually made alterations to the building for the chapel, see Jordano Bardudo, *El Mudéjar in Córdoba,* 131.

[163] Nieto Complido explains that a document from 1312 records that doña Constanza endowed the chapel with several chaplains and custodians, *La Catedral de Cordoba* (Cajasur: Cordoba 1998), 460. At least the lower portions of the chapel date to 1366, when Enrique II was persuaded by the archbishop of Cordoba, Don Andrés, to fulfill the desire of his father, Alfonso XI, to have a sepulcher in the *capilla real* where Fernando IV was currently buried. An inscription in the dado of the chapel confirms Enrique's patronage and the transferal of Alfonso XI's body in 1371. For detailed discussions of the chapel see Jordano Barbudo, *Arquitectura medieval Cristiana en Córdoba*,157, and *El Mudéjar in Córdoba*, 117-118.

functions of providing security and cohesion to their communities, which were vulnerable to Muslim incursions. Like the city's parish churches, the significant number of the many monasteries and convents founded in Seville in the years directly following its conquest also point to the concern over establishing a Christian presence in the city. Based on the limited information concerning the architecture on the campuses of these religious orders during this period, there was not an imminent need for all of complexes to appear Christian since some of them preserved the Almohad or Mudejar palaces that housed them, though several monastic churches do reference Las Huelgas. Many of Seville's thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century churches, as well as Alfonso's Gothic-Mudejar palace at the Alcazar, also represent the king's efforts to create a cosmopolitan city, fit for the capital of an emperor. Their imitation of Las Huelgas reinforced Alfonso's familial ties to Louis IX, an influential figure in his pending appointment as Holy Roman Emperor. Alfonso's conversion of the mosque as a royal pantheon and a stage for his knighting ceremony further promoted his personal pursuit of imperial status. Alfonso's use of architecture to convey his image as a Christian king worthy of an imperial title is further corroborated in his patronage of monuments in Burgos, León, Segovia, and Cordoba.

CHAPTER 4

MUDEJAR ARCHITECTURE FROM C. 1356-1430: THE LEGITIMATE CHOICE

In chapter three, the main protagonist in the story of Seville's architectural development was a king of Castile. The same is true for this chapter; the key figure in the next phase of the city's architectural history was Pedro I (1350-1369), who, like Alfonso X, spent much of his reign in Seville. However, this king differed from his predecessor in his architectural and historical legacy. As we have seen, Alfonso X, known to history as "the Wise," patronized primarily French Gothic churches and a Gothic palace due to his desire to announce a new "Christian" regime in Seville and to emphasize his connections to the influential Louis IX as a way to promote himself among the Christian rulers of Europe. Pedro, known as both "the Just" and "the Cruel," commissioned an opulent Mudejar palace at Seville's Alcazar that set the standard for both secular and religious patronage in the city for half a century (Figure A8). Like Alfonso's commissions, Pedro's palace at the Alcazar reflected his politics; however, unlike his forebear, his priorities were peninsular rather than continental. Pedro, who was embroiled in a bloody civil war with his illegitimate half-brother for much of his reign, drew inspiration for his palace from both his alliance with his vassal and ally Muhammad V of Granada, and from architectural and artistic precedents established by his father, Alfonso XI.

In contrast to his palace project, Pedro's patronage of several churches in Seville was born more out of necessity than politics. In 1356, a devastating earthquake shook Seville. The fourteenth-century Italian chronicler Matteo Villani recorded that it caused "grand and grave ruin" in the city.[1] The earthquake collapsed the great *yamur*, or finial,

---

[1] Villani, *Cronica con La Continuazione di Filippo Villani*, ed. Giuseppe Porta (Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo, 1995) I: 809-810.

of the Giralda as well as the tower of the collegiate church of El Salvador.[2] Little more is known about its damaging affects, but the two towers could not have been the earthquake's only structural casualties.[3] According to Zúñiga, that same year Archbishop D. Nuño ordered collections from the congregation for the fabric of the parish churches of the city. He also implored Pedro I to "rebuild" the churches of San Miguel, Omnium Sanctorum, Santa Marina, and San Román. Writing in the seventeenth century, Zúñiga claimed that the king fulfilled the Archbishop's request because Pedro's royal heraldry appeared on these churches; however, this heraldry no longer exists.[4] Reconstruction efforts apparently lasted for some time. Pedro's testament from 1362 records that the king planned to make donations upon his death for the repair of the tower of the church of El Salvador.[5]

The fair, blond haired, blue-eyed Pedro, perhaps the most romanticized monarch in Castilian history, has been seen as one of the more effective rulers of Seville because of his buildings campaigns after the earthquake, earning him the nickname, "the Just." His other nickname was "the Cruel," and indeed, the king is said to have ordered an excessive number of executions among his family and nobles, including three of his half-brothers, his cousin, his treasurer, and even one of his wives, leading some scholars to

---

[2] Zúñiga, 2: 252-253. Curiously, Zúñiga dates the earthquake to 1396, but most scholars assume that the destruction he describes occurred in 1356.

[3] For more on the severity of the earthquake, which is believed to have registered 8.0, see P. Gentil Govantes, *El riesgo sísmico en Sevilla* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1989), 68-71.

[4] Zúñiga, 2: 142. Zúñiga used the vague term "reedificó." For the possible implications of this term see chapter three, 105-106.

[5] *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla: desde Don Alfonso el Sabio, hasta los Catolicos Don Fernando y Dona Isabel: coleccion ordenada por Don Cayetano Rosell. I, Crónica de Don Alfonso X; de Don Sancho el Bravo; de Don Fernando IV; de Don Pedro I*, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol. 66, ed. Cayetano Rosell (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1875; reprint Madrid: Atlas, 1953), 596. According to this testament, Pedro also patronized the monasteries of San Pablo, San Francisco Trinidad, and San Augustín.

question his mental stability. In his defense, much of his infamous reputation was created by Pedro López de Ayala (1332-1407), a supporter of the dynasty that overthrew him, and the author of the sole chronicle of the king's reign. Ayala, a long-time advisor to Pedro, shrewdly switched allegiances to Pedro's half-brother Enrique de Trastámara in 1366. His dramatic account of Pedro's reign paints the king as impetuous and vengeful, thus justifying Ayala's desertion of his former lord and promoting the new regime. One of the primary ways in which Ayala sought to tarnish Pedro's reputation was to portray him as favoring his Muslim and Jewish subjects.[6] Because of the chronicle, Pedro's decision to commission a Mudejar palace at the Alcazar has been interpreted as a manifestation of his supposed partiality to Islamic culture,[7] but this reading of his preferences is challenged by the continued patronage of the Mudejar features of the palace under the next ruler. Enrique not only resided in and added to Pedro's palace, but he also used motifs from it in his own building projects.[8]

---

[6] For insight into Ayala's political biases and a historiography of Pedro I, see Clara Estow, *Pedro the Cruel of Castile, 1350-1369* (New York: E.J. Brill, 1995), xiv-xxxvii; Helen Nader, *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350-1550* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1979), 56-76; and Gónzalez Jiménez, "La historigrafía sobre Pedro I, rey de Castilla (1350-1369)," in *Pedro I y Sevilla*.ed. M. González Jiménez and M. García Fernández (Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla; Sevilla Instituto de la Cultura y las Artes, 2006), 17-25.

[7] Estow, 175. Proponents of this explanation often cite Ayala's claim that Pedro preferred the old Almohad palace of the Alcazar over Alfonso X's Gothic palace, Cómez, *El Alcázar del Rey don Pedro*, 24.

[8] According to Zúñiga Enrique continued to patronize the palace, though he did not specify what specific parts of the palace can be attributed to Enrique, Marín Fidalgo, *El Alcázar de Sevilla bajo los austrias,* 89; and Cómez, *EL Alcázar del rey don Pedro* (Sevilla: Diputación Provincial, 1996), 78. For further speculation on Enrique's patronage of the Alcazar, see Santiago Montoto, *Biografía de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1970), 127. Enrique and his wife remodeled parts of his father's palaces at Cordoba and Tordesillas using motifs from Pedro's Alcazar. He also constructed a funerary chapel for his father at the Cathedral of Cordoba in the same court style of the Alcazar, and he added a Mudejar frieze to the chapel of Santiago at the royal convent of Las Huelgas, which held the automated statue that had knighted his father, see Maria Luisa Concejo Diez, "El Arte Mudejar Burgales de los Siglos XIII al XV," 159.

This chapter will examine the role of Pedro and his Mudejar palace at the Alcazar in Sevillian architecture constructed from after the earthquake of 1356 up through the first decades of the fifteenth century when significant construction finally began on the city's new Gothic cathedral. Much in the same manner of the previous chapter, the beginning of this chapter will be devoted to establishing a chronology for various elements of Seville's churches. This chronology reveals a significant increase in Mudejar forms in the city's churches from approximately the mid-fourteenth century through the early fifteenth century. Many of the Mudejar features of the city's parish churches were clearly inspired by to the ornament of Pedro's palace, built between 1364 and 1366. This project brought skilled Mudejar artisans to the city and set a new standard for architectural patronage among Seville's nobility. That the latter continued to emulate Pedro's palace in their architectural patronage even after he was violently overthrown by his half-brother Enrique de Trastámara demonstrates that Pedro was not the sole patron to have enjoyed *mudejarismo*. This adherence to the style of the Alcazar makes sense only in light of the multiple political references that informed the design of Pedro's palace. The Alcazar surely reflects Pedro's relationship with his important ally and vassal, Muhammad V of Granada, who commissioned several palaces at the Alhambra, but it should also be viewed as a continuation of the courtly style of Pedro's father, Alfonso XI. This crucial yet largely overlooked aspect of Pedro's palace allowed the palace and its forms to be appropriated by Enrique and his successors as well as by Seville's nobility for their palatial and religious architecture.

It is difficult to determine to what extent churches were simply repaired instead of being entirely rebuilt after the earthquake, because the basic format of Seville's parish churches remained the same from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century. The main structures of the churches still consisted of vaulted, largely Gothic *capillas mayores* followed by naves and two side aisles often covered with wooden ceilings. Mudejar towers and auxiliary *qubba* chapels also continued to be common elements of the

churches. But some changes in the decorative details of these standard features provide important clues in determining what parts of the churches were rebuilt or at least remodeled after the earthquake. The main change in the ornament of Seville's churches in the period following the earthquake was the proliferation of Mudejar motifs. Not only did Mudejar ornament become more pronounced in towers and chapels during this period, but it also began to appear more prominently in areas that before had been largely Gothic, such as façades and, in some cases, sanctuaries and nave arcades. A prime example is the church of San Marcos (Figure A85). Although the various parts of the church cannot be precisely dated, stylistic details suggest that its tower, façade portal, and possibly its nave arcade, were built during the second half of the fourteenth century or the early fifteenth century.

The tower of San Marcos is one of the most ornate Mudejar church towers of the city (Figures A85 and A86). Various dates have been suggested for its construction, but the tower was most likely built during the second half of the fourteenth century, with the exception of its belfry, which dates to the seventeenth or eighteenth century. The tower is brick with stone and ceramic ornament. A decorative *sebka* pattern of interlacing arches runs horizontally just below its cornice. Rather than limiting the Mudejar to the small, simple polylobed windows, as in earlier bell towers, now multiple layers of ornate arches (originally inlaid with colorful tiles, of which only fragments remain) frame its windows. Gestoso claimed that the tower, which clearly emulates the Giralda with its *sebka* arcades and ornate windows, was a minaret, but the similarities in its ornament to that of the palatial architecture of Pedro I indicate otherwise.[9] Torres Balbás, in his detailed study of San Marcos' tower, argued on the basis of its windows' decorative features that it was built during the reign of Alfonso XI (1312-1350). Based on Gestoso's

---

[9] Gestoso, *Sevilla Monumental y Artística,* 115-119; Torres Balbás, "La Torre de la Iglesia de San Marcos de Sevilla," *Al-Andalus* 19 (1954): 421-439.

assertion that the polychrome tiles decorating the second highest window on the tower's west facade are most like Sevillian tiles from the last third of the thirteenth century in their palette, as well as his own observation that the tiles lack the innovative colors found in Pedro I's Alcazar from the second half of the fourteenth century, Torres Balbás posited that they must date to somewhere between the end of the thirteenth and the second half of the fourteenth century. He assigned the construction of the tower specifically to the reign of Alfonso XI because of a Mudejar capital on the centrally placed column of a double-lighted window on the tower's north side (Figure A87). Despite its deterioration, this capital can be attributed to a Sevillian school following the Almohad tradition. Torres Balbás pointed out its similarities with those of the Mudejar palace at Tordesillas that he believed was constructed by Alfonso because of the remains of an inscription on its façade referring to the king's military victories (Figure A88). These victories are not named directly, but are assumed to be his defeat of the Moroccan Marinids at Salado in 1340 and/or his conquest of the Marinid city of Algeciras in 1344.

However, Torres Balbás' dating of the tower of San Marcos to Alfonso XI's reign is problematic for several reasons. His analysis of the tiles is unreliable because of his dependence on second-hand sources and because of the difficulty of assigning specific dates to the color palette of the tiles. Since the tiles of San Marcos had almost completely eroded by the end of the nineteenth century, Torres Balbás based his analysis of their color on questionable sources – namely a mid-nineteenth-century reproduction of them, and Gestoso's recollection of their colors in his early twentieth-century study of Sevillian tiles.[10] Furthermore, color schemes cannot always be used to date monuments with much precision because certain colors were produced over long periods of time in

---

[10] *Monumentos arquitectónicos de España*. vol. 1, ed., José Gil Dorregaray (Madrid: imprenta y calcografía nacional), 1859, and Gestoso, *Historia de los barros vidriados sevillanos*, 65, cited in Torres Balbás, "La Torre de la Iglesia de San Marcos," 432-433.

Andalusian ceramics. Based on their colors, Gestoso believed that the tiles of the San Marcos tower were made as early as the twelfth century.[11] Even if the colors of the tiles did not appear in Sevillian ceramics until the end of the thirteenth century, as Torres Balbás claimed, they still would have been in use over a half-century by the time of Alfonso's reign. Therefore, it seems unlikely that a palette used for so long would completely disappear between the reigns of Alfonso and his son, suggesting that the difference in palettes between the San Marcos tiles and those of the Alcazar was simply be due to their production by different workshops.

Torres Balbás' dating of the window capital based on a comparison to a capital at the palace of Tordesillas is likewise flawed. Recent scholarship has demonstrated that Tordesillas was primarily the work of Pedro, not Alfonso, and thus mandating a later date for the tower at San Marcos.[12] Finally, Torres Balbás noted that the pattern of the tiles was the same as tiles once in the *capilla mayor* of San Gil. While the church itself probably dates to the late thirteenth century, Angulo dated the tiles of its *capilla mayor* to the second half of the fourteenth century.[13]

Further evidence of the tower's later date can be found in the corbels supporting its cornice. Though badly deteriorated, the human and lion heads of these corbels are more stylized than the fairly natural lion head corbels of earlier portals.[14] They more closely resemble the lion head corbels on the west portals of San Esteban, San Juan de la

---

[11] Gestoso, Ibid.

[12] Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "Santa Clara de Tordesillas: Nuevos datos para su cronología y estudio: la relación entre Pedro I y Muhammad V," *Reales Sitios* 130 (1996), 34-37.

[13] Angulo, 29.

[14] Earlier portals with lion head corbels include the west portals of Santa Marina and San Julián, and possibly San Andrés, see chapter 3, 105-106, 110-111, and 113-114. The earlier west portal of Omnium Sanctorum also has human heads in its jamb capitals that differ in style to the human heads on the tower of San Marcos.

Palma, and, most importantly, San Marcos, which, as will be discussed below, all date to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. Even Torres Balbás noted the similarity between the corbels of San Marcos' tower and the west façade portal.[15] Hernández Díaz and Sancho Corbacho also compared the figural corbels of the tower to those of the apse of Omnium Sanctorum, which is fairly securely dated to the second half of the fourteenth century.[16]

The west portal of San Marcos exemplifies the invasion of Mudejar ornament into what had formerly been a predominantly Gothic element of Seville's churches (Figures A85 and A89). The portal still includes a series of pointed archivolts placed over jambs and a cornice supported by lion head corbels, though the lion heads are more stylized than earlier examples, but unlike earlier portals, it has a complex blind arcade that extends into a *sebka* panel (an ornamental grid of geometrical forms) in the space between its archivolts and its relatively high cornice. While *sebka* arcades were common in Almohad architecture such as the Giralda, Angulo noted that the intricate *ataurique* (vegetal) motifs of the *sebka* on the San Marcos portal is more akin to the *sebka* arcades of the façade portal of Pedro's Alcazar (Figure A90).[17] In addition to its likeness to the *sebka* patterns on the façade of the Alcazar, the portal of San Marcos shares several other sculptural similarities, such as the clover leaves of its jamb capitals and the spikes on it innermost archivolt, with the west portals of San Esteban and San Juan de la Palma (Figures A91 and A92). A contract dating to 1420 for the construction of the portal of San Juan de la Palma suggests that these three portals were all built

---

[15] Torres Balbás, "La Torre de la Iglesia de San Marcos," 437.

[16] Hernández Díaz and Sancho Corbacho, 114.

[17] Angulo, 66.

around the same time and possibly by the same mason.[18] This contract states the desire of the *mayordomo* of San Juan to have the portal of his church made "in the manner of" the portal of San Esteban.[19] It also records that one of the two local masons responsible for the portal was from the parish of San Marcos. It is possible that this mason may have executed the portal of his home parish.

The nave arcade at San Marcos, like its portal, presents a break from earlier Gothic elements of Seville's parish churches. However, unlike San Marcos' facade portal, its arcade is unique among the city's parish churches and, therefore, harder to date. San Marcos is the only church in the city of Seville to have slightly pointed horseshoe arches in place of pointed arches in its nave arcade (Figure A93). Although, as Dodds has shown, horseshoe arches in the architecture of the Iberian Peninsula were not always inspired by Islamic precedents, the closest precedents for the arcades of San Marcos are to be found in local Almohad structures, such as the Great Mosque/Cathedral of Seville.[20] The horseshoe arches are supported by rectangular piers and surrounded by *alfices*. Like many churches of the city, San Marcos has undergone so many restorations that little of its medieval interior ornament survives, adding to the difficulties of dating its main structure. After the revolution of 1936, the church was almost entirely rebuilt, but this was not the first time that the church had to be rebuilt due to a fire. The earliest

---

[18] Archivo Parroquial de San Juan de la Palma. Sec. fábrica, c. 11, núm. 14. This contract is transcribed in Imaculada Ríos Collantes de Terrán and Antonio Sánchez de Mora, "El Mudéjar in la Iglesia Parroquial de San Juan de la Bautista, Vulgo de la Palma; A Propósito de un Documento," *Laboratorio de Arte* 11 (1998): 405-419. Before the discovery of this document, Angulo had dated these portals along with several other portals with similar clover leaf ornament at churches in the province of Seville to around the turn of the fifteenth century. According to Angulo, the south portal of Omnium Sanctorum was a slightly earlier prototype for these portals, see, 63-68.

[19] "E que fagamos e labremos segund en la manera que está fecha e obrada la portada de la iglesia de Sant Estevan," ibid.

[20] Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology*, 72-73.

recorded date concerning the fabric of the church is mentioned by Zúñiga, who claimed that it was rebuilt after a fire in 1470 destroyed all the wood components of the church.[21] The arcade must have been restored at this point and not rebuilt, since it is unlikely that such a simple horseshoe arcade would have been built at such a late date when more ornamental Gothic arcades were popular. Angulo made the less than reliable speculation that the arcade was built c. 1400, approximately the same time as the church's façade portal, because a new and elaborate door would not have been placed on an old church.[22] A comparison between San Marcos' arcade and horseshoe arcades in three churches of the province of Seville suggests that its arcade dates to the second half of the fourteenth century or early fifteenth century. One of these churches, Santa María de Oliva in Lebrija, was likely built during the late thirteenth century, but neither the profiles of its arches nor the plan of the church resemble the arcade and plan of San Marcos.[23] The other two provincial churches, Santa María del Castillo in Lebrija and San Mateo in Carmona, which have been dated to the fourteenth century, more closely resemble San Marcos in their arcades and plans. Morales more specifically dated Santa María del Castillo de Lebrija to the third quarter of the fourteenth century.[24]

Although the church of San Marcos has the most overtly Mudejar features of all of Seville's parish churches, it is still representative of the overall increase in Mudejar ornament in the city's parish churches following the 1356 earthquake through the beginning of the fifteenth century. As at San Marcos, some of the most elaborate

---

[21] Zúñiga, year 1470, cited in Enrique Morales Méndez, "La Nobleza Sevillana sus Luchas y su Arquitectura," *Laboratorio de Arte* 7 (1994): 60.

[22] Angulo, 100-101.

[23] Cómez, "La Iglesia de Santa María de la Oliva de Lebrija, Monumento Alfonsí," in *I Jornados de Historia de Lebrija (Edad Media)*, ed. M. González J. Ménez (Universidad de Sevilla y Ayuntamiento de Lebrija, 2005), 25-34, and Lamperez 1: 253

[24] Angulo, 102, and Morales, Jesús Sanze, Miguel Serrera, and Valdvieso, 333 and 386.

ornament appears on the bell towers of other Sevillian churches. In addition to the tower of San Marcos, the towers of three other churches feature elaborate Mudejar ornament, and at least two of these towers are contemporary with or slightly later than San Marcos' tower. The first of these is the tower of Omnium Sanctorum, which is similar to the tower of San Marcos in plan and ornament (Figure A94). It has a square plan with an interior staircase, except on its first floor where an exterior spiral staircase is used to accommodate a *qubba* chapel. All four sides of its exterior are ornamented with a *sebka* panels that resemble the *sebka* panels on the Giralda and the one below the cornice of San Marcos. A balcony decorated with a polylobed arch enclosed in an *alfiz* opens underneath the *sebka* panel on its west and north sides. Two large arched windows, each surrounded by an *alfiz*, appear in the tower's belfry on all four sides, and a cornice supported by corbels caps the belfry. The structure above the belfry dates to the seventeenth century. Angulo pointed out several factors that fairly securely date the tower to the early fifteenth century. First, he noted a large crack between the tower and the fabric of the fourteenth-century church indicating that the two were not built at the same time. Second, the octagonal brick pillar used to support the stairs on the second level of the tower is the same type of support used in similar constructions in Seville during the fifteenth century. Finally, he suggested that the tower was built at the same time as the chapel at its base, which is dated by an inscription in its *retablo* to 1416.[25]

The Mudejar tower of the church of San Pedro appears contemporary with that of San Marcos because of the similarities the two towers share (Figure A95). The base of San Pedro's tower is constructed of brick with stone quoins, and may be part of an earlier building campaign.[26] With the exception of its first level, which has been altered since

---

[25] Angulo, 151-153.

[26] See chapter 2, 68, note 25.

its original construction, it has the same square plan as other thirteenth- and fourteenth-century towers, including that of San Marcos, with stairs wrapping around a central core.[27] Its south facade has several elaborate Mudejar windows. The middle window is very similar to one of the double-lighted windows of San Marcos, with the exception of its lack of *autrique* ornament in its outer *alfiz*. It is logical to assume, however, that the empty, smooth surface of the *alfiz* of the San Pedro window also originally had similar *autrique* ornament. The tower of San Pedro could have had a *sebka* panel below its cornice like the tower of San Marcos, but it is impossible to know since the belfry of the tower has been rebuilt several times.[28] In light of its similarities to the tower of San Marcos, San Pedro's tower probably dates to the significant construction that took place at the church during the second half of the fourteenth century.[29]

One other bell tower in the city, that of Santa Catalina, has significant Mudejar ornament, but unlike the towers of San Marcos, Omnium Sanctorum, and San Pedro, the tower of Santa Catalina is virtually impossible to date (Figure A29). As noted in chapter two, its base is different in plan and material than the rest of the tower, suggesting that it could be the remains of a minaret.[30] The square plan and interior stairwell of the rest of

---

[27] The tower now has a chapel and exterior staircase on its first level. The vault of this chapel blocks one of the tower's windows, demonstrating that the chapel was a later addition, see Angulo, 150.

[28] In 1594, a new belfry and spire were made for the tower, probably in response to the remodeling of the top of the Giralda. The belfry and the tower were later rebuilt again after the earthquake of 1755, see Dabrio Gonzalez, 35.

[29] Angulo argued that San Pedro's *capilla mayor* was built at this time, 58-59, and its sacristy chapel is dated by an inscription to 1379. Morales believes that San Pedro's tower was built at the same time as the church, which he dated to the second half of the fourteenth century, *Guia Artistica*, 142. Although he did not explain his reasons for dating the church to this period, they probably include the features of the church that are common in other churches constructed during the second half of the fourteenth century such as windows decorated with geometrically patterned tiles, stepped crenellation, and an external spiral staircase adjoining its apse. Such features and the sacristy chapel will be discussed in more detail below.

[30] See chapter 2, 68-69.

the tower is the same as several other parish churches, including San Marcos and San Pedro. Unlike the tower of San Pedro, the belfry of Santa Catalina's tower remains intact, but it is little help in dating the tower because it lacks the distinctive corbels of San Marcos' tower. It does have stepped crenellation, which appears on various parts of churches built after the middle of the fourteenth century, but such crenellation was likely common on earlier towers as well.[31] The windows of the belfry of Santa Catalina resemble the belfry windows of the tower of San Lorenzo, dated to the fifteenth century (Figure A59).[32] The windows of both towers consist of horseshoe arches with alternating red and white voussoirs set within an *alfiz*. The tower of Omnium Sanctorum also likely had the same type of windows in its belfry, though they have been altered from their original state. The belfries of all three towers are separated from the lower levels of their towers by a thin strip of molding. These windows suggest that at least Santa Catalina's belfry may date to the fifteenth century, but the ornament of the rest of the tower does not seem to correspond to the same date. Since the tower is located on the south side of the church's apse, the majority of its ornament is on its eastern façade. This facade has two sets of double-lighted windows just above a *sebka* panel that transforms into a polylobed arch surrounding a central window. This lower window and *sebka* panel is virtually identical to several windows on the Giralda. However, the ornament of Santa Catalina's tower is simpler than the complicated polylobed windows and *sebka* panels of San Marcos, Omnium Sanctorum and San Pedro, indicating that it may have been constructed before the other towers, but its difficult to know how much earlier. The

---

[31] Although the tower was heavily restored in 1881, its crenellation is believed to be original because it appears in a photograph taken before the restoration, see Angulo 149. The upper story of all of Seville's church towers constructed prior to 1350 have been altered since their original construction, but as Cómez has pointed out, stepped crenellation is common in depictions of church towers in the *Cantigas*, see *La Iglesia de Santa Marina*, 44.

[32] Morales, *La Iglesia de San Lorenzo* (Sevilla: EXCMA Diputación Provincial, 1981), 30.

simplicity of Santa Catalina's *sebka* panels compared to those of Pedro's Alcazar also suggests that it was possibly constructed before the 1360's. Unfortunately, the rest of the church is of little help in dating the tower. It has been heavily restored, and ironically, the generic features of what remains of its *capilla mayor* in combination with the atypical features of its original façade portal among the other medieval parish churches of Seville provide no clear indications of the church's chronology. Most scholars simply date the church to the fourteenth century.[33]

As in the towers of Seville's churches, Mudejar forms had been present in auxiliary chapels even in the thirteenth century. The last chapter explained that *qubba* chapels were constructed during the thirteenth century at least at Santa Marina, and possibly at San Lorenzo and San Gil.[34] But unlike the towers, little of the original ornament of the earliest chapels survives, making it difficult to make any conclusion about a change in the ornament of the chapels from the thirteenth to second half of the fourteenth century. It seems, however, that the number of *qubba* chapels constructed during the second half of the fourteenth and the early fifteenth centuries dramatically increased, and at least one earlier chapel was remodeled at this time. Many of the chapels from this period retain the complicated *lacería* (interlacing) ribs covering their domes and some even still have remnants of their plaster ornament.

The larger number of *qubba* chapels after about 1350 can be explained in part by the increase in funerary foundations in parish churches and monasteries by the nobility of the city during this period. Rafael Sánchez Saus has argued that funerary foundations

---

[33] The exterior of Santa Catalina's *capilla mayor* has been completely replaced. Its façade portal will be discussed below. For the dating of the church see Morales et all, *Guia Artistica,* 156. Gestoso dated the current form of the church to its sixteenth-century reconstruction, see *Sevilla Monumental y Artística*, I: 251; whereas, López Guzmán dates the church to the beginning of the fourteenth, though he does not explain why, see 283.

[34] See chapter three, 108-110, 117, and 119-120.

increased in the late Middle Ages because of the development of the doctrine of purgatory that was particularly dominant during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[35] The donations made to the church in building a funerary chapel helped to insure a short stay in that unpleasant limbo. Both Gothic and *qubba* chapels were built during this period, but *qubba* chapels were by far more popular.[36] This is not surprising since the *qubba* form was developed under Umayyads and Abbasids for mausolea and palatial oratories and continued to be used for prestigious monuments, such as throne rooms and funerary monuments, in Christian and Islamic Andalusia in the Middle Ages. Because another important function of a funerary chapel was to show the patron's status, the increase of elaborately ornamented *qubba* chapels during the second half of the fourteenth century may specifically be attributed to the influence of the *qubba* halls of Pedro's Alcazar. The close political relationships between Pedro and some of his Sevillian nobility were mirrored in their patronage of *qubba* chapels, imitating the king's palace at the Alcazar.

Although there is ample textual record of medieval funerary foundations and their patrons in Seville, unfortunately, only a few of them can be securely assigned to existing chapels.[37] Some of the chapels were demolished, and most of those that do survive were taken over by religious fraternities and cults, losing any reference to their original founders.[38] Some of those chapels lacking an identification with their medieval patrons

---

[35] Rafael Sánchez Saus, "Aspectos de la Religiosidad Urbana Bajomedieval: Las Fundaciones Funerarias de la Aristocracia Sevillana," in *Actas del IV Coloquio Internacional de Historia Medieval Andaluza: Las Ciudades Andaluzas (Siglos XIII-XVI)* (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 1991), 299.

[36] An example of a Gothic chapel built during this period can be found in the chapel adjacent to the tower of Omnium Sanctorum, which Hernández Díaz and Sancho Corbacho dated to c. 1400, see 88-89.

[37] For a list of the medieval funerary foundations of Seville, see Sánchez Saus, "Aspectos de la Religiosidad Urbana Bajomedieval."

[38] López Guzmán, 291.

can nonetheless be dated on the basis of ornament, namely the *lacería* of their domes. Several chapels with *lacería* can be connected with a specific patron, and, therefore, can be used to date other chapels with similar *lacería*. One of the better documented chapels with a *lacería* dome is the aforementioned Capilla de la Piedad in Santa Marina (Figure A44). As mentioned in the last chapter, tiles with the heraldry of archbishop-elect Don Felipe (1249-1258) found in the chapel suggest that it was originally constructed shortly after the Castilian conquest of Seville, but at least the dome of the chapel likely corresponds to the chapel recorded to have been built by Juan Martínez between 1411 and 1415, which was described as having decorative tiles in its dome.[39] *Lacería* with small tiles at their intersections ornament the sixteen-sided dome. *Lacería* originally formed a star at the center of the dome, but it was at some point replaced by an oculus. An elaborate plaster frieze, filled with *muqarnas*, surrounds the bottom of the dome. This frieze is conjectural since it was reconstructed according to a fragment found in a nineteenth-century restoration of the chapel, but a *muqarnas* frieze on the Mudejar sepulcher of Fernán Gudiel (d. 1278) in the Cathedral of Toledo verifies its general design. While the Toledan frieze has a fairly early date, Cómez has observed a resemblance between the Piedad frieze and the stuccowork in the arch of the entrance to the Hall of Justice in the Alcazar, further implying a later date for the dome than the rest of the chapel.[40] One other strong indication that the dome dates to the early fifteenth century is its close resemblance to two *lacería* domes from this period in the Capilla de la Quinta Angustia in the former Dominican convent of San Pablo.[41]

---

[39] Cómez, *La Iglesia de Santa Marina*, 61.

[40] Ibid., 59-60.

[41] The church of San Pablo was rebuilt during the Baroque period and was re-advocated as the parish church of Santa María Magdalena in 1810.

The Capilla de la Quinta Angustia has three domes in all. They are separated by transverse arches, indicating that the chapel was originally three separate chapels (Figures A96, A97, and A98).[42] The central and eastern domes have essentially the same *lacería* pattern as the Capilla de la Piedad. The two outer domes are octagonal, while the central dome has sixteen sides. All three domes are ornamented with *lacería*; however, the central dome is unique among the three as well as among all of the rest of the *qubba* domes of Sevillian churches, because it has images painted within its *lacería*. These images depict female centaurs, men and women of noble status, and various beasts such as dragons, as well as Granadan and Toledan inspired foliage (Figure A99). The heraldry of two noble families, the Ayala-Salcedos and the Medinas, also appears on the dome.[43] An inscription with Gothic letters originally lined the base of the dome, but it was replaced in an early twentieth-century restoration because its poor state of preservation rendered it indecipherable. Most scholars date the style of the figures on the dome, which possibly represent the Vices and Virtues, to around 1400.[44] José María Medianero Hernández has speculated for several reasons that the painting or at least the structure of the domes date to just after Pedro I's death in 1369 for several reasons. He cites Zúñiga's claim that the king left the church a generous donation in his will, and he further speculates that the Granadan and Toledan artisans who worked on Pedro's palace at the Alcazar may have executed the paintings on the dome. [45] Medianero Hernández also

---

[42] López Guzmán, 292.

[43] There is no known union between these two families, see Sanchez Saus, *Caballeria y Linaje en la Sevilla medieval: estudio genealogico y social* (Cadiz : Servicio de Publicaciones y Universidad de Cadiz, 1989), 292.

[44] José María Medianero Hernández, "Las Pinturas Gótico-Mudéjares de La Capilla de La Quinta Angustia (Sevilla)," *Laboratorio de Arte* 8 (1995), 30-32 and 34, note 45. Pablo Gutiérrez Moreno, "La Capilla de la Quinta Angustia," *Archivo español de arte y arqueologia* (1929), 245.

[45] Pedro's donations to San Pablo as well as several other monasteries are also recorded in the Crónica de Pedro I, see Cómez, "Tiempos de Pedro I," 104.

points out the close ties between the Ayalas and Medina families and the king. As previously noted, Pedro López de Ayala was the chronicler of Pedro's reign, and Medianero Hernández believes that the heraldry of the Medina could specifically refer to Diego Gonzalez Núnez de Medina, steward of Pedro and treasurer of the Casa de la Moneda of Seville, though the Medina were a powerful family in Seville throughout the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.[46] Fortunately, the inscription around the base of the eastern dome still survives. It records that this chapel was also patronized by the Medina – specifically by Diego Gonzalez de Medina, treasurer of the Casa de la Moneda of Burgos from 1402 until his death in 1415.[47] This implies that the Medina family had a pantheon in San Pablo, constructing the central chapel at the end of the fourteenth century under the patronage Diego Gonzalez Núnez de Medina, and the eastern one at the beginning of the fifteenth century by Diego Gonzalez de Medina. However, it is also possible that the central chapel was constructed later than the eastern chapel. A *qubba* chapel, dating to 1422, in the former convent de la Concepción Francisca in Toledo has similar *lacería* and imagery.[48] As for the west dome at la Quinta Angustia, Gutiérrez Moreno thought that it might have been a part of the mosque which originally occupied the cite of the church, presumably because its *lacería* pattern is

---

[46] Medianero Hernández, 33.

[47] Ibid., 34. The text reads, "Esta capilla es del onrado cauallero Diego Gonzalez de Medina thesorero de la moneda de las casa de Burgos la qual capilla fizo para el e de los dineros de frai Garcia de Seuilla maestro en Santa theologia."

[48] An inscription around the base of the chapel's dome records that it was built in 1422 for Gonzalo López de la Fuente and his wife. Several scholars have compared this chapel to the central dome of la Quinta Angustia, see Medianero Hernández, 32, and Clara Delgado, "El Mudéjar toledano y su Área de Influencia," in *El Mudéjar Iberoamericano: Del Islam al Nuevo Mundo*, *Palacio Episcopal, Málaga, 1 de abril-15 de julio de 1995*, eds. Rodrigo Gutiérrez Viñuales and Manuel Chaves González (Granada: El Legado Andalusí, 1995), 119.

markedly different from the central and eastern domes, though several other scholars believed it to have been built around the same time as the other two domes.[49]

The *lacería* patterns of the central and eastern domes of the Chapel of la Quinta Angustia and the dome of the Capilla de la Piedad at Santa Marina can be used to date two other chapels in Seville's parish churches. The *lacería* of the domes supported by squinches of the Capilla de la Exaltación at Santa Catalina and one of the *qubba* chapels at San Isidoro are virtually identical to that of the above-mentioned domes, suggesting that they also date to either the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century (Figures A100-A101).

Variations on these *lacería* domes also appear on the dome of the sacristy chapel in San Pedro and the remains of a dome of a *qubba* chapel in San Esteban (Figure A102). The dome of San Pedro's chapel is fairly securely dated to the late fourteenth century due to a funerary inscription with the date 1379 that once ran around its base.[50] The clues for dating the dome of the chapel at San Esteban are less definitive. According to Angulo, a coat of arms on the exterior of the chapel belongs the López de Ribera family, who settled in Seville during the reign of Fernando IV (1295-1312) and continued to be an important noble family in the city throughout the late Middle Ages.[51] Half of the chapel was torn down for the construction of the church's *capilla mayor*, which likely dates to the second half of the fourteenth century.[52] It is possible that San Esteban's *capilla*

---

[49] Gutiérrez Moreno, 245; Torres Balbás, *Arte almohade. Art nazarí. Arte mudéjar*, 290; and López Guzmán, 292. Like the central dome, the original inscription around the base of this dome also no longer survives.

[50] For the partial transcription of this inscription, see Angulo, 144.

[51] Angulo, 144, note 2. Angulo mistakenly dates the settlement of this family in Seville to the reign of Alfonso XI (1312-1350). See Sanchez Saus, *Caballeria y Linaje*, for their Sevillian family line, 367-392.

[52] San Esteban's *capilla mayor* will be discussed in detail below.

mayor was built shortly after the earthquake of 1356, making it unlikely that the chapel would have also been built after the earthquake since it was mutilated to accommodate the *capilla mayor*. On the other hand, if the *capilla mayor* was not built until later in the fourteenth century, both structures may have been built after 1356. At any rate, this chapel is unusual among the existing chapels with *lacería* domes in that there is significant evidence that it may date to the first half of the fourteenth century.

The two identical *lacería* domes of adjacent chapels at the parish church of San Andrés are more difficult to date because they are unlike the other domes of the city's churches (Figure A103).[53] Each eight-sided dome has sixteen ribs that spring from the dome's base and intersect forming a star around its center. A larger star made up of horizontal ribs encircles the central star. The simplicity of the pattern of these domes further complicates dating them. Similar versions of their inscribed star pattern can be found in fairly early Hispano-Islamic domes, such as several of the tenth-century *lacería* domes of the Great Mosque of Córdoba, and later Mudejar domes, like that of the Capilla de la Asunción at Las Huelgas in Burgos, which dates anywhere from the early to late thirteenth century (Figure A25).[54] The chronology of the rest of the church does not provide any help in dating the chapels either. The chapels have suffered much restoration, making it difficult to know if they were built at the same time as the nave aisle to which they adjoin. Furthermore, the dating of the church itself is problematic. As discussed in the last chapter, it was probably begun in the late thirteenth to early fourteenth century, but significantly restored in during the second half of the fourteenth century.

---

[53] As discussed in the last chapter, one of these chapels was not founded by Fernán González in 1310.

[54] See chapter 1, 55-56.

Although most of the *qubba* chapels without *lacería* ornament are virtually impossible to date, at least one can be fairly securely dated to the early fifteenth century. This chapel, known as the Cervantes Chapel, is located at the base of the tower of Omnium Sanctorum (Figure A104). Its sixteen-sided dome is simply plastered without ornament, though it was probably decorated at one time. An early seventeenth-century *retablo* in the chapel records that Gonzálo Gómez de Cervantes dedicated the chapel in 1416, a date that coincides with Angulo's dating of the tower to the early fifteenth century.[55]

The chronology of the remaining *qubba* chapels of the churches of Seville is less certain due to their lack of ornament and inscriptions. The current form of the *qubba* chapel in the tower of San Martin dates to the nineteenth century, but it is possible that the chapel was originally constructed during the first quarter of the fifteenth century, since both the church and tower date to this period.[56] According to Zúñiga, Fernando Cataño founded a chapel in San Juan de la Palma around 1400, but this reference cannot be concretely connected to the church's sole *qubba* chapel.[57] Angulo recorded that San Juan de la Palma's *qubba* chapel was patronized by the Esquiveles, who had *retablo* made for it in 1511.[58] Zúñiga claimed that chapels at San Lorenzo were founded in 1310 and in the late fourteenth century, but, again, there is no way of knowing if these chapels correspond with San Lorenzo's two *qubba* chapels.[59] As discussed in the last chapter,

---

[55] Angulo, 152.

[56] Angulo explained that the chapel was constructed 1891, but he suspected parts of it could have been of an earlier date, 141.

[57] Zúñiga 2: 458 cited in Sánchez Saus, "Aspectos de la Religiosidad Urbana Bajomedieval," 304.

[58] Angulo, 141.

[59] Zúñiga, 3: 263 and 1: 173 and *Discurso genealógico de los Ortices de Sevilla*, ed. Juan Pérez de Guzmán y San Juan (Madrid: s.n., 1929), 159, cited in Angulo, 141.

the Capilla Santísimo Sacramento in Santa Marina was likely initially constructed in the thirteenth century because of the heraldry and style of the tiles discovered in its foundation, and the chapel at the base of the tower of San Gil may date to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.[60] There is no evidence to date for the chronology of Seville's four remaining auxiliary *qubba* chapels.[61]

Although little of the medieval ornament of the *qubba* chapels of Seville's churches survives, their walls were covered with stuccowork. However, the best-preserved stuccowork (at least until the 1930's) of a private chapel was not in a *qubba* chapel. Mudejar stuccowork once covered the walls of the Sacristy Chapel located in the eastern most bay of the north aisle of San Julián (Figures A105 and A106). Tragically, this stuccowork was burned, along with much of the church, during the Spanish Civil War, but several photographs taken before the stuccowork was completely destroyed record its appearance. Its most distinctive feature is a frieze consisting of a repetitive pattern of heraldic shields alternating with decorative vegetal motifs. Thin bands of Latin inscriptions praising the Virgin enclose the frieze. Similar friezes appear throughout Pedro's Alcazar, though Arabic inscriptions praising Allah and Pedro as opposed to Latin Christian texts accompany the friezes of the Alcazar (Figures A105 and A107).[62] Unlike

---

[60] See chapter 3, 114 and 118.

[61] These *qubba* chapels are located at the parish churches of Santa Marina, San Vicente, San Andrés, and San Isidoro. López Guzmán dated the *qubba* chapel of San Vicente to the fourteenth century, but since he does not provide any explanation for his dating of the chapel, it can be assumed that it is a fairly arbitrary date, see 292.

[62] This difference is likely due to the explicitly Christian content of the San Julián friezes (Hernández Díaz suggested that the text of the chapel's inscription may have come from the Landes hymn of the *Officium Sanctae Mariae in Sabbato*, see *La Iglesia Parroqial de San Julián* (Sevilla: Tallares Tipográficas de Gómez Hermanos, 1933), 34, note 57) verses the more generic religious and secular texts of the Alcazar friezes. Christian texts in the Alcazar are also written in Latin, see for example the Biblical texts on the doors to the Salon de Embassadores and the text on the door to the Salon del Carlos V, considered the chapel of Pedro's palace, see Cómez, *El Alcázar del rey don Pedro*, 54-55 and 60, and Ana Marín Fidalgo, *El Alcázar de Sevilla bajo los austrias*, 84. For a transcription of the San Julián text see, Hernández Díaz and Sancho

much of the Mudejar ornament of Seville's churches, the stuccowork of this chapel can be fairly precisely dated. It was likely made sometime between 1380 when, according to Zúñiga, an image of the Virgin was placed in the chapel, and 1407, the year of the death of the chapel's patron, Mosén Per de Tous, whose heraldry was present in the frieze.[63]

At one time colorful tiles and stuccowork probably ornamented much of the interiors of the churches, but as with the chapels, not much stuccowork survives in the church interiors. The only significant remains of interior stuccowork are in the ornamental *alfices* over former arched doorways in the churches of Omnium Sanctorum and San Andrés. Two *alfices* over now closed doors can be found at the head of the south aisle at Omnium Sanctorum. The stucco from one of the *alfices* was completely destroyed in the Civil War of the 1930's, but several fragments remain intact on the other *alfiz*. The curvilinear *ataurique* on these fragments is typical of stucco patterns at the Alcazar and other monuments commissioned by Pedro and members of the court during the second half of the fourteenth century as well as those at Muhammad V's palaces at the Alhambra.[64] The stucco ornament of a third *alfiz* off of the apse of Omnium Sanctorum was also destroyed in the 1930's, but is known through a drawing published by Hernández Díaz and Sancho Corbacho. They date this stuccowork to around 1400, though its pattern does not have any close parallels in the Alcazar.[65] The *alfiz* over the

---

Corbacho, 20. Similar friezes can also be found at Enrique II's funerary chapel for his father at the Cathedral of Cordoba and the throne room of the Comares Palace at the Alhambra.

[63] An iron gate that surrounded the chapel recorded the date of Per de Tous' death. Hernández Díaz and Sancho Corbacho, 20, and Hernández Díaz,13-14.

[64] Additional fourteenth-century monuments with similar *ataurique* include Pedro's palace at Tordesillas, Enrique's chapel for his father at the Great Mosque of Cordoba, and the fortified palace of Pedro Fernández de Velasco at Medina de Pomar (Burgos). Probably for its similarity to these examples, Hernández Díaz and Sancho Corbacho date this stuccowork arch of Omnium Sanctorum to c. 1400, 97.

[65] Hernández Díaz and Sancho Corbacho, 92.

door off the apse of San Andrés (mentioned in the last chapter) is the best preserved.[66] The pattern of its stuccowork does not echo any of the designs at the Alcazar, but its general design with a large central medallion is the same as the *alfices* at Omnium Sanctorum. This feature also appears in a doorway stucco *alfiz* now in the Archeological Museum in Cordoba, dated to the end of the fourteenth century.[67]

The discussion of Seville's churches thus far has demonstrated the following: 1) that their Mudejar towers became considerably more ornate after the mid-fourteenth century; 2) that many of their Mudejar *qubba* chapels were built during this period; and 3) that ornament of both the towers and chapels was inspired in part by Pedro's Alcazar. The next several pages will describe the invasion of Mudejar features into areas of the city's churches that for the most part had been Gothic until the mid-fourteenth century. This change was most prevalent on the façades of the city's churches, particularly their west facades, in the ornament of portals and windows.

Predominantly Gothic portals were still constructed during the second half of the fourteenth century and the early fifteenth century, but ornate *sebka* patterns adorn two portals securely dated to this period.[68] One is the west portal of San Marcos, which has already been discussed, and the other is the very similar west portal of San Esteban (Figures A89 and A91). Like the portal of San Marcos, San Esteban's portal has a *sebka* arcade between its archivolts and cornice similar to the *sebka* patterns of the Alcazar. It

---

[66] Chapter 3, 112.

[67] Jordano Barbudo, *El Mudéjar en Cordoba*, 248.

[68] The more traditionally Gothic portals built at this time include the west façade portal of San Juan de la Palma, the southern façade portals of Omnium Sanctorum and San Esteban, and possibly the west façade portal of San Miguel, which is no longer extant. These portals are dated primarily on the style of their sculpture, see Angulo 63-68.

also shares other sculptural details with the portals dated by Angulo to after the 1356 earthquake.[69]

Three more façade portals with unusual Mudejar features may also date this period, but their chronology is difficult to pinpoint. Two of these portals are located at the church of Santa Catalina. The church's southern portal is made of brick and features a fairly simple horseshoe arch surrounded by an *alfiz* (Figure A108). The Mudejar portal on the church's west façade was replaced by the Gothic façade portal of Santa Lucía in the early twentieth century, but the former portal still stands in a vestibule placed behind the "new" portal (Figure A109). This brick portal also consists of a horseshoe arch enclosed in an *alfiz*, but it is much more elaborately ornamented than the southern portal. Two bands that intersect to form knots at regular intervals form its *alfiz*, while two interlacing polylobed arches surround the horseshoe arch. Remains of a similar portal are located on the south façade of San Andrés, as discussed in the previous chapter (Figure A55).[70] Because these three portals are unique among the portals of the city's other parish churches, they are difficult to date. Dating is further frustrated by the uncertain chronologies for both the churches of Santa Catalina and San Andrés as discussed above. The design of the west façade portal of Santa Catalina and the Mudejar portal of San Andrés closely resembles two windows on the west façade of San Roman, which likely dates to the second half of the fourteenth century (Figure A110) (discussed below). The two portals are also similar to several portals of the parish churches in the Sevillian province of Sanlucar la Mayor that date anywhere from the late thirteenth to early fifteenth century (Figure A111).[71] It would be logical to date the Mudejar portals of

---

[69] Angulo, 64-67.

[70] Chapter 3, 112-113.

[71] Angulo noted the similarity among the portals at Santa Catalina and the south portals of San Eustaquio and Santa María and the façade and north portals of San Pedro, see 89-91. Although Angulo discussed these portals, he did not speculate on their dates; he only mentioned

Santa Catalina and San Andrés to the second half of the fourteenth century given the construction of the Mudejar portals at San Marcos and San Esteban at this time and the resemblance of the west portal at Santa Catalina and the southern portal at San Andrés to the fourteenth-century windows at San Roman, but without further evidence, dating them to this period is admittedly more speculative than substantive.

In addition to Mudejar portals, several prominent Mudejar windows on the facades of Seville's parish churches can be dated the second half of the fourteenth century. Not surprisingly, the most elaborate Mudejar windows are located on west facades. It is difficult to know if the west facades of Seville's earliest churches featured prominent Mudejar windows, since the original fenestration of many of their facades has been heavily restored, if not completely remade.[72] The best-preserved early façades are those of Santa Marina and San Julián (Figures A11 and A112). Their west façades have three simple oculus windows, corresponding to nave and aisles of the church. The tracery of most of these windows has either been lost or restored, but the surviving original tracery is Gothic. As at Santa Marina and San Julián, the west façades of the parish churches of Omnium Sanctorum, San Andrés, and San Roman have three oculus windows, but they also have ornate Mudejar windows that probably date to the second half of the fourteenth century (Figures A110 and A113-114). These windows feature layers of horseshoe and polylobed frames surrounded by *alfices*. The Mudejar window at Omnium Sanctorum even retains traces of its decorative tiles (Figure A113). The current

---

that he did not believe that they were all built at the same time. The churches of San Pedro and Santa María were probably begun around the mid-thirteenth century shortly after the city's conquest because of the Romanesque style of the capitals of their *capilla mayores* and nave arcades, but construction continued on all three of the medieval churches in Sanlucar la Mayor throughout the late Middle Ages. For example, Santa María's west portal dates to 1500.

[72] The west façades of the thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century churches of Santa Ana, San Isidoro, and San Gil have been almost entirely remade since the medieval period. The church of San Gil does preserve two small polylobed windows on its west façade, but their original ornament has been entirely obscured.

tiles on this window are the result of restorations following the Spanish Civil War, but they follow the same pattern and polychromy as the originals. This window, which consists of two layers of polylobed arches enclosed by a larger horseshoe arch, separates the portal from the main oculus. Both the outer polylobed arch, which consists of alternating large semi-circular and small pointed cusps, and the horseshoe arch are set within an *alfiz*.[73] The arches are outlined in red brick, while the flat planes in between them are covered with colorful tiles forming a repeating pattern of circles. According to Hernández Díaz and Sancho Corbacho, the fabric of the current structure of Omnium Sanctorum suggests that the entire body of the church was constructed during the same building campaign. The *capilla mayor* of the church, to which I will return below, was probably constructed shortly after the earthquake of 1356. This implies that its façade, with the exception of the portal as discussed in the previous chapter, was also built at this time. Hernández Díaz and Sancho Corbacho also claimed that this window was a part of the same campaign since, as Gestoso observed, its composition and tiles resemble windows and tiles found in his Alcazar (Figure A115).[74]

At San Andrés, a pronounced Mudejar window appears just above the central oculus (Figure A114). Like the window at Omnium Sanctorum, this window is also covered with a polylobed arch within another polylobed arch surrounded by an *alfiz*. The profiles of the outer arches of the windows at both churches are similarly formed, but the window at San Andrés is wider than the one at Omnium Sanctorum. It also lacks tile work and a horseshoe arch within an *alfiz*, and has the additional feature of a small circular knot above the arch of its *alfiz*. The absence of tiles on this window hinders

---

[73] This window is a variant of earlier Almohad windows. Similar polylobed windows appear on the Giralda, though the smaller cusps are round as opposed to pointed.

[74] Hernández Díaz and Sancho Corbacho, 84 and 88, Gestoso. *Barrios Vidriados Sevillanos,* 86.

dating, compounded by the ambiguous chronology of the church's façade in general. Scholars have dated its façade portal anywhere from the late thirteenth century to the mid-fourteenth century.[75] However, its similarities to the window at Omnium Sanctorum also point to the mid-fourteenth century.

Two identical Mudejar windows flank the portal of San Román's west façade (Figure A110). The windows are composed of a narrow lancet enclosed in a pointed arch supported by thin engaged columns. The polylobed arches of the windows are badly deteriorated, but still discernible. Two interlacing polylobed arches form similar profiles of alternating rounded and pointed cusps to those at Omnium Sanctorum and San Andrés. These polylobed arches are also set within an *alfiz*. If these windows were made at same time as the rest of the church, they likely date to the second half of the fourteenth century. The dating of the church is difficult since it no longer retains its original *capilla mayor*, but several clues indicate that it was built after 1356. First, as previously mentioned, Zúñiga recorded that the church was rebuilt by Pedro I. Second, Angulo noted that the west façade of San Román resembles the west façade of the church of Santa María de la Mota in Marchena, which is located in the province of Seville and has a similar *capilla mayor* to several Sevillian *capillas* constructed following the 1356 earthquake. Both façades have similar portals with the distinctive feature of a horizontal band of diamond points decorating their imposts. Finally, the horizontal diamond point decoration on San Román's west portal also resembles the decoration of the piers of the Sevillian parish church of San Miguel (destroyed 1869), which was also likely built shortly after 1356.[76]

---

[75] Angulo, 47; Gestoso, *Sevilla Monumental*, 1: 256; and Marín Fidalgo, *Iglesia parroquial de San Andrés*, 54.

[76] Angulo dated San Miguel based on a photograph of the exterior of its apse and a painting of the interior of the church showing that it had a similar apse to the apses of the 1356 group, see page 51. For a discussion of the comparisons between San Roman and Santa María de la Mota and San Miguel, see Angulo, 59-61.

It seems that the ornate Mudejar windows of the city's parish churches, with the exception of those on bell towers, were reserved for their west façades. One exception is the oculus window on the southern facade of Santa Marina (Figure A47). Both the northern and southern facades of the church have oculus windows, but only the north oculus preserves its tracery. Like many Gothic rose windows, a star-like form fills the center of the north oculus, but the voids around the star are made of twelve-pointed stars and hexagons. This window is an anomaly among the oculus windows of Sevillian churches both in its placement over a side portal and its Mudejar tracery. As mentioned above, few of the oculus windows of Sevillian churches still have their medieval tracery, and most of the tracery that does remain is Gothic. The only other one with Mudejar tracery is to the north side of the west façade of Omnium Sanctorum (Figure A116). Although this tracery is in poor condition, its pattern appears to resemble that of the oculus at Santa Marina. Following Hernández Díaz' and Sancho Corbacho's argument that the west façade of Omnium Sanctorum, save its portal, was built during the second half of the fourteenth century, both of these oculi, given their similarity, can be dated to this time. This chronology also coincides with Angulo's hypothesis that Pedro rebuilt the nave and aisles of Santa Marina.[77]

The portals and windows discussed above as well as the horseshoe arches in the nave arcade of San Marcos demonstrate the infiltration of prominent Mudejar forms into what had been primarily Gothic areas of Seville's parish churches. However, even after 1356, the structure and the fenestration of the *capilla mayores* remained almost entirely Gothic, at least in the parish churches.[78] The *capilla mayores* most securely dated to the

---

[77] Angulo, 35.

[78] It important to note that the interior ornament of *capillas mayores* may have had Mudejar ornament as the tile found in the *capilla mayor* of San Esteban and the stucco arches of San Andrés and Omnium Sanctorum suggest.

second half of the fourteenth century are those of Omnium Sanctorum, San Andrés, and San Esteban (Figures A117-A119). Angulo claimed that the *capillas mayores* of these three churches were designed by the same mason, whom he called the "Master of 1356," because of the similarities they share and the evidence that they were built after 1356.[79] Although this evidence is not definitive, Angulo's dating of the *capillas mayores* is generally accepted among scholars.[80] The *capillas mayores* all have the same plan of two rectangular bays of roughly the same size proceeding a pentagonal apse (Figures A120-A121).[81] They are also covered with similar vaulting connected by a ridge rib and similar transverse arches, which divide the *capillas* from the naves of the churches, though Omnium Sanctorum's arch was renovated in the seventeenth century. The exteriors of these *capillas* are very similar as well (Figures A122-A124). Stepped crenellation, recalling the crenellation of the Patio de los Naranjos of the city's Great Mosque, and a cornice supported by corbels surmounts each of the *capillas*. Their buttresses are also topped with a small eave supported by four corbels. A thin molding encloses these eaves as well as the cornices of the structures. Finally, spiral staircases leading to the roofs of the *capillas* are located on their north sides; however, because these stairs were not constructed into the fabric of the walls of the *capillas*, but rather adjacent to them, they could possibly be later additions.

Angulo claimed that these three *capillas* were built during the time of Pedro I (1350-1369) or shortly after primarily because of a tile found in 1891 in the steps of the

---

[79] Angulo, 52-53.

[80] Marín Fidalgo, *La iglesia parroquial de San Andrés*, 31-32, Cómez, "Arte Mudejar sevillano," 103-107, Morales et all, 206, and Díaz and Corbacho, 85. Díaz and Corbacho also thought that the exterior staircase of Omnium Sanctorum's *capilla mayor*, which is slightly different in plan the staircases of San Andrés and San Esteban, was constructed no later than the fifteenth century, 89.

[81] No published plan of San Esteban could be found for this study.

capilla mayor of San Esteban.[82] According to Gestoso, this tile, which is now a part of the main altar of the church, was similar to those found on one of the dados in the Patio of las Doncellas of the Alcazar, built by Pedro I (Figure A125).[83] Angulo's dating of San Esteban's *capilla mayor* is supported by the late fourteenth or early fifteenth construction of the church's surviving medieval portals, indicating that the entire church could have been constructed at this time.[84] The *capilla mayor* of San Andrés may have initially been built before Pedro's reign and remodeled during the mid-fourteenth century. Several of its capitals, which are in the form of human heads, are similar to those at the thirteenth-century church of San Antón de Trigueros, but two clues, in addition to the *capilla's* similarity to the *capilla mayor* of San Esteban, suggest that it was substantially renovated around the mid-fourteenth century. The nobleman Alonso de Virués donated money to San Andrés in 1341 so that he could be entombed in its *capilla mayor*,[85] and the stucco arch of the *capilla mayor* probably dates to the second half of the fourteenth century.[86] As for the dating of the *capilla mayor* of Omnium Sanctorum, Angulo's only evidence is the reference by Zúñiga suggesting that Pedro rebuilt the church.[87] Angulo also speculated that the *capillas mayores* of San Pedro and San Miguel (destroyed) were

---

[82] Angulo, 56.

[83] Gestoso, *Historia de los Barrios Vidriados Sevillanos*, 87-88.

[84] For the west portal, see above 162, note 18. The south façade portal can also be dated to the second half of the fourteenth century or the early fifteenth century because of its similarities with other portals constructed at this time, including a high cornice and diamond points along it inner-most archivolt.

[85] Virués' donation is recorded in the church's archive, Caja Roja number 6, see Marín Fidalgo, *La iglesia parroquial de San Andrés*, 29 and 259, note 11.

[86] On the capitals, see Angulo, 23, and for the arch see above.

[87] Angulo, 55-56.

inspired by those of San Esteban, San Andrés, and Omnium Sanctorum because they have some similarities with this group.[88]

The stepped crenellation of these *capillas mayores* also supports Angulo's hypothesis. This crenellation was used in thirteenth-century churches at least on towers, but it proliferates in late fourteenth and early fifteenth-century churches, particularly on *capillas mayores*.[89] The popularity of this crenellation was likely due more to defensive than aesthetic reasons. Although from the late fourteenth century through the fifteenth century, the city was relatively secure from Muslim hostilities, it was plagued with internal strife among its noble families, who often used Seville's parish churches as literal fortresses.[90] Crenellation on bell towers and roofs would have provided protection from enemy fire.

Unlike in Seville's parish churches, significant Mudejar forms do appear in the *capillas mayores* of one of the city's early fifteenth-century convents and a late-fourteenth century hospital chapel. Such features are conspicuous at the *capilla mayor* of the Convent of the Asunción. This convent was originally founded as the Convent of Santiago de la Espada by don Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa in 1405. The church is believed to have been constructed shortly after, although the *capilla mayor* and the sacristy are the only original parts of the church still intact. The windows of the capilla mayor are decorated with a diamond point molding, crowned by a polylobed arch, which is enclosed in an *alfiz* (Figure A126). Additional Mudejar ornament is present on the

---

[88] Angulo, 51 and 58.

[89] For example, it appears on the Capilla del Sagracio at San Pedro (1379), and the *capillas mayores* of the fifteenth-century churches of the convent of the Ascunsión, the monastery of Santa María de las Cuevas, and the hospital church of San Lázaro.

[90] Morales Méndez, 58-61, and chapter 3, 125, note 74.

triumphal arch, which separates the *capilla mayor* from the bay directly proceeding it (Figure A127). The arch is decorated by a scalloped molding, surrounded by an *alfiz*.

The most unique Mudejar *capilla mayor* of any of the churches of Seville is that of the church of the convent of the Encarnación. Here, the *capilla mayor* takes the form of a *qubba* rather than the standard Gothic vaulted *capilla mayor* (Figure A128).[91] The *capilla mayor* is covered by an eight-sided brick dome, while the single-bay nave of the church has Gothic rib vaults. The church was originally a part of a hospital, founded by Archdeacon Fernán Martínez over the old Mosque de los Osos in 1385.[92] Angulo dated the vaulting of the nave to the church's foundation because of the style of its corbels, which depict the symbols of the four evangelists. He also dated the *capilla mayor* to this period; however, Morales argues that the structure was preserved from the mosque and remodeled.[93] Without conclusive archeological evidence, it is impossible to determine whether Angulo or Morales is correct.

The Mudejar features of the *capillas mayores* of the churches of the Asunción and the Encarnación differ from those of the city's parish churches in that they cannot be directly attributed to the influence of Pedro's Alcazar. Their ornament does not directly mimic features of his palace, and in the case of the Asunción, the appearance of Mudejar features in the *capilla mayor* does not represent a decisive change in the convent

---

[91] Though the *capilla mayor* of the Encarnación is unique in the city of Seville, the *qubba* was implemented in the *capillas mayores* of several churches located in the Alfjarafe, a region within the province of Seville. Angulo dated some of these churches to fifteenth century, and he believed all of them were relatively late in the dates of their construction, see 102-113. The greater presence of *qubba* sanctuaries in these churches could be a result of the relatively large Mudejar population in this region during the late Middle Ages, see Merecedes Borrero Fernandez, *El Mundo Rural Sevillano en el Siglo XV: Aljarafe y Ribera* (Sevilla: EXCMA. Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1983), 382-383.

[92] The hospital was not converted into a convent until 1591.

[93] Angulo, 180. Morales, *Guía Artistica*, 64.

architecture of the city, which as discussed in the previous chapter, had always been more receptive to Mudejar forms than the city's parish churches.[94] As for the church of the Encarnación, if its *capilla mayor* was recycled from the old mosque, its *qubba* form was a matter of convenience more than an aesthetic preference. Another possible explanation for the *qubba capilla mayor* may be the original function of the church as the hospital's chapel. When identified as a chapel, the *qubba* dome was not unusual since *qubbas* were common in the chapels of the city's churches.

As the churches of the Asunción and the Encarnación demonstrate, not all of the Mudejar features that appeared in Seville's churches following the earthquake of 1356 can be attributed to Pedro's Alcazar, but the above analysis makes it clear that the Alcazar provided the impetuous for the Mudejar vogue in the city's parish churches. Multiple factors contributed to the appearance of the Mudejar ornament of the Alcazar in Seville's parish churches. To an extent, the selection of this ornament by the churches' patrons was practical.[95] The artisans brought to Seville for the construction of Pedro's Alcazar provided an available workforce to rebuild the churches damaged in the 1356 earthquake and the smaller earthquakes of 1374 and 1386. The similarities between the Alcazar and the city's parish churches indicate that at least some masons and artisans

---

[94] Interestingly, the only other monastic church with remains from the second half of the fourteenth century, the convent of Santa Inés, is largely Gothic in style. The convent was founded in 1374 by doña María Coronel, whose husband was put to death by Pedro I. Its church, which consists of a nave flanked by two aisles and a three-sided apse, was built over several of the doña's houses around 1400. Quadripartite vaults cover its nave and aisles, and a ridge rib runs through its *capilla mayor* and aisles. Despite the church's Gothic vaulting, Mudejar elements can be found throughout the convent, such as the plasterwork in the cloister and the door of the *qubba*-form Sala de Profundis, which was probably either a chapel or reception room of the Coronel's palace, see Enrique Valdivieso González and Alfredo Morales, *Sevilla Oculta, Monasterios y Conventos de Clausura* (Sevilla: H. Fournier, S.A.-Vitoria, 1980), 83; Angulo, 142; and Ruiz Souza, "La planta centralizada in en la Castilla bajomedieval," 21.

[95] Clara Estow has argued that Pedro's choice of the Mudejar style for his palace was primarily due to its relative cheapness, see 176, but as will be discussed below, this was probably not the case.

worked at both the palace and the churches. The increased documentation of ethnically Mudejar masons in Seville at the end of the fourteenth century, noted by Collantes de Terán, further proves that the some of the Granadan *alarifes* who worked on the Alcazar remained in Seville after the palace's completion to work on other projects.[96]
The brick, tile, and stucco used in Mudejar construction was also been very practical in a massive reconstruction effort because they could be manufactured relatively quickly and inexpensively. However, the expensive stone vaulting and portals of several of the churches constructed during the second half of the fourteenth century indicate that their design was not completely dictated by economy or the available workforce.

These Gothic features of Seville's parish churches also demonstrate that the influx in their Mudejar features was not the result of an effort by Pedro to transform their overall aesthetic. Unlike Alfonso X's ideological campaign to replace mosques with Gothic churches, Pedro did not seek to replace the Gothic forms of the city's churches with Mudejar ones. In fact, the parish churches that Pedro reportedly patronized after the earthquake, Santa Marina, El Salvador, Omnium Sanctorum, San Román, and San Miguel, for the most part, demonstrate a desire to either preserve the original structure of these churches or at least the maintain the Gothic norms of thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century church architecture in the city. The thirteenth-century church of Santa Marina and the Umayyad mosque that served as the church of El Salvador were restored rather than rebuilt.[97] The churches of Omnium Sanctorum and San Román were

---

[96] It is generally believed, though not documented, that since the thirteenth century, many of the Mudejars of Seville worked in construction-related professions. Out of the documented professions of Mudejar*s* from the end of the fourteenth century until their expulsion in 1502, masons alone make up nearly 40%. After the addition of other professions, such as carpenters and tile makers, the total percentage of Mudejars in construction-related professions exceeds 65%, see Collantes de Terán, "Los Mudéjares Sevillanos," 231-232.

[97] For a discussion of Pedro's possible work at Santa Marina, see chapter 3, 108-109. The Umayyad structure of El Salvador was largely preserved until the late seventeenth century.

reconstructed with the traditional Gothic vaulting in their *capillas mayores*. The church of San Miguel, which was likely rebuilt after 1356, presents a particularly interesting reference to Seville's thirteenth-century church architecture. San Miguel was destroyed in 1869, but a drawing, a painting and a photograph record the church's arcade and apse (Figure A129).[98] Like Alfonso X's church of Santa Ana, San Miguel not only had rib vaulting in its *capilla mayor*, but over its nave and aisles as well. San Miguel was also comparable in size to Santa Ana, making it one of the largest parish churches in the city and its suburb of Triana. Angulo believed that San Miguel was rebuilt during the second half of the fourteenth century because of the similarity of its *capilla mayor* to those of the 1356 group and because of the diamond point motif decorating the piers of the church that is also present on the west portal of San Román, which dates to the fourteenth century, too. He further noted that Martín Yáñez Aponte, who was put to death by Pedro I in 1367, was interred in the *capilla mayor*.[99] Like Angulo, Cómez has dated San Miguel to the second half of the fourteenth century, pointing out that a chapel under the tower of the church was founded in 1358 and that the plan of the piers of its nave arcade are the same as those of San Román.[100] If Pedro was in fact behind the construction of San Miguel, the church represents his assertion of his own prestige by commissioning a church that referenced the city's greatest church of royal commission, Santa Ana.

It is difficult, however, to know the level of Pedro's involvement in the repair and reconstruction of Seville's parish churches.[101] He may have donated money to the

---

[98] G. Díaz made a drawing of the church's arcade during its demolition. A painting by Francisco Peralta and a photograph, both from 1868, depict the apse, see Cómez, "Tiempos de Pedro I," 106.

[99] Angulo, 49-52.

[100] Cómez, "Tiempos de Pedro I," 106.

[101] For example, San Miguel's large size and expensive vaulting may have been due to the possible patronage of the Guzmans of Medina Sidonia, the most powerful noble families in

churches, but their primary patrons were the city's noble families, who continued to commission Mudejar features in their palaces and churches after Pedro was overthrown by his half-brother Enrique de Trastámara in 1369. Even before Pedro's death at the hands of Enrique, many of the city's nobles had pledged their allegiance to the Trastámarans.[102] Yet despite their rejection of Pedro, the primary reason for the nobility's patronage of Mudejar projects was their desire to imitate the court style of his Alcazar. This is exemplified by the decision by the Municipal and Cathedral chapters in 1412 to remodel the façade of the building they shared, the Corral de los Olmos, to match the façade of Pedro's palace. This structure, which connected the cathedral to the Alcazar, was demolished in 1791, but the specifications for its façade state that it should have plaster arches like "the arches of the portals of the New Alcazar" and a frieze over the arches with "Moriscan lettering such as that of the Alcazar."[103] These conditions illustrate the conscious selection of aspects of the Alcazar by Seville's nobility for their architectural patronage, but it also makes another very important point. The reference to the Alcazar as the "New Alcazar" and not "King Pedro's Alcazar" indicates that the prestigious Mudejar court style of Pedro's palace was not necessarily associated with the

---

the city from the thirteenth through the fifteenth century. This family is recorded to have been the patrons of San Miguel in the fifteenth century, see Morales Méndez, 60.

[102] Ladero Quesada, 31.

[103] These specifications are recorded in a document titled "Condiciones con que sevilla dió a fazer la obra del portal que mandó fazer ante la puerta de la casa de su cabillo. 28 de octubre 1412" number 121 in the Papels del Mayordomazgo del Archivo Municipal de Sevilla. The document is transcribed in Francisco Collantes de Terran, "La Sevilla que vio Guzmán el Bueno" *Archivo Hispalense* 27 (1957): 41-42, note 8. The original complex of the Corral de los Olmos (Elm Tree Court) was built at the same time as the Giralda (1184-1198) along the axis of the old Roman wall of the city. Fernando III established the municipal and cathedral chapters there shortly after he conquered Seville. The structure sustained significant damage from the earthquakes and floods of the fourteenth century and was largely rebuilt in the early fifteenth century. For the history and successive building phases of the Corral de los Olmos, see Francisco Granero Martin, *El Corral de los Olmos antiguos cabildos secular y eclesiastico de la ciudad Sevilla: sus origenes, funciones, complicaion de transformaciones y demolicion* (Sevilla: Demarcacion de Sevilla, Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Andalucia Occidental, 1991).

king himself, a common presumption in modern scholarship. Instead, it was associated with the crown itself as the institutional ruling body.

The reasons for the appropriation of the court style of the Alcazar by Enrique and his dynasty become evident when examining Pedro's political motivations in commissioning his Mudejar palace. Recent scholarship has rejected the aforementioned explanation that his palace was solely an expression of his supposed preference for his Muslim subjects and Muslim culture in general. Clara Estow has shown that Pedro's domestic policies towards his Muslims subjects give no evidence of any unusual favoritism by the king, but were, in fact, largely based on precedents set by earlier kings of Castile, particularly Alfonso X.[104] She has also noted that his alliance with Muhammad V of Granada, another factor often cited as proof of his Muslim sympathies, was initially made out of political necessity rather than personal preference. His rocky relationship with the other Christian rulers of Europe and many of his own nobles made alliance with Granada essential. Pedro's war against Aragon led to his excommunication by the pope, and his rejection and possible execution of his wife, Blanche of Bourbon, angered his French allies. Pedro's allies had also dwindled within his own kingdom. Enrique Trastámara enlisted a large contingent of the Castilian nobility in his rebellion, which towards the end even included Pedro's own mother.[105]

Several scholars have also refuted the idea that Pedro's palace was a manifestation of the king's fascination with Muslim culture by pointing out that the palatial architecture of Muslim al-Andalus had been adopted by the Castilian nobility

---

[104] Pedro was also accused of giving special privilege to his Jewish subjects as well, but Estow has proven this, too, to be false. See chapter 7 for her discussion of Pedro's relationship with his Muslim and Jewish subjects.

[105] Estow, 151.

long before Pedro's reign.[106] Some of this scholarship assumes that the Mudejar style was, therefore, the only option for Pedro's palace,[107] but Alfonso X's Gothic palace at the Alcazar proves that Castilian monarchs were not confined to the Mudejar tradition. The idea that Pedro was just following suit in constructing a Mudejar palace also creates a false image of Pedro as a passive patron, taking little interest in the specific aspects of his palace. However, Pedro's active involvement in the design of his palace is demonstrable.

Estow has argued that in addition to being the traditional choice for palatial architecture, Pedro's choice of the Mudejar style for his palace was influenced both by the relative low cost of Mudejar construction materials and the remains of the Taifa palace that his palace replaced.[108] Estow's theory that that Pedro was largely motivated by his "parsimony" in constructing a palace that symbolized his kingly authority seems highly unlikely. As D. Fairchild Ruggles has noted in her study on the patronage of the Alcazar, Pedro sought out the best Mudejar craftsmen from Toledo and Granada rather than simply employing a local labor force, which would have been the most economical option.[109] Estow's conjecture about the influence of the Taifa palace, known as the Qasr al-Mubarak (Palace of Good Fortune) may have some validity; however, her assumption that Pedro merely renovated the older palace, maintaining its plan and style, is incorrect. At one time it was believed that the Hall of Ambassadors of Pedro's palace actually incorporated parts of the famed *qubba*-form Salón de las Pléyades of the Taifa palace, but

---

[106] For example see Estow, 176; Ruggles, "The Alcazar of Seville," 96-97; Cómez, *El Alcázar del rey don Pedro*, 76; Basilio Pavón Maldonando, "Arte, Simbolo y Imagines en la España Musulmana," *Al-Qantára* 6 (1985), [14] 410; and Ruiz Souza, "Castilla y Al-Andalus," 27.

[107] See Pavón Maldonado, "Arte, Simbolo y Imagines," [14] 410.

[108] Estow 176.

[109] Ruggles, "The Alcazar of Seville," 95.

recent excavations have proven otherwise. The evocation of an earlier Mudejar state was not the result of using surviving fabric, but rather, Pedro's desire to build a Hall of Ambassadors that would recall the legendary hall of the old Taifa palace.[110]

Ruggles cites nationalism as a factor helping to explain Pedro's choice of a Mudejar palace. She argues that Pedro, who had grown up surrounded by the Islamic architecture of Seville, associated the Mudejar style with Andalusia, and the Gothic with his French enemies. Ruggles is surely correct in asserting that Pedro was at home with Islamic and Mudejar architecture, and he may well have found contemporary French Gothic architecture objectionable for political reasons. However, it is important to note that by the time of Pedro's reign, a tradition of Gothic architecture had also been firmly established in Seville: Pedro would not necessarily have seen all Gothic as foreign. A further indication that Pedro did not have a complete aversion to the Gothic style is his patronage of Gothic art and architecture. Ruggles, herself, mentions his patronage of a Gothic illuminated manuscript, to which I will return.[111] He also commissioned a Gothic-Mudejar church at the convent he founded with his mistress María de Padilla at Astudillo (Palencia).[112] And as mentioned earlier, Pedro likely patronized Gothic components of several of Seville's parish churches. Even in the second half of the fourteenth century when Castilian Christians did not need to assert their presence in the city, traditional Gothic features were still appropriate for Seville's religious architecture because of their general association with Christianity, but as a secular monument, Pedro's palace did not need stylistic signifiers of Christianity. He was interested in a sumptuous

---

[110] M. Á. Tabales Rodríguez, "Investigaciones arqueológicas en el Alcázar de Sevilla," *Apuntes del Alcázar de Sevilla* 1 (2000): 13-45.

[111] Ruggles, "The Alcazar of Seville," 97.

[112] For a discussion of the Clarisan convent see Pérez Higuera, *Architectura Múdejar en Catilla y León*, 103-105.

and innovative palace that was not tied to the archaic forms of Alfonso X's thirteenth-century palace. While Pedro's decision not to build a Gothic palace may have been in part political, it was probably also the result of the lack of suitable contemporary Gothic models in conjunction with the lavish and nearby example of a royal residence in the palatial complex of the Alhambra.[113]

The Alhambra and its major patron, Muhammad V, played a crucial role in the design of Pedro's palace. Pedro and Muhammad were political allies and reportedly close friends.[114] Muhammad stayed with Pedro in Seville from 1359 to 1362, after his half-brother had exiled him from Granada, and it was only with Pedro's help that Muhammad was able to take back his throne. Pedro's palace resembles the Nasrid palaces of the Alhambra built by Muhammad V and his father Yusuf I in many ways, from its spatial organization to its ornamental motifs and Arabic inscriptions (Figures A2, A8 and A130-A131), but Ruggles and Ruiz Souza have pointed out that the Alcazar cannot be understood as a mere imitation of the Alhambra, since Muhammad's construction at the Alhambra post-dates his exile in Seville.[115] Instead, Pedro's palace

---

[113] There were relatively few large Gothic building projects in fourteenth-century France due to the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453). The papal palace at Avignon (1334-64) presents one exception, but this fortress-like structure would not have been appropriate for the Andalusian climate.

[114] For detailed discussions of the relationship between Pedro and Muhammad and its artistic repercussions, see Ruggles, "The Alcazar of Seville," and Ruiz Souza, "Castilla y Al-Andalus," 24; "Santa Clara de Tordesillas. Nuevos datos para su cronología y estudio: la relación entre Pedro I y Muhammad V," 37-38; and "El Patio del Vergel del Real Monasterio de Santa Clara de Tordesillas y el Alhambra de Granada: Reflexiones para su Estudio," *Al-Qantára* 19 (1998), 328-329. Their relationship is also briefly mentioned in Marín Fidalgo, *El Alcázar de Sevilla bajo los austrias,* 84-89.

[115] On the similarities between that Alcazar and the Alhambra see Ruggles, "The Alcázar of Seville," 92-94 and Ruiz Souza "El Palacio de Comares de la Alhambra: tipologías y funciones. Nuevas propuestas de estudio," *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* 40 (2004), 85-86. Ruiz Souza has also noted similarities between Pedro's palace at Tordesillas and the Alhambra, arguing that the Patio del Vergel of the former served as the model for Muhammad's Patio de Leones, see "Santa Clara de Tordesillas," 37-38, and "El Patio del Vergel," 315-332.

must be viewed as a unique monument specifically designed to express the sovereignty of its patron. Ruiz Souza argues that Pedro selected certain aspects of Nasrid palatial architecture for his palace because they reflected the absolute authority held by Nasrid sultans. These aspects included inscriptions praising the sultan, *qubba* halls that served as throne rooms or courts where the sultan would pronounce judgments, and carefully framed elevated views, known as miradors, from which the sultan could gaze down upon his subjects or vast gardens.[116] It is important to note that these elements are not unique to Nasrid architecture. They already had a long tradition in the Muslim palaces of al-Andalus before the construction of the Nasrid palaces of the Alhambra.[117] However, given Pedro's relationship with Muhammad V and, therefore, his likely employment of Granadan artisans, Nasrid architecture probably provided the most direct example of these features for Pedro's Alcazar.

The main façade of Pedro's Alcazar is a particularly striking example of how his palace combined these elements of Nasrid architecture in innovative ways to represent the king's power (Figure A8). Detailed *ataurique* derived from local Almohad and Nasrid sources interspersed with Pedro's heraldry and Arabic inscriptions cover the two-story façade, which has been likened to a triumphal arch.[118] In a frieze above the windows of the second story, the Arabic phrase "There is no Conqueror but God" is repeated in bright blue tiles Figure A132). A Latin inscription describing Pedro as the "highest, noblest, and most powerful conqueror" surrounds this Arabic frieze. Antonio Almargo has noted how the manipulation of views from and of the main façade of the

---

[116] Ruiz Souza "Castilla y Al-Andalus," 27, and "El Palacio de Comares," 84-85.

[117] See Ruggles, *Gardens*, *Landscape, and Vision in the Palaces of Islamic Spain* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000) and "The Alcazar of Seville," 94, in particular on the development and function of miradors in Andalusian palatial architecture.

[118] Ruiz Souza, "El Palacio de Comares," 85.

Alcazar further embody Pedro's authority.[119] The upper story of the façade consists of a *qubba* throne room from which the large courtyard in front of the façade can be viewed.[120] The courtyard is entered through a massive arch in an old Almohad wall separating the courtyard from the outside world. When viewed from the nearby Cathedral, the arch frames the façade of Pedro's palace, implying the divine appointment of the king (Figure A133).

Dodds has suggested that the connotations of monarchical power expressed by the Alcazar appealed to Enrique II, explaining why he adopted his archrival's palace and its court style.[121] While Enrique may have appreciated this symbolism of authority, the Alcazar had an even more attractive symbolic association for the new king. Enrique's adoption of Pedro's palace and its forms is more adequately explained by its connections to their common father, Alfonso XI. In addition to integrating the monarchical symbolism of Nasrid architecture into the design of his palace, Pedro also employed ornamental features associated with his father to assert his authority as the legitimate heir to the throne.

Both Enrique and Pedro recognized the importance of connecting themselves to their father in their ongoing struggle over the throne of Castile. Pedro emphasized his position as the rightful successor to the throne by modeling his reign after that of his father in many ways, particularly those ways that demonstrated the absolute authority of

---

[119] "El Alcázar de Sevilla en el siglo XIV," in *Ibn Jaldún: el Mediterráneo en el siglo XIV: auge y declive de los imperios*. eds. María Jesús Viguera and Inmaculada Cortés Martínez. (Sevilla: Fundación El Legado Andalusí y Fundación José Manuel Lara) 2006, 398-403.

[120] Ruiz Souza has suggested that a second-story throne room with views of the surrounding landscape may have been present at the south end of the Comares Palace of the Alhambra, which was demolished for the construction of Charles V's Renaissance palace. He speculates that the façade at the Comares Palace may have then served as the model for the Alcazar, see "El Palacio de Comares," 84-86.

[121] *The Arts of Intimacy*, 260-261.

the monarch. Pedro further developed Alfonso's legal and administrative reforms that gave additional power to the crown and, like his father, he frequently executed those who challenged his authority.[122] Perhaps the most conspicuous way in which Pedro and Enrique linked their reigns to their father's was their architectural patronage. Enrique commissioned a Mudejar funerary chapel for his father at the cathedral of Cordoba and a Mudejar chapel at Las Huelgas, containing the statue of Santiago that had knighted his father, and Enrique and Pedro both followed their father's example in constructing Mudejar palaces to assert their authority. There is strong evidence that at least some of Pedro's and Enrique's palaces were actually additions to Alfonso's projects, further confirming their connection to their father.[123]

One example is the palatial complex at Tordesillas (Figure A88). Pedro and his mistress Maria de Padilla often stayed at Tordesillas, and they eventually consecrated the complex as the Convent of Santa Clara. The convent was later patronized by Enrique's

---

[122] For Pedro's adoption of Alfonso's policies as well as his number of executions compared to that of his father, see Estow 108, 115, 101, and 127.

[123] Alfonso commissioned Mudejar palaces at the convent of Las Huelgas in Burgos (see María Teresa Pérez Higuera, *Arquitectura Mudéjar en Castilla y León* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1993), 81), at the Alcazar of Cordoba (see Jordano Barbudo), at Tordesillas, (see note 25), and possibly the Alcazars of Seville (see note 28) and Segovia (Pérez Higuera, *Arquitectura Mudéjar*, 84). He also had a Mudejar fortresses built at Alcalá Guadaíra (Seville), Alcalá Real (Jaén), and Gibralter, see Pavón Maldonado, "Arte, Simbolo y Imagines," 420. Very little of his work survives at any of these complexes. Pedro patronized all of these palaces and fortresses with the exception of the ones in Burgos, Segovia, and Cordoba. Enrique patronized all of the palaces. He also built a Mudejar palace in León, but by 1528 it had already fallen in to a state of decay and was eventually destroyed in 1881. For a description of the palace see Pérez Higuera, *Arquitectura Mudéjar*, 105-106. At Las Huelgas, Enrique remodeled the chapel of Santiago that held a wooden automaton used by Alfonso XI's as a part of his unprecedented coronation ceremony. This ceremony began with his knighting at the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, preformed by the mechanical Santiago statue, supposedly present at Alfonso X's knighting. According to Linehan, the statue reinforced Alfonso's royal authority since according to his great-grandfather's *Partidas*, the king could not knight himself, and submitting to another knight to do the act was not an option. Alfonso then traveled to Las Huelgas in Burgos, presumably with the statue, where he was anointed at the high altar of the church before crowning himself king in front of a crowd of Castilian nobility. For a description of Alfonso's coronation ceremony, see Linehan, 592-601.

wife, Queen Juana Manuel. She moved the body of Enrique's mother, Leonor de Guzmán, to the *capilla mayor* of the church at Tordesillas, possibly with the intention to make the convent a royal pantheon for the Trastámaran dynasty.[124] Stylistic features of several of the structures at the convent and monastic documents confirm that Pedro commissioned much of the complex, but the degree of Alfonso's involvement in the construction at Tordesillas is more difficult to determine.[125] Recently, Fernando Gutiérrez Baños has convincingly argued that Alfonso's mistress Leonor de Guzmán at least commissioned the baths of the complex and patronized a *qubba* chapel that was later remodeled by Enrique's wife.[126] It has also traditionally been assumed that Alfonso began construction on the façade of the palace because of its fragmentary inscription praising the monarch's military victories, but Ruiz Souza has interpreted this inscription as a tribute by Pedro to his father. He considers the façade, which resembles that of the Alcazar of Seville, to be entirely the work of Pedro.[127] Without more conclusive

---

[124] Robinson, "Mudéjar Revisited: A prologoména to the reconstruction of perception, devotion, and experience at the mudéjar convent of Clarisas, Tordesillas, Spain (fourteenth century A.D.)," *RES* 43 (2003): 59.

[125] The earliest remains at complex date to the twelfth century, but it was substantially rebuilt in the fourteenth century. For varying opinions on its chronology see Vicente Lampérez, "El Real Monasterio de Santa Clara de Tordesillas (Valladolid), Apéndice," *B.S.C.E.* 6 (1913): 169-172; Leopoldo Torrés Bálbas, "El baño de doña Leonor de Guzmán en el palacio de Tordesillas," *Al-Andalus* 24 (1959): 409-424; María Teresa Pérez Higuera, *Arquitectura Mudéjar en Castilla y León*, 98-99; Ruiz Souza, "Santa Clara" and "Vegetal;" Robinson, "Mudéjar Revisited;" and Fernando Gutiérrez Baños, "Doña Leanor de Guzmán y los palacios de Tordesillas: propuestas para una revision," *Reales Sitios* 162 (2004): 2-19.

[126] Gutiérrez Baños, "Doña Leanor de Guzmán y los palacios de Tordesillas." Gutiérrez Baños' detailed analysis of the heraldry present in the baths clearly indicates that it belongs to Leonor de Guzmán. He suggests that the chapel, the Capilla Dorada, was probably initially constructed in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century and remodeled under Leonor de Guzmán based on techniques used in some of the paintings of the chapel. Ruiz Souza's study of the chapel demonstrates that it was remodeled yet again by Juana Manuel, wife of Enrique II, see "Santa Clara de Tordesillas. Restos de dos palacios medievales contrpuestos (siglos XIII-XIV)," in *V Congreso de Arqueología Medieval Española*, 2 vols. (Valladolid" Junta de Castilla y Laeón, 1999) 2: 851-860, cited in Robinson, 53.

[127] On the dating of its façade, see Lampérez, and Pérez Higuera, 98-99. Ruiz Souza, who attributes not only the façade of Tordesillas, but all of its fourteenth-century construction to

evidence, it is impossible to know with absolute certainty where Alfonso's patronage of the palace ends and Pedro's begins.

It is possible that Alfonso may have also commissioned part of the Alcazar in Seville. He has traditionally been credited for the remodeling of the *qubba* Hall of Justice as a victory monument after his victory over Moroccan and Granadan forces at the Battle of Salado in 1340 (Figure A134).[128] But the evidence supporting his patronage of this hall is inconclusive at best.[129] One reason for the hall's attribution to Alfonso is its basic resemblance to the throne room of the Comares Palace at the Alhambra, begun by Alfonso's contemporary Yusuf I (Figure A135).[130] Both rooms have square plans and ornately decorated polygonal wooden ceilings (Figures A135-A136). The walls of both halls are also similarly articulated in terms of their stucco ornament and fenestration. But these general similarities cannot provide an exact chronology for the Hall of Justice, particularly since the Comares throne room may have been finished by Yusuf's son

---

Pedro, explains that since Alfonso XI was the last great crusading king until the Catholic Monarchs, his victories were praised in laudatory inscriptions for generations after his death, "Santa Clara de Tordesillas," 32-24.

[128] This pivotal battle, which involved the cooperation of the kings of Aragon and Portugal as well as Castile, put an end to the possibility of Muslim forces regaining control of the Peninsula, see O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 411-414.

[129] Most scholars cite Alfonso as either commissioning the hall or at least remodeling it; however, Pavón Maldonado has argued that the hall was actually constructed under Alfonso X in the thirteenth century based on the similarities of its stuccowork to thirteenth-century Almohad structures, including the Abencerrajes Palace at the Alhambra, "Fronteras Artisticas en la Sevilla Arabe-Mudéjar," *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid* 31 (1999): 116-119. Cómez believes that it was constructed under Pedro to be the *mexuar*, or tribunal room, for his palace, citing the fifteenth-century *Anales* de Garci Sánchez, who claimed that Pedro established a tribunal at the entrance of his palace ("se comenzó el juzgado a la puerta del Alcázar Nuevo, en Sevilla, que de antes no era allí ningún juzgado desde el tiempo del rey Don Pedro, fijo del rey Don Alfonso que ganó las Algeciras.") Cómez further points out that the Comares Palace at the Alhambra also had a *mexuar* set apart from the main palace, *El Alcázar*, 32-35. In favor of Alfonso XI's construction of the Hall of Justice, López Guzmán notes the record in the *Chronicle of Alfonso XI* of a meeting between the king and his nobles in the patio of Yeso, possibly referring to the Hall of Justice, see 512, note 81.

[130] Cómez, *El Alcázar del rey don Pedro*, 32.

Muhammad V.[131] The primary evidence for Alfonso's patronage of the Hall of Justice is the heraldry that appeared on its walls representing the Order of the Band, a knightly order founded by Alfonso that was characterized by its loyalty to the king. However, even this is not a clear indication of Alfonso's patronage since Pedro also used this heraldry in his palace at the Alcazar as well as his other palaces.

If the Hall of Justice was commissioned by Alfonso, it suggests that the Alhambra may have played an important role in Alfonso's as well as Pedro's palatial architecture. Therefore, Pedro's adoption of elements of Nasrid architecture in conjunction with features of local and Toledan monuments may thus have been due to the influence of his father as well as his alliance with Muhammad V. The possible commissioning of the Hall of Justice by Alfonso would also explain Enrique's patronage of the Alcazar and its court style in his other monuments. But once again, without additional evidence Alfonso's patronage of the Hall of Justice or the Nasrid forms of the Alhambra in any of his Mudejar palaces cannot be confirmed.[132]

Even if Pedro's selection of Nasrid features for his palace was not the result of his desire to imitate his father's Mudejar palatial architecture, several other features of his palace make clear references to his father. The most prominent of these features is the

---

[131] Muhammad's name appears on several parts of the Comares Palace, proving that he either finished or renovated his father's palace, see Ana Echevarria, "Paintings and Politics in the Alhambra," in *Courting the Alhambra: Cross-Disciplinary Approaches to the Hall of Justice Ceilings [Special Offprint of Medieval Encounters 14, 2-3 (2008)]*, ed. Cynthia Robinson and Simone Pinet (Leiden: Brill, 2008), [48] 200.

[132] An isolated defensive tower is all that remains of Alfonso's palace at the Convent of Las Huelgas in Burgos. For palaces possibly started by Alfonso, but finished by Pedro see note 124. His palace at the Alcazar of Cordoba has Nasrid features, but these features may have been commissioned by Enrique or his successors, who also patronized the palace, see Jordano Barbudo, *El Mudéjar en Cordoba*, 239-245. However, it is interesting to note that a synagogue built by one of Cordoba's wealthy Jewish residents from 1314-1315 features Nasrid stucco ornament, see Dodds "Mudejar Tradition and the Medieval Synagogues of Spain," 120-122. The synagogue suggests that the city's elite were patronizing Nasrid forms during the reign of Alfonso (1312-1350).

aforementioned heraldry of the Order of the Band, which initially consisted of a white shield divided horizontally by a black band, but was later modified with various colors and the addition of dragon or lion heads (Figure A107 and A137).[133] These shields are omnipresent in the palace, acting as a constant reminder that those loyal to Alfonso were now obligated to pledge their allegiance to his son Pedro. This message was specifically intended for Enrique and his brothers, who were inducted into the Order under Alfonso.[134] Although more subtle than the heraldry of the Order of the Band, chivalric figures of knights, ladies, and beasts that appear in ornamental stucco friezes in several rooms of Pedro's palace also connect him to his father (Figure A138). These figures, which were originally painted, have been traced to miniatures in the *Crónica Troyana*, a richly illustrated manuscript begun under Alfonso XI and finished under Pedro, likely within the walls of the Alcazar (Figure A139).[135] Rosa María Rodríguez Porto has posited that Pedro adopted the Order of the Band and the chivalric literature and imagery of his father to reinforce his legitimacy over Enrique.[136] Naturally, Enrique wanted to appropriate these powerful symbols of his father's reign as well to show that he, too, had a right to the throne. Throughout their civil war, Enrique was at odds with Pedro over the right to display the heraldry of the Order of the Band in battle.[137] By claiming Pedro's palace, which was inundated with the heraldry of the Order, Enrique asserted his position

---

[133] Echevarria, [63] 215-[64] 216.

[134] Echevarria, [61] 212.

[135] Pavón Maldonado, *Arte Toledano: Islamico y Mudéjar,* 237-244. He also compares images of birds in the Alcazar friezes to birds painted in the baths at Tordesillas, 243. For a discussion of the manuscript see Rosa Rodríguez Porto, "Courtliness and its *Trujumanes*: Manufacturing Chivalric Imagery across the Castilian-Grenadine Frontier," in *Courting the Alhambra*, [87] 239-[95] 247.

[136] Rodríguez Porto, [95] 247.

[137] Echevarria, [63] 212.

as the "legitimate" heir to Alfonso. He and his successors continued to reinforce their right to the throne by using the heraldry in their own palaces.[138] Enrique would have also recognized the chivalric figures of the Alcazar as originating from the courtly patronage of his father, though unlike the heraldry of the Order of the Band, such figures do not appear in any his surviving architectural commissions. This is probably due to the fact that one of Enrique's largest Mudejar projects, his palace in León (1375- 1377), no longer exists with the exception of some decorative fragments. The motifs of these fragments, however, corresponds to the court style of Pedro's Alcazar.[139]

The construction of Mudejar architecture reached its height in Seville as well as all of Castile under the Trastámaran rulers. Enrique's successors patronized a significant number of Mudejar palaces throughout Castile, but one of their most famous Mudejar commissions is the elaborate dome of Pedro's Hall of Ambassadors at the Alcazar in Seville (Figure A140). [140] Built in 1427 by Diego Ruiz for Juan II, this spherical dome is filled with a stunningly complex pattern of *lazos* covered with gold-leaf. Such lavish projects demonstrate that by this time Mudejar represented prestige and luxury.

From the mid-fourteenth century through the early fifteenth century, Mudejar features reached their peak in the architecture of Seville because of the desire to emulate Pedro I's Mudejar palace at the Alcazar. Pedro's project brought an influx of Mudejar workers to the city, who also found employment in the reconstruction efforts after the earthquake of 1356, as demonstrated by the similarities between features of the city's

---

[138] The heraldry appears in a courtyard at the Alcazar of Cordoba attributed to Enrique or his immediate successors, see Jordano Bardudo, 241-245. In the 15th century, Enrique's great-grandson Juan II modified the heraldry making it a red shield with dragon or lion heads on both ends of a gold band, Echevarria, [64] 216. This modified version of the heraldry is also present at the Alcazar.

[139] See 124.

[140] Pérez Higuera, *Arquitectura Mudéjar*, 105-109.

churches and Pedro's palace. But the fact that the Mudejar features of Seville's churches continued to be patronized after Pedro was deposed indicates that the style of his palace was not associated with the king himself. The nobility's and Enrique II's appropriation of the court style of Pedro's palace was due to those very factors that led Pedro to choose a Mudejar palace in the first place. Pedro chose Mudejar not because of a supposed fascination with Islamic culture, or solely because of his alliance with Muhammad V, but out of his desire to create a spectacular palace that embodied himself as Andalusian, powerful, and legitimate. Following in his father's footsteps, Pedro built a palace that conveyed his absolute authority to all those who opposed him, including his half-brother. He carefully chose features for his palace that would symbolize his sovereignty, including elements from the Nasrid architecture of Granada and emblems clearly connected to his father Alfonso XI, namely the heraldry of the Order of the Band and the chivalric figures of the *Crónica Troyana*. The association of the Alcazar with Alfonso made it appealing to Enrique, who also needed to emphasize his relationship with his father to secure his right to the throne. It is because of Enrique's embrace of the Alcazar that its court style enjoyed a prolonged period of popularity in Seville's parish churches that only came to an end in the fifteenth century with the construction of another influential monument, the city's Gothic cathedral.

CHAPTER 5

MUDEJAR ARCHITECTURE DURING THE FIFTEENTH AND EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURIES: THE IMPACT OF THE CATHEDRAL PROJECT AND THE CATHOLIC MONARCHS

The first two phases in the development of Seville's Mudejar architecture were largely dictated by the patronage of sovereigns of Castile, who spent much of their time in the city. During the second half of the thirteenth century, Alfonso X patronized primarily Gothic precedents for the city's religious architecture. By the mid-fourteenth century, Pedro I increased the popularity of Mudejar forms in Seville's churches with his Mudejar palace, which was adopted by his successor Enrique II. In the first half of the fifteenth century, Seville's clergy became the city's most influential architectural patrons through their commissioning of a new Gothic cathedral, which initiated the final phase in the city's Mudejar architecture. With the rise of the new massive Gothic cathedral, which at 76 by 115 meters is the largest medieval cathedral in the world in terms of volume and square footage,[1] Gothic forms once again began to dominate the city's churches (Figure A3). The Mudejar features of Sevillian churches constructed entirely in the fifteenth century were mostly relegated to their wooden ceilings, *qubba* chapels, and cloisters. And even these traditionally Mudejar features were modified with Gothic and, by the end of the century, Renaissance ornament, creating thoroughly hybrid structures.

Although the cathedral is virtually devoid of any Mudejar aesthetic features, much of this chapter is devoted to examining its planning and construction because of its influence on Seville's Mudejar churches. I will pay particular attention to why certain Gothic features were chosen for its design, and why Mudejar features are largely absent in it. Most scholars view the cathedral as a predominantly foreign construct – that is, the

---

[1] Wilson, 283.

work of foreign masters, who executed designs from their native countries. These scholars assume that the cathedral chapter believed that their vision for a great church could only be fulfilled with features considered "exotic" within Spain, and that a cathedral with Mudejar elements was never an option. While many of the cathedral's features did originate outside of Spain, the majority of them were inspired by both recent and well-established Spanish precedents, including some of Seville's earliest Gothic-Mudejar churches. Scholars of the cathedral suggest that since most of Castile's earlier cathedrals lack overt Mudejar features, constructing a Gothic-Mudejar cathedral would not have been feasible due to the lack of Mudejar models. But this argument neglects elements such as the choir triforium at the cathedral of Toledo, a cathedral that provided a model for Seville's plan, and the Gothic-Mudejar Cathedral of Saragossa in Aragon, which had important connections with Seville. I will argue that the preference for Gothic over Mudejar features at Seville was not the result of the supposed superiority of foreign great churches or the lack of Mudejar models, but the somewhat ironic desire to reference esteemed historic precedents that were mainly Gothic while at the same time incorporating current trends in Spanish church architecture. My argument is supported by the relatively recent information that substantial work on the current cathedral began only in the 1430's as opposed to shortly after the turn of the century, by the Spanish churches used as models for the cathedral at various phases in its planning, by the combination of foreign and Mudejar workers at the cathedral, and by the evolution of the cathedral's plan over the course of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The temporary decision to construct a Mudejar crossing tower in the late fifteenth century further demonstrates that Mudejar features in the new Gothic cathedral were not inconceivable. But the ultimate decision to hire an architect associated with the court of Isabel of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, often referred to as the Catholic Monarchs because of their piety, for the crossing tower proves that by this time, the Mudejar

tradition was not considered as appropriate for this prestigious project as the new Hispano-Flemish style.

The preference of a Hispano-Flemish over a Mudejar crossing tower also suggests that the court architecture of Castilian monarchs still played a part in the development of Seville's architecture even in the fifteenth century. Therefore, this chapter will also examine the patronage of the Catholic Monarchs in Seville. Like Alfonso X and Pedro I, Isabel and Ferdinand used architecture to demonstrate their authority, but they differed from their predecessors in that they did not make Seville their primary place of residence. Though they remodeled parts of the Alcazar and patronized the monastic church of Santa Paula, this work was carried out under the direction of trusted Sevillian nobles, rather than the monarchs themselves. These nobles retained some traditional Mudejar features in these structures, but they favored elements from the Hispano-Flemish architecture patronized by the royal couple as well as the new Renaissance forms making their way into the city. In addition to the influence of their preference for Hispano-Flemish architecture, the Catholic Monarchs also partly contributed to the reduction of Mudejar features in the city's churches in their conquest of Granada, largely cutting off the kingdom's access to innovations from north Africa, and their expulsion of all Mudejars from their kingdoms.

I will conclude this chapter with a discussion of the rise of Renaissance architecture in Seville, and how it caused the rejection of both Mudejar and Gothic forms in the city's churches. Mudejar and Gothic features were compatible because they followed the same basic design principles of geometrical experimentation and division. Renaissance architecture, however, is based on the addition of set modules of ideal proportions, and, thus, could not be as easily mixed with Mudejar forms. Only those forms that could be adapted to the new Renaissance style, namely wooden ceilings and *qubba* chapels, survived.

Among the various factors that contributed to the decline of Mudejar features in Seville's architecture, the city's new Gothic cathedral had the greatest impact. Not surprisingly, it replaced the Alcazar as the model for Seville's parish and monastic churches, influencing their designs through much of the fifteenth century and into the sixteenth century. According to tradition, the decision to construct the new cathedral took place in 1401, with the chapter's triumphal declaration, "we shall have a church [so great and] of such a kind that those who see it built will think we were mad."[2] Due to this apocryphal, yet often repeated quote, until recently scholars believed that construction began on the Gothic cathedral shortly after the turn of the fifteenth century; however, Alfonso Jiménez Martín's meticulous examination of the cathedral's archives indicates that the cathedral was not begun in earnest until the 1430's according to a plan finalized around the same time. This difference of approximately thirty years was a crucial factor in the chapter's choice of a Gothic aesthetic for the cathedral over a Gothic-Mudejar one. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, Mudejar construction in the city's religious architecture was at its height, but within several decades, the large number of foreign masons and artisans who began entering the Iberian Peninsula during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries had begun to penetrate Seville. Therefore, the chapter's selection of a Gothic design was partly the result of this "foreign invasion" rather than simply reflecting a desire to seek out supposedly superior foreign masons over local Mudejar ones.

Because of the paucity of documents concerning the cathedral for the first decades of the fifteenth century, scholarship on its early years was primarily based, until Jiménez' ground-breaking research, on two less than reliable seventeenth-century sources - Pablo Espinosa de los Monteros' history of the church of Seville (1635) and Zúñiga's history of

---

[2] This particular version is recorded in Wilson, 283.

the city (1677). According to Espinosa de los Monteros, following Archbishop Gonzalo de Mena's death, the chapter met on Friday, March 8, 1401. Citing the no-longer-extant minutes of this supposed meeting, Espinosa de los Monteros claimed that during it, the chapter decided to construct, "another Church, so good that there will be no other its equal."[3] Already in 1677, Zúñiga challenged Espinosa de los Monteros' account of the chapter meeting, pointing out that Gonzalo de Mena did not die until April 21st. Zúñiga concluded that the meeting must have occurred on July 8th, the first month after the archbishop's death to have its 8th day fall on a Friday. Zúñiga repeated Espinosa de los Monteros' record of the chapter minutes, adding that one of the chapter members exclaimed, "We will have a church so grand, that those who see it finished will think were are mad."[4] The accounts of Espinosa de los Monteros and Zúñiga are discredited by Jiménez' observation that the legendary chapter meeting of 1401 is not mentioned in any of the earlier histories of the Seville.[5] Jiménez also points out the conflicting dates given by Espinosa de los Monteros and Zúñiga for the beginning of construction on the cathedral. Both Espinosa de los Monteros and Zúñiga claim that the first stone of the cathedral was placed in 1402 in the Capilla de San Laureano at the southwest end of the old mosque, but earlier in his history Zúñiga had also given the date of 1403.[6]

---

[3] "otra Eglesia , tal é tan buena, que no haya otra su igual." *Teatro de La Santa Iglesia metropolitana de Sevilla, Primada Antigua de las Españas*. (Sevilla: Mateos, Clavijo, 1635) 28, folio b, accessed http://fondosdigitales.us.es/fondos/libros/1739/15/teatro-de-la-santa-iglesia-metropolitana-de-seuilla-primada-antigua-de-las-espanas/ and cited in Alfonso Jiménez Martín, "Las fechas de las formas. Selección crítica de Fuentes documentales para la cronología del edificio medieval," in *La catedral gótica de Sevilla: fundación y fábrica de la* obra nueva (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, Vicerrectorado de Investigación, 2006), 42.

[4] Zúñiga, 2:269.

[5] "Las fechas de las formas," 42-43.

[6] Monteros 68, folio b and Zuniga: 312, 286 cited in Jiménez Martín, "Las fechas de las formas," 43. The year 1403 is also recorded in the manuscript of the canon Juan de Loaysa from 1706. This manuscript is cited by Falcón Márquez, *La Catedral de Sevilla:Estudio Arquitectónico* (Sevilla: Excma. Diputación Provincial, 1980), 15, but its current location is unknown, Jiménez Martín, "Las fechas de las formas," 43.

Despite the contradictions in Espinosa de los Monteros and Zúñiga, there is probably at least some truth at least in their accounts of the planning of the cathedral. Both authors claim that the chapter's decision to construct a new cathedral was the result of its dilapidated state by the end of the fourteenth century due violent storms and earthquakes.[7] According to Zúñiga, as early as 1375, the Archbishop don Fernando de Albornoz granted 40 days of indulgences and other privileges to those who contributed to repairing the mosque/cathedral.[8] Zúñiga does not explicitly state whether or not these repairs were immediate necessities or if the chapter still hoped to fully restore the cathedral at this time, but he does cite several letters from the late fourteenth century that indicate that the chapter was planning a new cathedral. In Zúñiga's transcription of a letter that he dated to1388 and claimed was from a collection of papers owned by Gonzalo Argote de Molina, a sixteenth-century historian from Seville, Juan I dedicates all tithes for three years to the construction of a "new temple much more grand and magnificent."[9] Zúñiga transcribed yet another undated letter from "the King" (presumably Enrique III) to the chapter from among the supposed papers of Argote de Molina that speaks of, "a new temple, of grand majesty, and of rich masonry, which is suitable for so noble a cathedral, that it will be the most grand and most well disposed that there will be in these our Kingdoms."[10] Zúñiga implied that this letter, which suspiciously sounds like Espinosa de los Monteros' record of the chapter minutes, dates

---

[7] Several sources claim that the mosque/cathedral was replaced due to its deterioration, see Zúñiga, 2:202 and 230, and Espinosa de los Monteros says it was damaged by storms, see 28 folio b.

[8] Zúñiga, 2:202.

[9] Ibid., 2:230.

[10] "un nuevo templo, de grande majestad, é de rica labor de cantería , qual conviene a tan noble Catedral, que sea el mas grande, e mas bien dispuesto que haya en estos nuestros Regnos," Ibid., 2:286.

to 1390. Even if Zúñiga's transcriptions are fabrications, it is safe to say that plans for a new cathedral were underway by the end of the fourteenth century after several smaller earthquakes shook the mosque/cathedral that had already been compromised by the powerful earthquake of 1356. It is also possible that more definitive plans to construct a new cathedral began to take shape around the time of Archbishop Gonzalo de Mena's death in 1401. In addition to the deteriorating condition of the mosque/cathedral, this reformist archbishop was eager to construct a new cathedral because of his desire to increase the authority of the Church in Seville. His faithful follower, the cannon Juan Martínez de Vitoria, put into motion the planning and construction of the new cathedral.

As for the beginning of the actual construction of the new cathedral, Jiménez has convincingly argued that at least most of the new construction was not carried out until 1433, the year that Juan II gave the chapter permission to demolish the *Capilla Real*.[11] He argues that the work done on the cathedral referenced in the few surviving primary documents from the first third of the fifteenth century concerns either the maintenance or demolition of the old Almohad structure, parts of which stood at least until 1440 and possibly even as late as 1446.[12] These documents include records of the prices of

---

[11] The sole surviving transcription of Juan II's letter of authorization (dated February 10, 1433) is contained in a seventeenth-century history of the *Capilla Real* written by a royal chaplain (see A. Muñiz, *Insinuazion Apologetica al Rey nuestro Señor Don Carlos Segundi, que Dios gde Por su Santa y Rl capilla de la Ziud de Sevilla*. Ms. de la Biblioteca Colombina: 57-3-40), cited in Jiménez Martín, "Las fechas de las formas," 50. Jiménez Martín argues that the validity of this date is supported by the election of Juan de Serezuela as archbishop of Seville in January that same year. Serezuela probably played an important role in obtaining the favor of the king since he was the half-brother of Álvaro de Luna, the king's chief advisor. Antonio Luis Ampliato Briones suggests two main factors in delay to authorize the demolition of the *Capilla Real* – the prolonged minority of Juan II (1406-1419) and the significance of the *Capilla Real*, the final resting place of San Fernando and his son Alfonso the Wise, as a symbol of royal authority within the Church, "Una aproximación hermenéutica al espacio catedralicio sevillano," in *La Catedral Gótica de Sevilla*, 383-384. Juan would have been sensitive to the power struggle between church and state. His father Enrique III caused considerable conflict with Avignon Pope Benedict XIII when he declared himself head of the Castilian Church in 1398. He eventually submitted to the Pope in 1403, see Ibid., 374-375.

[12] Jiménez Martin, *Cartografía de la Montaña Hueca*, 43.

materials and salaries of workers (probably local Mudejars) related to ceramic, brick, and carpentry – all materials related to the Almohad mosque as opposed to the primarily stone Gothic cathedral - and two papal bulls issued by Benedict XIII in 1411, referring to "the work of the church." According to Jiménez, this generic phrase also appears in earlier documents from the fourteenth century and, therefore, does not necessarily refer to the Gothic cathedral.[13] Jiménez suggests that damage sustained by the mosque/cathedral in the severe earthquake of 1431 provided further impetus for construction on the new cathedral.[14] Additional evidence that Jiménez Martín cites for the beginning of

---

[13] *Cartografía de la Montaña Hueca*, 36-38.

[14] *Cartografía de la Montaña Hueca,* 42. Amity Nichols Law has proposed a somewhat different chronology from Jiménez Martín's for the construction of the cathedral. She suggests that a new cathedral based on a Gothic-Mudejar design was begun around 1400, but after the destruction caused by the earthquake of 1431, this design was significantly modified, more closely resembling the current cathedral. She interprets the pre-1433 employment of Mudejar materials and workers as contributing to the construction of the Gothic-Mudejar cathedral and not just the demolition of the Almohad mosque. The strongest evidence for her argument is the brick and ceramic cores (materials typical of Mudejar construction as opposed to rubble cores used in Gothic construction) found in several piers at the western end of the cathedral. According to Law, these cores represent construction on a Gothic-Mudejar cathedral, see 186, especially notes 288 and 289, and 198, especially note 318. However, other scholars simply believe that the materials used in the cores were recycled from the cathedral/mosque. Other parts of the mosque were also reused in the Gothic cathedral, including some of its foundations and even part of its quibla wall, see Francisco Pinto Puerto, "Fábrica y Forma del Templo Gótico," in *La Catedral Gótica de Sevilla*, 241-242 and 254. The incorporation of parts of the mosque in the Gothic cathedral helps to answer Law's questioning of the relatively rapid construction of the majority of the cathedral, see 201. Law also cites the no longer extant supposed plan for the cathedral possibly made around 1401 (though there is no documented proof for this date for the plan) as evidence that construction began before 1433, see 187, note 290. Philip II moved this plan to his palace in Madrid where its was destroyed, along with the plans and models of several other Spanish cathedrals, when the palace burned in 1734. There is some question as to what this plan actually depicted. According to Jiménez Martín, the plan most likely consisted of a record of the tombs and chapels of the old mosque rather than a plan of the new cathedral. He explains that the description of the document as a plan for the new cathedral was made only in 1804, by an author, who never even saw it, and, moreover, the plan would have been too small for a detailed rendering of the entire cathedral since it was made of only two pieces of parchment. He believes that it instead correlated to the plan of chapels and tombs that Espinosa de Monteros (1635) claims the chapter commissioned, *Cartografía de la Montaña Hueca*, 16-21. Such a plan would have been the visual counterpart of the *Libro Blanco*, the textual record finished in 1411 of the names and locations of chapels and tombs at the request of Archbishop Alonso de Egea, see *Cartografía de la Montaña Hueca*, 22-31, and Ecker, "From Masjid to Casa-Mezquita," 2:172-174, for discussions of this document. Interestingly, the *Libro Blanco* in conjunction with Benedict XIII's bull from 1411 does provide some evidence for Law's theory. The bull grants

construction around the 1430's includes the relatively limited financial resources of the cathedral chapter at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the entombment of clergy members in the cathedral until the 1430's, and the fifteenth-century chronicle of Spain by the Sevillian Garci Sanchéz, which records that the cathedral was begun in 1433.[15] Jiménez Martín's most conclusive evidence is found in the will of the canon Juan Martínez de Vitoria (*mayordomo* of the cathedral from 1420-1433), and in the annotations made by his successor as *mayordomo*, Juan Ruiz, to the account of the fabric in 1434. These two documents are the earliest records of the attainment of stone and a master mason for the "new work of the cathedral."[16]

Antonio Luis Ampliato Briones has pointed out that Martínez de Vitoria's will as well as other documents referring to him, testify that he played a pivotal role in the planning of the new cathedral and was carrying out the intentions of Archbishop Gonzalo de Mena. Zúñiga cited Martínez de Vitoria as the executor of the will of the archbishop,

---

indulgences for those who would pray in the chapel of San Laureano. This chapel is not recorded in the *Libro Blanco*, implying that it had only recently been built. Other primary documents, however, do not support Law's theory. Granted relatively few documents pertaining to the fabric of the cathedral survive from the early fifteenth century, but the few that do survive record Mudejar artisans and not masons. Even a Gothic-Mudejar cathedral, as evidenced by Seville's earlier churches, would have required a significant amount of stone. Law's theory of a Gothic-Mudejar construction built between 1401 and 1431 is intriguing, particularly since, as will be argued below, a Gothic-Mudejar cathedral was probably being considered around the turn of the fifteenth century, but unfortunately, there is no conclusive evidence to support it.

[15] *Cartografia de la Montaña Hueca*, 38-41 and "Las fechas de las formas," 39-41, 50. The *Anales de Garci Sánchez* reportedly dates to 1496, but the earliest existing manuscript dates to 1600, see Juan de Mata Carriazo y Arroquia, "La Apéndice, referido a cuenca, de los 'Anales de Garci Sánchez, jurado de Sevilla'," *La España Medieval* 1 (1980): 60. Concerning the financial resources of the cathedral chapter, Jiménez notes that the sources of income recorded in the *Libro Blanco* appeared to him "modest in comparison with those, which were maintained by other cathedral chapters (fuentes de financiación que a mí me parecen modestas en comparación con las que manejaban otras mayordomías), *Cartografia de la Montaña Hueca*, 38-39. However, Antonio Collantes de Terran in his investigation of the economic climate in Seville around the turn of the century, argues that the chapter would have had sufficient resources for the new cathedral at their disposal around 1400, see "Una Ciudad, Una Catedral," in *La Catedral Gótica de Sevilla*, 135-145.

[16] Jiménez Martín, *Cartografia de la Montaña Hueca,*44-50.

who, according to Zúñiga and Espinosa de los Monteros, died shortly before the chapter's decision to construct a new cathedral.[17] Based on Zúñiga's claim and the inventory of books in Martínez de Vitoria's personal library, Ampliato argues that the canon was the intellectual protégé of Gonzalo de Mena, who, like several of the archbishops before him, was a part of the ecclesiastical reform movement begun by the Toledan cardinal Gil de Albornoz (1310-1367).[18] Albornoz literally fought to restore papal authority over secular magnates and encouraged a humanities-based education for the clergy, founding the college of San Clemente in Bologna. Pedro de Martínez de Luna, an Aragonese cardinal and eventually the Avignon Pope Benedict XIII (1328-1423), spread Albornoz' reforms throughout the Iberian Peninsula. It was Benedict XIII who named Gonzalo de Mena archbishop of Seville in 1394.[19] Gonzalo de Mena worked to reassert the authority of the Church in Seville, which at the time of his election was at the mercy of warring noble factions vying for control of the city. One of his first acts as Archbishop was to clear the Patio de los Naranjos (the courtyard of the cathedral) of merchants and surround the sacred area with stone steps and a barrier composed of columns connected by heavy chains.[20] The pious archbishop also founded a Carthusian monastery in 1400 in the Sevillian suburb of Triana. Two items in Martínez de Vitoria's personal library indicate that he, like Gonzalo de Mena, was also a member of the reform movement championed by Pope Benedict. The first is a copy of the constitutions of the council of Valladolid of 1322, which included reforms to the Castilian Church inspired by cardinal Albornoz.

---

[17] Zúñiga, 2: 266.

[18] Archbishops Alonso Fernández de Toledo y de Vargas (1361-1366) and Pedro Gómez Barroso (1369-1371) were colleagues of Albornoz in Aragon. Archbishop Pedro Gómez de Albornoz (1378-1390) was the cardinal's nephew, see Ampliato Briones, 378-80.

[19] Ampliato Briones dates Gonzalo de Mena's election to 1394, 381, though Jose-Antequera Luego dates it to 1392, 39.

[20] Jose-Antequera Luego, 39.

The second is a copy of *Postillae litteralis in Bibliam*, a Biblical commentary by Nicolás de Lyra that greatly influenced the ecclesiastical reforms under Benedict XIII.

Both Ampliato and Felipe Pereda Espeso have connected Lyra's commentary to the planning of the cathedral of Seville. The commentary is exceptionally thorough in its explication of the description of the Tabernacle in the book of Exodus and the description of the Temple of Solomon in the book of I Kings. Although the copy of the commentary from Martínez de Vitoria's library is no longer extent, a copy probably dating to the 1430's in Seville's chapter library includes a floor plan of the Tabernacle that Ampliato argues was also considered to be the basic plan of the Temple of Solomon (Figure A141).[21] He points to Lyra's commentary as proof that the intellectual circle of Benedict took a particular interest in architecture (Ampliato also cites the pope's copy of Vitruvius as proof of his architectural curiosity), thus implying that the decision to build a new cathedral may have been in part due to the strong connection between Benedict and the archbishops of Seville during the second half of the fourteenth century. Ampliato and Pereda relate the plan of the Tabernacle in the chapter copy of Lyra's commentary to the plan of the cathedral of Seville. Ampliato compares the plan of the Tabernacle to the earliest surviving plan of the cathedral, executed in 1600 by Giorgio Vasari il Giovone, nephew of the famed artist and biographer of artists (Figure A142).[22] Ampliato's claim that both plans have the same typology – essentially a large rectangle – is unconvincing. The overall plan of the cathedral was likely more the result of the plan of the mosque it replaced rather than a desire to emulate the Tabernacle or the Temple of Solomon. Ampliato's observation that the proportions of the liturgical choir and the *capilla mayor* of the cathedral are similar to the inner sanctum of the Tabernacle is more compelling,

---

[21] Ampliato, 386.

[22] Jiménez Martín also analyzes the plan by Vasari, see Ibid, 61-67.

but still rather general.[23] Pereda makes more specific comparisons between the plans of the Tabernacle and the cathedral, proposing that the original placement of the *capilla mayor* within the cathedral was dictated by Lyra's description of the Temple of Solomon and the plan of the Tabernacle in the chapter's copy of *Postillae*.[24]

While these connections between the plan of the cathedral and the plan of the Tabernacle from the *Postillae* cannot be proven, the presence of Lyra's commentary in Martínez de Vitoria's library stands as further evidence of his involvement in the intellectual circle of Gonzalo de Mena, which in turn further confirms his important contribution to the planning of the new cathedral. His role in planning for the cathedral is confirmed by additional information pertaining to his career. Zúñiga claimed that Martínez de Vitoria was essentially the acting archbishop during the prolonged absence of the highly unpopular Archbishop Diego de Anaya Maldonado (1417-1430). After Pope Martin V appointed Anaya Archbishop of Seville in 1417, he continued to reside in his hometown of Salamanca until the Pope finally forced him to go to Seville in 1427. Anaya was so despised by the chapter that only three years after his arrival in the city, he was dismissed from his position.[25] During Anaya's tenure, Martínez de Vitoria was made *mayordomo* of the cathedral, a position he carried form 1420 until his death in 1433.[26] Martínez de Vitoria's will contains the most definitive evidence that he was the main figure behind the planning of the new cathedral. It records that shortly before he died, he arranged for ships to be constructed for the transportation of stone from El

---

[23] Ampliato, 388.

[24] "La origini dell' architettura cubica: Alfonso Madrigal, Nicola de Lira e la *querelle salomonista* nella Spagne del Quattrocento," *Annali di architettura: revista del centro internacionale de stud di architettura Andrea Palladio* 17 (2005): 35-38.

[25] Ampliato Briones, 376-377.

[26] Jiménez Martín, "Las fechas de las formas," 47.

Puerto de Santa María. It also mentions that Martínez de Vitoria had an account with the mason "Ysanbarte," who was likely the first master mason of the cathedral (discussed below).[27] Martínez de Vitoria may have also had prior experience in the process of planning a cathedral. A new Gothic cathedral was constructed in his hometown of Vitoria during the second half of the fourteenth century and into the fifteenth century.[28] Martínez de Vitoria's role in the planning of the Cathedral of Vitoria and when exactly he came to Seville is unknown, but it is possible that he had first-hand knowledge of the issues surrounding the planning and construction of a cathedral from his time in Vitoria. Other members of the chapter contributed to the planning of Seville's new cathedral as well, but Martínez de Vitoria was the primary figure in making the decision to construct a new cathedral a reality.[29]

The final design of the cathedral, however, was likely approved by Martínez de Vitoria's successor, Juan Ruiz. Ysambert, the possibly Flemish master mason hired by Martínez de Vitoria, only appears in the cathedral book of the fabric in the year 1434; the following year, he is replaced by master Carlí.[30] Because of Ysambert's brief sojourn in Seville, Jiménez Martín speculates that his work for the chapter mainly involved

---

[27] Ibid., 51.

[28] The construction of the cathedral of Vitoria was begun shortly after 1366, by Carlos el Noble of the kingdom of Navarra, who won the city from Pedro I of Castile that year. Construction continued after the city became a part of Castile again in 1373, see Torres Balbás, *Architectura Gótica*, Ars Hispaniae: Historia universal del arte hispánico, vol. 7 (Madrid: Plus Ultra, 1952), 156-158. Although it is tempting to look to Vitoria for structural and stylistic precedents for Seville, the two cathedrals do not appear to have any specific similarities.

[29] Various clergy members donated funds to the construction of the cathedral, see Falcón Márquez, 16-17. Ampliato Briones also cites Juan de Cervantes, archdeacon and eventually archbishop of Seville, as taking part in the planning process as well as making significant donations to the project, 384-385. The design of the cathedral was probably approved under Juan Ruiz (appointed *mayordomo* in 1434).

[30] Jiménez Martín, *Cartografia de la Montaña Hueca,*, notes that Ysambret is a Flemish name, 45.

inspecting the quality of the stone for the project and possibly making a preliminary plan. He attributes most of the design of the cathedral to master Carlí (Charles of Rouen), who worked on the cathedral from 1435 to 1448. His design was more or less followed by his successor, Juan de Norman (1449 to 1478), who completed most of the west end of the cathedral and at least part of the east end.[31] The east end of the cathedral, which was finished under Spanish masters, is an enlarged and embellished version of Carlí's plan with an increased height of three additional meters and added ornament around the clerestory and balustrades.[32]

Based on the foreign origins of the cathedral's early master masons, other artisans who worked at the cathedral, and many of the features of the cathedral, it has been typically perceived as an "imported cathedral."[33] Torres Balbás described the cathedral as "a totally exotic edifice, created, without a doubt, by foreign planners."[34] This view of the cathedral is misleading for multiple reasons. First, it does not acknowledge the Spanish precedents for the cathedral, giving the false impression that the chapter placed a

---

[31] Juan first appears on the cathedral payroll in 1439. He is not officially recorded as master mason of the cathedral until 1454, but beginning in 1449, the year after the end of Carlí's tenure, he is first in the list of masons, whose names were placed in a hierarchical order. Moreover, no other master masons are recorded for this period. Ibid.,49-50. Jiménez Martín speculated that Juan may have been the same Juan as one of those recorded to have worked with Carlí at Barcelona and Lerída (Ibid., 49), but Law has shown that this is probably not the case, 190, note 320.

[32] Jiménez Martín observes this change between the two halves of the cathedral calling them "dos cathedrals góticas yuxtapuestas (two Gothic cathedrals juxtaposed)." He dates the beginning of construction on the east end to around 1467, Ibid., 55.

[33] Jiménez Martín, *Cartografia de la Montaña Hueca*, 34. Ironically, this view is often expressed with the equally erroneous assumption that the Gothic cathedral was designed by the Spanish master Alonso Martínez (master mason of the cathedral from 1386-1396?). Cómez links this unlikely attribution, first made in the nineteenth century, to Spanish nationalism, see "Nacionalismo e historiografía; el autor de las trazas de la catedral de sevilla," 335-344. Ampliato Briones critiques the view of the cathedral as totally foreign in his discussion of the need to examine the cathedral beyond its formal qualities, 352-353.

[34] Ars Hispaniae, 7: 287.

higher value on foreign Gothic features over native traditions. Second, as Amity Law has noted, it also overlooks the contribution of local Mudejar artisans and construction methods to the cathedral.[35] Ysambert and Carlí may not have been native to Spain, but they spent much of their careers in Spain before going to Seville. Carlí was first documented in Spain in 1408 at the Cathedral of Barcelona, where he made a drawing for the façade portal, which still exists, and models for several chapels in the cathedral's cloister. However, he may have been in Barcelona as early as 1400.[36] Ysambert first appears in Spain with Carlí at the cathedral of Lerída in 1410, where they worked together on several chapels. They collaborated again on the crossing tower of the Cathedral of Saragossa in 1417, after the chapter summoned Carlí from Molino (Teruel) and Ysambert from Daroca (Saragossa). The next mention of Ysambert is at the Cathedral of Palencia, where he was master mason in 1424. Carlí, following his time in Saragossa returned to Lerída, where he worked on various aspects of the cathedral from 1418 to 1427. Based on the advanced level of Carlí's work at Barcelona, Jiménez estimates that the master mason was over fifty years old by the time he arrived in Seville, and that he ended his career there.[37]

Law has argued that Seville's chapter chose Carlí, who was possibly recommended by Ysambert, not because he was French, but because of his work at Barcelona, his connections with Benedict XIII, and his familiarity with Mudejar building practices. She explains that Seville and Barcelona had been rivals in technology and construction since the late fourteenth century when both cities commissioned clock

---

[35] Law suggests the term "integrated" to describe the cathedral rather than "imported," 203.

[36] Law, 63.

[37] Jiménez Martín, *Cartografia de la Montaña Hueca,* 45-47, and "Las fechas de las formas," 45-49.

towers, which were still novel in Europe at the time.[38] Law also notes Carlí's powerful connections – while at Lérida, he was likely known by the canon Gil Muñoz, who was named successor to Benedict XIII. She further poses that Carlí came into contact with Benedict through the Barcelona project or his involvement in Mudejar projects, since Benedict was an avid patron of Mudejar architecture. Law cites his time at Molinos, a major Mudejar center, as proof of his knowledge of Mudejar construction techniques. (Carlí must have interacted with Mudejar artisans and *albañiles* (bricklayers) at Saragossa as well).[39] Experience with Mudejar construction was an important qualification for the master mason of Seville, since Mudejar workers were employed at the cathedral project, particularly during the early construction phase that involved the demolition of the Almohad mosque. Law also emphasizes the contribution of Mudejar craftsmen to the actual construction of the cathedral, pointing out the piers with brick and ceramic cores and the ceramic and brick utilized in various parts of the cathedral's vaulting and roof.[40] Carlí's experience in Spain was just as important if not more important than his French training for his employment by the Seville chapter.

Ysambert's and Carlí's foreign origins *and* their Spanish careers are reflected in the design of Seville's cathedral. While many of the cathedral's features are ultimately foreign in origin, most of them were more directly inspired by earlier or contemporary Spanish churches or at least a combination of foreign and Spanish models. The Cathedral

---

[38] Law, 185.

[39] Law, 191-192.

[40] Ibid.,, 185-187 and 226. The employment of Mudejar artisans and elements of the Almohad mosque, sometimes referred to as the "Mudejar Cathedral" to acknowledge the changes made to it after the Christian conquest of Seville in 1248, is significant, but it should be interpreted as a matter of economic convenience and symbolic appropriation rather than a desire for a "Mudejar cathedral." Most of the Mudejar and Almohad construction in the current cathedral was likely deemed acceptable because it is shrouded by the Gothic edifice. As far as the aesthetics of the cathedral, its patrons clearly preferred Gothic features.

of Toledo (begun 1222) was perhaps the most influential Spanish precedent for Seville. Ysambert and Carlí must have been aware of the design of Toledo since it was one of the most prestigious cathedrals in all of Spain in terms of structure and church hierarchy. Toledo provided an important model for Seville not only because of its prestige, but also because of its exceptionally wide plan – a nave with double aisles and side chapels that covered the footprint of the mosque that it replaced (Figures A143 and A144). Excluding the chapels, the main interior length of both Toledo and Seville equals 108m, which can hardly be pure coincidence. Unlike Seville, Toledo has a full-story triforium and is pyramidal in section, but both cathedrals share tall arcades with thick piers and short clerestories in their elevations.[41]

Not surprisingly, Seville's design also draws heavily from the Cathedral of Barcelona, where Carlí began his Spanish career. The height of Seville's nave relative to that of the aisles is very similar to the cross-section of Barcelona (begun 1298) (Figures A145-A146). This similarity contributes to the lack of direct lighting, which creates ambiguous spatial boundaries in both cathedrals. Although a sense of linearity is created by the thin shafts of the piers at both Seville and Barcelona, the two cathedrals' shared horizontal elements are more striking (Figures A147-A148). The continuous arcade capitals that separate the responds from the piers at Seville are reminiscent of those at Barcelona.[42] Even more importantly, both cathedrals contain a projecting triforium, a fairly unusual element in Gothic architecture. The triforium at Seville is more of a passageway just beneath the clerestory rather than a true triforium, yet like the triforium at Barcelona, it projects around the piers of the nave instead of cutting through them,

---

[41] These comparisons are noted in Wilson, 284-285, and José María Azcárate Ristori, *Arte Gótico En España* (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 1990), 115.

[42] These observations are made in Wilson, 285 and John Harvey, *The Cathedrals of Spain* (London: B. T. Batsford LTD, 1957), 233.

providing the piers with more stability.[43] Similarities between the west façade portal of Barcelona and the façade portals of the Nativity and Baptism on the west façade of Seville attest to the direct work of master Carlí (Figures A149-A150). Barcelona's façade portal was not actually finished until the late nineteenth century, but it is based on Carlí's drawing from 1408. Although smaller in scale, the two side portals at Seville follow the same format as Barcelona's portal, which features a steeply pitched gable covered with tracery. Its gable is flanked by buttress piers that are filled with statues under canopies and topped with pinnacles. Carlí's portal designs betray his French origin; similar gabled portals can be found at Rouen cathedral. Both his portals at Seville and his portal at Barcelona also include *fleur-de-lis* motifs.[44]

Several other Catalan churches could have influenced Carlí's design for Seville. The projecting chapels at the west end of Santa María del Mar (begun 1329), also in Barcelona, may have inspired those at Seville.[45] The springings at Seville Cathedral resemble those of the nave vault of Palma de Mallorca (begun 1306) and the nave and choir of Gerona Cathedral (begun 1312) in that they shoot up from the base of the clerestory (Figures A151-A152). These two cathedrals may have also served as models for the rose window above the apse in the original plan for Seville's *Capilla Real* (Figure A153).[46]

---

[43] Barcelona most likely inherited its triforium ultimately from Narbonne Cathedral. For an in-depth discussion of churches with projecting triforia, see Vivian Paul, "The Projecting Triforium at Narbonne Cathedral: Meaning, Structure, or Form?" *Gesta 30* (1991): 27-40.

[44] Jiménez observed the similarity between the *fleur-de-lis* on the Sevillian portals and those that were added to the coat of arms of the city of Rouen in 1449, after the city came under the jurisdiction of the French crown, *Cartografia de la Montaña Hueca*, 48. But, as Law has noted, a 1449 source for the motif would also post-date Carlí's tenure at the cathedral. She suggests that the *fleur-de-lis* of the Sevillian portals may have been an interpretation of Carlí's drawings since forms resembling *fleur-de-lis* can also be found on his Barcelona portal, 195, note 312.

[45] Wilson, 284.

[46] Ampliato Briones, 393.

Other features of the cathedral came from foreign examples. The many-bladed shafts surrounding Seville's thick piers were developed in France. The piers at the French Cathedral of Nantes (begun 1435) are particularly similar to those at Seville (Figures A154-A155): both sets of piers are extremely thick and diagonally oriented. As at Seville, the bladed shafts at Nantes terminate on bases supported by socles that vary in size and height.[47] The plinths at Nantes also contain similar horizontal moldings to those at Seville; however, the faces of the plinths are slightly concave, unlike Seville's. The balustrade just below the clerestory of Seville's cathedral is also foreign in origin, and was probably the work of the cathedral's French and German masons. Triforium balustrades are common in Normandy and especially in Rouen, where they are present in the cathedral (b. 1200), St.-Ouen (b. 1318), and Saint-Maclou (b.1436). In some Norman churches, such as Saint-Jean in Caen (rebuilt from 1417), a balustrade at the base of the clerestory replaces the triforium altogether as at Seville (Figures A151 and A156).[48] These examples suggest that Carlí and/or Juan de Norman planned the balustrades at Seville, which were likely begun under Juan's tenure.[49] Law further supports Carlí's authorship of the balustrade by pointing out the similarities between some of the tracery patterns in the balustrade at Seville and the frontispiece of Barcelona's portal.[50]

---

[47] Similar socles can be found at St.-Ouen in Rouen, to which the pier bases at Seville have also been compared (Pinto Puerto, 244), but the shafts of St.-Ouen are round instead of bladed, making Nantes a closer model.

[48] Arthur Gardner, *An Introduction to French Architecture* (London: University of Cambridge Press, 1938), 72.

[49] The piers and nave from the crossing to west façade were done by the end of Juan's tenure in 1478, Jiménez Martín, *Cartografia de la Montaña Hueca* 51-52. Construction on the balustrades continued into the sixteenth century. The *libro de mayordomía* of the cathedral archive records the completion of several balustrades in the early sixteenth century, see Falcón Márquez 30.

[50] Law explains that although the frontispiece was not constructed under Carlí, it's tracery patterns are based on Carlí's designs, 199.

However, some of the tracery patterns of Seville's balustrade were probably also the work of Simón de Colonia, master mason of the cathedral in the late fifteenth century. He and his father, Juan de Colonia, a Rhenish mason recruited by the Archbishop of Burgos to construct openwork spires for his cathedral, probably designed its various balustrades as well. During their tenure there, balustrades were placed in the cathedral's triforium, on its façade, and around the bases of its spires.[51] The balustrades at Burgos share with those at Seville the distinctive feature of attached pinnacles (Figures A151, A157, and A158).[52] One of the tracery patterns of the balustrades around the spires at Burgos even directly matches a pattern found at Seville.

Simón de Colonia, or artisans working under him, may also be responsible for the tracery patterns of Seville's clerestory (Figure A158), which resemble the Brabantine Florid style. Similar tracery pattern are present in the clerestory of the Constable's Chapel at the Cathedral of Burgos, which was designed by Simon in 1482 (Figure A159). However, this style of tracery became popular in Spain during the late fifteenth century because of the influx of Flemish artists commissioned to carve *retablos*, or altar screens often incorporating sculpture, and choir stalls in many Spanish churches. Seville was no exception. The Flemish artist Pierre Dancart designed the *retablo* of Seville's high altar in 1482.[53]

The flying buttresses at Seville show both Spanish and foreign influence. Their fairly horizontal slope and convex surface without a standard gutter is probably a result of Spanish, or at least southern models; whereas, the crossing of the flyers at the junction of the nave and transept is unique among Spanish churches and mimics the pattern of

---

[51] Karge, 60-63.

[52] Juan's and Simon's balustrade design followed German precedents with pinnacles such as those on the balustrade of the choir at the Marienkirche in Luebeck, begun in 1277.

[53] Wilson, 288.

earlier, foreign multi-aisle churches, such as Cologne Cathedral (begun 1248) (Figures A160-A161).

Some of the features discussed above reflect the foreign origins of Seville's masons, but many of them demonstrate that these masons were also familiar with great Spanish churches. Their incorporation of elements from Spanish churches proves that the cathedral chapter did not desire a completely exotic cathedral. Members of the chapter likely requested that the design of their cathedral evoke earlier prestigious Spanish cathedrals, particularly Toledo and Burgos. These two cathedrals were largely built under the patronage of Fernando III and Alfonso X, the two kings who had conquered Seville and were entombed in the *Capilla Real* of its cathedral.

Certain features of the cathedral announce that the Sevillian architectural legacy of these two kings was important to the chapter. The longitudinal ridge rib in the nave vaults at the cathedral had been a standard feature in Sevillian churches, such as Alfonso X's church of Santa Ana, since the thirteenth century.[54] The cathedral also resembles Santa Ana in several additional ways. As at Santa Ana, its nave is only slightly higher than its aisles.[55] Both churches also have relatively high arcades with short clerestories, and the vault springings in the aisles of Santa Ana begin at the base of the clerestory as do those at the cathedral (Figures A32 and A151).

The original plan for the *Capilla Real* of the Cathedral was probably based on thirteenth-century Sevillian churches as well. The *Capilla Real* of the cathedral was only partially built when it was redesigned during the second half of the sixteenth century in the new Plateresque style, a highly ornate interpretation of Renaissance forms, but the basic outline of the original plan is known through a proposed intermediary plan from

---

[54] As discussed in chapter 3, the vaults of Santa Ana are modeled off of the church architecture of Burgos.

[55] Lamperez, 3:172.

1537, and a description of the cathedral and a sculpture on the *retablo* mayor of the Cathedral, both dating to the first quarter of the sixteenth century (Figures A162-A163).[56] Based on these sources, it can also be assumed that the original plan for Seville's *Capilla Real* was actually constructed at the sixteenth-century cathedral of Mexico City.[57] The plan consisted of a central polygonal bay with three sides that projected just beyond its two adjacent rectangular bays. Two more rectangular bays with eastern portals flanked the *capilla*. Lampérez suggested that this plan for the east end of the cathedral was modeled on Seville's two mendicant churches from the thirteenth century, San Pablo and San Francisco, both of which were founded by either Fernando or Alfonso and may have had similar plans, though only San Pablo's still exists (Figure A73).[58] Like the original plan of the cathedral, San Pablo's east end terminates with two rectangular bays on either side of a polygonal apse. As discussed in chapter 3, the plans of these churches were derived from the royal pantheon of Las Huelgas in Burgos.[59] Therefore, they were appropriate models for the burial chapel of Fernando and Alfonso in the new cathedral.

The long legacy of Spanish Gothic cathedrals and the importance of the Seville's earliest primarily Gothic churches were important factors in the chapter's decision to construct a Gothic cathedral following on the heels of a period of Mudejar construction in

---

[56] Jiménez Martín, *Cartografia de la Montaña Hueca,*, 69-73, and Ampliato Briones, 391. The plan makes it fairly clear that the central vessel of the *Capilla Real* only had three projecting sides, despite the five sides shown in the model.

[57] Torres Balbás, Ars Hispaniae, 7: 287.

[58] Lampérez' connection between these two churches and the cathedral is mentioned in Falcón Márquez, 24; however, I was unable to find this comparison in Lampérez' *Historia de la Arquitectura Cristiana Española*.

[59] See chapter 3, 139. Similar plans were also constructed in several thirteenth-century cathedrals, including Huesca, Tudela, and Burgos de Osma. The east end of Cuenca may have also had this configuration, but it was rebuilt in the second half of the fifteenth century.

the city's religious architecture, but it should not be assumed that a cathedral with prominent Mudejar features would have been inconceivable. Although Castilian cathedrals are predominantly Gothic, the Cathedral of Toledo has Islamicizing polylobed arches in its choir triforium, possibly intended to reference the mosque it replaced.[60] As late as 1412, the Seville chapter selected a Mudejar façade based on the façade of Pedro's palace at the Alcazar for the chapter house that they shared with the city council, and significant Mudejar construction continued on the city's parish churches into the 1420's.[61] In fact, evidence that the chapter may have been considering a Gothic-Mudejar cathedral, similar to the city's parish churches can be found in the Cathedral of Ubeda in the neighboring province of Jaen. Ampliato Briones suggests that this stone cathedral, built by Sevillian masons at the end of the fourteenth century, may have been a test run for the new cathedral at Seville, which was already being considered by this time.[62] Like Seville, the cathedral of Ubeda has a wide five-aisled plan corresponding to the plan of the mosque that it replaced. It also lacks a large semi-circular apse off of its east end (Figure A164).[63] The cathedral's elevation is based on that of Seville's parish churches. The pointed arches of its tall arcades rest on simple rectangular and square pillars. A wooden roof covers its relatively small clerestory. Ubeda would have been a functionally adequate model for Seville, but its relative simplicity did not appeal to the Sevillian chapter, which opted for a much more elaborate design.

Whereas Ubeda was too humble a model for Seville, the Sevillian chapter could have looked to La Seo, one of the two cathedrals of Saragossa, which incorporated many

---

[60] See chapter 1, 52-53, and Karge, 173-174.

[61] Imculada Ríos Collantes de Terrán and Antonio Sánchez de Mora, 405-419.

[62] Ampliato Briones, 373.

[63] The current east end of the church is square, but it has been modified since its original construction, Ampliato Briones 373.

Mudejar features and was one of the most prestigious Spanish cathedrals of its time (Figure A165).[64] A Romanesque church was built over the city's Great Mosque in the late twelfth century. When Saragossa was raised to the level of see in 1318, construction began on a Gothic-Mudejar cathedral. Construction continued in to the early fifteenth century. After the original crossing tower collapsed in 1403, Pope Benedict XIII had the tower and the upper stories of the old Romanesque apse rebuilt under the direction of the Muslim master Mahoma Rami. The crossing tower has since been remodeled, but it originally followed the same design as the apse, which has three levels of Almohad-inspired crenellation intended to reference the papal crown. The apse combines ornate patterns of Gothic tracery and Mudejar brickwork inlaid with colorful ceramic tiles. Granted such prominent Mudejar features would have been unusual for a cathedral in Castile, which did not have Aragon's strong tradition in Mudejar construction, but their appearance at Seville would not have been surprising since the Cathedral of Saragossa was closely connected to Seville both artistically and intellectually during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. In the 1370's, Sevillian ceramicists worked on the Parroquieta de San Miguel, a chapel adjacent to the apse of Saragossa, which probably inspired the brick and tile patterns of the apse. As discussed above, one of the primary patrons of Saragossa, Benedict XIII, was extremely influential on the clergy of Seville, particularly Gonzalo de Mena, whom he appointed Archbishop of the city, and Martínez de Vitoria. Moreover, Ysambert and Carlí were both familiar with the design of Saragossa since they had both worked on securing its rather unstable crossing tower.

The primarily fourteenth-century Cathedrals of Ubeda and Saragossa demonstrate that an important factor in the chapter's selection an almost exclusively Gothic design over one with more Mudejar features lies in the timing of the planning of the cathedral.

---

[64] The city's other cathedral, which was rebuilt during the Baroque period, is known as El Pilar.

During the late fourteenth and the early fifteenth century, the construction of a Gothic-Mudejar cathedral at Seville may have been possible. But by the time the chapter settled on a design for the cathedral in the 1430's, the Iberian Peninsula had been inundated with masons and artisans from northern Europe fleeing the economic depression caused by the Hundred Years War and eager to capitalize on the building boom in the Spanish Kingdoms. Freed from their preoccupation with the *Reconquista*, which had essentially come to a halt in the mid-fourteenth century, Spanish cities were eager to erect new, impressive cathedrals over decaying mosques or Romanesque structures. This building boom occurred primarily in Aragon during the fourteenth century (Wilson has suggested that political turmoil prohibited large construction projects in Castile during this century).[65] Barcelona had important connections with Seville, was a particularly important center for foreign artists around 1400. Several decades into the fifteenth century, many of these artists migrated south to Andalusia due to the failing Aragonese economy.[66] This European invasion in conjunction with the decline of the Kingdom of Granada over the course of the fifteenth century due to internal conflicts reversed the flow of artistic innovation being imported to Spain.

However, as Ysambert and Carlí's work at Seville demonstrates, foreign masters not only brought their native training to Spain but also familiarized themselves with Spanish church architecture and incorporated Spanish elements into their designs. In some cases, they even assimilated aesthetic features associated with the Mudejar tradition. For example, Ruiz Souza has argued that Simón de Colonia's centrally-planned funerary Chapel of the Constable at the Cathedral of Burgos (b. 1482) was a late

---

[65] Harvey, 57, and Wilson, 286.

[66] Law, 51-61 and 185.

manifestation of the traditional Andalusian *qubba* funerary chapel (Figure A159).[67] Although the plan of the chapel is polygonal rather than the typical square plans of *qubba* chapels, it does resemble *qubba* chapels in its use of squinches to transition from square base to octagonal vault. Like many *qubba* chapels, the Constable's Chapel is covered with a star-patterned vault, though its vault is admittedly derived from the apse vaults at Prague Cathedral rather than the various *lacería* patterns found in *qubba* chapel domes. Simón and his father Juan were two of the first masons to introduce Gothic star vaults to Iberian church architecture.[68] The openwork tracery of the central star, which Wilson compares to the spires at Burgos, designed by Simón's father, Juan, also draws from German Gothic church architecture. However, Ruiz Souza has suggested that the idea of opening the center of the vault for light may have come from an Andalusian source, such as the *qubba* chapel at the east end of the church of San Pablo in Cordoba (Figure A166).[69] In addition to the vaulting of the Constable's Chapel, its ornament has also been likened to Mudejar precedents.[70] The ornate tracery that covers much of the walls of the chapel is clearly Flemish in origin, but its juxtaposition of highly decorative patterns with stark, plain surfaces is typical of Mudejar architecture. The specific motifs of the chapel's ornament were foreign to its Spanish patrons, but its typology was familiar. Simón's Constable's Chapel demonstrates the need for examining the specific nuances of a structure rather than forcing it to conform to a strict stylistic category.

---

[67] "La planta centralizada en la Castilla bajomedieval," 27-28. Whereas Ruiz Souza cites the Constable's Chapel as part of Andalusian tradition, his article discusses various Early Christian and European as well as Muslim influences on the development of the *qubba* tradition.

[68] Lampérez, 2: 479.

[69] Wilson, 289, and Ruiz Souza, "La planta centralizada en la Castilla bajomedieval," 27.

[70] Wim Swaan, *Art and Architecture of the Late Middle Ages: 1350 to the Advent of the Renaissance* (London: Omega Books Limited, 1982), 169-170.

While the chapel is not "Gothic-Mudejar" in the same overt manner as the apse at La Seo, it cannot be interpreted as a completely foreign Gothic import either.

A similar hybrid structure likely originally covered the crossing at Seville. In 1495, Simón was called to Seville to design its crossing tower.[71] The tower was finished in 1505 under the direction of Alonso Rodríguez (master mason of the cathedral from 1496-1511), but collapsed only six years later.[72] The exact design of the tower is unknown, but it probably resembled Simón's Constable Chapel and the two-story crossing tower designed by his father at Burgos, which also collapsed, though not until 1539.[73] What is known about the ornament of the tower shows an interesting adaptation of local Mudejar tradition. It was decorated with white and green tiles by the Italian ceramicist Francisco Niculoso Pisano.[74] It is unlikely that the pattern of these tiles conformed to the geometrical designs found in Mudejar design since Pisano's tile work at the Alcazar and the façade door of the Sevillian convent of Santa Paula features classically-inspired figures and vegetation.

The possibility that Seville's crossing tower may not have been viewed as completely distinct from local Mudejar architecture may partly explain the chapter's consideration of what was likely a Mudejar structure of brick and wood to replace Simón's vault. Following the collapse of Simón's crossing tower, the chapter was divided on how to replace it. In 1512, they hired Juan Gil de Hontañón, master mason of

---

[71] Jiménez Martín, "Las fechas de las formas," 80, and *Cartografia de la Montaña Hueca,* 54.

[72] In addition to constructing the crossing tower, Rodríguez designed the vaults of the *capilla mayor* (1504), the Capilla de la Antigua (completed 1504), commissioned by Archbishop Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, and the Sacristy of Chalices, which was finished by his successor, Juan Gil de Hontañón in 1537, Falcón Márquez 19 and 27.

[73] Jiménez Martín speculates that the tower was similar to the current crossing tower at Burgos, "Las fechas de las formas," 100, note 882.

[74] Jiménez Martín, "Las fechas de las formas," 100.

the Cathedral of Salamanca, to redesign the crossing tower. He submitted an ornate design composed of multiple curvilinear ribs in March 1514, which was quickly approved; however, in November that same year because of reservations over Juan Gil's plan, they changed their minds in favor of a crossing tower constructed of brick and wood by local artisans.[75] The covering of the tower was to be decorated with moldings and "*lazos*" that "would be something very secure and sumptuous."[76] Due to this general description, it is difficult determine what this covering would have looked like. Because the term *lazo* usually implies a Mudejar geometric pattern resembling a knot, most scholars assume that the chapter was contemplating a Mudejar wooden ceiling.[77] The employment of local carpenters to construct, if not design the crossing tower at Seville, suggests a Mudejar structure, which would have had a fifteenth-century precedent at the original crossing at Saragossa. The juxtaposition of Mudejar *lazo* designs with the otherwise Gothic wooden choir stalls of the cathedral, constructed at the same time as the crossing towers, also indicates that the chapter would not have found a Mudejar crossing tower in their otherwise Gothic cathedral that out of place. They might not have even seen it to be that different from Simón de Colonia's original design for the crossing tower since, as his Constable's Chapel at Burgos demonstrates, his designs drew from local Mudejar tradition. It is possible that the proposed crossing may have also resembled the

---

[75] Jiménez Martín, "Las fechas de las formas," 105-106 and Falcón Márquez, 19, who dates the decision to October 30 instead of November. He cites A. C. Cabildo Oct. 30, 1514, libro number 5, folio 121.

[76] "que sería cosa muy segura e sumptuosa," Acta capitular, Nov. 30, 1514, cited in Pinto Puerto, 280.

[77] Javier Gómez Martínez, on the other hand, explains that *lazo* was sometimes used in medieval documents in reference to curved ribs, which ornamented star cross vaults of northern European inspiration, *El Gótico Español de la Edad Moderna. Bóvedas de Crucería* (Valladolid: University of Valladolid, 1998), 104. A Gothic vault would be more in line with the design of the original vault as well as the rest of the cathedral, but the contribution of Sevillian carpenters makes a Mudejar design more likely.

later crossing tower of Burgos, designed by Simón's son Francisco in 1567, which presents even more of a Mudejar-Gothic hybrid than his father's chapel (Figure A167). Whatever the intended design of this proposed wooden ceiling, it is clear that the chapter preferred Juan Gil's design of ornate florid stellar vaults over a Mudejar ceiling, and despite their statement that a wooden tower would very sumptuous, it was likely primarily considered because of its relative stability over stone. By June 1515, the indecisive chapter called Juan Gil back again and after consulting numerous masons, went ahead with his design, which was completed in 1517 (Figure A168).[78] Their hesitation about the new tower was not unmerited; it, too, eventually fell, though to Juan Gil's credit, it remained aloft until 1888.[79]

The chapter's decision to implement Juan Gil's design over what was likely a more overtly Mudejar one was in part due to their desire to imitate the architecture patronized under the Catholic Monarchs, Isabel I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon. Juan Gil was a part of the circle of court architects, which also included Simón de Colonia.[80] Isabel, in particular, was such a prolific patron the highly ornate Hispano-Flamenco Gothic style that it is also known as the Isabelline style.[81] The influence of the

---

[78] Jiménez Martín, "Las fechas de las formas," 107.

[79] The current crossing tower of the cathedral was reconstructed according to Juan Gil's design.

[80] Harvey, 59-60. For biographies of these architects, see Rafael Dominguez Casas, *Arte y Etiqeta de los Reyes Catolicos: Artistas, Residencoas, Jardines y Bosques* (Madrid: Editorial Alpuerto, s.a., 1993) in general and for Juan Gil de Hontañón in particular, see Sergio Luis Sanabria, *Rodrigo Gil and the Classical Transformation of Gothic Architecture in the Spanish Golden Age* (book manuscript).

[81] Isabel favored Flemish art as well as architecture, though she also patronized Mudejar and Renaissance works. In fact, Isabel and Ferdinand commissioned one of the most famous monuments of the early Renaissance, Bramante's Tempietto. For discussions of the queen's artistic patronage, see Margaret Skoglund, "'Heaven's Particular Instrument': Isabel la Catolica's Public Projects, 1477-1504" *Aurora* 4 (2003): 65-78; Joaquin Yarza Luaces, *Los Reyes Catolicos: Paisaje Artistico de una Monarquia* (Madrid: Nerea, 1993) and "Art in the Time of the Catholic Monarchs and the Early Overseas Enterprises" in *Spain in the Age of exploration: 1492-1819*, ed. Chiyo Ishikawa (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum and University of Nebraska Pres, 2004), 91-101;

court architecture of the Catholic Monarchs in the late stages of the cathedral is not surprising since most of the Archbishops of Seville during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century were closely associated with the monarchs. Archbishop Pedro Gonález de Mendoza (1473-95) was Isabel's confessor and a faithful supporter of her husband. Gonález de Mendoza convinced the queen to appoint his nephew Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1495-1502) as his successor.[82] Diego hired Simón de Colonia for the original crossing tower and for his burial chapel in the cathedral, the Capilla de la Virgin de la Antigua. Juan Gil's crossing tower was built under Diego Deza (1504-1523), also a loyal supporter of the monarchs.[83]

Unlike the cathedral, Seville's other churches continued to combine Gothic and some significant overtly Mudejar elements throughout the fifteenth century, and in some cases even into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but the influence of the cathedral, and to an extent the Catholic Monarchs, on these churches significantly reduced the prominence of their Mudejar features. During the early planning stages of the cathedral, Mudejar religious architecture in the city was at its peak. Yet, as construction on the cathedral progressed, signs of its influence began to appear in Sevillian churches.

A perfect example of this gradual change can be found at the church of the Carthusian monastery, or Cartuja, of Santa María de las Cuevas in Triana. The monastery was founded in 1400 by the Archbishop Gonzalo de Mena, who, as discussed earlier, may have encouraged Juan Martínez de Vitoria to begin plans for the cathedral.

Mari-Tere Alvarez, "Artistic Enterprise and Spanish Patronage: The Art Market during the Reign of Isabel of Castile (1474-1504)" in *Art Markets in Europe, 1400-1800*, eds. Michael North and David Ormrod (Brookfoeld, V.T.: Ashgate, 1998), 45-59; and Dominguez Casas. Alvarez notes that the free markets in Castile during Isabel's reign also attracted northern artists.

[82] Helen Nader, *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance: 1350-1550* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1979), 121.

[83] Yarza Luaces, *Los Reyes Catolicos*, 170-179 and 190-192. Deza also hired Juan Gil to design his burial chapel, Falcón Márquez, 131.

Gonzalo de Mena commissioned a small provisional chapel (now known as the Capilla de la Magdalena) for the first monks. This chapel has been significantly altered since its construction, but it still retains its original plan of a single nave covered by brick groin vaults and a *qubba*-plan eastern bay covered by an eight-sided dome with ribs in a Gothic star pattern.[84] Construction on the Cartuja's church did not begin until 1410, under the patronage of the governor of Andalusia Per Afán de Ribera, who made the monastery a family pantheon. The church, finished in 1419, consists of a single nave, which terminates in a polygonal apse. The entire church is vaulted, and as in earlier Sevillian churches, quadripartite vaulting divided by a ridge rib covers its nave (Figure A169). Other typically Sevillian features of the church include the saw-tooth pattern decorating the transverse arches of its nave and the stepped crenellation running around the roof of the church. The church's façade portal also has the standard pointed arch formed by a series of archivolts, which are supported by columnar jambs. An *alfiz* supported by thin columns surrounds the portal (Figure A170).

This combination of Gothic and Mudejar features is consistent with earlier Sevillian churches, but by the mid-fifteenth century, Gothic forms began to be more prevalent at the monastic complex, even appearing in its minor cloister (*claustrillo*) and one of its *qubba* chapels – structures that were predominantly Mudejar in earlier Sevillian churches. Built in 1454, the *claustrillo* is a variation of Nasrid-style palatial courtyards, such as those at the Alhambra and Seville's Alcazar, but with subtle Gothic influence (Figure A171).[85] As in those courtyards, its round arches are supported by thin marble columns; however, its arches are made of brick and lack the stucco ornament typical of

---

[84] The chapel was built over an earlier Franciscan hermitage replaced by the Cartuja. For the reforms made to the chapel, see Juan José Antequera Luengo, *La Cartuja de Sevilla: Historia, Arte y Vida* (Madrid: Editorial Anaya, 1992), 79.

[85] Antequera Luengo, 78.

Nasrid architecture. The twelve-sided brick piers at the four corners of the cloister resemble the piers of Catalan Gothic churches such as those at Santa María del Mar in Barcelona and the Cathedral of Palma de Mallorca. This cloister, a traditionally thoroughly Mudejar structure of Sevillian churches, may owe its Gothic style to the Gothic cathedral taking shape by this time.

The *qubba* dome of the monastery's chapter house, probably built around the turn of the fifteenth century, has more conspicuous Gothic features that can be directly connected to the cathedral. In place of the *lacería* star patterns typical of earlier *qubba* chapels, the ribs of this sixteen-sided dome form a star that is more Gothic in character and more complex than the pattern of the dome of the Magdalene chapel (Figure A172). Moreover, its ribs terminate in human heads, characterized by the naturalism found in late Gothic sculpture. The star pattern of this vault was likely inspired by designs made for the cathedral, and may have even resembled the cathedral's original crossing vault designed by Simón de Colonia in 1495. The star pattern formed by the addition of liernes to the quadripartite vault adjacent to the *qubba* dome was certainly derived from the cathedral since it is the same as the stellar vault of the cathedral's *capilla mayor* built by Alonso Rodríguez in 1504 (Figures A144 and A173).[86] A similar combination of Gothic star vaults and a Gothic-inspired *qubba* vault can be found in the Chapel of Santa Ana, which was built as a funerary chapel for Christopher Columbus and several of his relatives. The chapel, which is adjacent to the southwest corner of the church, was begun in 1507 and enlarged along with the west end of the church in 1523.[87]

This extension of the church reveals additional influence from the cathedral. The original portal of the west façade was retained, but the upper portion of the façade was

---

[86] Rodríguez' work is recorded in Jiménez Martín, "Las fechas de las formas," 89.

[87] Antequera Luengo, 77.

enlarged to resemble the clerestories of the west and transept facades of the cathedral. Like the facades of the cathedral, square buttresses flank this box-like structure, and a large oculus window, surrounded by decorative ornament, opens at its center (Figure A170).

The impact of the cathedral on Seville's church architecture is the most conspicuous at the monastery of Santa María de las Cuevas, but its influence on other fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century churches in the city is also apparent in specific motifs and in the general subversion of their Mudejar features. Mudejar features are particularly limited at the church of San Martín, the city's only medieval parish church that is contemporary with the cathedral. As discussed in chapter 3, the archaic style of the church's façade portal and the trapezoidal plan of its western-most bay suggest that the current church replaced an earlier church, possibly from the thirteenth century (Figure A65).[88] The beginning of construction on the new church is generally dated to 1421, the year that the church's archive records a donation from the Confraternity of La Santa Espína.[89] Its vaults and tower, however, probably date to around 1500. The entire church is vaulted with ribs that form the same star pattern as the cathedral's *capilla mayor* (Figure A174). San Martín's vaults also generally resemble the cathedral's vaulting in that they are relatively wide and their ribs spring from the base of the church's short clerestory. The relatively small number of Mudejar features at San Martín may have resulted from the influence of the new Gothic cathedral, as well. Its Mudejar features consist of its tower, which Angulo dated to around 1500, and the *qubba* chapel at

---

[88] Angulo argued that the simplicity of the stone portal with pointed archivolts and the vegetal pattern along its intrados resembles thirteenth century portals. He also suggested that the irregular plan of the western most bay was the result of an effort to preserve the portal by making the plan of the original church fit with the plan of the new church, see 29.

[89] Torres Balbás, Ars Hispaniae, 4: 292, and Angulo, 29 and 123.

the base of its tower, which was remodeled in the nineteenth century.[90] Even the tower lacks the more vigorous ornament of earlier Mudejar towers. It has a simple lancet window enclosed in an *alfiz* on each side and horseshoe openings also in *alfices* in its belfry (Figure A175). The relatively plain moldings around the cornice of the tower and the horseshoe arches of its belfry are similar to the façade tower of the parish church of San Lorenzo, built around the same time (Figure A59). Morales attributes the lack of ornament on San Lorenzo's tower to its rather austere precedents – the fifteenth-century façade bell towers in the Sierra region of the province of Seville.[91]

Another church that incorporates features from the cathedral is the Capilla del Antiguo Seminario de Santa María de Jesús. The church (1509-1514) served as the chapel of University of Maese Rodrigo, which was founded in 1506 and eventually became the University of Seville. Sharply bladed piers like those of the cathedral support a stellar vault modeled off of the *capilla mayor*, which covers eastern bay of the two-bay chapel. The western bay of the chapel, however, is covered by a Mudejar wooden ceiling. This wooden ceiling is the only Mudejar feature of the chapel with the exception of the Almohad-inspired crenellation around the exterior of the chapel. The rest of its Gothic components, such as the ogee arch of its brick portal, are not based on precedents at the cathedral, but, rather, are more typical of the late Gothic monuments patronized by the Catholic Monarchs (Figure A176). A stone portal from the university also survives and is now located on the campus of the convent of Santa Clara (Figure A177). The portal is more clearly derived from the cathedral than the church. The portal is flanked by two ornately carved pinnacles that share similarities with the pinnacles that crown the flying buttresses of the cathedral (Figure A160). Both the pinnacles at the cathedral and

---

[90] Angulo, 154.

[91] Morales, *La Iglesia de San Lorenzo*, 30-31.

at Santa Clara are surrounded by shafts topped with miniature pinnacles, and both groups of pinnacles are also decorated with crockets and relatively simple finials.

Two more Sevillian churches of this period to be discussed, the monasteries of Santa Clara and Santa Paula, are more stylistically diverse than San Martín, incorporating more conspicuous Mudejar features, some of the Gothic ornament of the cathedral, and in the case of Santa Paula, even Renaissance decoration. The church of the convent of Santa Clara, which was founded shortly after the Christian conquest of the city, dates to the late fifteenth century, replacing an earlier Gothic-Mudejar church as discussed in chapter 3 (Figures A179-A180). The interior of the church was significantly remodeled during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but it still retains the Gothic vaulting of its *capilla mayor* and the original Mudejar wooden ceiling over its nave. The vault over its presbytery follows the familiar star pattern of the *capilla mayor* of the cathedral.

The interesting mix of Gothic, Mudejar, and Renaissance features of the church of Santa Paula, in addition to its well-documented patronage, make it an important monument in understanding the final phase of Seville's medieval Mudejar architecture. The convent was founded in 1473 by doña Ana de Santillán, who commissioned its first church in 1475. This church was replaced by a larger church constructed from 1483-1489 under the patronage of doña Isabel Enriquez, the wife of don Juan, Constable of Portugal and Marqués of Montemayor, and the Catholic Monarchs. Isabel Enriquez was a relative and supporter of Isabel of Castile. She was descended from the Trastamarans (Isabel's dynasty). Her husband sought political asylum under the monarchs and died fighting for them against Granada.[92] Parts of the convent patronized by Enriquez shows the influence of both local church architecture and the court architecture of the Catholic Monarchs.

---

[92] Domingo Casas, 86.

Like the church of Santa Clara, Santa Paula's church has a nave covered with a Mudejar wooden ceiling, though the current roof is a seventeenth-century replacement of its original roof, and a polygonal vaulted *capilla mayor* with the same star vault over its presbytery. As at Santa Clara, too, the interior and the exterior of Santa Paula's church have been remodeled, but the exterior of its *capilla mayor* remains largely intact (Figure A180). The exterior of the *capilla mayor* is entirely Gothic, lacking any Mudejar features, unlike the earlier *capillas mayores* of the city's churches. Large lancet windows open between its thick buttresses, which are guarded by menacing griffin-like gargoyles. What appears to have originally been a decorative balustrade surrounds the *capilla mayor*, just under its roofline. This balustrade shares the same tracery pattern as a section of the cathedral's clerestory balustrade.

Another element of the church that can be connected with the cathedral is its north portal (Figure A181). This portal features both late Gothic and Renaissance ornament and signifies the patronage of the convent by the Catholic Monarchs, Isabel I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon. Their heraldry is prominently displayed in the tympanum of the portal. It consists of a white marble shield portraying the royal insignia of Castile and León, represented by castles and lions, and of Aragón, represented by horizontal bars and eagles. A pomegranate appears at the bottom of the shield, signifying the monarchs' conquest of Granada in 1492. The shield, which is carried by an eagle representing St. John the Evangelist, Isabel's patron saint, is flanked by two smaller shields, one displaying a yoke, and the other arrows, the symbols of Isabel and Ferdinand's marriage. The yoke, or *yugo*, stands for the "Y" (I) in Isabel, while the arrows, or *flechas*, refer to the "F" in Ferdinand. The monarchs' motto "*Tanto Monta,*" translated "One Is Equal to the Other" also accompanies Ferdinand's arrows. An inscription on the portal records that it was made in 1504 by the sculptor Pedro Millán and the ceramicist Francisco Niculoso Pisano, both of whom worked on the ornament of the original crossing tower of the cathedral. Thick archivolts form the pointed archway of the massive brick portal.

The archivolts rest on columnar jambs of various widths, which rise from fillet bases and terminate in molded capitals. The fillet bases of the portal are reminiscent of the pier bases at the cathedral. A simple molding also serves as the impost of a wide pointed arch, which is covered with decorative tiles and seven roundels featuring ceramic reliefs of various saints. The central roundel depicting the Nativity has been attributed to Andrea della Robbia, while the remaining roundels are the work of Pedro Millán. The tiles are ornamented with the classically-inspired scrolling vines interspersed with classical nudes that are typical of Niculoso Pisano's designs. Additional tiles and relief sculptures of angels fill the spandrels between this arch and the portal's cornice, upon which the heads of cherubim alternate with tiny flames sculpted by Pisano.[93] This portal marks the end of Seville's Gothic-Mudejar architecture. It is made of brick, a typical Mudejar material, and is Gothic in style, but its decorative ornament signifies the entrance of Renaissance forms into Sevillian architecture.

Another brick portal from the early sixteenth century serves as the main entrance to the convent's campus (Figure A182). Pisano executed the tile portrait of Saint Paula originally above the portal, which was destroyed in the middle of the nineteenth century. His portrait included the heraldry of the Catholic Monarchs along with that of the Kingdom of Portugal and Isabel Enriquez. With the exception of the portrait by Pisano, this portal lacks the Renaissance ornament of the church's north portal and is more characteristic of the late Gothic style associated with Isabel of Castile. In place of a simple pointed arch, it has a more decorative ogee arch in between two decorative pinnacles.

Both the north portal of the church and the main portal of the campus reflect the influence of the court architecture of the Catholic Monarchs on the development of

---

[93] Valdivieso González and Morales make these observations, 120.

Seville's church architecture. Unlike the city's earlier important royal patrons Alfonso X and Pedro I, the peripatetic couple did not base their court in Seville, but they still established their presence in the city through their architectural patronage and their placement of loyal nobility in the city, who also commissioned architecture in the court style of the monarchs. Isabel, who reestablished absolute royal authority throughout Castile after decades of ineffectual kings, understood the importance of making her presence known in Seville. She first visited the city on September, 10, 1477, in order to check the rising power of her viceroy Don Enrique de Guzman, Duke of Medina Sidonia and governor of the Alcazar, and end his on-going feud with Don Rodrigo Ponce de León for control in region. Shortly before her visit, she established a police force in Seville loyal to the crown that could put down any challenge from Guzman. By the time Isabel's husband arrived in Seville on the 13th of that same month, she had successfully gained control over Guzman by taking away his control of the Alcazar and the city's shipyards, sending a message to the other powerful noblemen of Andalusia.[94] In addition to confronting Seville's troublesome noblemen, Isabel also had to address the issue of the city's large number of *conversos*, Jews who had converted to Christianity. Many of these *conversos* largely retained their Jewish customs, calling into question the sincerity of their conversions as well as their loyalty to the crown. Before Isabel left Seville in October of 1478, she had already created a commission to investigate the possible apostasy from Christianity of the city's *conversos*. Two years later, Isabel and Ferdinand

---

94 For discussion of the status of Seville and Enrique de Guzman see Peggy K. Liss, *Isabel the Queen: Life and Times, Revised Edition* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 98. Liss also relates that during a Christmas Eve procession in Seville in 1484, Isabel had Fernando III's sword carried in front of her and her husband to both reinforce their role in enforcing justice in the city and carrying on Fernando's legacy of reconquest, see 88.

appointed two official inquisitors to work in Seville, causing the majority of the *converso* population to flee the city.[95]

Isabel used architecture to make her authority omnipresent in a kingdom of unruly nobles. The queen's employment of architecture as propaganda is most apparent in her commissions of religious architecture, such as the church of San Juan de los Reyes near Toledo, which was built to celebrate her victory over the supporters of her rival to the throne, and the monastery Santa Maria de Miraflores near Burgos, which served as a royal mausoleum for her parents and her younger brother (Figures A183-A184). These churches as well as many others were ostentatious displays of her piety and legitimacy as ruler of Castile and Aragon.[96] While Isabel did not commission any major churches in Seville, she still displayed authority in the city by patronizing construction at several convents and remodeling parts of Pedro I's palace at the Alcazar. In addition to patronizing the convent of Santa Paula, Isabel donated a former synagogue to house the Dominican convent of Madre de Dios in 1495 that was replaced by the current complex in the mid-sixteenth century. Isabel and Ferdinand's largest and most personal project in Seville was the remodeling of the upper rooms of Pedro I's Mudéjar palace. They largely replaced the out-dated Mudejar ornament of these rooms with Flemish-Gothic plasterwork, though they did install ornate Mudejar wooden ceilings, covered with painted Renaissance motifs (Figure A185). The most conspicuous aspect of Isabel and Ferdinand's remodeling is the ubiquitous presence of their royal heraldry, which served as a constant reminder to the noblemen of Andalusia and especially Enrique de Guzman, who Isabel had deposed as governor of the Alcazar, of her power.

---

95 For a discussion of the beginnings of the Inquisition in Seville, see Liss, 178-180.

96 These churches are discussed in Torres Balbás, Ars Hispaniae, 7: 337-359, and Skoglund.

Isabel did not live to see the completion of her most significant addition to the Alcazar, her private oratory, which features a combination of Mudejar, Gothic, and Renaissance features (Figure A186). Thin columns with *muqarnas* capitals support pointed arches adorned with florid tracery. The oratory is covered with rib vaults and lighted by lancet windows. The most striking aspect of the oratory is its altarpiece, which consists of painted ceramic tiles designed Niculoso Pisano and completed in 1504, the year of the queen's death (Figure A187). The central scene of the altarpiece depicts the *Visitation*, surrounded by the *Tree of Jesse*. Below this scene is a smaller portrayal of the *Annunciation*. The royal heraldry is also prominently displayed several times on the altarpiece. The figures of the Biblical scenes of the altarpiece are derived from German engravings, including those of Martin Schöngauer and the Nuremberg Chronicle, but the architecture in the background of the *Visitation* as well as the ornamental vegetation and figures bordering the scenes, which are similar to those on the north portal of Santa Paula, are Renaissance in style.[97] This combination of Gothic and Renaissance-inspired figures is also present in his earlier tomb for don Íñigo López at the church of Santa Ana. The iconography of the altarpiece directly refers to Isabel's piety and legitimacy. Both the *Visitation* and the *Annunciation* in conjunction with the royal heraldry parallel her piety with that of the Virgin. The iconography of the Visitations further connects Isabel to the Virgin through the imagery of the queen's patron saint, Elizabeth, embracing her cousin Mary. Because of Isabel's association with Mary, the inclusion of the lineage of Christ can also be read as an allusion to the queen's legitimating lineage, a crucial factor in her ascension to the throne over her main rival, her niece Juana *la Beltraneja*, who was rumored to be a bastard.[98] (Juana, the daughter of Enrique IV and Joana of Portugal, was

---

[97] Dominguez Casas, 87.

[98] Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt has posited that Isabel promoted her association with the Virgin in order to vindicate her right to the throne, for like the Virgin, she redeemed her people by bearing a son. She further brought redemption to her kingdom by ending the "immorality" or

given the nickname*, la Beltraneja*, because of the belief among courtiers that her real father was the Castilian noble Beltrán de la Cueva.) While the iconography of the altarpiece was probably chosen by Isabel, its style most likely was not. Dominguez Casa argues that Isabel Enriquez, the patroness of Santa Paula, hired Pisano. He points out that Isabel's final visit to the Alcazar was in 1502, two years before Pisano made the altarpiece, and that Enriquez was related to the governor of the Alcazar, don Jorge de Portugal, who was succeeded by his young son in 1503.[99]

Isabel may have not personally selected the style of her altarpiece, but she did favor florid architecture in her architectural commissions. Her remodeling at the Alcazar became a model for sixteenth-century palaces of the nobility, such as the so-called Palace de las Dueñas, which also incorporated Gothic, Mudejar, and Renaissance features. It also likely inspired the main entrance portal at Santa Paula, which is similar to several windows at the Alcazar, and it may have even influenced the cathedral chapter's decision to hire Pisano, though he was already a favorite of the Sevillian nobility.

The architecture patronized by the Catholic Monarchs favored Flemish-Gothic over Mudejar features, contributing to the decline of Mudejar features in Seville's churches. Isabel and Ferdinand may have also contributed somewhat to the lessening of Mudejar features in the city's architecture in a less direct way by expelling Mudejars who refused to convert from Castile in 1502, though the extent of the impact of their expulsion on the construction of Mudejar architecture in Seville must have been minor. The Mudejar population in Seville was likely very small before Isabel and Ferdinand came to

---

tolerance of Jews and Muslims of her predecessor, Enrique IV, see "Ruling Sexuality: the Political Legitimacy of Isabel of Castile," *Renaissance Quarterly* 53 (2000), 50-54. Isabel reinforced this comparison between herself and the queen of heaven by having contemporary secular and religious texts that make reference to it recorded in her chronicles, see Liss, 170-174. The *Tree of Jesse* is attributed to her belief in the immaculate conception of the Virgin.

[99] Dominguez Casa, 87.

the throne due to a series of increasing restrictions placed on city's Mudejar population that had begun almost a century before and racial tensions that had been mounting even earlier. Greater restrictions on Seville's Mudejars had their roots in the surge of racial violence in Castile in the late fourteenth century during economic crisis caused by the Black Death.[100] Aroused by the preaching of the archdeacon of Ecija, Sevillian Christians stormed the Jewish neighborhood of the city in 1391 and massacred many of its residents. Similar attacks against Jews occurred throughout other cities in Castile around the same time. The *Crónica de Enrique III* records that the Christians of Castile wanted to attack the Mudejars of the kingdom as well, but they refrained from doing so out of fear that Christian captives in Granada might be killed.[101] In 1412, both the Mudejar and Jewish populations of Seville were forcibly moved to segregated areas in the northern extremes of Seville. Though this segregation did not last long, another more permanent one was decreed in 1437. More restrictions were placed on the city's Mudejar community towards the end of the century, and the establishment of the Inquisition in Seville in 1480 surely discouraged new converts to Christianity from remaining in the city.[102] The possible exception may be especially skilled Mudejars employed in construction-related trades. Although some of the artisans who worked on Mudejar

---

[100] O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1975), 604.

[101] Cited in O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 537. The author, who recorded the events of the pogrom, may have been Pedro López de Ayala, who wrote at least some of Enrique III's chronicle, see Estow, xvii.

[102] For a discussion of these restrictions, see Collantes de Terán, "Los Mudejares Sevillanos," 227-228. Collantes de Terán estimates that as early as 1420, the Mudejar population of the entire city did not exceed fifty residents (229), but this estimate is probably too conservative. He bases it on a list of thirty Mudejar officials (that includes the widows of several former officials), who worked at the Alcazar from this same year, but even if this list includes most of the city's Mudejars as Collantes de Terán claims, fifty seems rather small to account for possible spouses and children of these Mudejar officials let alone Mudejars that did not work in the Alcazar.

projects in Seville during the fifteenth century included Christians, such as Diego Ruiz, who constructed the *lazo* dome over the Hall of Ambassadors at the Alcazar in 1427, and probably some Jews, many of them were Mudejars.[103] According to Antonio Collantes de Terán, in his study of the Mudejar population of Seville, out of the documented professions of Mudejars in the city from the end of the fourteenth century until their expulsion in 1502, masons and *alarifes* alone made up nearly 40%. After the addition of other professions, such as carpenters and tile makers, the total percentage of Mudejar*s* in construction-related professions exceeded 65%.[104] Collantes de Terán speculates that by the early fifteenth century most of the city's Mudejar residents lived and worked in the Alcazar.[105] This suggests that skilled Mudejar artisans enjoyed a more privileged status than the rest of the Mudejar population in Seville. Because of their status, some Mudejar artisans in Seville may have even been allowed stay after the expulsion. In Toledo, the artisans Faradj and Muhammad are recorded as having worked on the Capilla Mozarabe, which was begun in 1504, at the city's cathedral.[106] Some Mudejar artisans in Seville did choose to convert rather than leave the city (such Mudejars throughout Castile and Aragon became known as Moriscos). Upon his conversion, Hamete de Cobexí, whose Christian name was Francisco Fernández, was made Master of Works at the Alcazar, a position he held from 1502-1537.[107] The exodus of Mudejar artisans from Seville likely

---

[103] Kaluzny points out that the *Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla*, a collection of over 400 notarial documents from 1436-1502, indicates that Mudejars dominated construction-related trades, though they do record instances of Christian apprentices to Muslim masters, see 212-217. She cites Klaus Wagner's compilation of these records, Regesto de documentos del *Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla, referents a judíos y moros.*1978

[104] Collantes de Terán, "Los Mudéjares Sevillanos," 231.

[105] Ibid., 229.

[106] Borras Guales, *Arte Mudéjar*, 125.

[107] Collantes de Terran, "Los Mudejares Sevillanos," 235, and Domingo Casas, 399.

began before the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, and those that remained at the time of the expulsion were valued for their skills, and, therefore, likely remained in the city.

The influence of the Gothic forms featured in Seville's cathedral and those favored by the Catholic Monarchs along with the increasing religious intolerance of the fifteenth century all contributed to the decrease of Mudejar forms in the city's religious architecture, but the final blow to the city's Mudejar religious architecture was the embrace of Renaissance forms by the city's nobility. While Gothic and Mudejar features accompanied those of the Renaissance in Sevillian architecture for a time, the conflict between the aesthetic of Gothic and Mudejar forms versus Renaissance forms as well as the desire to resurrect the art of classical antiquity eventually brought medieval building tradition in the city, for the most part, to an end. Mudejar and Gothic forms had naturally coexisted. The design principles of both traditions rely on geometric virtuosity in what Paul Frankl called the "subdivision," of the whole. As Frankl explained, these principles are fundamentally opposed to the basis of Renaissance design, which is the harmonious proportion in "the addition" of "individual entities."[108]

The lure of the classical forms of the Renaissance began to infiltrate Seville's nobility in the late fifteenth century, with a renewed interest in the city's ancient and early Christian history and with the presence of the powerful Mendoza family. The Mendozas, who included to two Archbishops of Seville, Pedro Gonález de Mendoza (1473-82), who was also a cardinal, and his nephew Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1495-1502), are credited with introducing Renaissance art and arhitecture to the Iberian Peninsula. Cardinal Mendoza became interested in Renaissance architecture through his relationship with the papal chancellor Rodrigo Borgia, and during the late fifteenth

---

[108] For Paul Frankl's well-known contrast of the Gothic and Renaissance styles, see *Gothic Architecture*, ed. Paul Crossley. (New haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 258-259.

century. Mendoza and his nephew, the Count of Tendilla, commissioned the first Renaissance buildings in Spain.[109] Tendilla also commissioned a Renaissance sepulcher for his brother Archbishop Diego Hurtado de Mendoza in the Capilla de la Antigua in the cathedral of Seville. Diego had late Gothic stellar vaults put over the chapel, but his massive sepulchre, sculpted by the Genoese artist Domenico Fancelli from 1508 to 1510, dominates it interior.[110] Perhaps inspired by Diego Hurtado's chapel and sepulcher, Diego Deza, archbishop of Seville from 1504-1523, patronized late Gothic and Renaissance works; his sepulchre, which is now in the cathedral, is also Renaissance in style, and he hired the painter Alejo Fernández, whose work placed late Gothic figures in Renaissance architectural settings, to work on the cathedral's *retablo mayor*.[111] Such an amalgamation of styles in a single work was fairly typical in Spanish art and architecture during the first several decades of the sixteenth century,[112] and is represented at Seville, not only in various aspects of the cathedral, but also at the above-mentioned renovations made by the Catholic Monarchs at the Alcazar and the convent of Santa Paula. But by the 1520's, this mixing of styles in Seville's architecture had more or less given away to

---

[109] On the entrance of Renaissance in Seville see Amanda Wunder, "Classical, Christian, and Muslim Remains in the Construction of Imperial Seville (1520-1635)," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64 (2003): 195-212, and Vicente Llenó Cañal, *Nueva Roma: Mitología y Humanismo en el Renacimiento Sevillano* (Sevilla: EXCMA Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1979). On the Mendozas and architectural patronage, which included Isabelline and Renaissance structure, see Víctor Nieto, Alfredo J. Morales, and Fernando Checa. *Arquitectura del Renacimiento en España, 1488-1599*. (Madrid: Cátedra, 1989), 29-43; Nader, 188-192; and Yarza Luaces, *Los Reyes Catolicos*, 176.

[110] For a discussion of this tomb see Llenó, 99-103. Llenó cites the members of the cathedral chapter in general for the introduction of Renaissance philosophy and art into Seville in the early fifteenth century, see 15-20.

[111] Yarza Luaces, *Los Reyes Catolicos*, 192.

[112] There are many examples of monuments from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries that incorporate Gothic and Renaissance features, including the Palacio del Infantado in Guadalajara, b. 1480, the Monastery of San Pablo in Valladolid b. by Simón de Colonia in 1486 and finished by his son, Francisco, and the Cathedral of Granada, b. 1523.

more purely Renaissance structures. Vicente Lleó attributes the final triumph of the Renaissance style in Seville to Emperor Charles V (ruler of Spain 1515-1556), who favored Italianate architecture. For his grand entrance into the city in 1526 upon the celebration of his marriage with Isabel of Portugal, the emperor had Roman triumphal arches placed over the city's streets.[113] He also remodeled parts of the Alcazar in the new Renaissance style. The heavily-ornamented brand of Renaissance architecture, known as Plateresque, became particularly popular in Seville and is typified by the cathedral's *Capilla Real* (1551-1575) and the City Hall (1527-1534) (Figures A188-A189).

Following the introduction of the Renaissance into Seville, new construction at city's churches and monastic complexes, for the most part, no longer included Mudejar features with the exception of *qubba* chapels and Mudejar coffered wooden ceilings (*artesonados*), though palaces with Mudejar features continued to be built in the sixteenth century.[114] *Qubba* chapels in various Sevillian churches were constructed and remodeled during the Renaissance and the Baroque periods. *Artesonados* also continued

---

[113] Llenó cites 1526 as a key date for the transformation of Seville from a medieval to a Renaissance city. In addition to Charles' and Isabel's wedding, he points out that Seville's revenues from the Americas began to increase significantly this year. Lleño also contrasts the description of Seville by the Venetian ambassador Andrea Navagero, who visited Seville in March of 1526, with that of Jerónimo Münzer, dating to 1495. According to Münzer, the city still retained many of its Islamic structures, but Navagero claimed that Seville resembled Italian cities more than any other city in Spain, see 11 and 169-173.

[114] One important exception in the city's religious architecture is the Puerta de Perdón at the Patio de los Naranjos of the cathedral, which has Mudejar plasterwork executed during the first half of the sixteenth century, see Luis Martínez and Alfredo J. Morales, *The Cathedral of Seville* (London: Scala Publishers Ltd., 1999), 8. The selection of a Mudejar design for this portal was likely due to its context within the old Almohad courtyard. The Mudejar features persisted in several Seville's palaces because of the strong tradition of Mudejar palatial architecture in the city. The House of Pilate combines Renaissance, Gothic, and Mudejar elements. The palace initially consisted of a Mudejar structure with Islamic origins. Mudejar and Renaissance features were added to the palace under Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera after his return to Seville in 1520 from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. His successors continued to modify the palace throughout the sixteenth century. The Ribera family also constructed a similar palace during the sixteenth century (the Palacio de las Dueñas), Lleño, 33-36, and Wunder, 196-202.

to be built into the Baroque period, though seventeenth-century ceilings were replacements for earlier medieval ones.[115] These Mudejar features survived in Sevillian churches through the Renaissance and Baroque periods because unlike other Mudejar features, they could be adapted to fit the aesthetic ideals of these new styles.

Qubba chapels were easily incorporated into Renaissance and Baroque architecture because of the popularity of centrally-planned structures during these periods. Renaissance theorists such as Alberti, Filarete, Francesco di Giorgio and Leonardo all believed in the superiority of the centrally-planned sacred structures. Their reasoning included the desire to imitate early Christian centrally-planned churches as well religious and aesthetic theory.[116] Therefore, adapting *qubba* chapels to Renaissance and Baroque aesthetics was simply a matter of changing their ornament. The *qubba* chapels of these periods still consisted of polygonal domes supported on squinches over square plans, but the complex geometrical patterns formed by intersecting ribs and inlaid with tiles were replaced by painted classically-inspired motifs. Cupolas were also often added to *qubba* domes.

Practicality played a role in the longevity of the construction of *artesonados*, particularly in instances where they were made to replace the wooden ceilings of medieval churches that were not suited structurally for heavy vaults. Medieval *artesonados*, however, could have also been replaced by wooden coffered ceilings, such as the sixteenth-century ceiling over the Salon of Charles V in the Alcazar. Therefore, the embrace of *artesonados* should be seen as a self-conscious gesture to maintain local tradition of *carpintería de lo blanco*, or fine woodwork, by adapting it the demands of

---

[115] Duclos Bautista, 222-223, and 310-311.

[116] For a discussion of centrally planned churches in the Renaissance, see Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (London: Academy Editions, 1988), part I.

Renaissance theory. One possible reason that *artesonados* were easily adapted is the absence of strict guidelines for the ornament of ceilings. The repetitive geometric patterns of Mudejar ornament when placed anywhere on the elevation of a structure were clearly at odds with Vitruvius' detailed descriptions of the classical orders, but his relative silence on ceiling décor did not prohibit these same patterns.[117] Moreover, unlike the minute detail of Mudejar plasterwork, *artesonados* could easily be painted with Renaissance motifs, as in the ceilings of the chambers of the Catholic Monarchs in the Alcazar or the early seventeenth-century remodeling of the Mudejar ceiling of the convent church of Santa Clara.[118] Renaissance *artesonados*, however, were often not painted as at the ceiling of the convent church of San Clemente. Like Santa Clara, San Clemente was also originally constructed as a Gothic-Mudejar church and later remodeled in the Renaissance style. During the 1588 remodeling, the Gothic masonry vaults of the church's nave were replaced with an *artesonado* (Figure A190). This ceiling is even more complex both in structure and design than earlier *artesonados*. It consists of five panels and is polygonal at one end. The entire ceiling is covered with a continuous pattern of ten-pointed stars that periodically overlap and are ornamented with small pendants. This ceiling is clearly a demonstration of the skill and virtuosity that can be expressed in *carpintería de lo blanco*. Both its complexity and the fact it replaced the nave's earlier masonry vaults suggest that the *artesonado* was not constructed simply for practical reasons, but rather was seen as an aesthetically desirable covering for San Clemente's new Renaissance interior. The same is true for the equally complex ceiling also made in 1588 for the new Renaissance refectory at Santa Maria de las Cuevas.

---

[117] Vitruvius's comments on ceilings and roofs are limited. The only reference he makes to their decoration occurs in his discussion of the proper colors for stucco vaults in domestic buildings. See *Ten Books on Architecture*, eds. Ingrid D. Rowland and Thomas Noble Howe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), book VII, chapter III.

[118] On the ceiling at Santa Clara, see Duclos Bautista, 222-223 and 310-311.

Both the adaptability of these ceilings and the local esteem associated with them is perhaps best embodied in the work of Diego López de Arenas, who was made master carpenter of Seville in 1613. Diego constructed a number of *artesonados* in Seville, though many no longer survive. His most well-known ceiling is that of the nave of the convent church of Santa Paula, built in 1623 after the collapse of its original late fifteenth-century ceiling (Figure A191). The central panel of the three-paneled ceiling is decorated by four octagonal *muqarnas* pendants separated by eight-pointed star patterns in groups of three. The ceiling has relatively few additional ornamental embellishments. Only its pendants are painted, and some of its *lazos* are inlaid with tiles. It is uncertain if Diego's design is original or if it simply mimics the design of the earlier ceiling. If his design was not original, he at least made some modifications to it. It can be presumed that Diego decreased the ceiling's amount of decorative inlay, since he commented that excessive inlay of the prior ceiling contributed to its collapse.[119]

Although Diego's ceilings have received much acclaim, he is better known for his treatise on them, which also helped *artesonados* adapt to current architectural trends by providing them a theoretical bases. The manuscript of his treatise, entitled *The First and Second Part of the Rules of Carpentry*, was completed by 1619, and was later heavily revised and published in 1633 under the more aggrandized title *Brief Compendium of the Carpintería de lo Blanco and Treatise of Builders, with the Conclusion of the Rule of Nicolas Tartaglia and Other Things Concerning the Iometria and Points of the Compass* (Figure A192).[120] As the titles illustrate, Diego made significant changes from the

---

[119] For a more detailed description of both the ceiling and the church, see Duclos Bautista, 188-194 and 314.

[120] The Spanish titles of these works are *Primera y segunda parte de las Reglas de Carpentería* and *Breve compendio de la Carpentería de lo Blanco y tratado de alarifes, con la conclusión de la regla de Nicolas Tartaglia y otras cosas tocantes a la iometria y puntas del compas.*

manuscript to the book. The manuscript is largely a practical manual for constructing and decorating *artesonados*. The first part simply provides a compilation of rules, which can be executed with basic geometry by using a compass and a carpenter's square of the correct proportions, while the second part of the manuscript includes explanations on how to apply these rules and examples of already extant roofs. The text is further clarified by a prolific number of illustrations.[121] Diego claims that his reason for writing the treatise is to restore the high standards of his profession by educating carpenters, who had forgotten its basic principles.[122] In his prologue to the manuscript, Diego complains of lazy apprentices "who, not liking to work nor give time enough, they think to study one hour a night is something that does not bode well with their health."[123] The author laments that poorly trained apprentices become poor masters and give the profession a bad name.

Diego's motivation for promoting the status of his profession as well as his personal status becomes even more clear in his published treatise. As previously mentioned, Diego made substantial changes from his manuscript to his book. Probably

---

[121] Diego's manuscript has been reproduced in a facimile and commented on and transcribed by Manuel Gomez-Moreno, see *Primera y segunda parte de las Reglas de Carpentería* (Madrid: Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, 1966). His book has also been reprinted, see *Breve compendio de la Carpentería de lo Blanco y tratado de alarifes, con la conclusión de la regla de Nicolas Tartaglia y otras cosas tocantes a la iometria y puntas del compas* (Sevilla: Luis Estupiñan, 1633; reprint, Valencia: Albatros Ediciones, 1982). For further commentary on the manuscript as well as the book see Duclos Bautista, 77-95, López Guzmán, 79-83 and 117-118, and Enrique Nuere, *La carpintería de lo blanco. Lectura Dibujada del Primer Manuscripto de Diego López de Arenas* (Madrid: Instituto de la Juventud, 1985).

[122] López Guzmán claims that Diego wrote his treatise in order to preserve the rules for constructing wooden ceilings, which were not widely practiced because of the increasing popularity of masonry vaults over wooden ceilings in the early seventeenth century, see *Arquitetura Mudéjar*, 177-188.

[123] "Porque, como es la verdad, hay tan malos apprendices, que no queriendo trabajar ni dar tiempo, bastante, las parece que estudiar una hora cada noche es cosa que no conviene a su salud." López de Arenas, leaf 1., transcribed in Gomez-Moreno, 14.

for practical reasons, he reduced the number of illustrations from 89 to 25.[124] He also added to the treatise on *carpentería de lo blanco*, a more general treatise on building, including sections on houses and sundials. Duclos Bautista suggests that these additions were most likely meant to increase the public appeal of the treatise.[125] In fact, these additions as well as the exclusion of some the rules included in his manuscript seem to suggest a shift in audience from his fellow carpenters to an educated elite. The most substantial difference between the manuscript and the book, however, is their overall tone. Whereas the manuscript resembles a medieval German lodge manual, the book takes on a somewhat more theoretical approach, similar to other treatises of the day. Diego begins with a discourse justifying his profession and then gives some of its basic principles, periodically invoking Euclid and Archimedes in his discussions of geometry.[126] He also writes the first section of his treatise on builders, in which he stresses the importance of knowing geometry and arithmetic, in dialogue form, similar to the writings of Plato and the fifteenth-century treatise by the Italian architect Filarete.[127] Diego certainly must have known earlier theoretical treatises. Though the first Renaissance Spanish architectural treatise, which was written in 1526 by Diego de Sagredo, was largely practical in tone, the theoretical writings of Euclid, Vitruvius, Alberti, Vignola, and Serlio were all translated into Spanish by the end of the sixteenth century.[128] It is possible that Diego may have also read Philibert de L'Orme's

---

[124] Nuere, 43.

[125] Duclos Bautista, 79.

[126] Ibid.

[127] For more information on this treatise, see Luisa Giordano, "On Filarete's Libro Architettonico," in *Paper Palaces: the Rise of the Renaissance Architectural Treatise,* eds. Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 51-65.

[128] Duclos Bautista, 79, footnote 103.

nationalistic treatise of 1561 on French wooden ceilings. Whatever his influences may have been, it is clear that Diego realized the need to adapt his treatise on Spanish wooden ceilings to be more like the theoretical treatises in vogue at the time. Diego's book proved successful in elevating both his profession and his personal status. Two years after presenting the first edition to the chapter of the city of Seville, the fine wood workers' guild was reformed, providing a higher recognition of skilled carpenters. And Diego's book became the standard for *carpentería de lo blanco*, continuing a proud tradition in the city and one of the only surviving Mudejar traditions.[129]

Since Mudejar features had been present the religious architecture of Seville since its Christian conquest in 1248, they were not easily eradicated from the city's churches. The decline from the height of their popularity during the second half of the fourteenth century through the early fifteenth century was gradual and began with the construction of the city's Gothic cathedral, which greatly impacted the city's religious architecture. Because the cathedral is largely the product of foreign masters, it has been described as "exotic" and "imported" leading to the false impression that the cathedral chapter valued the latest foreign fashions over Spanish Gothic architecture. Important Spanish precedents for the cathedral indicate that this was not the case. In fact, the incorporation of aspects of thirteenth-century Sevillian churches prove that local tradition was important to the chapter. The combination of local tradition and Mudejar features in earlier Spanish cathedrals also suggests that the chapter may have even considered a Gothic-Mudejar cathedral at one time. The hiring of foreign masons and the virtual absence of Mudejar features in the cathedral are due instead to the timing of its planning and construction. Although the decision to construct the cathedral likely occurred around 1400, actual plans for the cathedral were not underway until the 1430's. By this time

---

[129] López Guzmán, 81.

foreign Gothic forms, particularly those of Flemish and German origin, had become popular in Spain because of the influx of northern masters attracted the extensive construction taking place in Iberia. Towards the end of the century, the Catholic Monarchs contributed to the popularity of a highly ornate strain of Flemish Gothic through their architectural patronage. Their close relationships with the nobility of Seville, especially several archbishops, influenced the chapter's decision to execute Juan Gil de Hontañon's heavily ornamented plan over a Mudejar design for the cathedral's crossing tower as well as features of their remodeled Alcazar and several churches in the city, such as the portals at the convent of Santa Paula and the Capilla of Santa María de Jesus. The Gothic forms of the cathedral, particularly the stellar vaults of its *capilla mayor*, and the commissions of the monarchs led to the dominance of Gothic over Mudejar features in the city's religious architecture, but its churches still retained some traditional Mudejar elements into the early sixteenth century. It was not until the nobility's full embrace of the Renaissance style that the Mudejar features of Seville's churches were relegated to their *qubba* chapels and their *artesonados*, which survived because of they could be adapted to complement this new style. Because of the desire to maintain local tradition, Mudejar chapels and wooden ceilings continued to be constructed through the Baroque period. *Artesonados* in particular were at this time a source of local pride.

CONCLUSION

The Mudejar architecture of medieval Iberia reflects the complex social interactions of the multi-cultural society that produced it. Although Mudejar forms were most directly derived from the Islamic architecture of al-Andalus, their meaning was neither confined to nor free of associations with Iberian Islamic culture. Therefore, blanket interpretations of the meaning of Mudejar monuments are insufficient. The significance of Mudejar forms must be considered in the specific context in which they were produced, and with particular attention to the goals and motivations of individual patrons.

Such is the case in late medieval Seville, where from the thirteenth through the early fifteenth century, powerful patrons helped shape the development and meaning of the city's Mudejar architecture. Seville was the favored city of the influential royal patrons Alfonso X and Pedro I, who set important standards for the patronage of the city's nobility. Seville is also the home of the largest Gothic cathedral in the world, the project of church reformists of the early fifteenth century and courtly confessors to the Catholic Monarchs. This monumental undertaking naturally impacted the city's religious architecture that followed it. While various economic and demographic factors affected the projects of these important patrons, their churches and palaces ultimately stand as monuments to their political ideologies.

Most of Seville's earliest Mudejar monuments reflect the political ambitions of Alfonso X through their predominantly Gothic features and their direct references to the royal monastery of Las Huelgas in Burgos, the pantheon of Alfonso's Castilian and French ancestors. Alfonso wanted to secure Seville as a Christian capital on a hostile frontier, but he also sought to establish the city as his imperial capital, worthy of a Christian emperor. The Gothic features of Seville's first churches and Alfonso's palace at the Alcazar clearly differentiated these structures from the Islamic structures they

replaced, and they emphasized Alfonso's familial connections to the influential French monarchy. Sevillian precedents also informed the patronage of Alfonso and his nobility somewhat. The towers and possibly some of the *qubba* chapels of their churches drew from local models, but because of the lack of a Mozarabic population in the city at the time of its conquest, the local architectural tradition was not as prominent in Seville as it had been in Toledo, where Visigothic origins were claimed for the city's cathedral by its Christian conquerors. Despite the accounts of early modern historians of Seville, neither Alfonso nor his father seemed to have such concerns about Seville's cathedral. Their preservation of the Almohad mosque that served as the city's cathedral was the result of economic restraints, and, more importantly, political dominance. Their retention of the urban fabric of the Islamic city was due to practical needs rather than a desire to maintain vestiges of the Visigothic city.

The motivations of Seville's other great royal patron, Pedro I, were also political, but Pedro looked south instead of north for an architectural language of monarchical sovereignty. Pedro struggled to maintain his authority over Christian challengers within Iberia, namely his bastard half-brother Enrique. Supplied with *alarifes* from Nasrid Granada sent from his ally Mohammed V, Pedro commissioned his Mudejar palace at Seville's Alcazar, which elaborated on a court style begun under his father Alfonso XI and, therefore, underlined the legitimacy of his lineage. Not surprisingly, this court style was continued under his rival, Enrique, who also desired to connect himself by the paternal line to Alfonso XI. Pedro's luxurious palace was the example of luxury and prestige for Seville's nobility. In addition to the nobility's desire to emulate Pedro's palace, the influx of Mudejar masters and artisans brought to Seville to build it in conjunction with the construction boom following the 1356 earthquake, led to the increase in Mudejar forms in the city's churches.

Even under Pedro's reign, however, Gothic forms still remained prominent in Seville's church architecture. Moreover, northern Gothic forms once again filtered into

the city at the beginning of the fifteenth century during the planning stages of Seville's new cathedral. Seville's cathedral chapter drew from new foreign models as well as local Gothic precedents in choosing the design of their cathedral. Contrary to the assumption of most scholarship on the cathedral, the Gothic style was not the only option available to the chapter. They also had Mudejar examples at their disposal, and Mudejar masters even contributed to the construction of the new cathedral, but the abundance of foreign artisans at the time of its planning and prestigious thirteenth-century Gothic churches in Seville resulted in the chapter's choice of a Gothic design. The preference of the Catholic Monarchs for Flemish Gothic forms also eventually influenced some of Seville's archbishops, who oversaw construction at the cathedral, but unlike Alfonso and Pedro, Isabel's and Ferdinand's direct patronage in Seville was limited. Moreover, their remodeling campaign at the Alcazar, which included Gothic, Mudejar, and Renaissance features, was likely carried out by trusted nobles rather than the monarchs themselves.

Royal and ecclesiastical patrons largely steered the course of Seville's Mudejar architecture, but to ascribe all of the manifestations of Seville's Mudejar architecture to a select group of patrons is still too broad of a conclusion to make. For example, in the thirteenth century, the synagogues of Seville, which appear to have retained much of the fabric mosques on the sites of which they were founded, and the Mudejar palace of don Fadrique defied the primarily Gothic program of Alfonso X. And although the city's Gothic cathedral caused a significant increase in Gothic features in the city's churches, it could not entirely eradicate the centuries old Mudejar tradition in Seville, which persisted even into the Baroque period, by which time Mudejar *artesonado* ceilings had become a source of local pride as evidenced by the treatise of Diego Lopéz de Arenas. Within the confines of Seville – as with Spain and Portugal - the meaning of Mudejar forms shifted from period to period and patron to patron, demonstrating the multiple levels of cross-cultural exchange in medieval Iberia.

EPILOGUE

Just as the meaning of the forms in Seville's Mudejar architecture was constantly in flux throughout the Middle Ages, it has continued to change in modern times. The social and political agendas of Seville's leaders and citizens still inform the semantic significance of the built environment. Since the nineteenth century, Seville, and Spain in general, has periodically employed its Mudejar and Islamic monuments as symbols of local and national pride. Mudejar architecture, in particular, has been heralded as Spain's national architectural style, the product of a period unique to Iberia, when Christians, Jews, and Muslims lived side by side in relative harmony. Ironically, the return of Muslims to Spain in recent decades has led to disputes over the ownership of Andalusia's architectural legacy. Muslim and Christian claims to Spain's medieval Islamic monuments and contemporary mosque projects, which are intended to evoke the country's Islamic past through their designs, are causing conflict in a nation that boasts of its medieval *convivencia*.

Spain's renewed interest in its medieval architecture took root during the Enlightenment, but serious restoration projects and the onslaught of medieval revival styles were the product of the Romantic and nationalistic atmosphere the nineteenth of century.[1] However, it was foreign travelers, who, for the most part, initiated the Romantic fascination with the country's medieval monuments. American and European adventurers were delighted by the "exoticism" of the medieval architecture of al-Andalus and recorded it both textually and graphically. François-René de Chateaubriand's *The Last of the Abencerrages* (1827), Washington Irving's *Tales of the Alhambra* (1834), and

---

[1] As early as 1756, Spain's fine arts academy, the Academia de San Fernando, began to carry out a detailed catalogue of the country's medieval Islamic architecture (*Los Antigüedades Arabes de España*) with an intent to restore these monuments, but restorations were delayed until the nineteenth century, see Michael Jacobs, *Alhambra* (New York: Rizzoli, 2000), 156.

Owen Jones' *Grammar of Ornament* (1856) made the Alhambra, in particular, famous outside of Spain, but the monuments of other cities, including Seville, were also depicted in illustrated texts such as Richard Ford's *Handbook for Travelers in Spain* (1845). Spaniards embraced the Alhambra as a national symbol and included models of it or pavilions inspired by it in international exhibitions throughout the nineteenth century.[2] Around the middle of the century, Spanish scholars and government authorities, spurred by the work of Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc in France, began cataloguing and restoring the country's medieval monuments. One of the primary figures in these efforts was José Amador de los Ríos. His works, such as *Sevilla Pintoresca* (1844), added a degree of rigor in their descriptions of Islamic and Christian medieval architecture that were absent from earlier travel guides by foreigners. In addition to carefully describing these monuments, he also considered their historical contexts.[3] Just over a decade later, Amador de los Ríos would declare his newly coined Mudejar style emblematic of the Spanish nation.

With Amador de los Ríos' declaration, Mudejar architecture began to overtake Spain's Islamic monuments in the struggle to identify a national style for Spain. His definition of the Mudejar style, which was largely informed by his liberal leanings, fulfilled the needs of Spain's current socio-political climate in ways that the country's Islamic architecture could not. Amador de los Ríos' lecture on the Mudejar style was filled with phrases, like "political tolerance," "social alliance," and "laws that defend and

---

[2] María José Bueno, "Arquitectura y nationalismo: La imagen de España traves de exposiciones universals," *Fragmentos* 15/16 (1989): 59.

[3] José Manuel Rodríguez Domingo, "Neomudéjar *versus* neomusulman: definición y concepto del medievalismo Islamíco en España," Espacio, tiempo, y forma, serie 7. *Historia del Arte* 12 (1999): 268-271, and Diane Boze, "Imagined Identities: Romanticism, Cultural Identification, and Sevillian Cityscape Art" (PhD Diss. University of Kansas, 1999), 113 and 149-150.

protect," which resounded with the increasingly popular liberal party.[4] María José Bueno has noted the correlation between the ascendance of the short-lived First Spanish Republic (1873-1874), which was dominated by the liberal party, and the first Neo-Mudejar Spanish pavilion at an international exposition, that of Vienna in 1873.[5] Not surprisingly, the 1870's witnessed the birth of the Neo-Mudejar style in and around Madrid.[6] But Neo-Mudejar also had an appeal that reached beyond party lines. It was a Christian Spanish style appropriate for a Catholic nation, which in the nineteenth century, still viewed its Islamic heritage with some ambivalence.[7]

By the turn of the century, regional styles had become prevalent in Spain, making Neo-Mudejar one among many historicizing styles to represent different parts of the country. This is perhaps nowhere more apparent than at Seville's *Exposicion Iberoamericana* of 1929, an international exposition intended to promote relations

---

[4] As noted in the introduction, Amador de los Ríos claims that no other nation had need of "the political tolerance that gave life to the Mudejar vassals, nor of the laws that defended and protected them, nor the social alliance, that demanded and obtained their immediate participation in the exercise of the mechanical arts, which eventually came to influence the spheres of the sciences and letters." ("la política tolerante que dá vida á los vasallos mudejares de la corona de Castilla, ni de las leyes que los defienden y protegen, ni de la alianza social, que demanda y obtiene su inmediata participacion en el ejercicio de las artes mecánicas, y que lleva al fin su influencia á las esferas de las ciencias de las letras."), *El estilo mudéjar en arquitectura*, 4. José Bueno provides an analysis of the political implications of Amador de los Ríos' lecture, 64.

[5] José Bueno, 60. Spain represented itself with the Neo-Mudejar style at two international expositions during the nineteenth century – Vienna in 1873 and Philadelphia in 1878. José Bueno suggests that Philadelphia's pavilion was really on the Neo-Arab style since it quoted from Mudejar monuments and the Great Mosque of Córdoba and the Alhambra, but it was labeled Neo-Mudejar by Spanish liberals.

[6] Madrid's old Plaza de Toros (b. 1874; demolished 1934) by Emilio Rodríguez Ayuso and Lorenzo Álvarez is typically cited as the first Neo-Mudejar monument in Spain, and was followed by a number of other Neo-Mudejar structures, namely churches, constructed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries throughout the city. For analyses of these churches, see Adolfo González Amézqueta, "La arquitectura Neo-Mudejar madrileña de los siglo XIX y XX," *Arquitectura* 125 (1969): 1-72, and Julio Martín Sánchez, "La Contribución de Enrique María Repullés y Vargasal sugimiento de la arquitectura neomudéjar madrileña: La iglesia de San Matías en Hortaleza," *Imafronte* 15 (2000): 145-166.

[7] Rodríguez Domingo, 285, and Boze, 155-158.

between Spain and the Americas and to celebrate Seville's historic role as the link between them. The autonomous regions of Spain represented themselves with various styles of Neo-Medieval and Neo-Baroque pavilions, while the pavilions of Andalusian provinces were more specifically either Neo-Mudejar or Neo-Baroque. Seville's pavilion was Neo-Baroque, but one of the exposition's main squares, the Plaza América (1911-1919) consisted of three pavilions constructed in the three historical styles of the city's most significant monuments – Mudejar, Florid Gothic, and Plateresque (Figures A193-A195). The designer of these three pavilions, Aníbal González, had been working in the city since the early twentieth century, constructing buildings in the "estilo sevillano." Aníbal González never clearly defined this style. He did explain that his designs were based on fundamental principles such color, light, proportion, materials, etc. that were suited to the local climate and that historical precedents, therefore, were natural sources of inspiration. His work drew from a variety of Seville's historic monuments, with a preference for Mudejar forms, but he never directly copied specific monuments.[8] While Aníbal González claimed to prioritize design principles over any particular historical style, his collaborators on the *Exposicion Iberoamericana* were occupied with identifying styles that would represent the glorious history of Seville. José Gestoso, the historian of Seville's architecture at the time and a key figure behind organizing the exposition, believed the Mudejar-Plateresque, as exemplified in sixteenth-century the Casa de Pilatos, was the Sevillian style since it was formed in the city (Figure A196).[9]

Mudejar architecture was clearly identified with Seville by many of the exposition's planners, but forms very similar to the city's Mudejar monuments were also used in the design of the Moroccan pavilion (1925-28). In 1929, much of northern

---

[8] Alberto Villar Movellán, *Arquitectura del Regionalismo en Sevilla. 1900-1935* (Sevilla: Excma. Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1979), 348-350.

[9] Ibid., 205.

Morocco was still under Spanish control. Pavilions for both Morocco and Equitorial Guinea, also a Spanish colony at that time, were included in the exposition to revive Spanish nationalism.[10] Designed by Antonio Got, the Spanish director of fine arts at Tetuán, the capital of Spanish Morocco, in collaboration with the painter Mariano Bartuchi, the pavilion combines elements from various Almohad mosques, including a minaret similar to the Giralda and those at Rabat and Marrakech. Its exterior is completely whitewashed, keeping in character with the architecture of Morocco (Figure A197). According to the "memory of the project," its designers believed the pavilion would be "exotic" while at the same time it "[would] fit very well into the ambience, the light and the tradition of the city of Seville.[11]" The minaret of the pavilion can be read as a primitive counterpart to the Giralda. Its forms were familiar to Sevillian fair-goers, but its white-clad exterior made it appear both primitive and exotic. The formal connections between Mudejar and Islamic architecture in part led to the Neo-Baroque style of Seville's pavilion (1925-28), designed Vicente Traver y Tomás, who became the exposition's head architect after Aníbal González' resignation. As early as 1913, architectural theorists in Seville argued that Mudejar was the result of Islamic culture, and that Baroque was the true Christian style of the city.[12]

Despite all of the debates of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Mudejar has emerged as Spain's national style. It is now touted as the unique product of Spain in scholarship and the popular media alike. The Spanish government has employed Mudejar architecture in order to portray a national history of idyllic multiculturalism.

---

[10] "El Pabellón de Marruecos," posted May 6, 2008; available from http://www.sevillasigloxx.com/2008/05/el-pabelln-de-marruecos.html; Internet; accessed 2 August 2009.

[11] "encajará muy bien en el ambiente, la luz y la tradición del pueblo sevillano," Ibid.

[12] Villar Movellán, 313-312.

Government-sponsored websites devoted to education and tourism describe Mudejar as "a symbol of the peaceful coexistence of peoples, bringing together the best of Moorish and Christian traditions," and "not belong[ing] to either Christian or Islamic artistic tradition. A link between two cultures."[13] The goal of this literature is not only to convey a positive image of Spain to foreign tourists, but it is also intended to improve the uneasy relations between the country's Christian majority and small but growing Muslim population.[14]

Spain's Islamic architecture is often promoted as emblematic of *convivencia* as well; however, current ethnic and religious tensions are also reflected in the presentation of these monuments. In a recent lecture, D. Fairchild Ruggles has called attention to the role of propagandistic literature and exhibits at the Great Mosque of Cordoba in asserting Christian ownership of the building, which has functioned as the city's cathedral since its Castilian conquest in 1236. In reaction to the demands of Spanish Muslims to pray in the mosque/cathedral, the cathedral administration has emphasized the archeological remains

---

[13] "The Mudejar, A Spanish Art," (The Instituto de Turismo de España (Turespaña), 2009); available at http://www.spain.info/TourSpain/Reportajes/0/el%20mudejar%20un%20arte%20espanol.htm?SubSys=ArtCul&language=en; Internet; accessed 31 July 2009. Turespaña is supported by the "Administrative unit of the Central Government in charge of promoting Spain abroad as a tourism destination" and "Mudéjar Art," (Museum with no Frontiers, 2004-2009), available at http://www.discoverislamicart.org/exhibitions/ISL/mudejar_art/introduction; Internet: accessed 31 July 2009. The Museum without Frontiers is a virtual museum founded by the European Union and supported by 14 countries, including Spain, which seeks to "promote deeper understanding between Europe and their Muslim communities and the Islamic world at their doorsteps, and ultimately to celebrate the contribution of Islamic civilization to world culture and art."

[14] Although Spain is 94% Roman Catholic, its Muslim population is steadily growing through both converts and immigrants from north Africa, primarily Morocco, see "Spain," CIA World Factbook, updated 31 July 2009, available at https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/sp.html; Internet; accessed 31 July 2009. The stream of immigrants as well as the terrorist attack in Madrid in 2004, have resulted in anti-Muslim sentiment among a significant number of Spaniards, see Marlise Simons, "Spain is seeking to Integrate Growing Muslim Population," *New York Times*, 24 October 2004; available from http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9C02EFDE163DF937A15753C1A9629C8B63&sec=&spon=&pagewanted=all; Internet; accessed 31 July 2009.

of the sixth-century Visigothic church over which the mosque was built.[15] A similar agenda is apparent in a 2006 informational booklet published with funding from Toledo's municipal government and the Spanish ministry of Education on archeological excavations at the Toledan mosque/Mudejar church of El Cristo de la Luz that now functions as a museum. It states with an air of factual authority, "Although in some ways one might think the mosque is the key to the mix of buildings and add-ons, the results being obtained thanks to the archaeological digs show it is not any more important than the Christian Church itself. It is important to remember the church has been in use since its creation in the XII century until around the middle of the XIX century. 800 years, compared with only 100 years of worship at the mosque.[16]"

Such anxieties are not as pervasive in texts on Seville's former Islamic monuments, perhaps because of the overall Christian character of the city in comparison to Cordoba or Toledo.[17] Though Seville was an important city during the Taifa and Almohad periods, it does not have the legendary status of Cordoba as an Islamic center of power or of Toledo as a multicultural center of intellectualism. Seville boasts more

---

[15] Ruggles, "The Stratigraphy of Forgetting: the Construction and Afterlife of the Mosque Cathedral of Cordoba,"(paper presented at "East Meets West in the Middle Ages": the Fourth Annual Medieval Graduate Student Symposium, University of North Texas, January 30-31, 2009). Cordoba's municipal tourist board has also recently promoted the city's medieval Christian past by providing guided walking tours to its Gothic/Mudejar churches. According to a brochure the "Ruta Fernandina," which inaccurately attributes the construction of these churches to Fernando III, "offers you the opportunity of looking at the most beautiful churches in Cordoba, witnesses of the medieval city and the Christian presence in the history and the culture of Cordoba today."

[16] *Excavación arqueológica de la Mezquita del Cristo de la Luz* (Toledo: Parroquia de San Nicolás de Bari y Consorcio de la Ciudad de Toledo, 2006), 3.

[17] I have not come across any overt references to Christian origins for Seville's Islamic monuments in informational brochures or web pages. However, the government-sponsored website "Spain.info" mistakenly claims that the base of the Giralda was built with Visigothic stones, see http://www.spain.info/TourSpain/Arte%20y%20Cultura/Monumentos/A/RW/0/La%20Giralda.htm?Language=es; Internet; accessed 31 July 2009.

chapels, shrines, and convents than any other city in Spain and is famous for its Santa Semana (Holy Week) processions.[18] Predominantly Gothic churches dominate Seville's cityscape, and most of its Islamic architectural survivals are ensconced within Christian settings. The Giralda, the major symbol of the city, is anchored to the world's largest Gothic cathedral and is crowned by a personification of the Christian faith triumphant. The palaces of Christian kings have supplanted most of the Islamic construction at the Alcazar. The Torre del Oro, the Almohad garrison on the Guadalquivir, and sections of the old city wall are the only Islamic structures to remain relatively unaltered by Christian hands.

The primary source of social unrest between Christians and Muslims in Seville does not revolve around its former Almohad mosque, but rather its proposed new mosque. For several years, the Comunidad Islamica de España, one of several Muslim organizations in the country, has been negotiating with municipal authorities for a location in the city to build the largest mosque in Europe. The multi-building complex will cover 6,000 square meters. The main objections to the mosque have been posed on the premise of zoning conflicts. The first proposed site, located in Seville's Los Bermejales neighborhood, was adamantly opposed by local residents, who believed that the large public space set aside for the mosque should be used for a playground or health center instead.[19] The site of the future mosque was then moved to the "Cartuja '93" district on the Island of Cartuja, just across the Guadalquivir from the city's historic

---

[18] The tourism link from Seville's municipal website has a lengthy section on the city's religious architecture where it makes the claim of being the Spanish city with the most chapels, shrines, and convents, see http://www.sevilla.org/turismo/paginas_en/arquitecturareligiosa.asp; Internet; accessed 31 July 2009.

[19] Martin Schneider, "The construction of Europe's biggest mosque is thrown into limbo two weeks after fresh elections in Seville city council," *Café Babel* 12 June 2007; available from http://www.cafebabel.com/eng/article/21206/you-have-to-accept-that-spain-isnt-an-islamic-country.html; Internet, accessed 31 July 2009.

center. This area was the site of Seville's international exhibition of 1992, and has since been developed primarily as a business park. Local corporate executives argued against the mosque, claiming that a religious building did not belong in a business sector.[20] The most recent proposed site is in the San Jerónimo neighborhood, an area high in crime, is also being met with opposition by local residents, who do not want public property used for a mosque.[21] While these objections are based on land use, comments written in response to articles on the mosque in Sevillian newspapers reveal heated religious opposition as well.[22]

The main organization behind the mosque project has also been criticized for not being representative of the local Muslim community as a whole. The Comunidad Islamica de España is associated with the Murabitun, a Muslim sect founded in the late 1960's by Scottish convert to Islam, Shaykh Dr. Abdalqadir as-Sufi that is rooted in the religious reforms brought to Andalusia by the Almoravids in the late eleventh century. The Comunidad, which also constructed Granada's first congregational mosque since the Middle Ages, receives much of its financial support from Arab countries, including the United Arab Emirates. Emilio Gonzáles Ferrín, professor of Islamic studies at the

---

[20] E.P., "Cartuja 93 no necesita mezquita ni catedral," *Diario de Sevilla*, 15 October 2008; available from http://www.diariodesevilla.es/article/sevilla/254422/cartuja/no/necesita/mezquita/ni/catedral.html ; Internet; accessed 31 July 2009.

[21] "Los Vecinos de San Jerónimo rechazen que se ubique en el barrio la mezquita," *ABC Periódico Electrónico*, 4 July 2009; available from http://www.abcdesevilla.es/hemeroteca/historico-04-06-2009/sevilla/Sevilla/los-vecinos-de-san-jeronimo-rechazan-que-se-ubique-en-el-barrio-la-mezquita_921485070158.html; Internet; accessed 31 July 2009, and Carlos Navarro Antolín, "El Consistorio busca suelo en San Jerónimo para la mezquita," *Diario de Sevilla*, 26 May 2009; available from http://www.diariodesevilla.es/article/sevilla/433148/consistorio/busca/suelo/san/jeronimo/para/la/mezquita.html; Internet; accessed 31 July 2009.

[22] An informal survey of comments posted in conjunction with the above cites articles shows a variety of opinions towards the mosque project from positive to militantly negative, see especially the responses to the article by Navarro Antolín.

University of Seville, has suggested that the group's abundant financial resources explain why they have received attention from the municipal government while other Muslim groups in the city have not. He believes that the Moroccan pavilion from the 1929 Iberian-American exposition, which has also been considered for a congregational mosque, would be better suited to serve all of Seville's Muslims.[23] Mansur Escudero, president of the Junta Islamíca de España, has also expressed concern over the involvement of only one Islamic group in the mosque project.[24]

Similar problems plagued the Comunidad's planning and construction of the congregational mosque in Granada (commonly called that Albaicín Mosque after the neighborhood it is located in), which after a twenty-two-year struggle, was finally built in 2003 within direct view of the Alhambra on one of the highest peaks of the city. Both its geography and design link it to Spain's Islamic heritage. Its nondescript, whitewashed exterior resembles palaces of the Alhambra in its general massing and surrounding gardens (Figure A198). The mosque's minaret is modeled off of Granada's former minarets and Mudejar bell towers. The decorative motifs of its interior directly quote various famous medieval mosques both in and outside of Spain, and its mihrab mimics that of the Great Mosque of Cordoba (Figure A199). Shortly after its opening, Abdel Haqq Salaberria, a spokesman for the mosque, stated that, "The mosque is a symbol of a return to Islam among the Spanish people and among indigenous Europeans that will break with the malicious concept of Islam as a foreign and immigrant religion in Europe. It will act as a focal point for the Islamic revival in Europe.[25]"

---

[23] Francesca Barca, "Seville will have its mosque back," *Cafébabel*, 6 October 2008; available from http://www.cafebabel.com/eng/article/25080/Europe-On-The-Ground-Islam-Seville-Mosque.html; Internet; accessed 31 July 2009.

[24] Schneider.

[25] "Mosque signals Muslims' return to Spain," *BBC News* 10 July 2003; available from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3055377.stm; Internet; accessed 31 July 2009. This has been the goal of several mosques built throughout Spain over the past several decades. Jennifer

The design of Seville's proposed mosque also "revives" Spain's Islamic past. It specifically references Almohad precedents in Seville and Morocco. Its prominent minaret is a streamlined version of the Giralda and the minarets at Marrakech and Rabat, complete with a *yamur* of three ascending spheres (Figure A200). As with the minaret of Granada's mosque, its height has been a source of contention between the Comunidad and the local authorities.[26] The expansive sahn in front of the prayer hall and the large dome marking the mihrab also follow medieval precedents in Iberia and North Africa.

The new mosque would not be the first modern mosque to incorporate forms from the city's Almohad architecture. The Giralda and its sister Almohad minarets inspired the colossal 698.79-foot minaret of the Hassan II mosque, completed in 1993 in Casablanca (Figure A201). This minaret, which emits laser beams in the direction of Mecca, is not only the tallest minaret in the world, but it is the tallest religious structure in the world. Most Moroccans clearly identify the Hassan II minaret with its Almohad predecessors. The Almohad dynasty (1145-1269) marks a particularly important period in Moroccan history. At its height, the Almohad kingdom included Muslim Spain, Morocco, much of Algeria, and Tunisia, making it the largest Muslim kingdom to ever rule the Maghreb. In addition to their art and architecture, elements of Almohad religious practice and music still influence Moroccan culture today. For many Moroccans, the Almohad-inspired minaret represents a powerful period in their history.[27]

Roberson has suggested that the historic references to Spain's medieval Islamic architecture in these mosques are an attempt to "legitimize" the presence of Islam in Spain, see "Visions of Al-Andalus in Twentieth-century Spanish Mosque Architecture," in *Revisiting Al-Andalus: Perspectives on the Material Culture of Islamic Iberia and Beyond*, ed. Glaire D. Anderson and Miriam Rosser-Owen. The Medieval and Modern World, vol. 34 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 262.

[26] Navarro Antolín.

[27] This mosque has been dismissed as a mere work of propaganda by some critics. Though it was clearly intended to flatter is patron, Hassan II, it has also benefited Moroccan people, see Mohammed-Allal Sinaceur, *The Hassan II Mosque* (Drémil-Lafage: Éditions Daniel Briand, 1993) and Nnamdi Elleh, *Architecture and Power in Africa* (Westport: Praeger, 2002).

The French designer of the Hassan II mosque, the Moroccan king's personal architect Michel Pinseau, also designed the Moroccan pavilion at Seville's 1992 exposition (Figure A202). Like the Hassan II mosque, this pavilion combines ultra-modern features with traditional Almohad forms. Its interior ornament also draws from decorative motifs found in Muhammad V's Palace of Lions at the Alhambra and Pedro I's Mudejar palace at Seville's Alcazar. Since 1999, the governments of Morocco and Andalusia have used the pavilion to house the Fundación de Tres Culturas del Mediterráneo, an organization that arranges forums for politicians, scholars, writers and artists from Christian, Jewish, and Muslim nations around the Mediterranean to share ideas in an atmosphere that promotes peace.[28]

This latest installment of Neo-Islamic and Neo-Mudejar forms in Seville moves away from a clearly Spanish nationalistic agenda to symbolize a multiculturalism that extends beyond Spain's borders. Although the Fundación de Tres Culturas promotes relations among three religions around the Mediterranean, the design of its center addresses the current need for unity between Spain and Morocco and between Spanish Christianity and Islam. But how will these forms be perceived when they are applied to Seville's proposed mosque? Will they continue to signify a Spanish culture that once again includes Christians and Muslims, or will they be perceived as an attempt by Muslims to reclaim their own, separate heritage?

It is my hope that this dissertation has demonstrated that the architectural forms of al-Andalus cannot be assigned one single meaning, nor can they be seen as belonging to one single culture. The meanings of these forms were and are continually changing. Thus, current interpretations of Mudejar architecture should not be boiled down to simply an appropriation of Islamic forms by Christians or a product of a common aesthetic in the

---

[28] See http://www.tresculturas.org; accessed 31 July 2009.

multicultural society of medieval Iberia. Likewise, today no government, organization, or religious sect can solely claim Andalusia's architectural heritage as their own. A deeper understanding of the complexities of Iberia's Islamic and Mudejar monuments will hopefully lead to a more productive and peaceful dialogue among contemporary Christians, Jews, and Muslims.

APPENDIX

Figure A1. Prayer hall, Great Mosque of Cordoba.

Figure A2. Court of Lions, Alhambra, Granada.

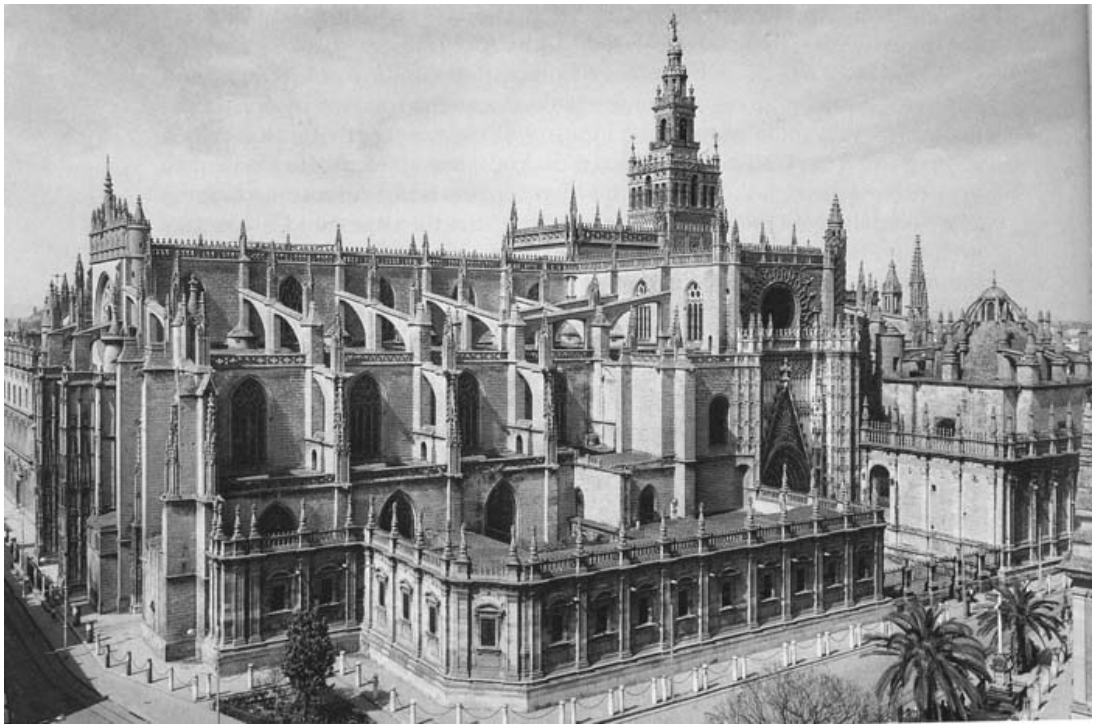

Figure A3. Seville Cathedral. After Wilson (1990) 284, fig. 214.

Figure A4. Santa María la Blanca, Toledo.

Figure A5. Mihrab dome, Great Mosque of Cordoba.

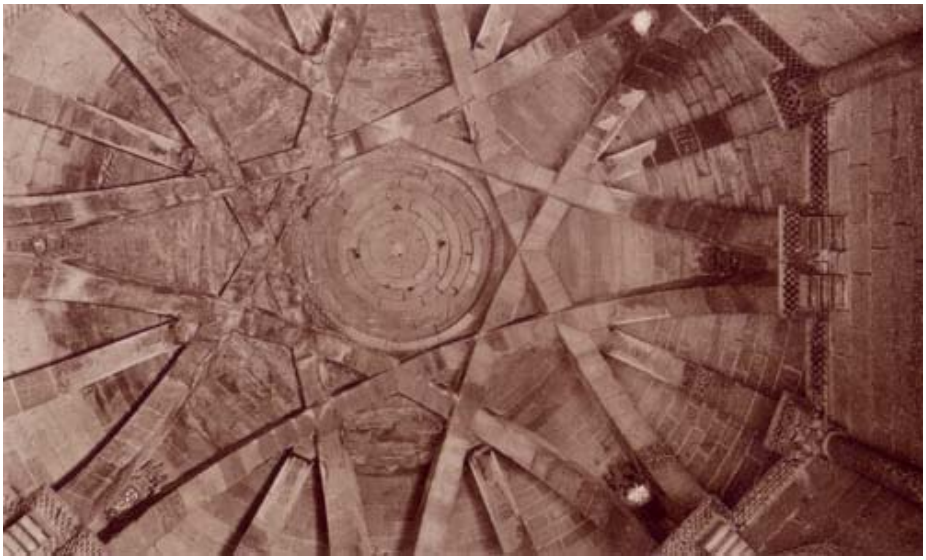

Figure A6. Torres del Río, Navarra. After Gudiol Ricart and Gaya Nuño (1948) 146, fig. 240.

Figure A7. San Tirso, León. After Wikimedia Commons. Accessed 10/17/09.

Figure A8., Façade of Pedro I's palace, Alcázar, Seville.

Figure A9. Giralda, Seville Cathedral.

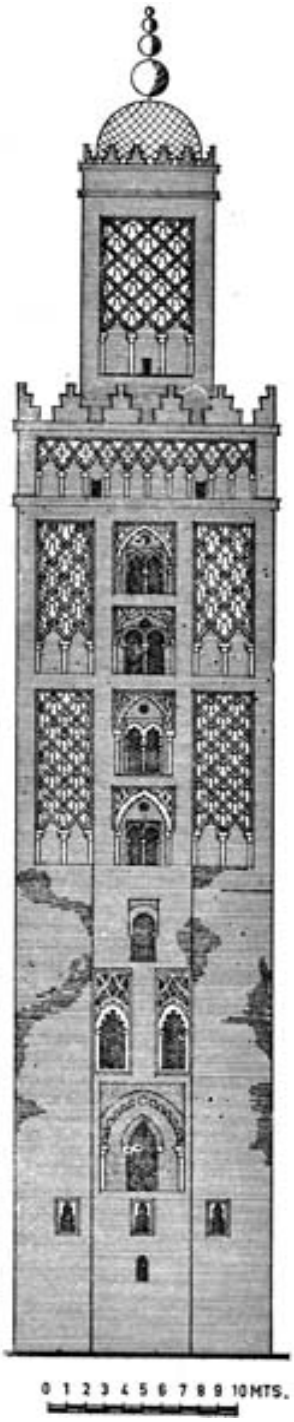

Figure A10. Giralda with *yamur*. After Chueca Goitia (1971) 273, fig. 251.

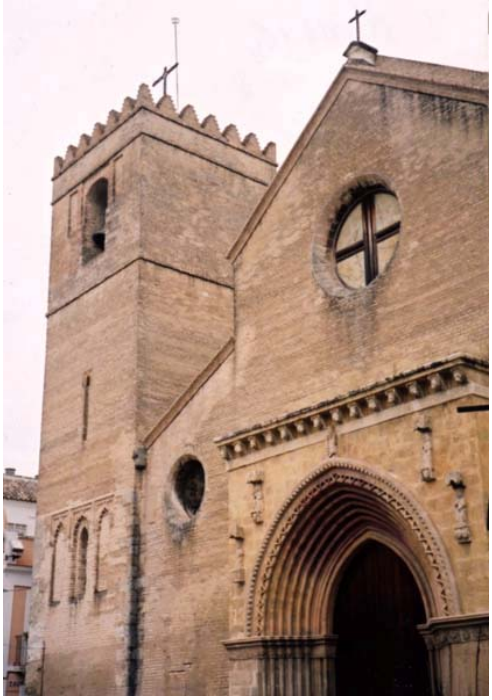

Figure A11. Santa Marina, Seville.

Figure A12. San Miguel de Escalada, León. After Dodds, Menocal, and Krasner Balbale (2008) 82.

Figure A13. Cloister, San Juan de Duero, Soria. After Gudiol Ricart and Gaya Nuño (1948) 314, fig. 476.

Figure A14. Vault, Santa Cruz (former mosque Bab al-Mardum), Toledo

Figure A15. Comparison of San Isidoro, León, and the Great Mosque of Cordoba. After Martin (2006) figs. 53-54.

Figure A16. San Eugenio, Toledo.

Figure A17. Santa Cruz, Toledo.

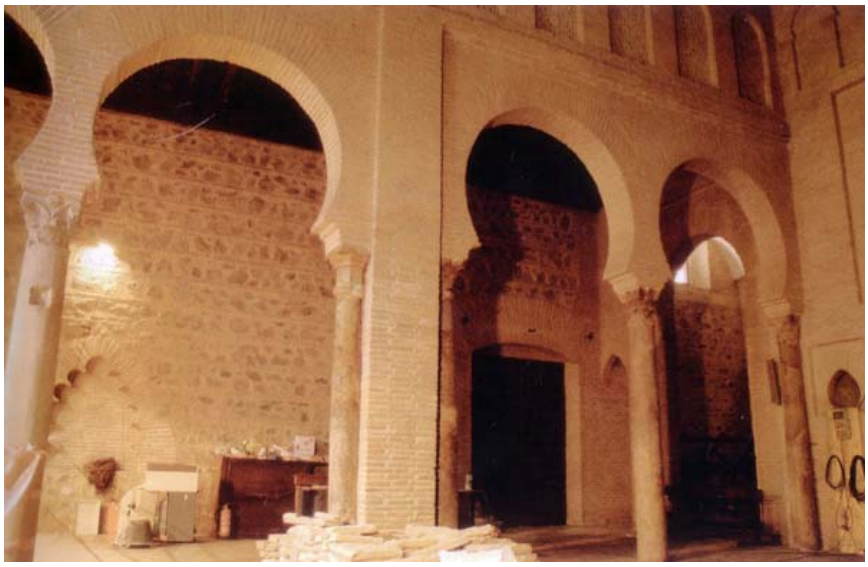

Figure A18. Santa Eulalia, Toledo. After Dodds, Menocal, and Krasner Balbale (2008) 141.

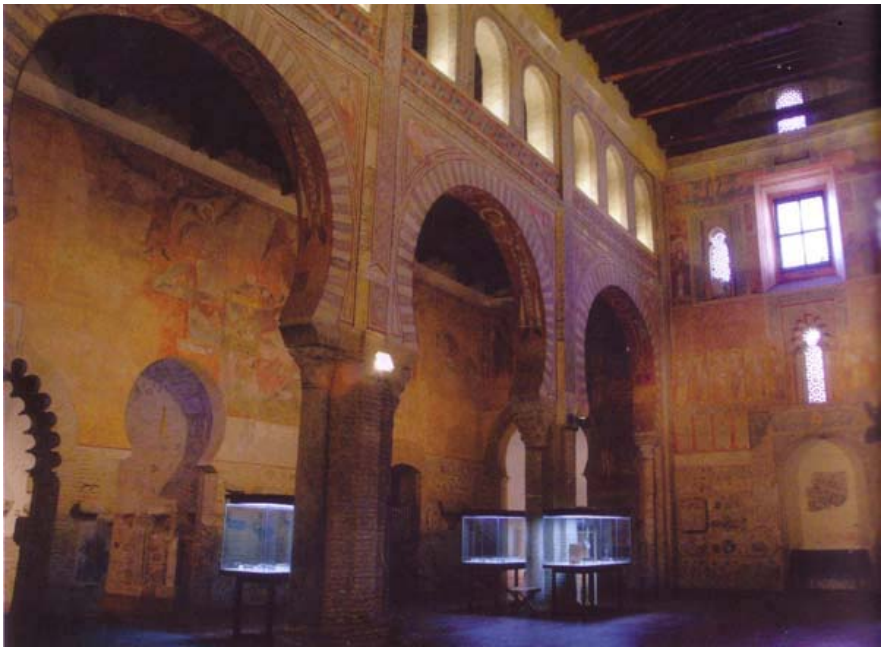

Figure A19. San Roman, Toledo. After Dodds, Menocal, and Krasner Balbale (2008) 166.

Figure A20. Choir triforium, Cathedral of Toledo.

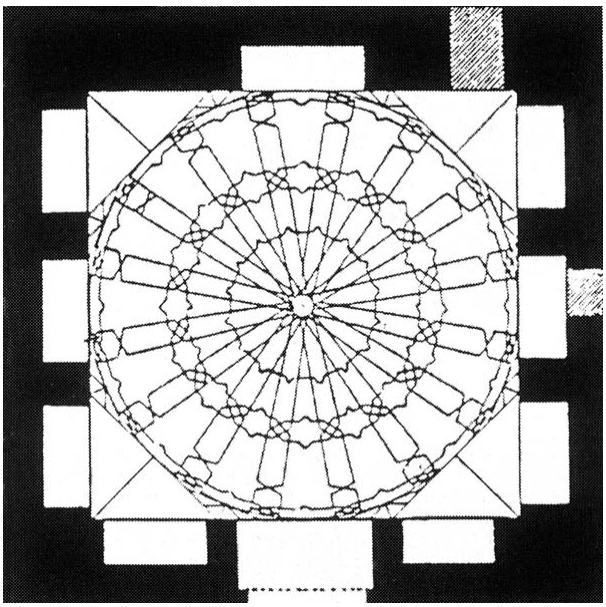

Figure A21. *Qubba* plan. After López Guzmán (2000) 173, fig. 148.

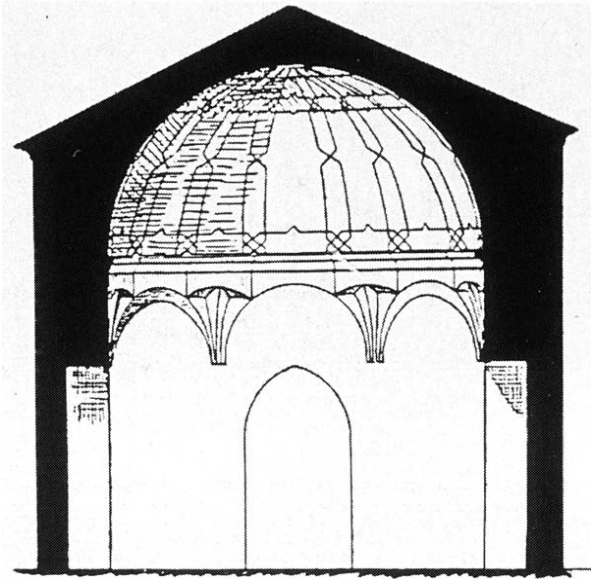

Figure A22. *Qubba* section. After López Guzmán (2000) 173, fig. 148.

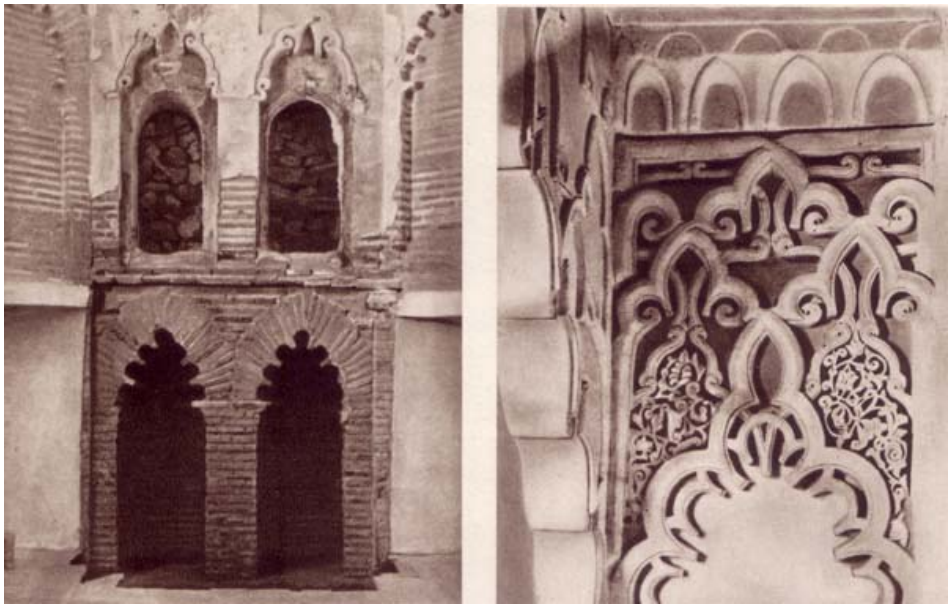

Figure A23. Capilla de Asunción, Convent of Las Huelgas, Burgos. After Torres Balbás (1949) 42, figs. 30-31.

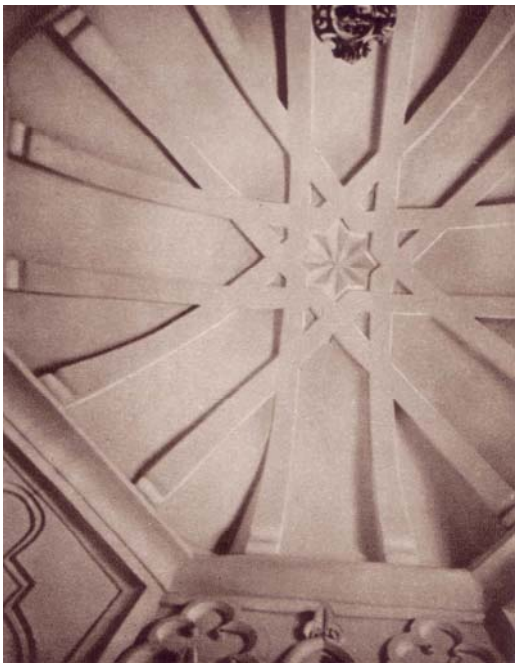

Figure A24. Capilla de Asunción, Convent of Las Huelgas, Burgos. After Torres Balbás (1949) 42, fig. 33.

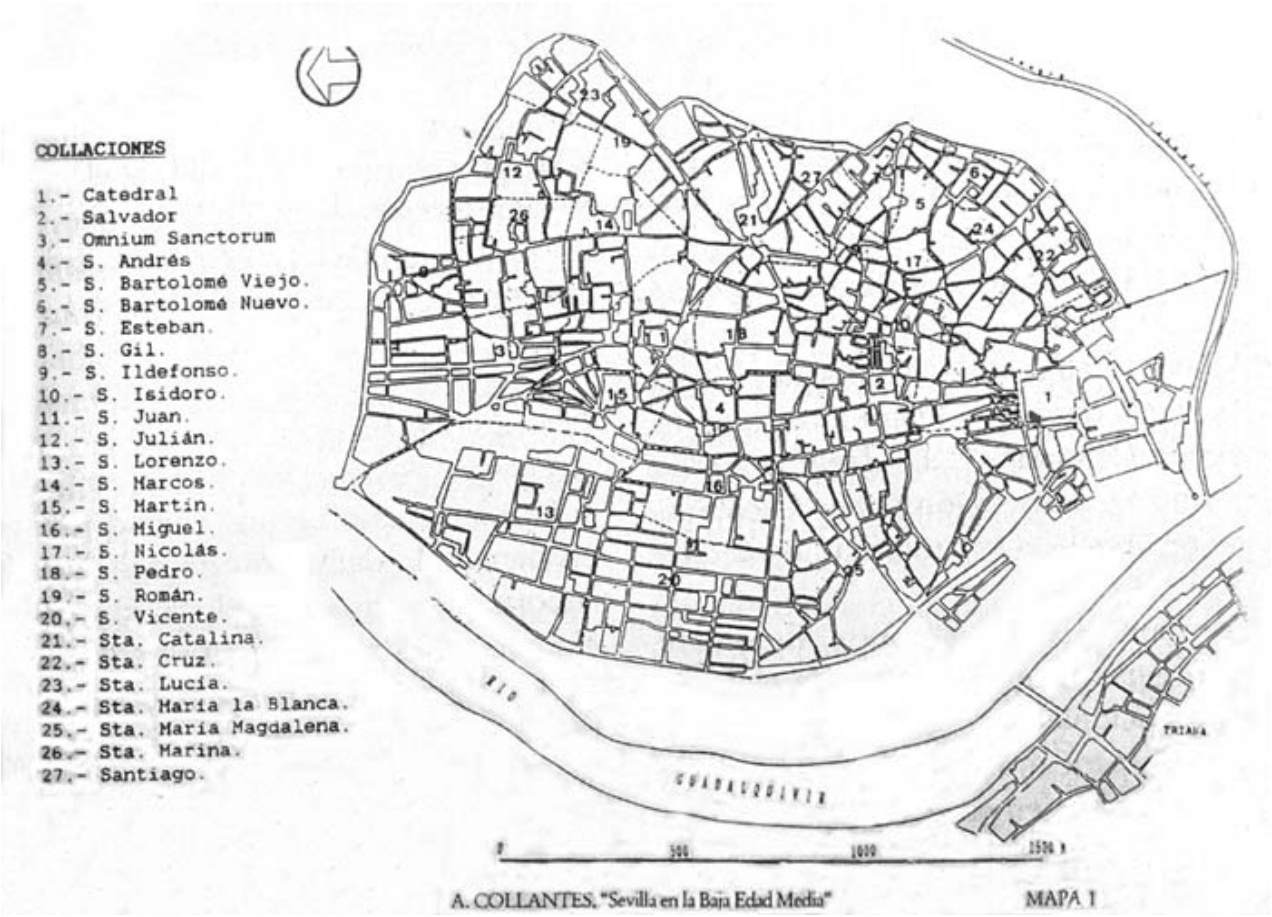

Figure A25. Plan of medieval Seville. After Collantes de Terán (1984) fig. I.

Figure A26. Torre del Oro, Seville.

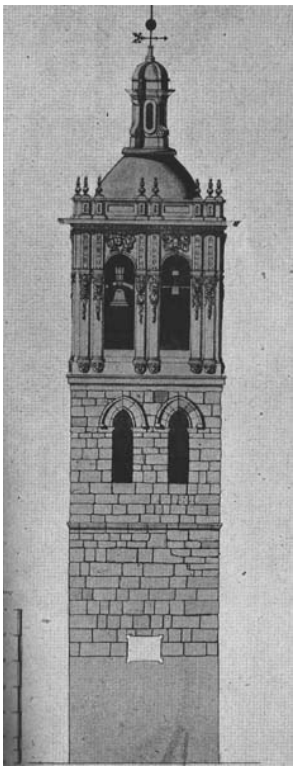

Figure A27. Tower, El Salvador, Seville. After Torres Balbás (1946) 431, fig. 17.

Figure A28. Courtyard, El Salvador. After Gómez Piñol (2000) 39, fig. 2.

Figure A29. Tower, Santa Catalina, Seville.

Figure A30. *Virgen de la Antigua*, Chapel of the Virgen de la Antigua, Seville Cathedral. After Martínez Montiel and Morales (1999) 77.

Figure A31. Capilla de Santísimo Sacramento, Santa Marina, Seville.

Figure A32. Nave, Santa Ana, Seville.

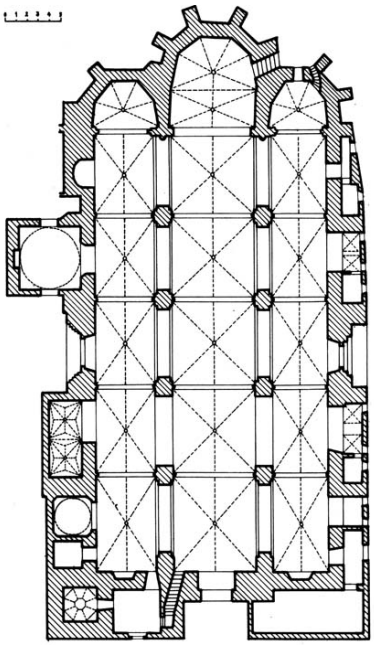

Figure A33. Plan, Santa Ana. After Morales, et all (1981) 237, fig. 250.

Figure A34. Corbel with heraldry of Juan Manuel, Santa Ana.

Figure A35. Tower, Santa Ana.

Figure A36. North portal, Santa Ana.

Figure A37. Portal to Knight's Aisle, Las Huelgas, Burgos.

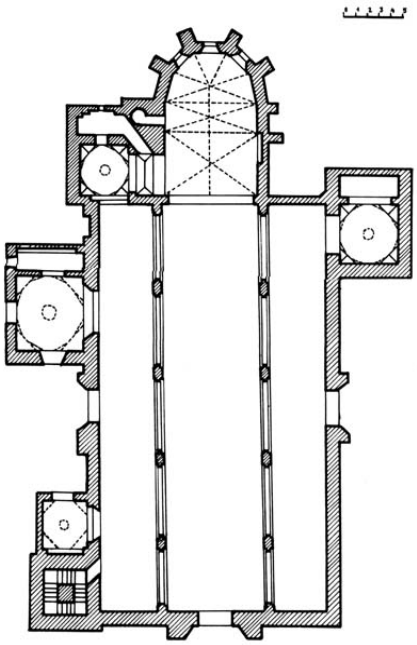

Figure A38. Plan, Santa Marina, Seville. After Morales, et all (1981) 191, fig. 194.

Figure A39. *Artesonado*, San Gil, Seville.

Figure A40. *Capilla mayor*, Santa Marina.

Figure A41. Apse, Santa Marina.

Figure A42. Corbels, Santa María Magdalena, Cordoba.

Figure A43. West portal, Santa Marina.

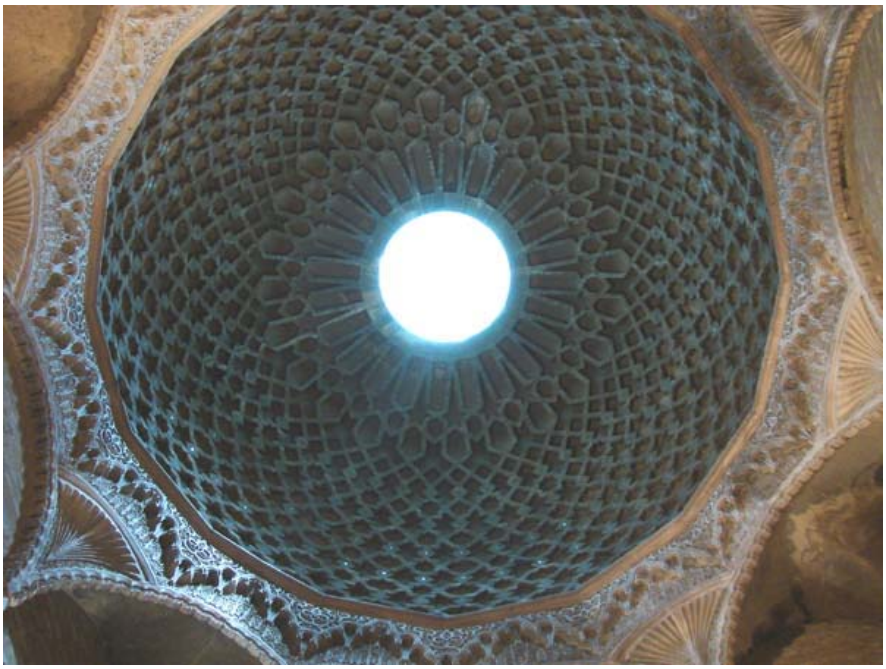

Figure A44. Capilla de la Piedad, Santa Marina.

Figure A45. Capilla de Santísimo Sacramento, Santa Marina.

Figure A46. North portal, Santa Marina.

Figure A47. South portal, Santa Marina.

Figure A48. Nave arcade, Santa Marina.

Figure A49. West portal, San Julián, Seville.

Figure A50. West portal, Santa Lucía (now located at Santa Catalina), Seville.

Figure A51. West portal, Omnium Sanctorum, Seville.

Figure A52. Jamb with heraldry, west portal, Santa Lucía.

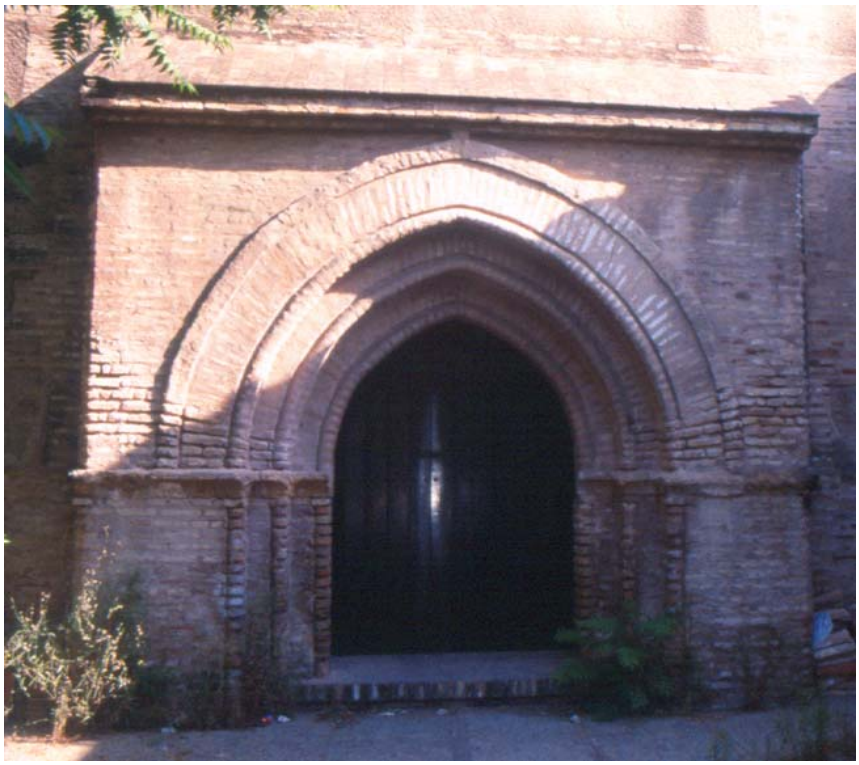

Figure A53. South portal, Santa Lucía.

Figure A54. Stucco *alfiz* in presbytery, San Andrés, Seville.

Figure A55. Remains of south portal, San Andrés.

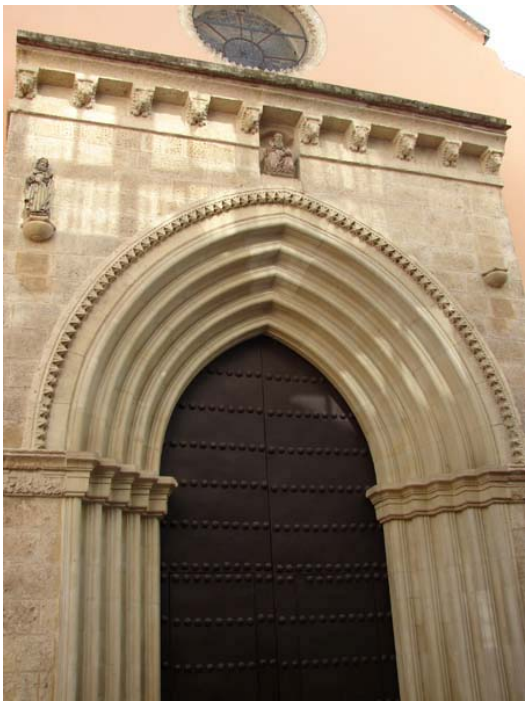

Figure A56. West portal, San Andrés.

Figure A57. South portal, Omnium Sanctorum.

Figure A58. Remains of arch from west entrance, San Lorenzo, Seville.

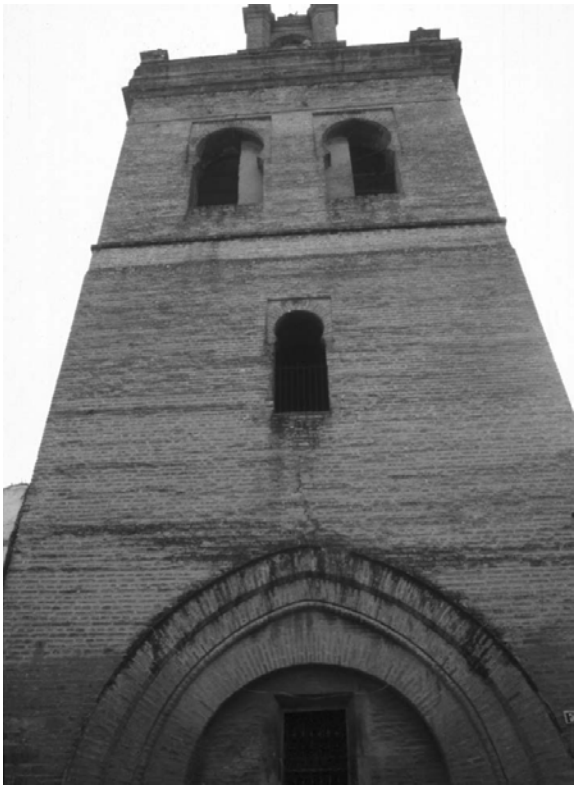

Figure A59. Tower, San Lorenzo.

Figure A60. South portal, San Isidoro, Seville.

Figure A61. West portal, San Isidoro.

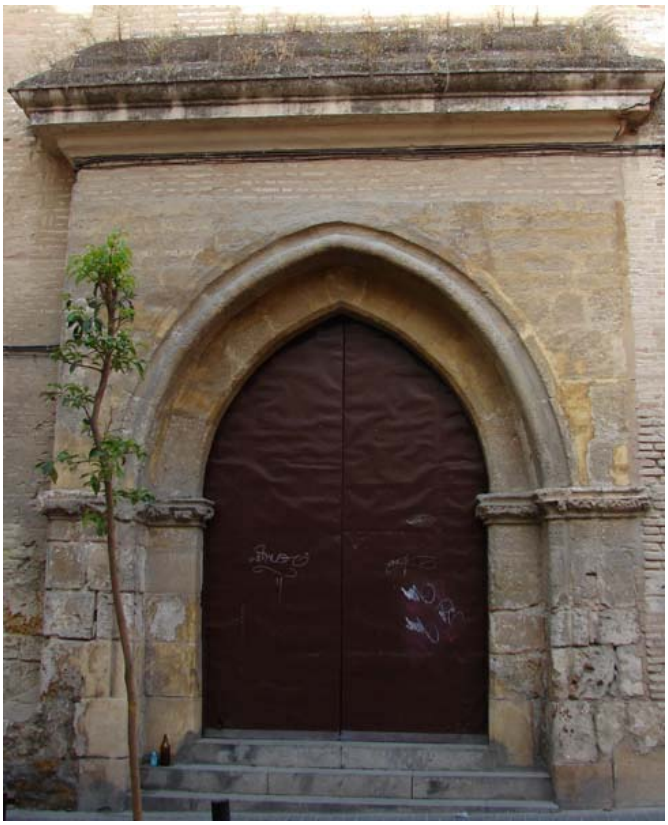

Figure A62. West portal, San Martín, Seville.

Figure A63. *Capilla mayor*, San Gil, Seville.

Figure A64. Nave, San Gil.

Figure A65. Apse, San Gil.

Figure A66. West portal, Santa María la Blanca, Seville.

Figure A67. South portal, Santa María Blanca.

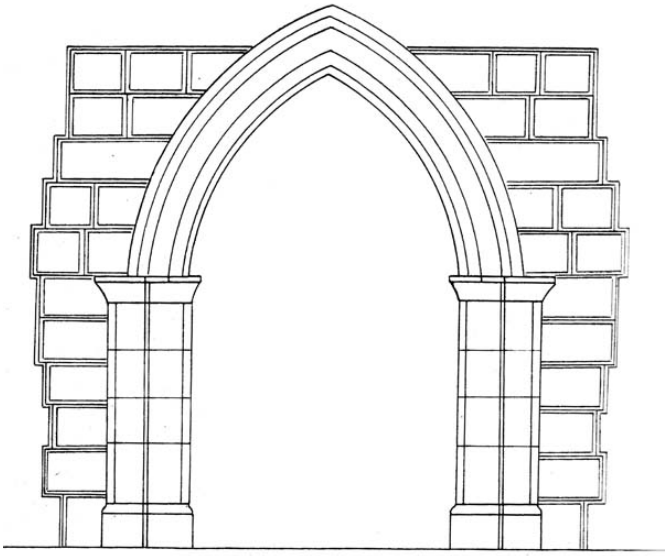

Figure A68. Gothic portal from original church, San Clemente, Seville. After Ángel Tabales (1997) fig. 26.

Figure A69. Mudejar window, San Clemente. After Ángel Tabales (1997) fig. 59.

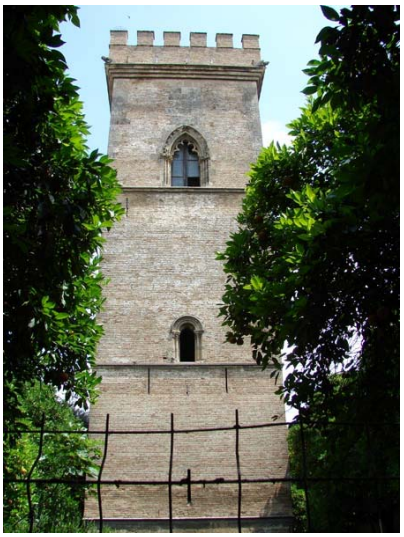

Figure A70. Tower of Don Fadrique, Santa Clara, Seville.

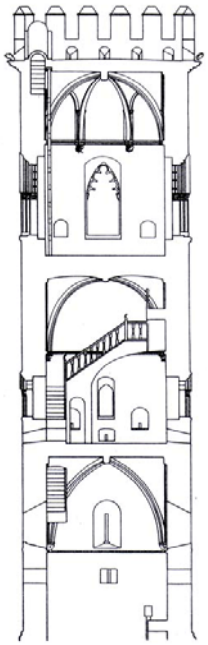

Figure A71. Tower of Don Fadrique, section. After Cómez (1998) 110, fig. 28.

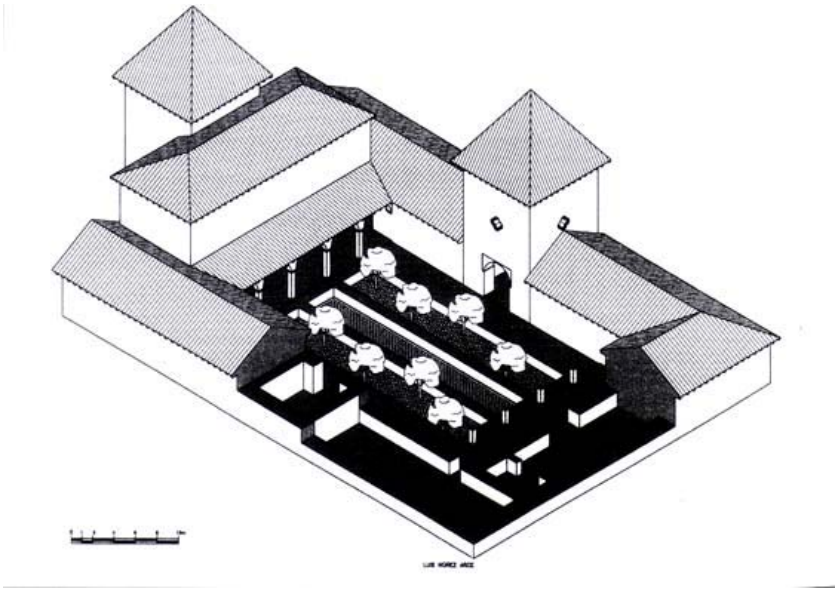

Figure A72. Hypothetical plan, Palace of Don Fadrique. After Oliva Muñoz, Jiménez Sancho, and Ángel Tabales (2003) 346, fig. 10.

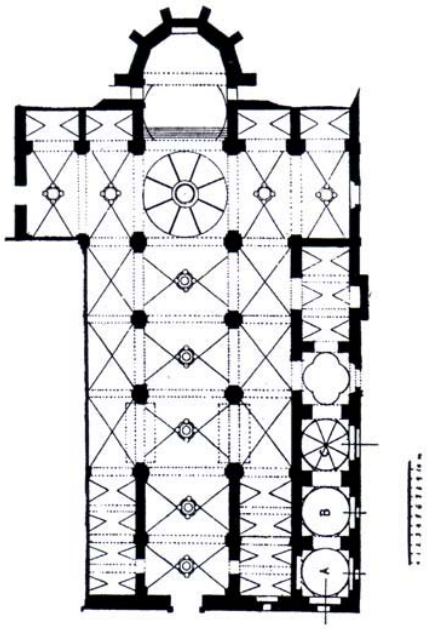

Figure A73. Plan of church, San Pablo (now La Magdalena). After Gutiérrez Moreno (1929) 234, fig. 2.

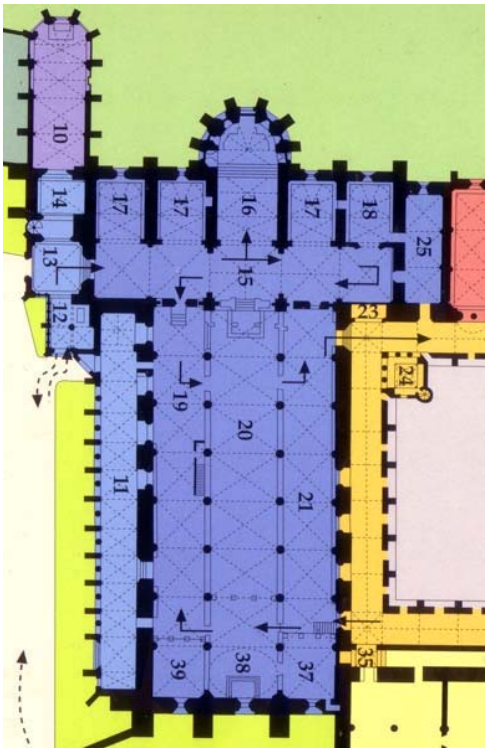

Figure A74. Plan of church, Las Huelgas, Burgos. After Herrero Sanz (2006) inside cover.

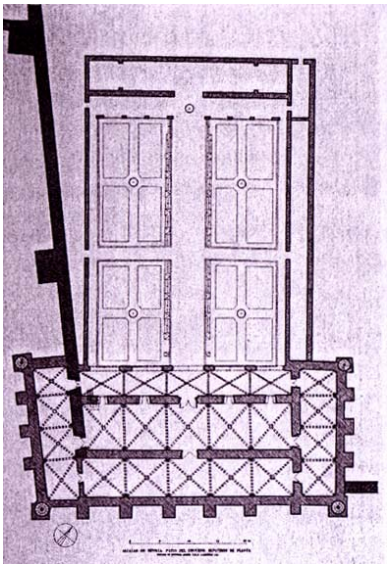

Figure A75. Hypothetical plan Alfonso X's palace, Alcazar, Seville. After López Guzmán (2000) 255, fig. 208.

Figure A76. “Baths of María de Padilla,” Alcazar.

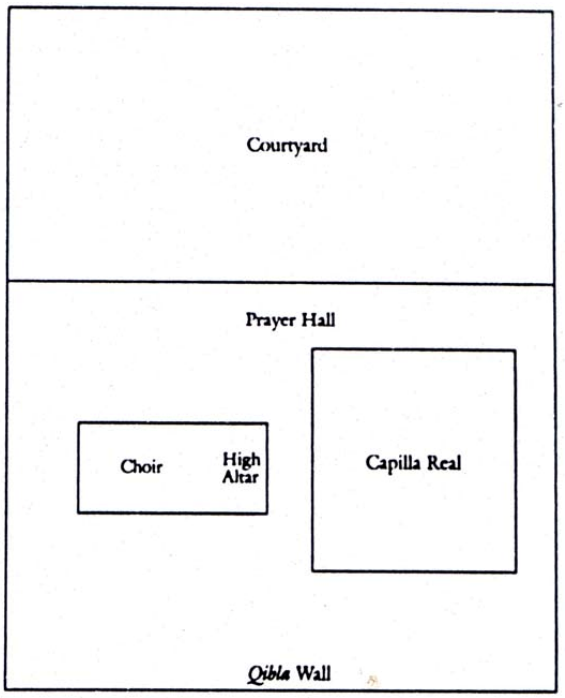

Figure A77. Hypothetical schematic plan of Alfonso X’s changes to the internal organization of Seville’s Great Mosque. After Ecker (2000) 112.

Figure A78. West façade, Burgos Cathedral.

Figure A79. *Fernando III and Beatrice of Swabia*, cloister, Burgos Cathedral.

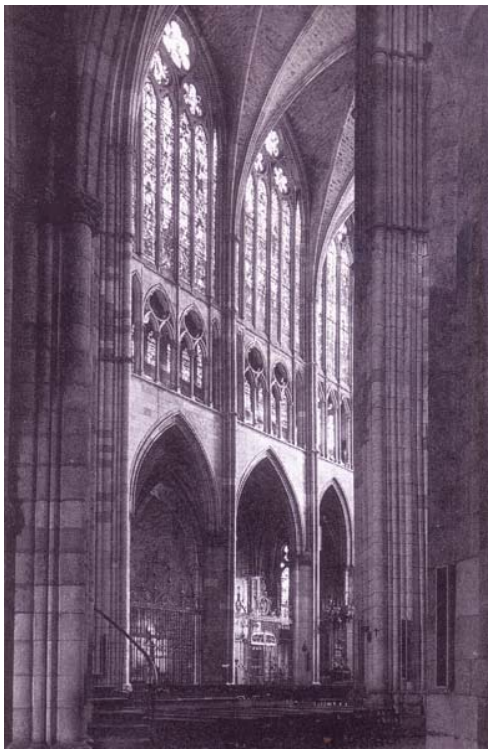

Figure A80. León Cathedral, choir. After Wilson (1990) 159, fig. 118.

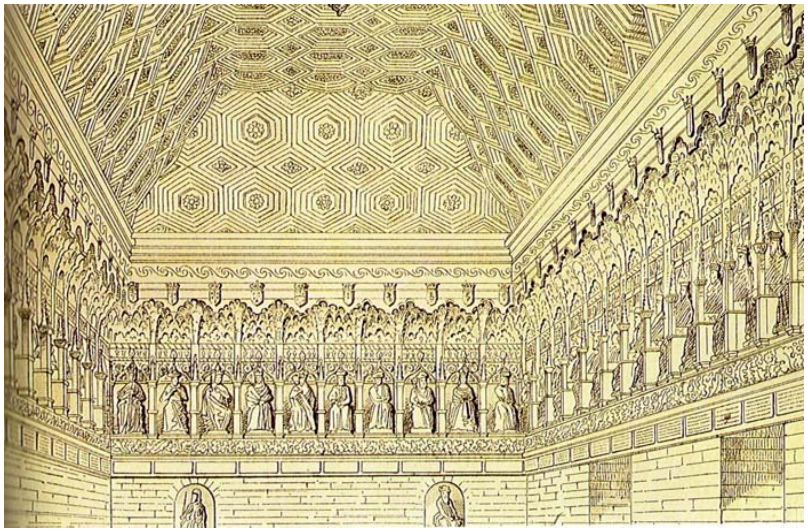

Figure A81. Sala de los Reyes, Alcazar, Segovia. After Peréz Higuera (1993) 87.

Figure A82. San Pablo, Cordoba.

Figure A83. Santa María Magdalena, Cordoba.

Figure A84. San Pedro, Cordoba.

Figure A85. West façade, San Marcos, Seville.

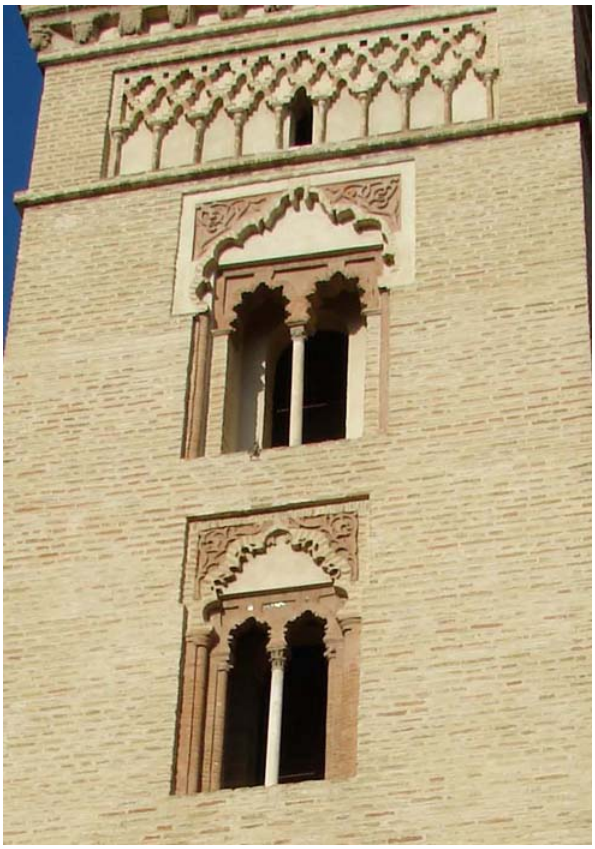

Figure A86. Detail of tower, San Marcos.

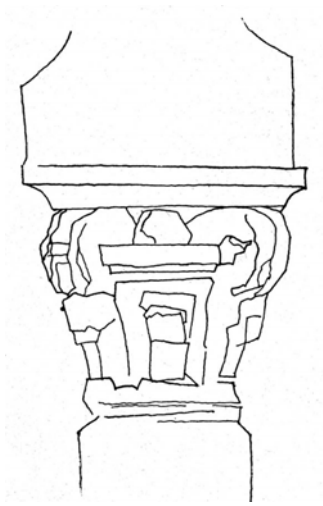

Figure A87. Capital from tower window, San Marcos.

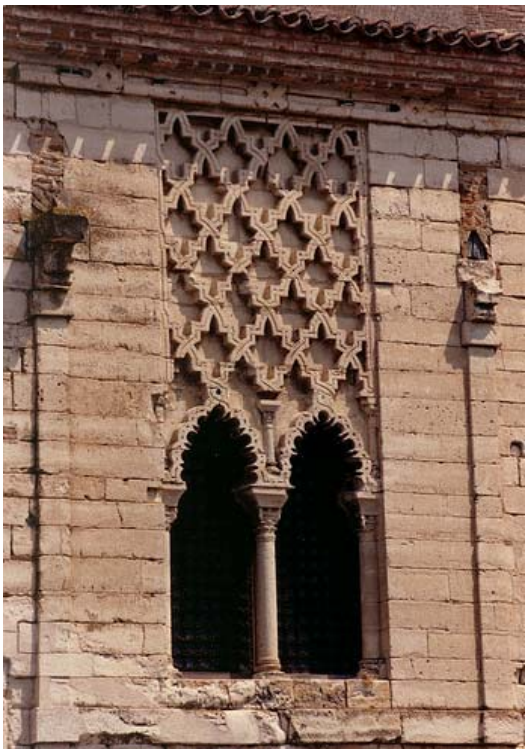

Figure A88. Main façade, Santa Clara (former palace of Pedro I), Tordesillas. After flickr.com, accessed 10/17/09.

Figure A89. Detail of west portal, San Marcos.

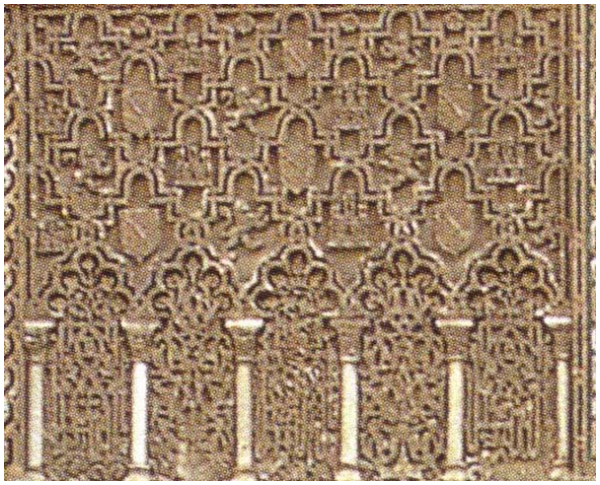

Figure A90. *Sebka* paneling of main façade of Pedro I's palace, Alcazar, Seville. After Martín (2002) 7.

Figure A91. West portal, San Estaban, Seville.

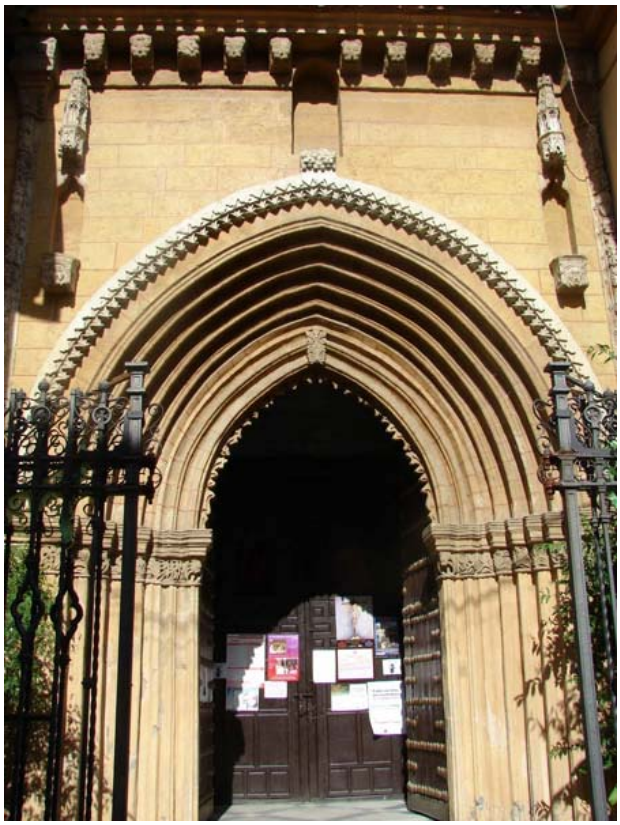

Figure A92. West portal, San Juan de la Palma, Seville.

Figure A93. Nave, San Marcos, Seville..

Figure A94. Tower, Omnium Sanctorum, Seville.

Figure A95. Tower, San Pedro, Seville.

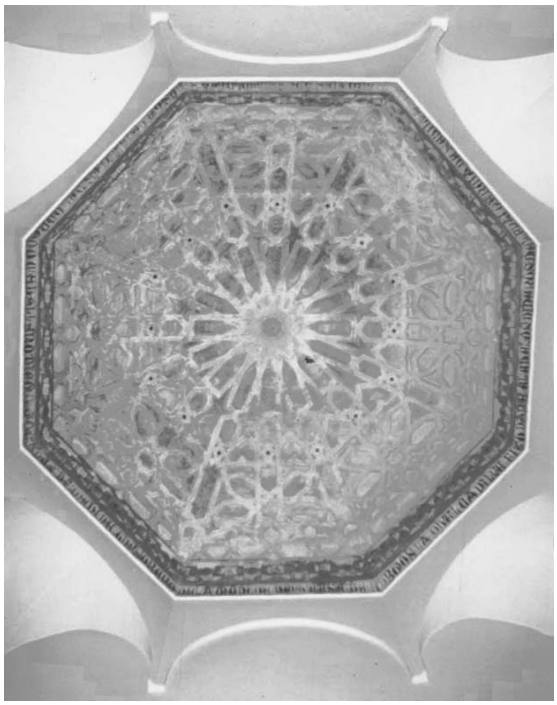

Figure A96. East dome, Capilla de Quinta, San Pablo (now La Magdalena), Seville.

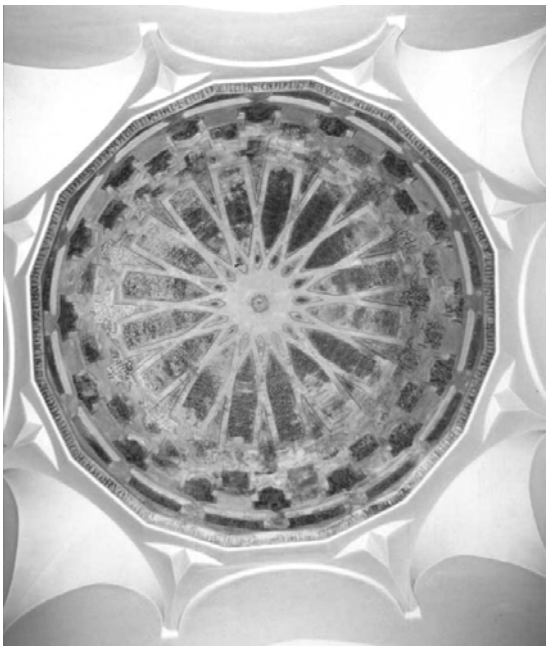

Figure A97. Central dome, Capilla de la Quinta Angustia.

Figure A98. West dome, Capilla de la Quinta Angustia.

Figure A99. Drawing of painted figure from central dome, Capilla de la Quinta Angustia. After Gutiérrez Moreno (1929) 240, fig. 6.

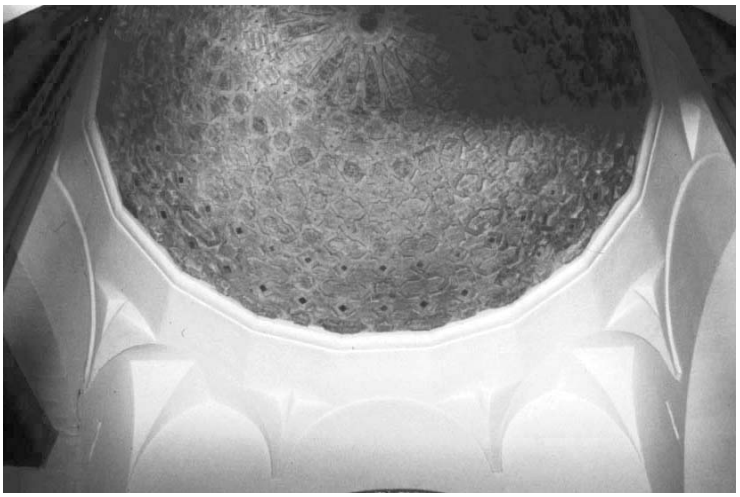

Figure A100. *Qubba* chapel, Santa Catalina, Seville.

Figure A101. *Qubba* chapel, San Isidoro, Seville.

Figure A102. Sacristy chapel, San Pedro, Seville.

Figure A103. Capilla de San Lucas, San Andrés, Seville.

Figure A104. Capilla de Cervantes, Omnium Sanctorum, Seville.

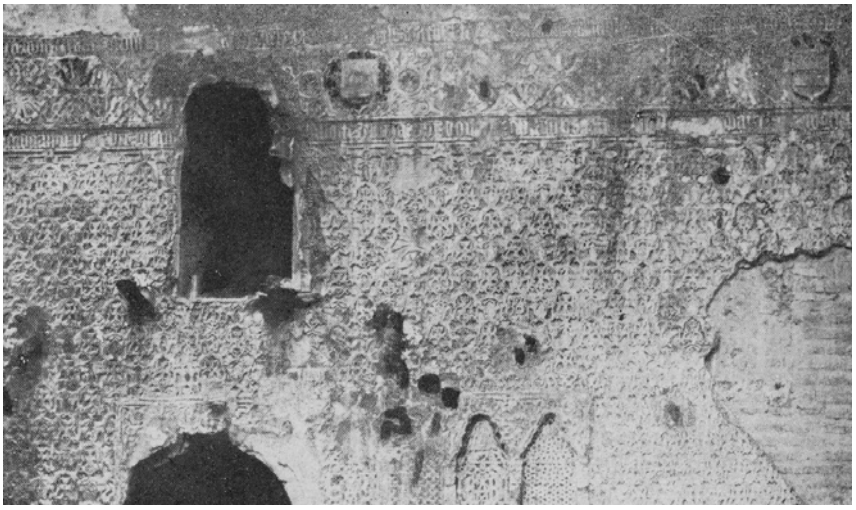

Figure A105. Stucco from sacristy chapel, San Julián, Seville. After Hernández Díaz and Sancho Corbacho (1936) plate IV, fig. 4.

Figure A106. Stucco detail San Julián. After Hernández Díaz and Sancho Corbacho (1936) plate IV, fig. 5.

Figure A107. Frieze, Pedro I's palace, Alcazar, Seville.

Figure A108. South portal, Santa Catalina, Seville.

Figure A109. Original west portal, Santa Catalina.

Figure A110. West façade, San Roman, Seville.

Figure A111. South portal, Santa María, Sanlucar la Mayor.

Figure A112. West façade, San Julián, Seville.

Figure A113. Window on west façade, Omnium Sanctorum, Seville.

Figure A114. Window on west façade, San Andrés, Seville.

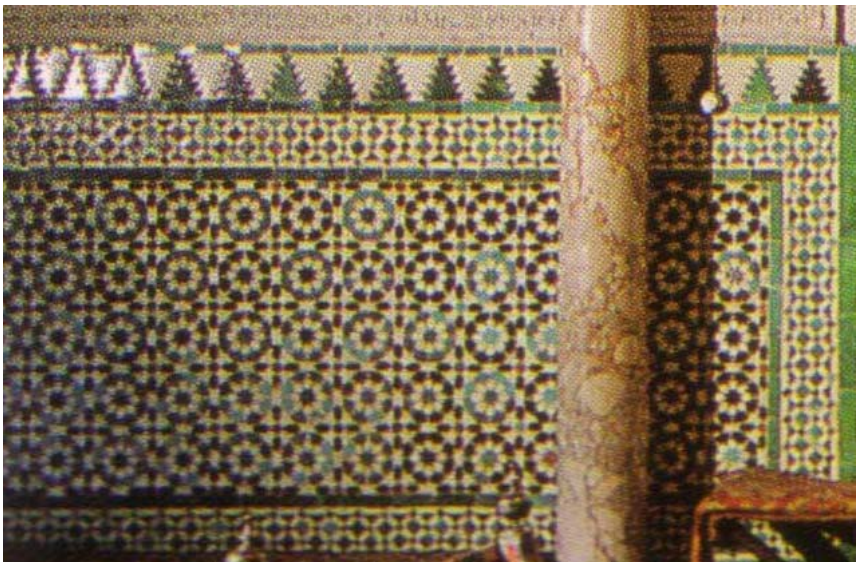

Figure A115. Tile dado Alcazar, Pedro I's palace, Alcazar, Seville. After Fidalgo (1987) 218, fig. 250.

Figure A116. Window on west façade Omnium Sanctorum, Seville.

Figure A117. *Capilla mayor*, Omnium Sanctorum.

Figure A118. *Capilla mayor,* San Andrés, Seville.

Figure A119. *Capilla mayor,* San Esteban, Seville.

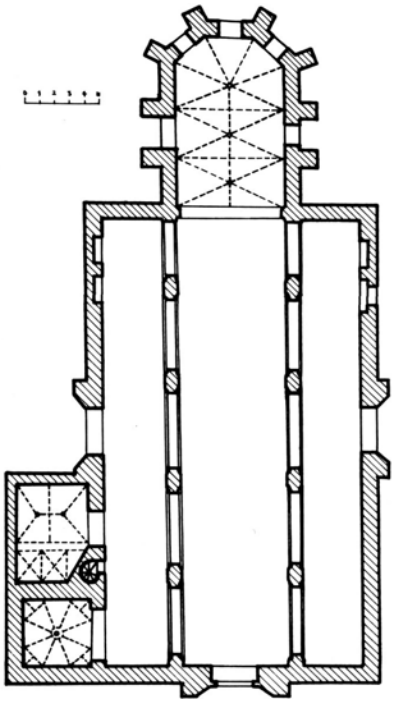

Figure A120. Plan, Omnium Sanctorum. After Morales, et all (1981) 207, fig. 216.

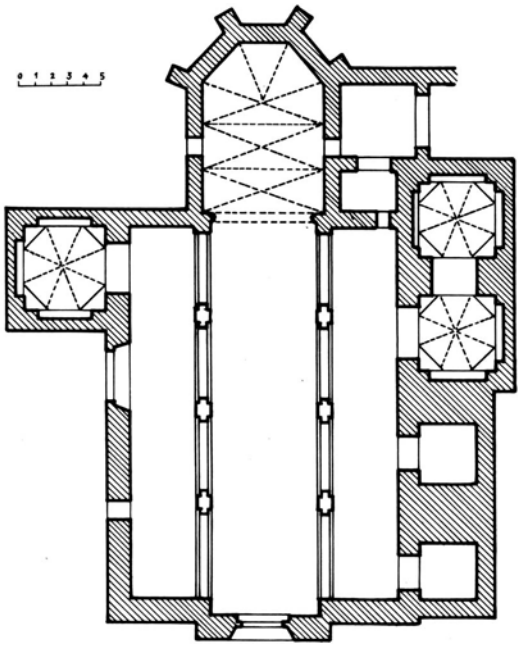

Figure A121. Plan, San Andrés. After Morales, et all (1981) 185, fig. 186.

Figure A122. Apse, Omnium Sanctorum.

Figure A123. Apse, San Andrés.

Figure A124. Apse, San Estaban.

Figure A125. Tile from altar, San Estaban.

Figure A126. *Capilla mayor* window, Church of the Convent of the Ascunsión. After Valdivieso González and Morales (1980) 235, fig. 251.

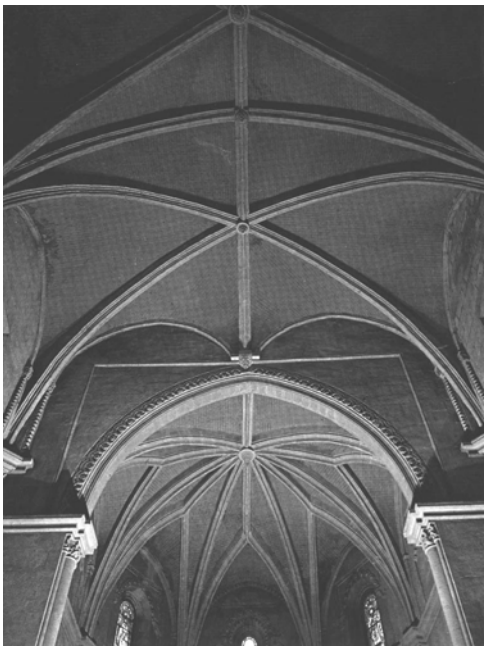

Figure A127. *Capilla mayor*, Church of the Convent of the Ascunsión. After Valdivieso González and Morales (1980) 231, fig. 243.

Figure A128. *Capilla mayor* exterior, Church of the Convent of the Encarnación.

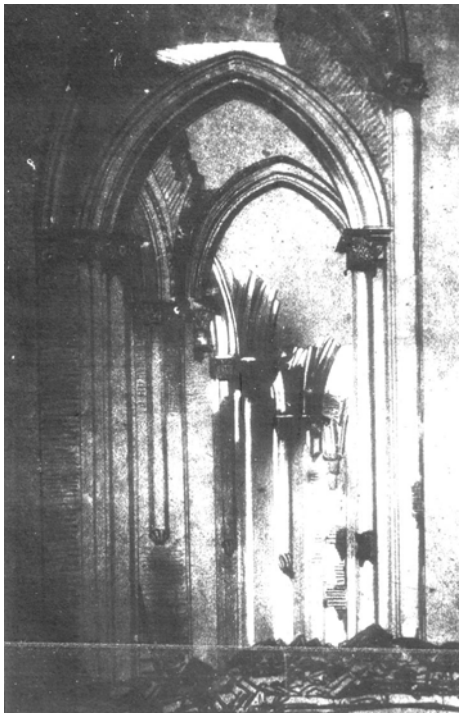

Figure A129. Drawing of nave, San Miguel (destroyed). After González de Leon (1973) plate 8.

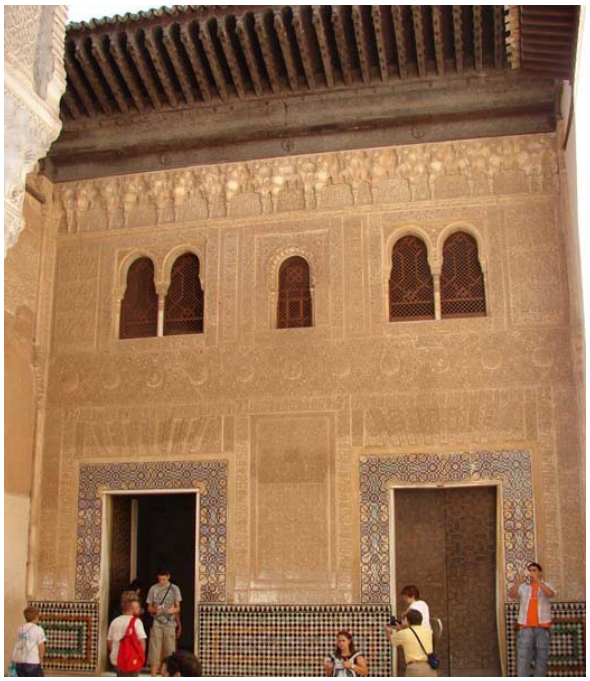

Figure A130. Patio del Cuarto Dorado of Muhammad V's palace, Alhambra, Granada.

Figure A131. Patio de las Doncellas, Pedro I's palace. Alcazar, Seville.

Figure A132. Arabic and Latin inscriptions on main façade of PedroI's palace.

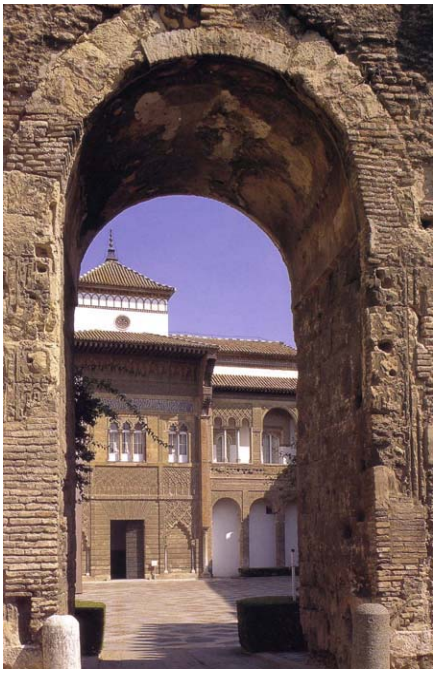

Figure A133. View of main façade of Pedro I's palace from the cathedral. After Martín (2002) 5.

Figure A134. Hall of Justice, Alcazar.

Figure A135. Sala del Trono, Comares Palace, Alhambra.

Figure A136. Hall of Justice, Alcazar.

Figure A137. Order of the Band on main façade of PedroI's palace.

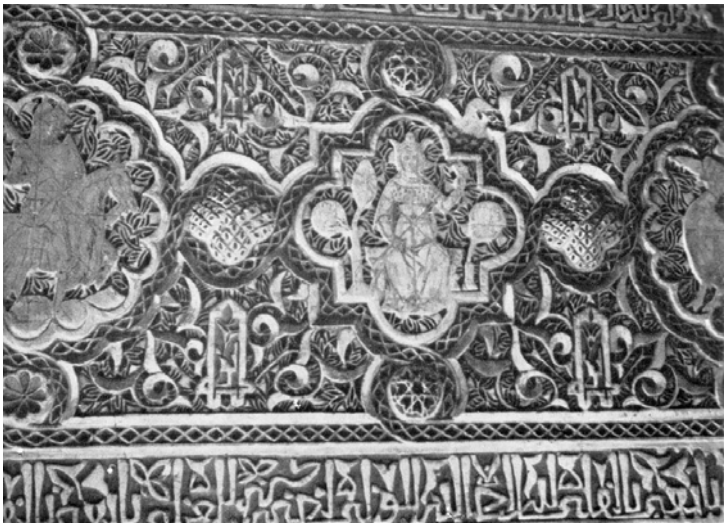

Figure A138. Silhouettes from Pedro I's palace. After Maldonado (1975) plate 162b.

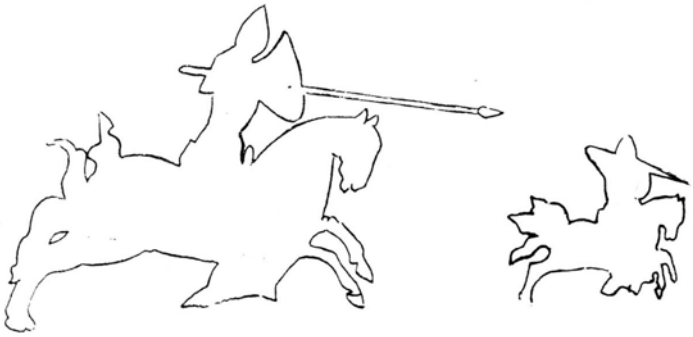

Figure A139. Comparison of figure from Pedro I's palace and miniature from the *Crónica Troyana*. After Maldonado (1973) 243, fig. 144.

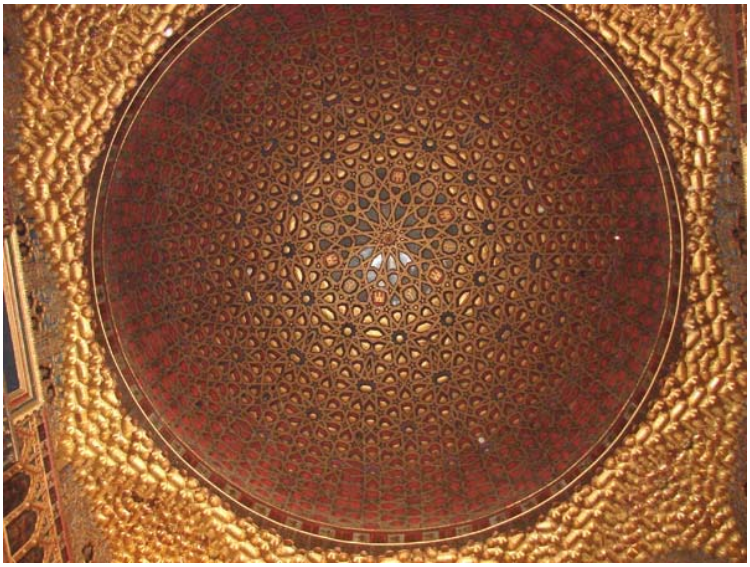

Figure A140. Diego Ruiz, Dome of the Hall of Ambassadors, Alcazar.

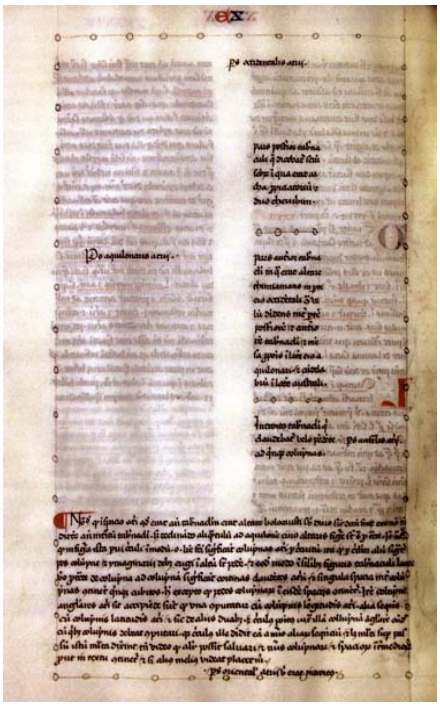

Figure A141. Plan of the Tabernacle in *Postillae litteralis in Bibliam*. After Ampliato Briones (2006) 387, fig. 6-21.

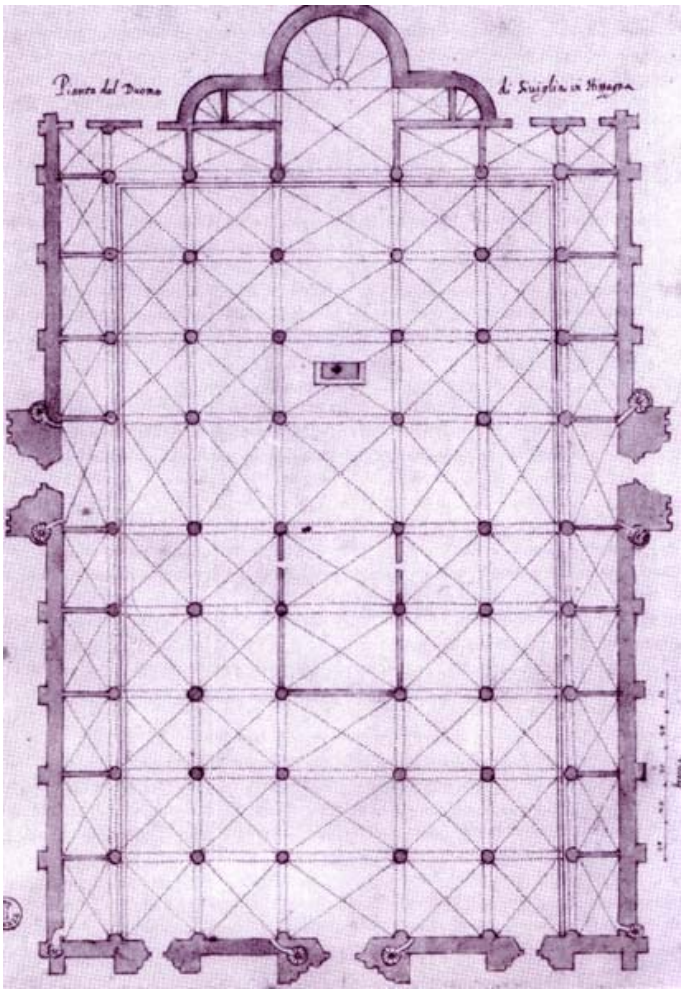

Figure A142. Plan of Seville Cathedral by Giorgio Vasari il Giovone. After Ampliato Briones (2006) 354, fig. 6-3.

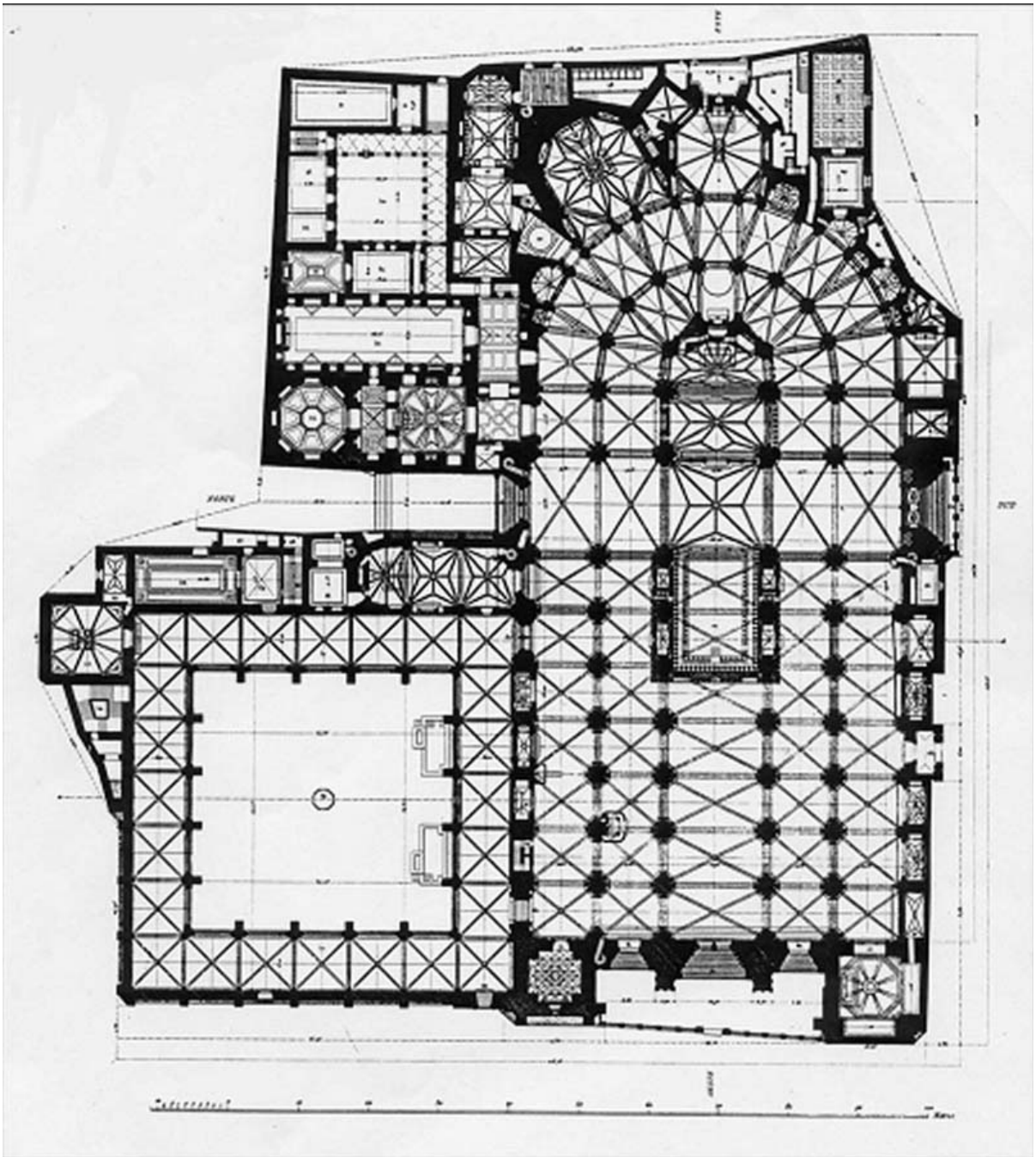

Figure A143. Plan, Toledo Cathedral. After Franco Mara (1991) 1: 425.

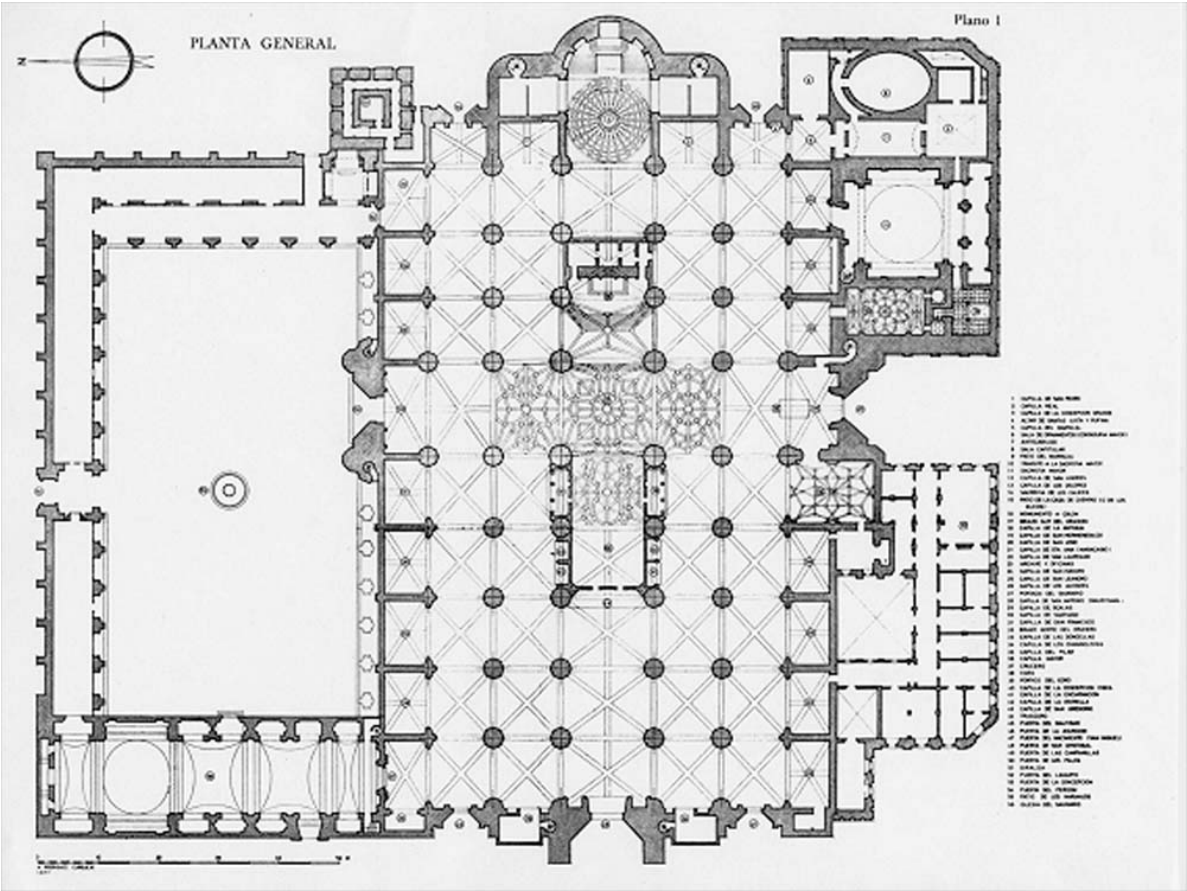

Figure A144. Plan, Seville Cathedral. After Falcón Márquez (1980) 33.

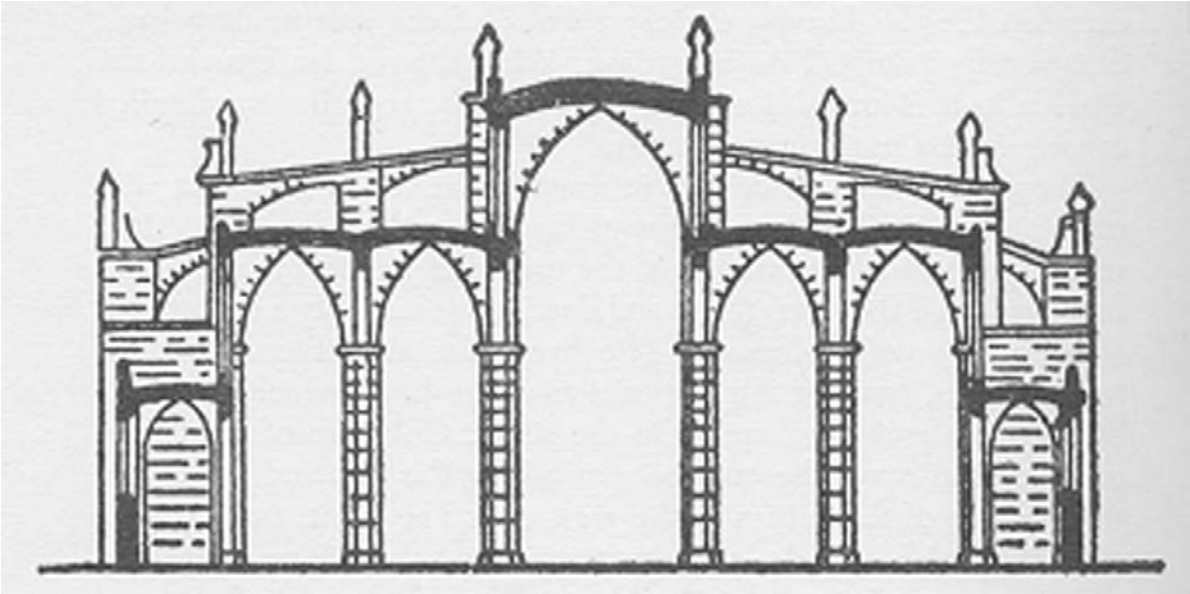

Figure A145. Cross-section, Seville Cathedral. After Harvey (1957) 234, fig. 148.

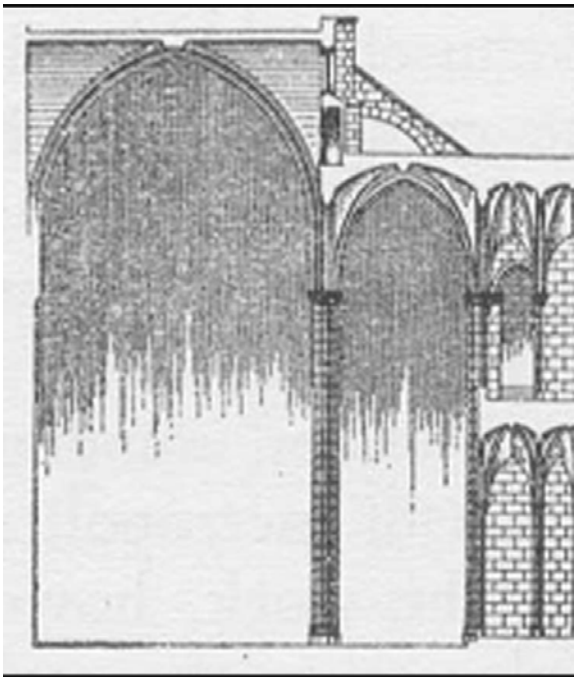

Figure A146. Cross-section, Barcelona Cathedral. After Harvey (1957) 151, fig. 87.

Figure A147. Nave, Seville Cathedral. After Wikimedia Commons, accessed 10/17/09.

Figure A148. Nave, Barcelona Cathedral. After Wilson (1990) 278, fig. 208.

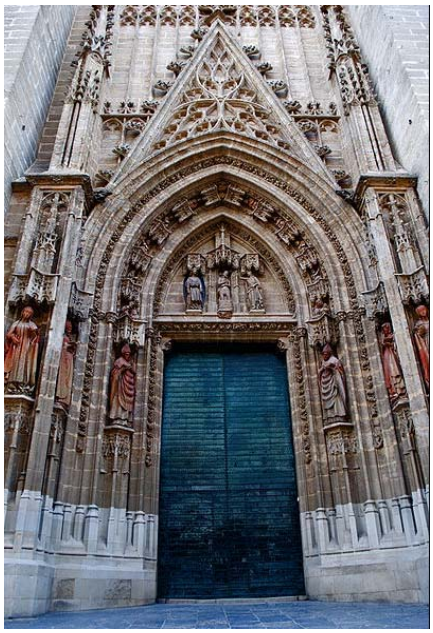

Figure A149. Seville Cathedral, Baptism Portal on west façade. After Wikimedia Commons, accessed 10/17/09.

Figure A150. Main portal on west façade (after design of Carlí), Barcelona Cathedral. After http://travel.webshots.com/photo/1050741873033787837OtWjNT, accessed 10/17/09.

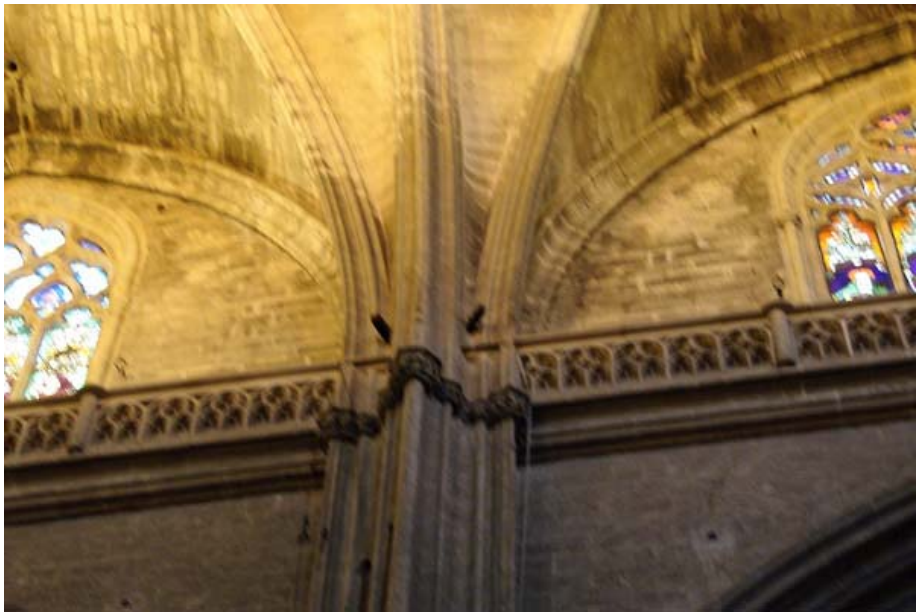

Figure A151. Springings and balustrade, Seville Cathedral.

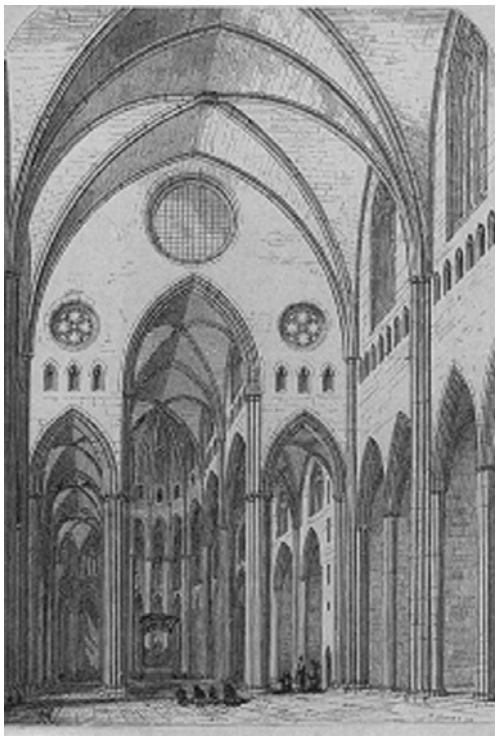

Figure A152. Gerona Cathedral. After Wilson (1990) 282, fig. 212.

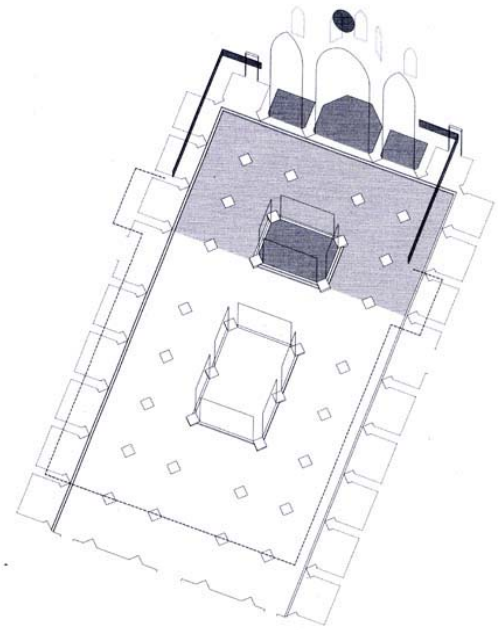

Figure A153. Hypothetical original plan, Seville Cathedral. After Ampliato Briones (2006) 392, fig. 6-25.

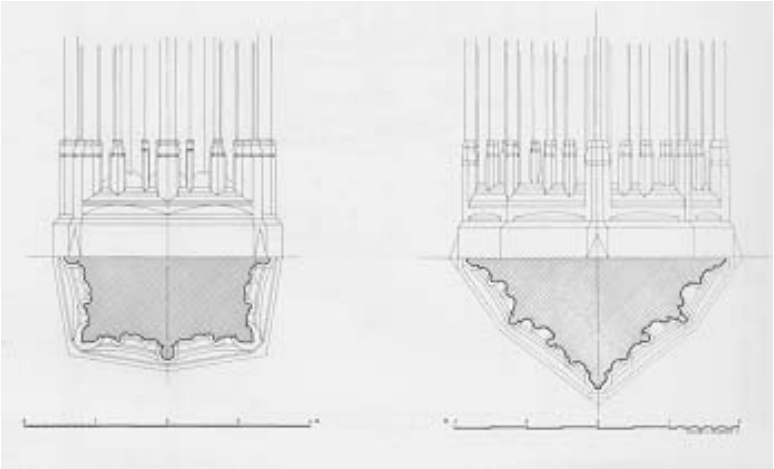

Figure A154. Aisle pier bases and cross-sections, Seville Cathedral. After Falcón Márquez (1980) 36.

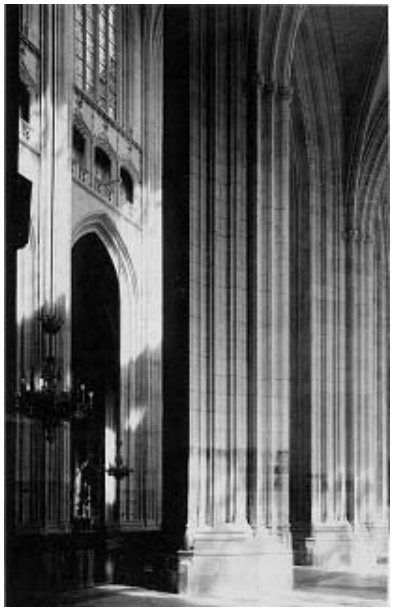

Figure A155. Piers, Nantes Cathedral. After Wilson (1990) 249, fig. 188.

Figure A156. Balustrade, Saint-Jean, Caen. After Flickr.com, accessed 10/17/09.

Figure A157. Balustrade, Burgos Cathedral.

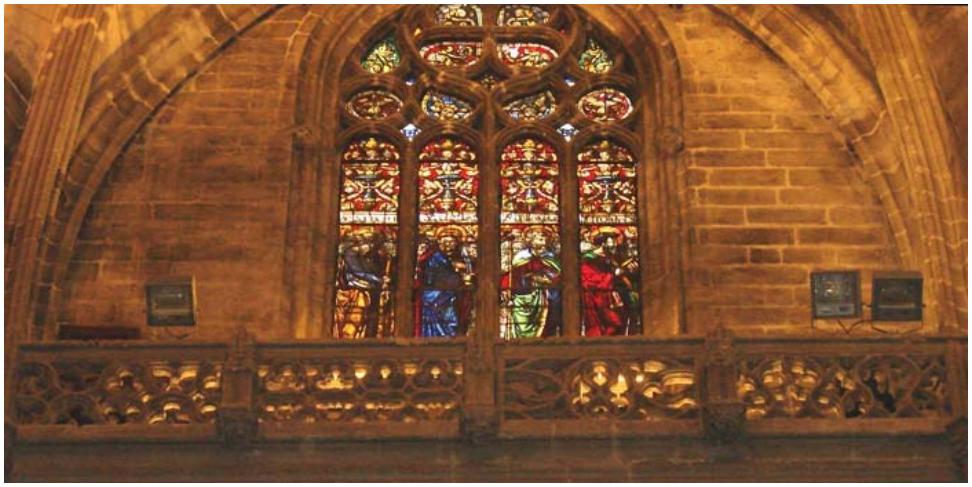

Figure A158. Clerestory, Seville Cathedral.

Figure A159. Simón de Colonia, Constable's Chapel, Burgos Cathedral.

Figure A160. Flying buttresses, Seville Cathedral.

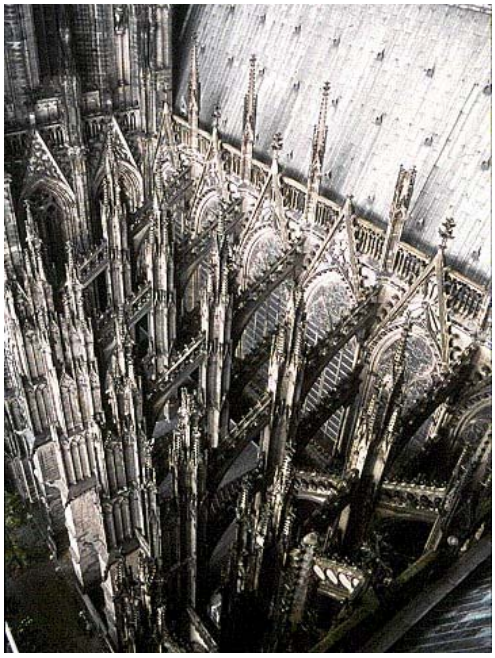

Figure A161. Flying buttresses, Cologne Cathedral. After http://www.koelner-dom.de/17313.html?&l=1, accessed 10/17/09.

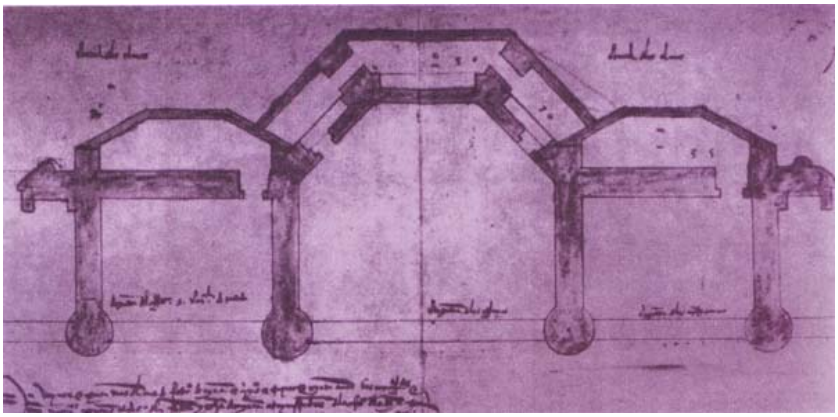

Figure A162. Proposed design from 1537 for *Capilla Real* of Seville Cathedral. After Ampliato Briones (2006) 390, fig. 6-23.

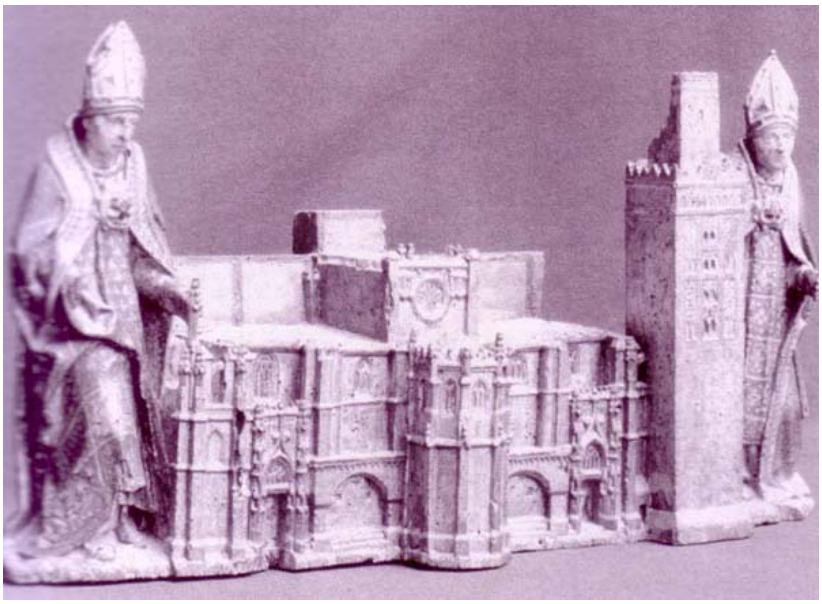

Figure A163. Model of Seville Cathedral from *retablo mayor*. After Ampliato Briones (2006) 391, fig. 6-24.

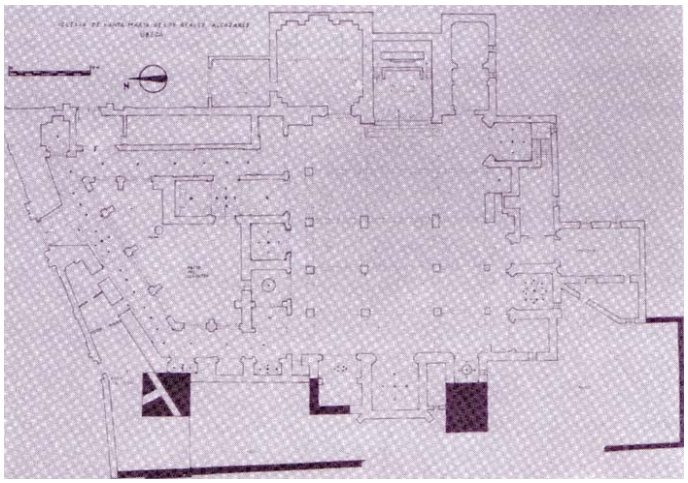

Figure A164. Santa María de los Reales Alcazares, Úbeda, plan. After Ampliato Briones (2006) 372, fig. 6-19.

Figure A165. Apse, La Seo, Saragossa. After Wikimedia Commons, accessed 10/17/09.

Figure A166. Dome of sacristy chapel, San Pablo, Cordoba.

Figure A167. Crossing, Burgos Cathedral.

Figure A168. Crossing, Seville Cathedral.

Figure A169. Nave of church, Santa María de las Cuevas (La Cartuja), Seville.

Figure A170. West façade of church, La Cartuja. After Wikimedia Commons, accessed 10/17/09.

Figure A171. Cloister, La Cartuja.

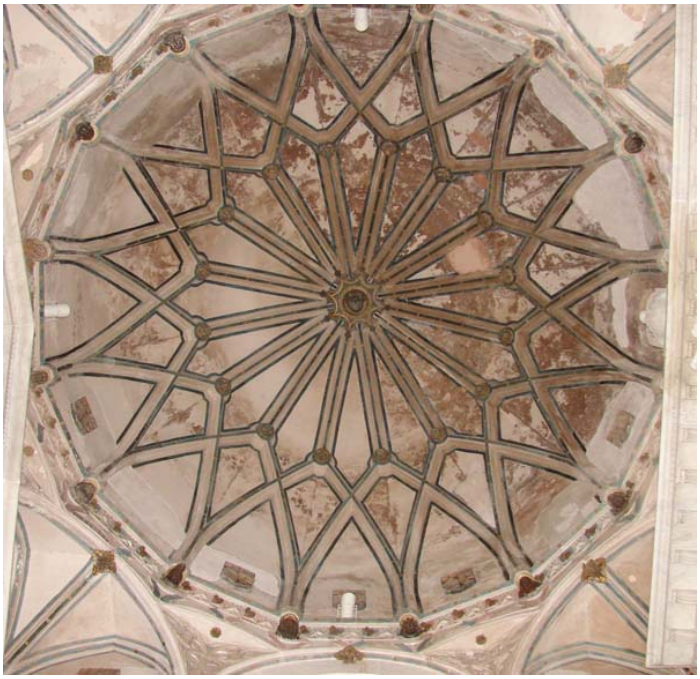

Figure A172. Dome of chapter house, La Cartuja.

Figure A173. Star vault of chapter house, La Cartuja.

Figure A174. San Martin, Seville.

Figure A175. Tower, San Martin.

Figure A176. West façade, Capilla del Antiguo Seminario de Santa María de Jesús, Seville.

Figure A177. Portal from University of Maese Rodrigo, (now on campus of Santa Clara), Seville.

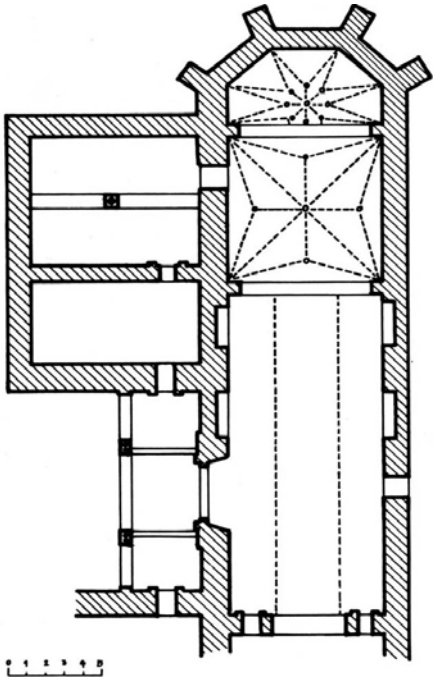

Figure A178. Plan of church, Santa Clara, Seville.

Figure 179. Church interior, Santa Clara. After López Guzmán (2000) 332, fig. 272.

Figure A180. North side of church, Santa Paula, Seville.

Figure A181. North portal of church, Santa Paula.

Figure A182. Main entrance to campus, Santa Paula.

Figure A183. San Juan de los Reyes, Toledo.

Figure A184. Santa Maria de Miraflores, Burgos.

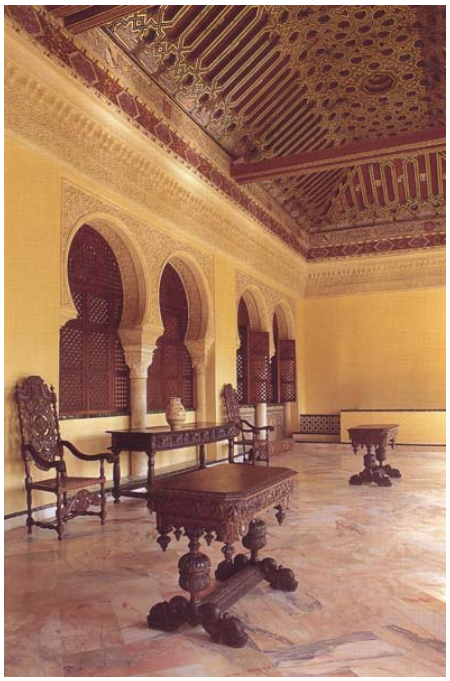

Figure A185. Mirador of the Catholic Monarchs, Alcazar, Seville. After Marín Fidalgo (1990) 118, fig. 139.

Figure A186. Private Chapel of Isabel of Castile, Alcazar. After Martín (2002) 15.

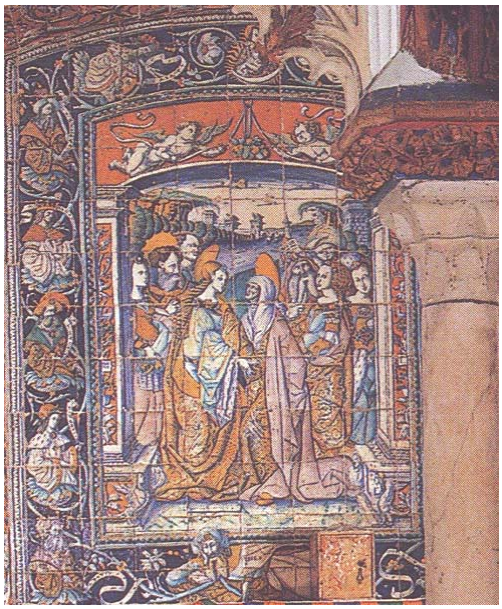

Figure A187. Niculoso Pisano, *Visitation*, altarpiece from Chapel of Isabel of Castile. After Martín (2002) 15.

Figure A188. *Capilla Real,* Seville Cathedral. After Martínez Montiel and Morales (1999) 121.

Figure A189. City Hall, Seville. After *All Seville*, 61.

Figure A190. *Artesonado* of church, San Clemente. After http://www.sanclemente-sevilla.com/Flash/visitavirtual.html, accessed 10/17/09.

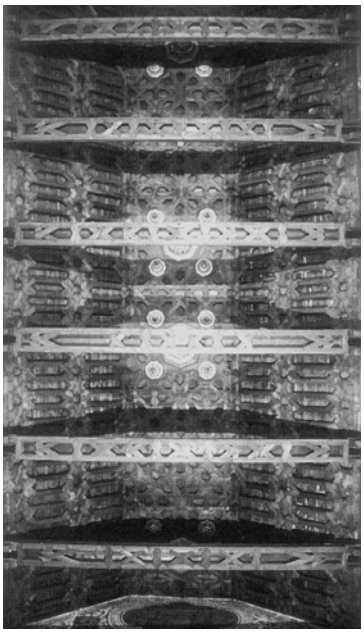

Figure A191. Diego López de Arenas, *Artesonado* of church, Santa Paula. After López Guzmán (2000) 72, fig. 44.

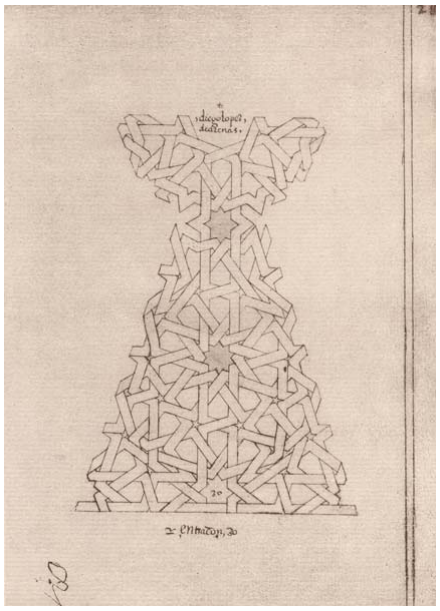

Figure A192. Diego López de Arenas, Illustration from *Brief Compendium of the Carpintería de lo Blanco and Treatise of Builders*, folio 28.

Figure A193. Aníbal González, Pabellón de Arte Antiguo (now Museo de Artes y Costumbres), Seville.

Figure A194. Aníbal González, Pabellón Real (now municipal offices), Seville. After http://www.sevillasigloxx.com/2008/03/pabelln-real.html, accessed 10/17/09.

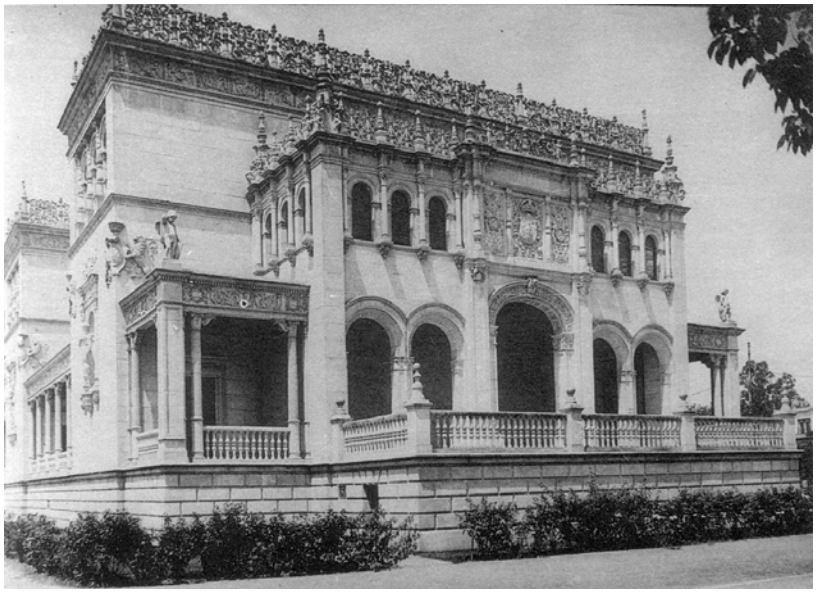

Figure A195. Aníbal González. Pabellón de Bellas Artes (now Museo Arqueologico), Seville. After Villar Movellán (1979) 281, fig. 165.

Figure A196. Casa de Pilatos, Seville.

Figure A197. Antonio Got and Mariano Bartuchi, Pabellón de Marruecos, Seville. After http://www.sevillasigloxx.com/2008/05/el-pabelln-de-marruecos.html, accessed 10/17/09.

Figure A198. Renato Ramírez Sánchez, Mezquita de Granada.

Figure A199. Renato Ramírez Sánchez. Prayer hall, Mezquita de Granada. After http://alshurafa.net, accessed 10/17/09.

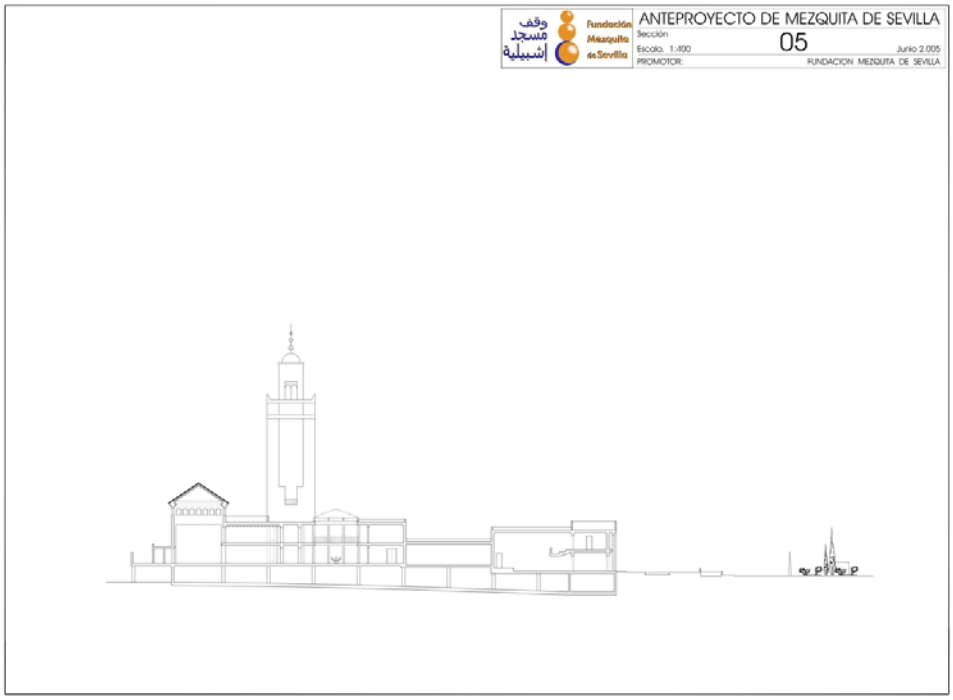

Figure A200. Design for Seville mosque project. After http://www.mezquitadesevilla.com/proyectoconstruccion/construccion.htm, accessed 10/17/09.

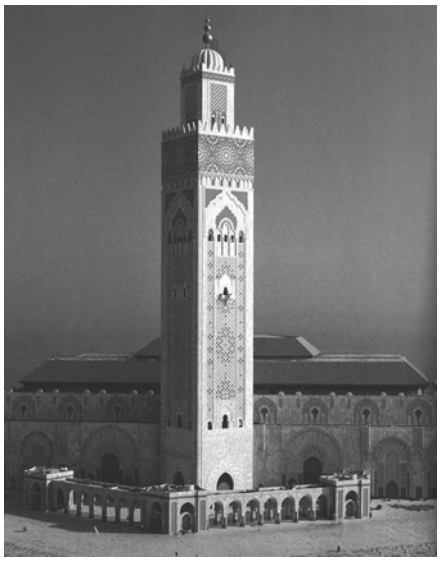

Figure A201. Michel Pinseau, Main (south) façade of Mosque of Hassan II. After Sinaceur (1993), 38.

Figure A202. Michel Pinseau, Moroccan Pavilion for 1992 Universal Exposition (now Fundación de Tres Culturas). After Flickr.com, accessed 10/17/09.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archival Collection

Libro del Peso de los alarifes, Archivo Municipal de Sevilla, carpeto 15, doc. 15, no. 5.

Primary Sources

Alfonso X. *Primera crónica general de España*, edited by Ramón Menéndez Pidal. Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1955.

_____. *Las Siete Partidas*, translated by Samuel Parsons Scott and edited by Robert I Burns. The Medieval Church 1. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

_____. *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X, The Wise*, translated by Kathleen Kulp-Hill with an introduction by Connie L. Scarborough. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 173. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000.

Ballesteros y Beretta, Antonio. *Sevilla en el siglo XIII*. Madrid: Establecimiento tipográfico de Juan Pérez Torres, 1913.

Caro, Rodrigo. *Antigüedades y Principado de la Ilustrissima Ciudad de Sevilla*. Sevilla: Andres Grande, 1634. Reprint Sevilla: Alfar, 1982.

Chronicle of Alfonso X, translated by Shelby Thacker and José Escobar. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002.

Espinosa de los Monteros, Pablo. *Teatro de La Santa Iglesia metropolitana de Sevilla, Primada Antigua de las Españas*. Sevilla: Mateos, Clavijo, 1635. accessed http://fondosdigitales.us.es/fondos/libros/1739/15/teatro-de-la-santa-iglesia-metropolitana-de-seuilla-primada-antigua-de-las-espanas/.

González Arce, José Damián. *Documentos medievales de Sevilla en el Archivo Municipal de Murcia: Fueros, Privilegios, Ordenanzas, Cartas, Aramcles (Siglos XIII-XV)*. Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 2003.

Gonzalez, Julio. *Repartimineto de Sevilla: Estudio y edición preparada*. 2 vols. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas y Escula de Estudios Medievales, 1951.

Grande, Andres, ed. *Recopitulacion de las Ordananzas de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla*. Sevilla, 1632. Reprint edited by Victor Peréz Escolano y Fernando Villanueva Sandino. Sevilla: Gráficas del Sur, 1975.

Hernández, F.J., ed. *Los Catularios de Toledo: Catalogo Documental*. Madrid: Fundacion Ramon Areces, 1985.

Ibn Abdun, Muhammad b. Ahmad. *Séville Muslumane au Début du XIIe Siécle: Le Traité d'Ibn 'Abdun sur la Vie Urbaine et les Corps de Métiers*, translated by E. Lévi-Provençal. Paris: G.P. Maisonneuve, 1947.

Ibn Sāhib al-Salā. *Al-mann Bil-Imāma*, translated by Ambrosio Huici Miranda. Valencia: Impreso por Anubar, 1969.

Isidore of Seville. *The Etymologies*, translated by W. J. Lewis, J.A. Beach and Oliver Berghof with the collaboration of Muriel Hall. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

_____. *History of the Goths, Vandals, and Suevi*, translated by Guido Donini and Gordon B. Ford, Jr. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970.

Jiménez de Rada, Rodrigo. *Historia de rebus Hispanae sive Historia Gothica*, edited by Juan Fernández Valverde. Turnholt: Brepols, 1987.

The Latin Chronicle of the Kings of Castile, edited and translated by Joseph O'Callaghan, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 236. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2002.

López de Arenas, Diego. *Primera y segunda parte de las Reglas de Carpentería de Diego Lópes de Arenas en este año de MDCVIII*, edited by Manuel Gomez-Moreno. Madrid: Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, 1966.

_____. *Breve compendio de la Carpentería de lo Blanco y tratado de alarifes, con la conclusión de la regla de Nicolas Tartaglia y otras cosas tocantes a la iometria y puntas del compas*. Sevilla: Luis Estupiñan, 1633. Reprint, Valencia: Albatros Ediciones, 1982.

Lucas, Bishop of Tuy. *Cronica de España,* edited by Julio Puyol. Madrid: Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1926.

Morgado, Alonso. *Historia de Sevilla*. Sevilla: La Imprenta de Andrea Pescioni y Juan de Leon, 1587. Reprint Sevilla: Ariza, 1887.

Münzer, Jerónimo. *Viaje por España y Portugal, 1494-1495*. With a prologue by Manuel Gómez-Moreno and translated by José López Toro. Madrid: Coleción Almenara, 1951.

Ortiz de Zúñiga, Diego. *Anales eclesiásticos y seculars de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla, metropolis de Andalucía*. 5 vols. Madrid: En la Imprenta Real, 1677. Reprint, edited by José Sánchez Herrero. Seville: Guadalquivir S.L., Ediciones, 1988.

Peraza, Luis de. *Historia de Sevilla*, edited by Francisco Morales Padrón. Seville: Artes Gráficas Salesianas, 1979.

Rosell, Cayetano. *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla: desde Don Alfonso el Sabio, hasta los Catolicos Don Fernando y Dona Isabel: coleccion ordenada por Don Cayetano Rosell. I, Crónica de Don Alfonso X; de Don Sancho el Bravo; de Don Fernando IV; de Don Pedro I*. Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1875. Reprint Madrid: Atlas, 1953.

Villani, Matteo. *Cronica con La Continuazione di Filippo Villani*, edited by Giuseppe Porta. Vol. 1. Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo, 1995.

Vitruvius Pollio, Marcus. *Ten Books on Architecture*, edited by Ingrid D. Rowland and Thomas Noble Howe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Secondary Sources

Actas I Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo. Teruel: Diputación Provincial, 1981.

Actas X Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo. 30 años de Mudejarismo: memoria y futuro [1975-2005] Teruel 14-16 Sept. 2005, 685-693. Teruel: Instituto de Estudios Turolenses and Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 2007.

All Seville. Barcelona: Editorial Escudo de Oro, S.A.

Almargo Gorbea, Antonio. "El Alcázar de Sevilla en el siglo XIV." In *Ibn Jaldún: el Mediterráneo en el siglo XIV: auge y declive de los imperios*. Catalog of an exhibition held in the Real Alcázar de Sevilla, May-Sept. 2006, edited by María Jesús Viguera and Inmaculada Cortés Martínez, 398-403. Sevilla: Fundación El Legado Andalusí; Fundación José Manuel Lara, 2006.

Alvarez, Mari-Tere. "Artistic Enterprise and Spanish Patronage: The Art Market during the Reign of Isabel of Castile (1474-1504)." In *Art Markets in Europe, 1400-1800*, edited by Michael North and David Ormrod, 45-59. Brookfoeld, V.T.: Ashgate, 1998.

Amador de los Ríos, José, with afterword by Pedro de Madrazo. *El Estilo de Mudejar en arquitectura: discurso*. Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel Tello, 1872. Reprint, Valencia: Librerías "Paris-Valencia," 1996.

Ampliato Briones, Antonio Luis. "Una aproximación hermenéutica al espacio catedralicio sevillano." In *La catedral gótica de Sevilla: fundación y fábrica de la obra nueva*, edited by Alfonso Jiménez Martín, 351-408. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, Vicerrectorado de Investigación, 2006.

Ángel Tabales, Migue,l ed. *El Real Monasterio de San Clemente: una Propuesta Arqueológica*. Sevilla: Universidad de Seville, 1997.

Angulo Iñiguez, Diego. *Arquitectura Mudéjar Sevillana de los Siglos XII, XIV y XV*. Sevilla: Imprenta Gráficas Marinas, 1932. Reprint, Sevilla: Ayuntamiento, 1983.

Antequera Luengo, Juan José. *La Cartuja de Sevilla: Historia, Arte y Vida*. Madrid: Editorial Anaya, 1992.

Asgar Alibhai, Ali. "The Reverberations of Santiago's Bells." *La Corónica* 36 (2008): 145-164.

Assas y de Ereño, Manuel de. "Nociones fisionómicas-históricas de la arquitectura en España." Series of articles in *Seminario Pintoresco Español* (1857).

Avílez Moreno, Guadalupe. "El Arte Mudéjar en Sevilla y su Influencia en la Nueva España: Arquiectua Religiosa Siglos XIII-XVI." Ph.D. diss., Universidad de Sevilla, 1980.

Azcárate Ristori, José María. "La Capilla de Santiago en las Huelgas de Burgos." *Reales Sitios* 8 (1971): 49-52.

_____. *Arte Gótico En España*. Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 1990.

Bango Torviso, Isidoro G. "El arte construir en ladrillo en Castilla y León durante la Alta Edad Media, un Mudéjar inventado en el siglo XIX." In *Mudéjar Iberoamericano: una expression cultural de dos mundos*, edited by I. Henares Cuéllar and R. López Guzmán, 109-123. Granada: Univesridad de Granada, 1992.

_____. "Crisis de una Historia del art medieval de partir de la teoría de los estilos. La problemática de la Alta Edad Media." *Revisión del Arte medieval en Euskal Herría. Cuad.Secc.Artes Plást,Monum* 15 (1996): 15-28.

_____. "El verdadero significado del aspecto de los edificios: De lo simbolico a la realidad functional. La iglesia encastillada." *Anuario del Departamento del Historia y Teoría del Arte* 9–10 (1997–98): 53-72.

Bango Torviso, Isidoro G., ed. *Maravillas de la España medieval: tesoro sagrado y monarquía*. 2 vols. León: Junta de Castilla y León: Caja España, 2000.

Barca, Francesca. "Seville will have its mosque back." *Cafébabel*, 6 October 2008. http://www.cafebabel.com/eng/article/25080/Europe-On-The-Ground-Islam-Seville-Mosque.html (accessed July 31, 2009).

Bendala, M. and I. Negueruela. "Baptisterio paleocristiano y visigodoen los Reales Alcázares de Sevilla." *Noticiaro Arqueológico Hispano* 10 (1980): 335-379.

Blanco Freijeiro, Antonio. "La Sevilla Romana." In *Historia del Urbanismo Sevillano (De la prehistoria a los visigodos)*. 1-22. Sevilla: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de Santa Isabel de Hungria, 1972.

_____. *La Ciudad Antigua: de la prehistoria a los visogodos*, Historia de Sevilla. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1979.

Bloom, Jonathon. *Minaret: Symbol of Islam*. Oxfod Studies in Islamic Art 7. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

_____. "Mosque Towers and Church Towers in Early Medieval Spain." *Künstlerischer Austausch – Artistic Exchange: Akten des XXVIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte, Berlin, 15.-20. Juli 1992*, edited by Thomas W. Gaehtgens, 3 vols, 1:361-371. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993.

Borrás Gualís, Gonzalo. "El arte Mudéjar: estado actual de la cuestión." In *Mudéjar Iberoamericano: una expression cultural de dos mundos*, edited by I. Henares Cuéllar and R. López Guzmán, 9-19. Granada: Univesridad de Granada, 1992.

_____. *El arte mudéjar*. Teruel: Insituto de Estudios Turolenses, 1993.

_____. "Mudejar: An Alternative Architectural system in the Castilian Urban Repopulation Model." *Medieval Encounters* 12 (2006): 329-340.

_____. "Historiografía (1975-2005) y Prospectiva de los Estudios sobre arte Mudéjar." In *Actas X Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo. 30 años de Mudejarismo: memoria y futuro [1975-2005]* Teruel 14-16 Sept. 2005, 685-693. Teruel: Instituto de Estudios Turolenses and Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 2007.

_____, ed. *Los Mudéjares in Aragón*. Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada de Aragón, 2003.

Borrero, Mercedes. *El Real Monasterio de San Clement: un monasterio Cisterciense en la Sevilla medieval*. Sevilla: Ayuntamiento, 1992.

_____. *El Archivo del Monasterio de San Clemente de Sevilla: catálogo de documentos* (1186-1525). Sevilla: Comisaría de la Ciudad de Sevilla, 1992.

_____. "Los Monasterios Femeninas en Tiempos de Fernando III." *Archivo Hispalense* 77 (1994): 495-508.

Bosch Vilá, Jacinto. *La Sevilla Islamica, 712-1248*. Historia de Sevilla. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1984.

Boze, Diane. "Imagined Identities: Romanticism, Cultural Identification, and Sevillian Cityscape Art." Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1999.

Buresi, Pascual. "Les conversions d'églises et de mosquées en Espagne aux XIe–XIIIe siècles." In *Religion et société urbaine au Moyen âge: études offertes à Jean-Louis Biget par ses anciens élèves*, edited by Patrick Boucheron and Jacques Chiffoleau, Publications de la Sorbonne, Histoire ancienne et médiévale 60, 333-350. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2000.

Burns, Robert Ignatius. *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Reconstruction on the 13th-century Frontier*, 2 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967.

_____. "The Significance of the Frontier in the Middle Ages." In *Medieval Frontier Societies*, edited by Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay, 307-330. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

_____. "Stupor Mundi: Alfonso X of Castile, the Learned." In *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X of Castile and His Thirteenth-century Renaissance*, edited by Robert I. Burns, 1-13. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990.

Caballero Zoreda, Luis, and José Ignacio Murillo Fragero. "Cómo se construye una torre Mudejar. La torre de la iglesia de San Pedro el Viejo de Madrid." *Arqueología de Arquitectura* 3 (2004): 39-60.

Cantera Burgos, Francisco. *Synagogas españolas: con especial estudio de la de Cordoba y la toledana de El Tránsito*. 2nd ed. Madrid: Instituto "Benito Arias Montano," 1984.

Carriazo y Arroquia, Juan de Mata. "La Apéndice, referido a cuenca, de los 'Anales de Garci Sánchez, jurado de Sevilla'." *La España Medieval* 1 (1980): 59-74.

Caskey, Jill. *Art and Patronage in the Medieval Mediterranean: Merchant Culture in the Region of* Amalfi. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Castillo Maldonado, Pedro. "*Angelorum Participes*: The cult of the Saints in Late antique Spain." In *Hispania in Late Antiquity: Current Perspectives*, edited and translated by Kim Bowes and Michael Kulikowski, 151-188. Leidem and Boston: Brill, 2005.

Castro, Américo. *The Spaniards: An Introduction to Their History*. Translated by Williard F. King and Selma Margaretten. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.

_____. *The Structure of Spanish History*. Translated by Edmund L. King. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954.

Chueca Goitia, Fernando. *Historia de la Arquitectura Española: Edad Antigua, Edad Media*. Madrid: Editorial Dossat, 1965.

Collantes de Terán, Antonio Sanchez. *Sevilla en la Baja Edad Media. La Ciudad y sus Hombres*. Sevilla: Ayuntamiento, 1979.

_____. "Los Mudejares Sevillanos." In *Actas 1 Symposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*, 225-235. Teruel: Diputación Provincial, 1981.

_____. "Una Ciudad, Una Catedral." In *La catedral gótica de Sevilla: fundación y fábrica de la obra nueva*, edited by Alfonso Jiménez Martín, 117-145. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, Vicerrectorado de Investigación, 2006.

Collantes de Terran, Francisco. "La Sevilla que vio Guzmán el Bueno." *Archivo Hispalense* 27 (1957): 9-44.

Collantes de Terrán, Imculada Ríos, and Antonio Sánchez de Mora. "El Mudéjar in la Iglesia Parroquial de San Juan de la Bautista, Vulgo de la Palma; A Propósito de un Documento." *Laboratorio de Arte* 11 (1998): 405-419.

Cómez Ramos, Rafael. *Arquitectura alfonsí*. Publicaciones de la Excma. Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1974.

_____. "La estrella de Solomón en la Iglesia de San Isidoro de Sevilla." *Archivo Hispalens* 58 (1975): 81-85.

_____. "El Program Iconográfico de la Portada de la Iglesia de Santa Marína de Sevilla." *Archivo Hispalense*. 186 (1978): 141-149.

_____. *Las empresas artísticas de Alfonso X el Sabio*. Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1979.

_____. "El Libro del Peso de los Alarifes." In *Actas del I Simposio Internacional del Mudejarismo*, 255-267. Teruel: Diputación Teruel, 1981.

_____. "La portada de la iglesia de Santa Lucía en Sevilla, iconografía y cronología." *Laboratorio de Arte* 3 (1990): 33-44.

_____. *Imagen y simbolo en la edad media andaluza*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1990.

_____. "Das problem der Sevillaner Sakralarchitektur vor dem Hintergrund der Reconquista." *Kritische Berichte: Mitteilungsorgan des Ulmer Vereins Verband für Kunst- und Kulturwissenschaften* 20 (1992): 7-15.

_____. "La Antigua sinagoga del Barrio de Santa Cruz en Sevilla," *Madrider Mitteilungen* 33 (1992): 184-195.

_____. *La Iglesia de Santa Marina de Sevilla*. Sevilla: Diputación de Sevilla, 1993.

_____. "Fragmentos de una mezquita sevillana: la aljama de Ibn Adabbas." *Laboratorio de Arte* 7 (1994): 11-23.

_____. *EL Alcazar del rey don Pedro*. Sevilla: Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1996.

_____. "El Alcázar de Sevilla en dos ejemplos de dominación cultural: Alfonso X el Sabio y Pedro I el Cruel." In *Spanien und der Orient im frühen und hohen Mittelalter; Kolloqium Berlin 199,* 157-164. Main am Rhein: P. von Zabern, 1996.

_____. "La Introduccion de la Arquitectura Gotica en Sevilla en el Siglo XIII." In *Metropolis Totius Hispaniae. 750 Aniversario de la Incorporacion de Sevilla a la Corona Castellana*. Sevilla, 107-116. Seville: Ayuntamiento, 1998.

_____. "Nacionalismo e historiografía; el autor de las trazas de la catedral de sevilla." In *Gotische Architektur in Spanien: Akten des Kolloquiums der Carl Justi-Vereinigung und des Kunstgeschichtichen Seminars der Universität Göttingen*, 335-344. Frankfurt am Main and Madrid: Vervuet, 1999.

_____. "La Iglesia de Santa María de la Oliva de Lebrija, Monumento Alfonsí." In *I Jornados de Historia de Lebrija (Edad Media)*, edited by M. González J. Ménez, 25-34. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla y Ayuntamiento de Lebrija, 2005.

_____. "Arte mudéjar sevillano: la arquitectura en tiempos de Pedro I." In *La herencia de al-Andalus*, ed. F. Roldan Castro (Sevilla: Fundación el Monte, 2007), 101-118.

Concejo Díez, María Luisa. "El arte mudéjar burgalés de los siglos XIII-XV." In *El arte gótico en el territorio burgalés*, edited by Emilio Jesús Rodríguez Pajares and María Isabel Bringas López. Colección "Arte en el territorio burgalés," 145-176. Burgos: Universidad Popular para la Educación y Cultura de Burgos, 2006.

Contreras, Juan de. *Historia del arte hispánico.* Vol. 2. Barcelona: Salvat, 1934.

Crossely, Paul. "Medieval Architecture and Meaning: The Limits of Iconography." *Burlington Magazine* 130 (1988): 116-21.

Dabrio González, María Teresa. *Estudio historico-artístico de la Parroquia de San Pedro*. Sevilla: Excma. Diputación Provincil, 1975.

Delgado Valero, Clara. *Toledo islámico: ciudad, arte e historia*. Toledo: Zocodover, 1987.

_____. "El Mudéjar toledano y su Área de Influencia." In *El Mudéjar Iberoamericano: Del Islam al Nuevo Mundo*, *Palacio Episcopal, Málaga, 1 de abril-15 de julio de 1995*, edited by Rodrigo Gutiérrez Viñuales and Manuel Chaves González, 111-126. Granada: El Legado Andalusí, 1995

Díez Jorge, María Elena. *El arte mudéjar: expressión estética de una convivencia.* Granada and Teruel: Universidad de Granada and Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 2001.

_____. "Lecturas historiofraficas sobre la convivencia y el multiculturalismo en el arte Mudéjar." In *Actas X Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*, 735-746.

Dodds, Jerrilynn D., ed. *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992.

_____. *Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain*. University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990.

_____. "The Mudejar Tradition in Architecture." In *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, edited by Salma Khadra Jayyusi, 599-620. Leiden: Brill, 1992.

_____. "The Great Mosque of Cordoba." In *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain*, edited by Jerrilynn D. Dodds, 10-25. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992.

_____. "Islam, Christianity, and the Problem of Religious Art." In *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200*, edited by Jerrilynn Dodds, Charles Little, Serafin Moralejo, and John Williams, 27-37. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993.

_____. "Mudejar Tradition and the Synagogues of Medieval Spain: Cultural Identity and Cultural Hegemony." In *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*, edited by Vivian B. Mann, Thomas F. Glick, and Jerrilynn D. Dodds, 113-132. New York: George Braziller and The Jewish Museum, 1992.

_____. "Rodrigo, Reconquest, and Assimilation: Some Preliminary Thoughts About San Román." In *Spanish Medieval Art: Recent Studies*, edited by Column Hourihane, 215-244. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies; Princeton: The Index of Christian Art Princeton University, 2007.

Dodds, Jerrilynn D., María Rosa Menocal, and Abigail Krasner Balbale. *The Arts of Intimacy: Christian, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008.

Dodds, Jerrilynn, Charles Little, Serafin Moralejo, and John Williams, eds. *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993.

Dominguez Casas, Rafael. *Arte y Etiqeta de los Reyes Catolicos: Artistas, Residencoas, Jardines y Bosques*. Madrid: Editorial Alpuerto, s.a., 1993.

Duclos Bautista, Guillermo. *Carpintería de lo Blanco en la Arquitectura Religiosa de Sevilla*. Sevilla: EXCMA Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1992.

Echevarria, Ana. "Paintings and Politics in the Alhambra." In *Courting the Alhambra: Cross-Disciplinary Approaches to the Hall of Justice Ceilings [Special Offprint of Medieval Encounters 14, 2-3 (2008)]*, edited by Cynthia Robinson and Simone Pinet, [47] 199-[66] 218. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

Ecker, Heather. "The Conversion of Mosques to Synagogues in Seville: The Case of the Mezquita de la Judería." *Gesta* 36 (1997): 190-207.

_____. "From Masjid to Casa-Mezquita: Neighborhood Mosques in Seville After the Castilian Conquest (1248-1634)." Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, Trinity College, 2000.

_____. 'Arab Stones,' Rodrigo Caro's Translations of Arabic Inscriptions in Seville (1634), Revisted." *Al-Qantara* 23 (2002): 347-402.

_____. "The Great Mosque of Córdoba in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries." *Muqarnas* 20 (2003): 113-141.

_____. "How to Administer a Conquered City in Al-andalus: Mosques, Parish Churches and Parishes." In *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile,* edited by Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi, 45-65. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

Elleh, Nnamdi. *Architecture and Power in Africa*. Westport: Praeger, 2002.

Estow, Clara. *Pedro the Cruel of Castile, 1350-1369*. New York: E.J. Brill, 1995.

Excavación arqueológica de la Mezquita del Cristo de la Luz. Toledo: Parroquia de San Nicolás de Bari y Consorcio de la Ciudad de Toledo, 2006.

Falcón Márquez, Teodoro. *La Catedral de Sevilla: Estudio Arquitectónico*. Sevilla: Excma. Diputación Provincial, 1980.

Feliciano, María Judith. "Muslim Shrouds for Christian Kings? A Reassessment of Andalusi Textiles in Thirteenth Century Castilian Life and Ritual." In *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile,* edited by Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi, 101-131. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

Frankl, Paul. *Gothic Architecture*, edited by Paul Crossley. New haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000.

"Fundación Tres Culturas." http://www.tresculturas.org (accessed July 31, 2009).

García-Tapial y León, José, Carmen Hernández Rey, and José Solís Guzmán. *Real Monasterio de Santa Clara: Historia y descripción*. Seville: Colegio Oficial de Aparejadores y Arquitectos Técnicos de Sevilla y Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 2006.

Gardner, Arthur. *An Introduction to French Church Architecture*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1938.

Gentil Govantes, P. *El riesgo sísmico en Sevilla*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1989.

Gestoso y Pérez, José. *Sevilla monumental y artística: historia y descripción de todos los edificios notables, religiosos y civiles, que existen actualmente en esta ciudad y noticia de las preciosidades artísticas y arqueológicas que en ellos se conservan*. 3 vols. Sevilla: J. G. Hispal, 1889-1892.

_____. *Guia artística de Sevilla: historia y descripcion de sus principales monumentos religiosos y civiles y noticia de las preciosidades artístico-arqueológicas que en ellos se conservan de arquitectura, escultura, pintura, grabado, orfebrería, cerámica, etc., etc.* Sevilla: Establecimiento tipográfico de El Órden, 1884.

_____. *Historia de los barros vidriados sevillanos desde su orígenes de nuestros días*. Sevilla: Typografía La Andalucía Moderna, 1903.

_____. *Guia del Alcázar de Sevilla: su historia y descripción*. Sevilla: Escuela Tipgráfica Salsiana, 1899.

Giordano, Luisa. "On Filarete's Libro Architettonico." In *Paper Palaces: the Rise of the Renaissance Architectural Treatise*, edited by Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks, 51-65. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

Glick, Thomas. "Convivencia: An Introductory Note." In *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medival Spain*, edited by Vivian B. Mann, Thomas F. Glick, and Jerrilynn D. Dodds, 1-11. New York: George Braziller and The Jewish Museum, 1992.

_____. *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle: Social and Cultural Change in Medieval Spain.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.

Gómez Martínez, Javier. *El Gótico Español de la Edad Moderna. Bóvedas de Crucería*. Valladolid: University of Valladolid, 1998.

Gomez-Moreno, Manuel. "La torre de san Nicolás, en Madrid." *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología* 1 (1927): 129-132.

Gómez Piñol, Emilio. La Iglesia Colegial del Salvador: Arte y sociedad en sevilla (siglos XIII al XIX). Sevilla: Fundación Farmacéutica Avenxoar, 2000.

González Amézqueta, Adolfo. "La arquitectura Neo-Mudejar madrileña de los siglo XIX y XX," *Arquitectura* 125 (1969): 1-72.

González-Casanovas, R.J. *Imperial Histories from Alfonso X to Inca Garcilaso: Revisionist Myths of Reconquest and Conquest.* Potomic, Maryland: Scripta Humanistica, 1997.

González de Leon, Félix. *Noticia artistica, historica y curiosa de todos los edificios publicos, sagrados y profanos de esta muy noble, muy leal, muy heroica e invicta ciudad de Sevilla, y de muchas casas particulares, con todo lo que les sirve de adorno artistico, antiguedades, inscripciones y curiosidades que contienen*. 2 vols. Seville: Imprenta de J. Hidalgo, 1844. Reprint, Sevilla: Gráficas del Sur, 1973.

González Jiménez, Manuel. "La historigrafía sobre Pedro I, rey de Castilla (1350-1369)." In *Pedro I y Sevilla*.edited by M. González Jiménez and M. García Fernández, 17-25. Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla; Sevilla Instituto de la Cultura y las Artes, 2006.

González Jiménez, Manuel, Mercedes Borrero Fernández and Montes Romero-Camacho. *Sevilla en tiempos de Alfonso X*. Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1987.

Granero Martin, Francisco. *El Corral de los Olmos antiguos cabildos secular y eclesiastico de la ciudad Sevilla: sus origenes, funciones, complicaion de transformaciones y demolicion*. Sevilla: Demarcacion de Sevilla, Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Andalucia Occidental, 1991.

Guardia Pons, Milagros. "Relire les espaces liturgiquies à travers la peinture murale: la programme iconographique de San Baudelio de Berlanga (Soria)." *Les Cahiers de Saint Michel de Cuxa* 36 (2003): 79-97.

Gudiol Ricart, José and Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño. *Arquitectura y Escultura Románicas*. Vol. 5, Ars Hispanae: Historia universal del arte hispánico. Madrid: Plus-Ultra, 1948.

Guerrero Lovillo, José. "Sevilla Musulmana." In *Historia del Urbanismo Sevillano (De la prehistoria a los visigodos)*. 23-45. Sevilla: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de Santa Isabel de Hungria, 1972.

Gutiérrez Baños, Fernando. "Doña Leanor de Guzmán y los palacios de Tordesillas: propuestas para una revision." *Reales Sitios* 162 (2004): 2-19.

Gutiérrez Moreno, Pablo. "La Capilla de la Quinta Angustia." *Archivo español de arte y arqueologia* (1929): 233-245.

Halpern, Dan. *Ancient Synagogues of the Iberian Peninsula*. Gainsville: University of Florida Press, 1969.

Harris, Julie."Muslim Ivories in Christian Hands." *Art History* 18 (1995): 213–21.

_____. "Mosque to Church Conversions in the Spanish Reconquest." *Medieval Encounters* 3 (1997): 158-172.

Harvey, John. *The Cathedrals of Spain*. London: B. T. Batsford LTD, 1957.

Henares Cuéllar, I, and R. López Guzmán, eds. *Mudéjar Iberoamericano: una expression cultural de dos mundos.* Granada: Univesridad de Granada, 1992.

Hernández Díaz, José. *La Iglesia Parroqial de San Julián*. Sevilla: Tallares Tipográficas de Gómez Hermanos, 1933.

Hernández Díaz, José, and Antonio Sancho Corbacho. *Estudio de los Edificios Religiosos y Objetos de Culto de la Ciudad de Sevilla Saqueados y Destruídos por los Marxistas*. Sevilla: Imprenta de la Garidia, 1936.

Herrero Sanz, María Jesús. *Guide Santa María la Real de Huelgas Burgos*. Translated by Jenny Dodman. Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional and Artes Gráficas Palermo, S.L., 2006.

Jacobs, Michael. *Alhambra.* New York: Rizzoli, 2000.

Jiménez Martín, Alfonso. "Las fechas de las formas. Selección crítica de Fuentes documentales para la cronología del edificio medieval." In *La catedral gótica de Sevilla: fundación y fábrica de la* obra nueva, edited by Alfonso Jiménez, Martín, 17-113. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, Vicerrectorado de Investigación, 2006.

Jiménez Martín, Alfonso, and Isabel Pérez Peñaranda. *Cartografia de la Montaña Hueca.* Sevilla: Ediciones de Cabildo Metropolitano de la Catedral de Sevilla, 1997.

Jiménez Martín, Alfonso, ed. *La catedral gótica de Sevilla: fundación y fábrica de la obra nueva*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, Vicerrectorado de Investigación, 2006.

Jordano Barbudo, María Ángeles. *Arquitectura medieval cristiana en Córdoba: desde la reconquista al inicio del Renacimiento*. Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 1996.

_____. *El Mudéjar in Córdoba*. Estudios Colección Cordobeses. Córdoba: Diputación de Córdoba, 2002.

José Bueno, María. "Arquitectura y nationalismo: La imagen de España traves de exposiciones universals." *Fragmentos* 15/16 (1989): 58-70.

Kaluzny, Margaret Ann. "From Islamic Ishbiliya to Christian Sevilla: Transformation and Continuity in a Multicultural City." Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2004.

Karge, Henrik. *La Catedral de Burgos y la arquitectura del siglo XIII en Francia y España*. Translated by Cristina Corredor, Castilian edition. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León y Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 1995.

Kennedy, Hugh. "From polis to medina: Urban Change in Late Antique and early Islamic Syria." *Past and Present* 106 (1985): 3-27.

Krinsky, Carol Herselle. *Synagogues of Europe: Architecture, History, and Meaning*. New York and Cambridge, 1985.

Kulikowski, Michael. *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities.* Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 2004.

_____. "Cities and Government in Late Antique Hispania: Recent Advances and Future Research." In *Hispania in Late Antiquity: Current Perspectives*, edited and translated by Kim Bowes and Michael Kulikowski, 31-76. Leidem and Boston: Brill, 2005.

Ladero Quesada, Miguel Angel. *La Ciudad Medieval (1248-1492)*. Historia de Sevilla. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1976.

_____. *Los Mudejares de Castilla y Otros Estudios de Historia Medieval Andaluza*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1989.

Lambert, Elie. *L'Art Gothique en Espagne aux XIIe et XIIIe Siècles*. Paris: Henri Laurens, Éditeur, 1931.

_____. "L'Art Gothique A Séville Aprés La Reconquéte." *Revue Archéologique [du Centre de la France]* 36 (1932): 155-165.

_____. "L'art mudéjar." *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 9 (1933): 17-33.

Lampérez y Romea, Vicente. *Historia de la arquitectura christiana de Española en la edad media según el estudio de los elementos y los monumentos*, 2d ed. Madrid and Barcelona: Espasa-Calpe, S. A., 1930.

_____. "El Real Monasterio de Santa Clara de Tordesillas (Valladolid), Apéndice." *B.S.C.E.* 6 (1913): 169-172.

Laguna Paúl, María Teresa. "La capilla de los Reyes de la primitiva Catedral de Santa María de Sevilla y las relaciones de la corona castellana con el cabildo hispalense en su etapa fundacional (1248-85)." In *Maravillas de la España medieval: tesoro sagrado y monarquía*, edited by Isidoro G. Bango Torviso, 1: 235-249. León: Junta de Castilla y León: Caja España, 2000.

Larrey Hoyuelos, Enrique, and Javier Verdugo Santos. "La Recuperación de la ciudad Antigua en el contexto de la expansion urbana del siglo XII. Aportaciones de la excavación relizada en el Palacio arzobispal de Sevilla." In *El Último Siglo de la Sevilla Islámica (1147-1248)*, edited by Magdalena Valor Piechotta, 167-174. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla y Gerencia Municipal de Urbanismo, 1995.

Law, Amity Nichols. "Generating Identity Through Plan and Architecture: Barcelona Cathedral, Gothic Drawing, and the Crown of Aragon." Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2007.

Lehfeldt, Elizabeth A. "Ruling Sexuality: the Political Legitimacy of Isabel of Castile." *Renaissance Quarterly* 53 (2000): 31-56.

Linehan, Peter. *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1993.

_____. "La función de la historia en la reconquista de Sevilla." *Revista de Occidente* 224 (2000): 94-105.

Liss, Peggy K. *Isabel the Queen: Life and Times, Revised Edition.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Llenó Cañal, Vicente. *Nueva Roma: Mitología y Humanismo en el Renacimiento Sevillano*. Sevilla: EXCMA Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1979.

López Gúzman, Rafael. *Arquitectura Mudéjar: Del Sicretismo Medieval a las Alternativas Hispanoamericanas.* Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 2000.

Louda Jirí, and Michael Maclagan. *Heraldry of the Royal Families of Europe*. New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc./Publishers, 1981.

Madrazo, Pedro de. "De los estilos en las artes," *La Ilustración Española y Americana* 15 and 16 (1888).

Mann, Vivian B., Thomas F. Glick, and Jerrilynn D. Dodds, eds. *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*. New York: George Braziller and The Jewish Museum, 1992.

Marín Fidalgo, Ana. *El Alcazar de Sevilla bajo los austrias: estudio arquitectónico e histórico*. Seville: Ediciones Guadalquivir, 1987.

_____. *La Iglesia Parroquial de San Andrés de Sevilla*. Sevilla: Guadalquivir Ediciones, 2007.

Martín, Fernando A. *The Real Alcázar of Seville*. Translated by Nigel Williams. Madrid: Ediciones Aldeasa, 2002.

Martín Sánchez, Julio. "La Contribución de Enrique María Repullés y Vargasal sugimiento de la arquitectura neomudéjar madrileña: La iglesia de San Matías en Hortaleza." *Imafronte* 15 (2000): 145-166.

Martin, Therese. *Queen as King: Politics and Architectural Propaganda in Twelfth-Century Spain*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006.

Martínez de Aguirre, J. "El refectorio de San Augustín y la asimilación del gótico en Sevilla." *Archivo Hispalense* 75 (1992): 109-129.

_____. "La Primera Escultura Funeraria Gótica en Sevilla: La Capilla Real y el Sepulcro de Guzmán el Bueno (1248-1320)." *Archivo Español de Arte* 68 (1995): 111-130.

Martínez Díez, S.I. Gozalo. "Las Capitulaciones con las ciudades musulmanas conquistadas." *Archivo Hispalense* 77 (1994): 267-286.

Martínez, Luis, and Alfredo J. Morales. *The Cathedral of Seville*. London: Scala Publishers Ltd., 1999.

Martínez Valero, María de los Angelos. *La Iglesia de Santa Ana de Sevilla*. Sevilla: EXCMA Diputación de Sevilla, 1991.

Mazano Martos, Raphael. "La arquitectura en Sevilla medieval." In *Breve historia de la arquitectura en Sevilla*, Alfonso Jiménez Martin, et. al, 15-25. Sevilla: Monte de Piedad; Cája de Ahorros, 1985.

Medianero Hernández, José María. "Las Pinturas Gótico-Mudéjares de La Capilla de La Quinta Angustia (Sevilla)." *Laboratorio de Arte* 8 (1995): 25-50.

_____. *Nuestra Señora de la Antigua: La Virgen "decana" de Sevilla*. Sevilla: Arte Hispalense, 2008.

Mogollón Cano-Cortés, M. Pilar "Manifestations of Power and Visual Culture: Some examples in Extremaduran Mudejar Architecture." *Medieval Encounters* 12 (2006): 341-359.

Morales, Alfredo J. *La Iglesia de San Lorenzo*. Sevilla: EXCMA Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1981.

_____. "Los Inicios de la arquitectura mudéjar en Sevilla." In *Metrópolis Totius Hispaniae. 750 aniversario de la incoproación de Sevilla a la Corona Castellana*. Alcázar de Sevilla, 23 de noviembre 1998 a 3 de enero 1999, edited by Alfredo J. Morales, 91-106. Seville: Ayuntamiento, 1998.

Morales, Alfredo J., María Jesús Sanze, Juan Miguel Serrera, and Enrique Valdvieso. *Guía Artística de Sevilla y su Provincia*. Sevilla: EXCMA Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1981.

Morales Méndez, Enrique. "La nobleza sevillana sus luchas y su arquitectura." *Laboratorio de Arte* 7 (1994): 51-80.

Morales Padrón, Francisco, and Manual Babío Walls. *Los Archivos parroquiales de Sevilla*. Sevilla: Real Academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras, 1982.

"Mosque signals Muslims' return to Spain." *BBC News* 10 July 2003. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3055377.stm (accessed July 31, 2009).

"Mudéjar Art," (Museum with no Frontiers, 2004-2009). http://www.discoverislamicart.org/exhibitions/ISL/mudejar_art/introduction (accessed July 31, 2009).

Muñoz Fernández, Angela. "Cultos, devocionesy advocaiones religiosasen los orígenes de la organización eclesiástica cordobesa siglos XIII-XIV)." In *Andalucía entre Oriente y Occidente (1236-1492): Actas del Coloquio internacional de historia medieval de Andalucía*, edited by Emilio Cabrera, 135-144. Córdoba: EXCMA Diputación Provincial de Córdoba, Servicia de Publicaciones, 1988.

Montoto, Santiago. *Biografía de Sevilla*. Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1970.

Nader, Helen. *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350-1550*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1979.

Navarro Antolín, Carlos. "El Consistorio busca suelo en San Jerónimo para la mezquita." *Diario de Sevilla*, 26 May 2009. http://www.diariodesevilla.es/article/sevilla/433148/consistorio/busca/suelo/san/jeronimo/para/la/mezquita.html (accessed July 31, 2009).

Nieto Complido, Manuel. *La Catedral de Cordoba*. Cajasur: Cordoba 1998.

Nieto, Víctor, Alfredo J. Morales, and Fernando Checa. *Arquitectura del Renacimiento en España, 1488-1599*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1989.

Novikoff, Alex. "Between Tolerance and Intolerance in Medieval Spain: An Historiographic Enigma." *Medieval Encounters* 11 (2005): 7-36.

Nuere, Enrique. *La carpintería de lo blanco. Lectura Dibujada del Primer Manuscripto de Diego López de Arenas*. Madrid: Instituto de la Juventud, 1985.

O'Callaghan, Joseph F. *A History of Medieval Spain*. Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1975.

_____. *The Learned king: The reign of Alfonso X of Castile*, Middle Ages Series. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993.

_____. *Alfonso X and the "Cantigas de Santa María:" A Poetic Biography*. The Medieval Mediterranean 16. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

_____. *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.

_____. Introduction to *Chronicle of Alfonso X*, translated by Shelby Thacker and José Escobar. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002.

Oliva Alonso, Diego. "Sector sureste: el barrio de San Bartolomé." In *El Último Siglo de la Sevilla Islámica (1147-1248)*, edited by Magdalena Valor Piechotta, 191-202. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla y Gerencia Municipal de Urbanismo, 1995.

Oliva Muñoz, Pablo, Álvaro Jiménez Sancho, and Miguel Ángel Tabales. "Primera fase de Estudios Arqueológicos en el Real Monasterio de Santa Clara de Sevilla." *Anuario Arqueológico de Andalucía* (2003): 336-351.

Orlandis, José. "Un pronelma eclesiástico de la Reconquista española: La conversión de mezquitas en iglesias cristianas." In *Mélanges offerts à Jean Dauvillier*, 595-604. Toulouse: Centre d'Histoire Juridique Méridionale, 1979.

Osma, G. J. de. Apuntes sobre cerámica morisca. Azulejos sevillanos del siglo XIII. Madrid: Imprenta de Fortanet, 1909.

P., E. "Cartuja 93 no necesita mezquita ni catedral." *Diario de Sevilla*, 15 October 2008. http://www.diariodesevilla.es/article/sevilla/254422/cartuja/no/necesita/mezquita/ni/catedral.html (accessed July 31, 2009).

"El Pabellón de Marruecos." posted May 6, 2008. http://www.sevillasigloxx.com/2008/05/el-pabelln-de-marruecos.html (accessed August 2, 2009).

Pacios Lozano, Ana Reyes. *Bibliografía de arquitectura y techumbresm mudéjares: 1857-1991*. Teruel: Insituto de Estudios Turolenses, 1993.

_____. *Bibliografía de arte Mudéjar, addenda, 1992-2002*. Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudéjares and Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 2002.

Palomo Fernández, Gema, and Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza. "Nuevas hipótesis sobre Las Huelgas de Burgos: Escenografía funeraria de Alfonso X para un proyecto inacabado de Alfonso VIII y Leonor Plantagenet." *Goya* 316/317 (2007): 21-44.

Pareja López, Cristina Enrique, and Matilde Megía Navarro. *El Arte de la Reconquista Cristiana*, Historia del Arte en Andalucía, vol. 3. Sevilla: Gever, 1990.

Paul, Vivian. "The Projecting Triforium at Narbonne Cathedral: Meaning, Structure, or Form?" *Gesta* 30 (1991): 27-40.

Pavón Maldonado, Basilio. "Fronteras artisticas en la Sevilla Arabe-Mudejar." *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid* (1999): 107-143.

_____. *Arte toledano: islámico y mudéjar*. Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1973.

_____. *El arte hispanomusulman en su decoración geométrica: una teoría para un estilo*. Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1975.

_____. "Arte, Simbolo y Imagines en la España Musulmana." *Al-Qantára* 6 (1985): [1] 397-[54] 450.

Pereda Espeso, Felipe. "La origini dell' architettura cubica: Alfonso Madrigal, Nicola de Lira e la *querelle salomonista* nella Spagne del Quattrocento." *Annali di architettura: revista del centro internacionale de stud di architettura Andrea Palladio* 17 (2005): 21-52.

Peréz Higuera, María Teresa. *Arquitectura Mudejar en Castilla y León*. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León and Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 1993.

_____. "El Mudejar, una opción artística en la Corte de castilla y León." In *Arte Mudéjar.* Vol. 4, Historia del Arte de Castilla y León, edited by Francisco Javier de la Plaza Santiago and Simón Marchán Fiz. 129-222. Valladolid: Ámbito, 1996.

_____. *Mudejarismo en la Baja Edad Media*. Madrid: Muralla, 1987.

_____. "Sinagoga de Santa María la Blanca." In *Arquitecturas de Toledo. Vol. 1: Del Romano al Gótic*, edited by D. Peris Sanchéz, 285-293. Toledo: Junta de Comunidades de Castilla-La Mancha, 1992.

Pick, Lucy. "Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada and the Jews: Pragmatism and Patronage in Thirteenth-century Toledo." *Viator* 28 (1997): 203-222.

Pinto Puerto, Francisco. "Fábrica y Forma del Templo Gótico." In *La catedral gótica de Sevilla: fundación y fábrica de la* obra nueva, edited by Alfonso Jiménez, Martín, 211-295. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, Vicerrectorado de Investigación, 2006.

Raizman, David. "The Church of Santa Cruz and the Beginning of Mudejar Architecture in Toledo." *Gesta* 38 (1999): 128-141.

Remensnyder, Amy. "The Colonization of Sacred Architecture: The Virgin Mary, Mosques, and Temples in Medieval Spain and Early Sixteenth-Century Mexico." In *Monks and Nuns, Saints and Outcasts: Religion in Medieval Society. Essays in Honor of Lester K. Little*. edited by Sharon Farmer and Barbara H. Rosenwein, 189-219. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000.

_____. "Marian Monarchy in Thirteenth-Century Castile." In *The Experience of Power in Medieval Europe, 950–1350*, edited by Robert F. Berkhofer III, Alan Cooper and Adam J. Kosto, 247-264. Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2005.

Roberson, Jennifer. "Visions of Al-Andalus in Twentieth-century Spanish Mosque Architecture." In *Revisiting Al-Andalus: Perspectives on the Material Culture of Islamic Iberia and Beyond*, edited by Glaire D. Anderson and Miriam Rosser-Owen, 247-269. The Medieval and Modern World, vol. 34. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007.

Robinson, Cynthia. "Mudéjar Revisited: A prologoména to the reconstruction of perception, devotion, and experience at the mudéjar convent of Clarisas, Tordesillas, Spain (fourteenth century A.D.)." *RES* 43 (2003): 51-77.

Robinson, Cynthia, and Leyla Rouhi, eds. *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile.* Leiden: Brill, 2005.

Robinson, Cynthia, and Simone Pinet, ed. *Courting the Alhambra: Cross-Disciplinary Approaches to the Hall of Justice Ceilings [Special Offprint of Medieval Encounters 14, 2-3 (2008)]*. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

Rodríguez Domingo, José Manuel. "Neomudéjar *versus* neomusulman: definición y concepto del medievalismo Islamíco en España." Espacio, tiempo, y forma, serie 7. *Historia del Arte* 12 (1999): 265-285.

Rodríguez Porto, Rosa. "Courtliness and its *Trujumanes*: Manufacturing Chivalric Imagery across the Castilian-Grenadine Frontier." In *Courting the Alhambra: Cross-Disciplinary Approaches to the Hall of Justice Ceilings [Special Offprint of Medieval Encounters 14, 2-3 (2008)]*, edited by Cynthia Robinson and Simone Pinet, [67] 219-[114] 266. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

Romero-Camacho, Isabel Montes. "El nacimiento del cabildo-catedral de Sevilla en el siglo XIII (1248-1285)." *Archivo Hispalense* 77 (1994): 417-458.

Roth, Norman. *Jews, Visigoths and Muslims in Medieval Spain: Cooperation and Conflict*. New York: E.J. Brill, 1994.

Ruggles, D. Fairchild "Representation and Identity in Medieval Spain: Beatus Manuscripts and the Mudejar Churches of Teruel." In *Languages of Power in Islamic Spain*, edited by Ross Brann. 76-106. Bethesda: CDL Press, 1997.

_____. *Gardens, Landscape and Vision in the Palaces of Islamic Spain*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000.

_____. "The Alcazar of Seville and Mudejar Architecture." *Gesta* 43 (2004): 87-98.

_____. *Islamic Gardens and Landscapes*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

_____. "The Stratigraphy of Forgetting: the Construction and Afterlife of the Mosque Cathedral of Cordoba." Paper presented at "East Meets West in the Middle Ages": the Fourth Annual Medieval Graduate Student Symposium, University of North Texas, January 30-31, 2009.

Ruetenik Tobias. "Transformation of Mosques into Churches in Toledo." "East Meets West in the Middle Ages": the Fourth Annual Medieval Graduate Student Symposium, University of North Texas, January 30-31, 2009. http://www.art.unt.edu/medieval-symposium/presenter.php?ident=12. (accessed June 10, 2009).

Ruiz Souza, Juan Carlos. "Architectural Languages, Functions, and Spaces: The Crown of Castile and al-Andalus." Translated by Deborah Roldán and Cynthia Robinson. *Medieval Encounters* 12 (2006): 360-387.

_____. "Capillas Reales funerarias catedralicias de Castilla y León: nuevas hipótesis interpretativas de las catedrales de Sevilla, Córdoba y Toledo." *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 18 (2006): 9-29.

_____. "Castilla y Al-Andalus. Arquitecturas aljamiadas y otros grados de asimilación." *Anuario del Departmento de Historía y Teoría del Arte* 16 (2004): 17-43.

_____. "Botín de guerra y tesoro sagrado." In *Maravillas de la España medieval: tesoro sagrado y monarquía*, edited by Isidoro G. Bango Torviso, 1: 31-39. León: Junta de Castilla y León: Caja España, 2000.

_____. "La planta centralizada en la Castilla bajomedieval." *Anuario del Departamento del Historia y Teoría del Arte* 13 (2001): 9-36.

_____. "Sinagogas sefardíes monumnetales en el contexto de la arquitectura medieval hispana." In *Memoría de Sefarad: Toledo, Centro Cultural San Marcos, octubre 2002-enero 2003*, edited by Isidro Bango Torviso, 229-232. Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior 2002.

_____. "Santa Clara de Tordesillas: Nuevos datos para su cronología y estudio: la relacíon entre Pedro I y Muhammad V." *Reales Sitios* 130 (1996): 32-40.

_____. "El Patio del Vergel del Real Monasterio de Santa Clara de Tordesillas y el Alhambra de Granada: Reflexiones para su Estudio." *Al-Qantára* 19 (1998): 315-336.

_____. "El Palacio de Comares de la Alhambra: tipologías y funciones. Nuevas propuestas de estudio." *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* 40 (2004): 77-102.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.

Sanabria, Sergio Luis. *Rodrigo Gil and the Classical Transformation of Gothic Architecture in the Spanish Golden Age* (book manuscript).

Sánchez Ameijeiras, Rocío. "El 'çementerio real' de Alfonso VIII en Las Huelgas de Burgos." *Semata: Ciencias Sociales e Humanidades* 10 (1998): 77-109.

_____. "La fortuna sevillana del códice florentino de las Cantigas : tumbas, textos e imágenes." *Quintana* 1 (2002): 257-273.

Sanchez Saus, Rafael. *Caballeria y Linaje en la Sevilla medieval: estudio genealogico y social*. Cadiz: Servicio de Publicaciones y Universidad de Cadiz, 1989.

_____. "Aspectos de la Religiosidad Urbana Bajomedieval: Las Fundaciones Funerarias de la Aristocracia Sevillana." In Actas del IV Coloquio Internacional de Historia Medieval Andaluza: Las Ciudades Andaluzas (Siglos XIII-XVI), 299-311. Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 1991.

Sarasas Sánchez, Esteban. "Los Mudéjares Aragoneses en la Edad Media." In Los Mudéjares in Aragón, edited by Gonzalo M. Borás Gaulis, 13-69. Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada de Aragón, 2003.

Schapiro, Meyer. "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos." In *Collected Papers*, I: *Romanesque Art*, 28-101. New York: George Braziller, 1977.

Schneider, Martin. "The construction of Europe's biggest mosque is thrown into limbo two weeks after fresh elections in Seville city council." *Café Babel* 12 June 2007. available from http://www.cafebabel.com/eng/article/21206/you-have-to-accept-that-spain-isnt-an-islamic-country.html (accessed July 31, 2009).

Shalem, Avinoam. "From Royal Caskets to Relic Containers: Two Ivory Caskets from Burgos and Madrid." *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 24–38.

Simons, Marlise. "Spain is seeking to Integrate Growing Muslim Population." *New York Times*, 24 October 2004. http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9C02EFDE163DF937A15753C1A9629C8B63&sec=&spon=&pagewanted=all (accessed July 31, 2009).

Sinaceur, Mohammed-Allal. *The Hassan II Mosque*. Drémil-Lafage: Éditions Daniel Briand, 1993.

Skoglund, Margaret. "'Heaven's Particular Instrument': Isabel la Catolica's Public Projects, 1477-1504." *Aurora* 4 (2003): 65-78.

Smith, Colin. "Convivencia in the *Estoria de España* of Alfonso X." In *Hispanic Medieval Studies in Honor of Samuel G. Armistead*, edited by E. Michael Gerli and Harvey L. Sharrer, 291-301. Madison: The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, Ltd., 1992.

Socarras, Cayento J. *Alfonso X of Castile: A Study on Imperialistic Frustration*. Barcelona: Ediciones Hispam, 1976.

"Spain," CIA World Factbook, updated 31 July 2009. https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/sp.html (accessed July 31, 2009).

"Spain, info." http://www.spain.info/TourSpain/Arte%20y%20Cultura/Monumentos/A/RW/0/La%20Giralda.htm?Language=es (accessed July 31, 2009).

Street, George Edmond. *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain*, 2 vols. London: J. Murray, 1865. Reprint New York: Arno Press, 1980.

Swaan, Wim. *Art and Architecture of the Late Middle Ages: 1350 to the Advent of the Renaissance*. London: Omega Books Limited, 1982.

Tabales Rodríguez, M. Á. "Investigaciones arqueológicas en el Alcázar de Sevilla." *Apuntes del Alcázar de Sevilla* 1 (2000): 13-45.

"The Mudejar, A Spanish Art," (The Instituto de Turismo de España (Turespaña), 2009. http://www.spain.info/TourSpain/Reportajes/0/el%20mudejar%20un%20arte%20espanol.htm?SubSys=ArtCul&language=en (accessed July 31, 2009).

Torres Bálbas, Leopoldo. *Arte almohade. Art nazarí. Arte mudéjar*. Vol. 4, *Ars Hispaniae: Historia universal del arte hispánico*. Madrid: Plus Ultra, 1949.

_____. *Arquitectura Gótica*. Vol. 7, *Ars Hispaniae: Historia universal del arte hispánico*. Madrid: Plus Ultra, 1952.

_____. "La primitiva mezquita mayor de Sevilla." *Al-Andalus* 11 (1946): 429-439.

_____. "La Torre de la Iglesia de San Marcos de Sevilla." *Al-Andalus* 19 (1954): 421-439.

_____. "El baño de doña Leonor de Guzmán en el palacio de Tordesillas." *Al-Andalus* 24 (1959): 409-424.

Torres Balbás, Leopoldo, and Henri Terrasse. *Ciudades Hispanomusulmanas*, 2 vols. 2nd ed. Madrid: Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales y Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1985.

"Turismo de Sevilla." http://www.sevilla.org/turismo/paginas_en/arquitecturareligiosa.asp (accessed July 31, 2009).

Valdés Fernández, Manuel. *Arquitectura Mudéjar en León y Castilla*. León: Collegio Universitario de León y Institución "Fray Bernardino de Sahagún" C.S.I.C., 1981.

Valdivieso González, Enrique, and Alfredo Morales. *Sevilla Oculta, Monasterios y Conventos de Clausura*. Sevilla: H. Fournier, S.A.-Vitoria, 1980.

Valencia, Rafael. *Sevilla Musulmana Hasta la Caida del Califato: Contrabucion a su Estudio.* Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1988.

_____. *Sevilla Musulmana Hasta la Caida del Califato: Contrabucion a su Estudio.* Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1988.

Valor Piechotta, Magdalena, "Las defenses urbanas y Palatinas." In *El Último Siglo de la Sevilla Islámica (1147-1248)*, edited by Magdalena Valor Piechotta, 49-56. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla y Gerencia Municipal de Urbanismo, 1995.

Valor Piechotta, Magdalena, ed. *El Último Siglo de la Sevilla Islámica (1147-1248)*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla y Gerencia Municipal de Urbanismo, 1995.

Valor Piechotta, Magdalena, and Isabel Montes, "De mezquitas a iglesias: el caso de Sevilla." In *Religion and Belief in Medieval Europe, Papers of the 'Medieval Europe Brugge 1997' Conference*, vol. 4, edited by G. De Boe and F. Verhaeghe, 139-148. Zelik: Instituuut voor het Archeologisch Patrimonium, 1997.

"Los Vecinos de San Jerónimo rechazen que se ubique en el barrio la mezquita." *ABC Periódico Electrónico*, 4 July 2009. http://www.abcdesevilla.es/hemeroteca/historico-04-06-2009/sevilla/Sevilla/los-vecinos-de-san-jeronimo-rechazan-que-se-ubique-en-el-barrio-la-mezquita_921485070158.html (accessed 31 July 31, 2009).

Villar Movellán, Alberto. *Arquitectura del Regionalismo en Sevilla. 1900-1935*. Sevilla: Excma. Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1979.

Watson, Katherine. *French Romanesque and Islam: Andalusian elements in French architectural decoration c. 1030-1180*. 2 vols., edited by A. R. Hands and D. R. Walker. BAR International Series 488. Oxford: BAR, 1989.

Werkmeister, O.K. "Islamiche Formen en spanischen Miniaturen des 10 Jarhunderts und das Problem der mozarabischen Buchmalerei." *Settimane de Studi del Centro Italiano de Studi sull' Alto Medioevo* 12 (1965): 933-967

_____. "Art of the Frontier: Mozarabic Monasticism." In *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200*, edited by Jerrilynn Dodds, Charles Little, Serafin Moralejo, and John Williams, 121-132. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993.

Wischnitzer, Rachel. *The Architecture of the European Synagogue*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1964.

Whitehill, Walter Muir. *Spanish Romanesque Architecture in the Eleventh Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941.

Wilson, Christopher. *The Gothic Cathedral: the Architecture of the Great Church, 1130-1530*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1990.

Wittkower, Rudolf. *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*. London: Academy Editions, 1988.

Wunder, Amanda. "Classical, Christian, and Muslim Remains in the Construction of Imperial Seville (1520-1635)." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64 (2003): 195-212.

Yarza Luaces, Joaquín. *Arte y Arquitectura en España 500-1250.* Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 1979. Reprint 2007.

_____. *Los Reyes Catolicos: Paisaje Artistico de una Monarquia.* Madrid: Nerea, 1993.

_____. "Art in the Time of the Catholic Monarchs and the Early Overseas Enterprises." In *Spain in the Age of exploration: 1492-1819*, edited by Chiyo Ishikawa, 91-101. Seattle: Seattle Art Museum and University of Nebraska Pres, 2004.

Zozaya, Juan. "Material Culture in Medieval Spain." In *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medival Spain*, edited by Vivian B. Mann, Thomas F. Glick, and Jerrilynn D. Dodds, 157-173. New York: George Braziller and The Jewish Museum, 1992.