

IDIOSYNCRATIC NARRATIVES: MUDÉJAR ARCHITECTURE AND ITS HISTORIOGRAPHY IN
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ABSTRACT

IDIOSYNCRATIC NARRATIVES: MUDÉJAR ARCHITECTURE AND ITS HISTORIOGRAPHY IN SPAIN

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The Iberian Peninsula has witnessed the emergence of an architectural style called Mudéjar, whose origin and practice is still subject to discussion. It appeared in the 11th century after the Christian *Reconquista* - reconquest (conquest over Muslims) in the Iberian Peninsula by the Catholic Kingdoms. Yet, as far back as the 8th century Islamic, Christian and Jewish tastes intermingled in the same location to influence what was to become known as the Mudéjar artistic style.

The studies that define Mudéjar origins and character were mostly conducted by Spanish scholars. While a group of these scholars explain that Mudéjar origins have Islamic roots, another emphasizes its Christian aspects. However, recent researches have altered former classifications concentrating on geographical facts in addition to cultural varieties. With these enhancements of our knowledge, it is necessary to review the accumulation of earlier works on architectural history on Mudéjar to the 20th century. An evaluation will help us to identify the obscurities associated with Mudéjar and clarify the conceptual and terminological tools in histories related to it.

The main focus of the dissertation is to investigate Mudéjar in Spanish architectural historiography. How this particular writing of history interacted with the political agenda and who actively shaped its discourse, are the topics that merit the subdivisions to make them clear. Using versatile methodologies, the study unearths the character of Spanish architectural historiography, which has occasionally confused Mudéjar identity or produced different narratives to account for Mudéjar existence. From the analytical investigation of the publications, a number of graphic illustrations are produced. These graphic illustrations and the analyses of survey books demonstrate that Mudéjar studies have a mainly regional character and were mostly undertaken by Spanish scholars until the 21st century. These works demonstrate a strong Hispanic and Spanishness condition,

yet they also produced anachronisms in Spanish art and architectural history. Consequently, this thesis reveals the fact that there are a great number of publications that construct or reconstruct Hispanidad, Coexistence (Convivencia), Spanishness, and Iberianness notions, which by and large reveal idiosyncratic narratives with their Mudéjar formulations.

Key Words. Iberian Peninsula, Mudéjar, Historiography, Hispanidad, Convivencia

ÖZ

KENDİNE ÖZGÜ ANLATILAR: İSPANYA'DA MUDÉJAR (MÜDECCEN) MİMARİSİ VE TARİH YAZIMI

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Kaynağı ve kullanımı günümüzde tartışılmaya devam edilen Müdeccen/Mudéjar üslubu, 11.Yüzyıl itibariyle Katolik krallıklarının İberya Yarımadası'ndaki Müslümanları yarımadadan atmaya yönelik yeniden fetih hareketleri ile başlar. Katolik krallıklar tarafından Müslümanların elinden alınan topraklarda bir müddet farklı inanç geleneklerine sahip toplumlar bir arada yaşarlar. Bir arada bulunmanın neticesi olarak bu topraklarda 8.yy'dan itibaren yeşermiş İslamî, Hıristiyan ve Yahudi sanat gelenekleri Mudéjar mimari üslubunun oluşumuna katkıda bulunur.

Mudejar'ın kaynaklarını ve özelliklerini tanımlayan çalışmalar çoğunlukla İspanyol akademisyenler tarafından gerçekleştirilmiştir. Akademisyenler arasında bir grup Mudéjar'ın İslami köklerinden bahsederken, bir diğer grubun ilgili sanatın Hıristiyan özelliklerini vurguladığı görülmektedir. Ancak yakın dönemde yapılan çalışmalar bu erken dönem sınıflandırmalarını değiştirerek coğrafi ve kültürel çeşitlilik konularına eğilmektedir. Mudéjar üzerine yapılan bu yeni çalışmalarla birlikte Mudéjar bilgisi olgunlaşmış ve Mudéjarın ne olup olmadığı sorunsalı yerine, artık 20.yy'a kadar gerçekleştirilen Mudéjar tarih yazımının irdelenmesi kaçınılmaz bir hal almıştır. Söz konusu tarih yazımının incelemesi aynı zamanda Mudéjar kavramının çevresindeki belirsiz atmosferin ve bu atmosferi ortaya çıkartan koşulların tarihsel ve bu bağlamdan beslenen terminolojik alt yapısının deşifresine yardımcı olacaktır.

Çalışmanın ana eksenini oluşturması nedeniyle bu tez İspanyol mimarlık tarihi yazımında Mudéjarın yerini sorgulamaktadır. İlgili tarih yazımının politik gündemle olan etkileşimi ve bu etkileşim sahasında yön verici kimlikler incelenmektedir. Çalışma İspanyol mimarlık tarihi yazımının Mudéjarı muğlak bırakan veya zaman zaman yok sayan tavrını çok yönlü metodolojik yaklaşımlarla ortaya çıkartmıştır. Yayınların analitik incelemelerinden elde edilen grafik illüstrasyonlar ve referans kaynaklarının değerlendirilmesi mudejar çalışmalarının bölgesel bir karakter taşımakla birlikte genel olarak 21.yy'a kadar İspanyol

akademisyenler tarafından sürdürüldüğünü göstermektedir. Bu çalışmalar baskın İspanyalılık (İspanyol) ve Hispanikliğin yeniden inşası durumunu açığa çıkartmakla birlikte aynı zamanda İspanyol sanat ve mimarlık tarihinin anakronik yaklaşımlarını sergilemektedirler. Sonuç olarak, bu tez İspanyol sanat ve mimarlık tarihine yön veren Hispanik, Biraradalık (Convivencia/Coexistence), İspanyalılık ve İberyalılık söylemlerini deşifre etmekte, söz konusu tarih yazımı örneklerinin Mudéjar formülasyonlarını çoğunlukla İspanyol kimliğinin oluşmasında karakteristik (idiyosenkritik) bir anlatının parçaları olarak değerlendirmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler. İberya Yarımadası, Müdeccen, Tarih Yazımı, Hispaniklik, Bir Aradalık

To My Family

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When the Spanish re-conquest ideology and their colonization process in the American Continent first took my attention, Dr. Erginer was giving a lecture about Quetzalcoatl, the Aztec culture and their collapse by the Spaniards, and I was an Art History student in the undergraduate program at Ankara University in one of the Ethnology classes. I felt a strong pull toward the subject and I decided to learn more about this cultural exchange. No doubt, it would be a broad study requiring serious involvement and scholarly discipline; therefore, I continued my master's studies at Middle East Technical University which contributed a lot to my interest on art and architectural history.

Under the advisory of Dr. Peker, whose academic perspective is wide-ranging, I obtained the chance to develop my inquiry. In this process, Aesthetic Research Center of Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, in the center of which I spent some time doing research, facilitated my research period. The study was granted a scholarship by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the United Mexican States. During the research period I started to become more aware of the existence of the Islamic architectural taste and decorative elements in México. It was also for the first time I found out about the Mudéjar terminology in Mexico when I started to wonder its origin in the Iberian Peninsula which had passed through colonialism.

After completing the master degree, my interest on Islamic Architecture in Spain led me to actualize my first travel to the Andalusian part of Spain, and this interest would be influential while selecting the study theme as Mudéjar Architecture in Spain. Sometimes, I fell into the traps just like most PhD candidates do during their studies such as moving after different topics. However, fortunately, Dr. Peker reminded me of the PhD route all the time. While studying on my dissertation, I was granted by a scholarship and as an Erasmus doctorate student, and I studied at the Art History department of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Madrid. The five-month study there brought me not only several study and research experiences but also a chance to widen my knowledge about the subject. My third academic visit to Spain aimed at only conducting a research in distinct libraries. This research was much more focused and prolific. My last visit, which included Madrid, Zaragoza and Teruel, aimed at smelling the atmosphere of Mudéjar towns particularly Zaragoza and Teruel. Consequently, these four visits to Spain gave me the chance to travel around Spain, doing researches both in areas and libraries, as well as developing Spanish language skills, which was vital since most of the works were published in Spanish; therefore, without acquiring the language, it would have been almost impossible to read those books that collected in Spanish libraries.

During this study, my supervisor, Prof.Dr. Ali Uzay Peker's support and encouragement was of utmost importance; therefore, first of all, I would like to give my special thanks to him. His guidance and keenness in my research and writing period of the thesis absolutely gave me maximum energy to complete it; without his help, it would not have been possible for me to complete this dissertation. Furthermore, I would like to thank both Prof.Dr. Ömür Bakırcı and Assoc.Prof.Dr. Z. Kenan Bilici, whose invaluable comments found their ground in this dissertation.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España
CEDA	Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas
IIE	Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas
MPM	Madrid Prado Museum
UAM	Universidad Autónoma de Madrid
UNAM	Universidad Autónoma de México
SEAP	Secretaría de Estado de Administraciones Públicas
SIM	Symposiums Internacional Mudéjarismo

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Problem Definition

When this research was first initiated on Mudéjar architecture, it was hard to identify Mudéjar phenomenon due to its multi-layer features all of which have given rise to a confusing characteristic. Therefore, the early periods of this study can be classified as the discovery phase of Mudéjar terminology and its aspects. After extending the knowledge, it became clear that Mudéjar architecture is one of the most problematic art and architectural history themes in the fields of Christian, Islamic and Judaic Art and Architecture. The majority of the studies until the 1990s were produced by Spanish scholars whose struggle to clarify the Mudéjar issue can still be sensed in their works. Their main attention was given to identify Mudéjar's cultural and stylistic aspects. This issue guided me to think over the reasons and the facts; thus, I noticed a connection between Spain's distinctive political history and Mudéjar studies, which would produce a valid explanation welded with its own chronogram.

The Iberian Peninsula's architectural history writing has been mainly shaped by Spanish or Western-origin scholars who usually evaluated the Islamic ruled Iberian period and the emergence of Christian culture from a one-sided perspective, or sometimes did not even mention these concepts. Those studies which mentioned the Islamic presence introduced Moorish, Moors and Mudéjar terminologies to the field, which were nourished by prevalent ideologies on Spain that simultaneously brought theoretical problems. Initially, the problem first emerged along with attempts to recast people of Islamic culture who never called themselves Moro/Moors (during their dominancy in the Peninsula) or Morisco/Moorish (when they were forced to convert to Christianity). Members of Islamic

culture recognized themselves as Andalusian and as living in al-Andalus, as distinct from other Islamic cultures and who created an individual Islamic presence in the West and kindled the Eastern soul in Western territories. Hence, they themselves continued to use the same designation even after the Spanish conquest.

Islamic supremacy in the Iberian Peninsula lasted from 711 to 1492; the topography was dominated by distinct ethnical sources of the Islamic dynasties. The geographical centre, Andalusia was culturally enriched by the newcomers who extended the cultural integration between the East and West until the 15th century.¹ Religion was a hallmark of the daily and courtly life of this epoch. Different religious groups and ethnic identities lived under the political power of the Muslims. Although this cosmopolitan configuration did not always produce a peaceful environment, the attitudes of Islamic rulers towards their people were generally moderate, and this approach often prevented problems between the multi-faceted ethnic varieties of the inhabitants (which were composed of Jews, Christians, Muslims and their derivative ethnic branches). The most common concern was to see that Muslim rulers handled this problem while seeing their citizens as 'People of the Book', in addition to another reason, which was based on economic and political concerns that were influential for the creation of the prolific Islamic Iberian period, as the non-Muslim communities had to pay additional taxes.

¹ Ishbaniya was only used for the Christian part of the country, Andalusia used for the Orient by the Northern Europeans, "landa-hlautus (land-lot) became al-Andalus. Barrucand, M. and Bednorz, A., *Moorish Architecture in Andalusia* (Italy: Taschen Publishers, 1992), 11, 13, 17. Andalusia probably was derived from the Gothic word for 'landless' 'landahlautus' Markus Hattstein, "Spain and Morocco: History," in *Islam: Art and Architecture*, ed. Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius, (France: Könemann Publishers, 2000), 208. Christian Ewert, "The Presence of Islam and Islamic Art: Caliphate of Cordoba and its Wake," in *Art and Architecture of Spain*, ed. Xavier Barral Altet (Canada: Little, Brown and Company, 1998), 203. It is possible to separate Muslim history on the Iberian Peninsula into four stages. In cultural arena these aforementioned political developments brought important outcomes, and they constituted a prolific phase in the art and architectural structure.

The Andalusian Omayyad culture's architecture was basically distinct from the other Islamic countries' architectural culture. Its region, al-Andalus, developed on lands that had once had been Romanized. However, the close connection of the North African and Islamic Iberian descendents brought cultural similarities particularly in the architectural field between North Africa and Iberia. The place also contained Judaism and Christendom in the same geographical sphere; a feature which evoked cultural symbiosis and influenced the built environment strongly. The Islamic culture very much affected the Christian and Judaic population. Christians, particularly, were influenced in the linguistic and architectural fields. When Modern Spanish language is analyzed, several words of Arabic origin can still be encountered. The Arabic language borrowings are mostly from commercial and architectural fields.²

Following the collapse of the last dynasty of Islamic dominance in 1492, the same memories continued to transmit to the other cultures, which gained new interpretative features. The transmissive processes of Islamic Iberian memories first started with the Christian dominancy that gradually emerged in the name of re-conquest and eventually succeeded in removing the Islamic dynasties from the Peninsula. The re-conquest started early in the 11th century in the northern part of the Peninsula, and lasted until the 15th century. The conquest and re-population process of the Christian kings mingled with their admiration of the Islamic formulas. Usage of these forms were so admired that it is usually pointed out that Andalusian architecture thrived under Christian patronage. This Muslim, Christian and Jewish usage of Islamic forms beneath the Christian dominance gave way to the birth of

² Barrucand and Bednorz, *Moorish Architecture*, 15, 17, 18. W. Montgomery Watt and Pierre Cachia, *A History of Islamic Spain* (U.S.A and UK: Aldine Tnansaction Publishers, 2007), 42.

Mudéjar art, where Christian and Islamic patterns were composed within the same building program.³

Mudéjar, in the field of art and architectural history, has been subjected to discussions due to its so-called blurred character. Etymologically, Mudéjar applied to the Muslims who after the re-conquest were allowed to stay on the Peninsula until their conversion in the 16th century⁴. Although Mudéjar etymologically signified the Muslims, its context did not, which needs to be criticized. While historians mainly concentrate on the ethnical and social roots of Mudéjar, art and architectural historians would rather see Mudéjar as an artistic period that encapsulates medieval and modern eras without looking at its ethnical connotations⁵. This attitude of the art historians will be explained in the following chapters .

The majority of discussions based on a hybrid structure of Mudéjar were undertaken by Spanish scholars, some of whom only attribute eclectic features to Mudéjar; however, some others accept its artistic quality. The scholarly idea, which considers Mudéjar as an artistic manifestation, first appeared in the 19th century. This opinion sees Mudéjar architecture as a link between Christian and Islamic terminology from which would emerge the term *co-existence/convivencia*, which was equally formulated to show the togetherness of the three cultures in the Peninsula. Thus, with *convivencia* terminology cultural symbiosis was created, which cultivated the national narratives in time.

³ L.P.Harvey, *Islamic Spain 1250 to 1500* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), ix.

⁴ Barrucand and Bednorz, *Moorish Architecture*, 15.

⁵ Gonzalo Borrás Gualis, "Introducción," in *El Arte Mudéjar* (Zaragoza: Iber Caja, 2005), 16.

Identification of Mudéjar and its studies gained new visions in the following years; Mudejarismo/Mudejarism symposium series introduced a new concept to the field. Similarly, studies in the 1990s introduced innovative expressions and attributed new features to Mudéjar and its architecture. However, Mudéjar evaluations with its regional and cultural ethnogenesis outlook still continue to dominate most of the studies. One of the reasons for the ethnogenesis position may stem from the absence of foreign scholars in the field, who would rescue themselves from the historical subjective determinant position. The other reason is encompassed by the well-known east-west struggle and prejudicial perspectives that prevented scholars from deciphering the actual reasons and facts of the history completely.

Although there is significant information on this issue, the identification of the Mudéjar style is still vague; the problematic condition will be dealt with in this research. In the midst of the complex evaluation methods of Mudéjar and its architecture, this dissertation first locates Mudéjar architecture into a stylistic category. Many scholars have a tendency neither to find a new Mudéjar terminology nor to replace it with another term as the renewed situation would introduce more confusion. Therefore, one of the dissertation's premises is to question this established scholarly opinion, which allows me to de-construct canonized Mudéjar terminology and to investigate the standing of Mudéjar studies, particularly on art and architecture in Spain. Therefore, in order to come closer to the subject, first of all, the study seeks to demonstrate the emerging atmosphere of Mudéjar and show how it became a common architectural language of different cultural groups in the same geography.

This dissertation aims to analyze and decipher the writing history of Mudéjar in Spanish art and architectural history field. It is important to point out that this study is necessitated

by the absence of historiography works and their evaluation methods in the field. As the main problematic area is the writing process of Mudéjar architecture, this thesis focuses on how Spanish scholars represent Mudéjar in their works and approach Mudéjar architecture within their studies. Another objective of the dissertation is to analyze the structure of these studies. The aim is to use graphic illustrations to define and formulate the procedure of Mudéjar architectural historiography within the Spanish scholarly field.

One of the premises of the present study is to express that Mudéjar historiography and Mudéjar reality do not fit entirely. I intend to display with my critiques, how Mudéjar is versatile and it should take its actual place in the writings as a gift from the Spanish architectural history to the world architectural history.

1.2. Structure of the Thesis

The study provides a general outlook for Mudéjar architecture and it gives ideas about “codes of Mudéjar writing atmosphere”. Until now, several themes in the area of Mudéjar and its classification method have been studied. This dissertation likewise discusses these themes and the classification methods, and it distinctly develops theories to map architectural history writing of Mudéjar and finds correlations between the political history and Mudéjar’s writing history.

In this regard, the structure of the thesis is composed in order to provide a wide range of readings for Mudéjar architecture. Consistent with this aim, the second chapter of the study will a present historical account of the Iberian Peninsula, where the pre-Hispanic, Hispanic, Islamic Iberian Periods and the re-conquest process of Catholic Spain are investigated. Bounded by the Mediterranean Sea, North Africa and the Pyrenees, the history

of the Iberian Peninsula was determined by the flows of people within these geographies. How the Iberian Peninsula housed various cultures and witnessed to their long lasting fight to survive in the Peninsula is depicted with their reasons and outcomes in this section, since the historical conditions shaped the Peninsula's cultural growth remarkably. Therefore, the chapter will provide a base for the following chapters to understand the cultural shifts and their architectural responses in the Peninsula.

The third chapter will deal with historical and terminological aspects of the theme where the ethnical expressions of Iberia and its problems are implicated in architectural terminology. Thereafter, Mudéjar's stylistic and cultural discussions will be introduced. The term "style" is a staple of our art historical vocabulary, and this dissertation questions both what we mean by style and how we understand its frame within the history of art and architecture. Why do Spanish scholars mainly reject Mudéjar as a style? Are we aware of to what degree Mudéjar became a common condition of society? These questions as a final position will help me to locate Mudéjar architecture into the stylistic category but the same chapter will deconstruct Mudéjar terminology as ethnological and architectural usages differ from each other.

After the cultural and stylistic discussions, the same chapter focuses on the emergence of Mudéjar architecture; here, Mudéjar architecture's general, building stylistic and provincial features will be introduced. The regional differences make it easier to see multi-layer and notable features of Mudéjar because each region shows distinct characteristics that arose due to the influence of different historical and social conditions. After examining the general outline of Mudéjar architecture, the same chapter will analyze the spread of Mudéjar and its usage. In this section, colonial contributions to the expansion of Mudéjar

will be brought to light. Moreover, that Mudéjar's characteristics in those geographies are different from those of Spain will be shown.

This dissertation seeks to demonstrate the eminence of Mudéjar studies and their standing in the field; therefore, Chapter Four mainly aims to discuss Mudéjar's condition in architectural historiography in Spain. In order to understand the architectural atmosphere of Christian dominated Iberian Peninsula and its writing history, the Spanish Identity and its formulations by the *Re-conquest Ideology*, *the Hispanidad* and *Convivencia/Co-existence* are analyzed, which will also be helpful to grasp how 'Hispanidad/Hispanics', 'Convivencia/ Co-existence' and 'Spanish phenomenon' have been produced by scholars and affected the architectural historiography of Spain. The Medieval Interest and Spanish Romanticism in the 19th century is another inquiry of the chapter that shows how Spanish acknowledgment of Islam and Mudéjar architecture's formulation started. The political agendas of the 19th and 20th centuries will also be examined to show the political constraints whose appendage will be revised in the following topics as a mediator of Mudéjar studies.

The central point of the dissertation is to question how Mudéjar writing is posed in the historiography of Spain. Thus, the same chapter will draw attention to the atmosphere in which the architectural history of Mudéjar was written, which was mainly determined by Spanish scholars. Mudéjar architecture's evaluation process in the Spanish scholarly field will be critically analyzed. The main discussion of scholars and their arguments about Mudéjar studies will be examined. Notably, the study will claim that the Spanish political agenda shaped the writing of the history of Mudéjar architecture. This assertion will be shown by graphical analyses of publications that were written by Spanish scholars from the early 19th century until 1990. Special analyses of both the survey books and the

symposium series of Mudejarism will be focused on and their evaluation will reveal the regional characters of Mudéjar studies in Spain.

Consequently, it can be said that a number of conclusions have been set forth at the end of each chapter. Whether or not one agrees with the stylistic formulation of Mudéjar, it is clear that information about Mudéjar art and architecture has recently been enhanced by new studies; it is time to focus on architectural history writing on Mudéjar accumulated up to the 20th century. An evaluation of this will help us find our way to identify obscurities revolving around Mudéjar and to clarify the conceptual and terminological tools used in its various histories.

1.3. A Review of Architectural Historiography on Mudéjar

History is about the past but historians formulate history, hence reshape the past. According to E.H. Carr, history is “a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past”⁶. The past obtains actual meaning when it is mentioned in the present. Thus it can be said that history becomes history when it starts to exist in the present⁷.

History could be dealt with in a variety of approaches, which finally produce historiography; the methodology for historical research; perceived and aimed version of history. In this regard historiography appears as a result of accumulated information of the past, more often a subjective version of it. Subjectivity in historical studies changes authors'

⁶ Edward Hallett Carr, *What is History?* (U.K. Penguin Book, 1987), 30.

⁷ Dana Arnold "Reading the Past: What is Architectural History?," *Reading Architectural History* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 1-13.

approaches towards the subjects. Over the course of time different methodologies have appeared in the field. For instance, histories which were written around 1800 mainly hold political and diplomatic features, while those produced at the end of that century favour economic and social historiography. The next centuries brought micro, cultural and many other types of historiographies to the field⁸. All of these approaches try to grasp the reality of the past more efficiently. On the other hand history could not escape from being a tool of ideologies that benefited from history when constructing their national and political narratives.

What kind of relation does history have with architecture and its historiography? It's complicated to answer the question since architecture is a solid version of culture, which is tangible, visible and occupies an important position both in space and life. Therefore, we see that inevitably architecture becomes one of the objects of history⁹. Equally, history is at the centre of architecture because architecture helps to produce the history; it constructs the past and today and so often demonstrates power relations where ideas are expressed visually. However, architecture differs from the other visual arts because its three dimensional, tangible, usable features give it a peculiar character.

Inevitably, architecture's relation with geographic, climatic, economic, political and technological realities necessitates using architectural history discipline, which aims to decipher cultural codes of the societies via buildings. In this way architectural history wants to interpret architectural examples with their true meanings, which are open to influence of acculturation, patronage, geographical shifts and many other social and

⁸ Aykut Tunç Kılıç, "Halil Berktaş ile Söyleşi: Makro Anlatılardan Mikro Tarihcilik: Tarihcilikte Değişen Yaklaşımlar," *Toplumsal Tarih 112* (Nisan 2003), 40.

⁹ Arnold, "Reading the Past," 1-13.

political mechanisms, all of which combine to introduce some form of stylistic and typological change to buildings. Though, the motive behind construction differs in each case, architectural history aims to discover these intentions and connections while taking into account constant time

As a medium of cultural expression all architectural products create sequences of narratives. These narratives expose distinct social values, which introduce structural differences to buildings that could be best traced through the discipline of architectural history. In this regard it can be said that architectural history unearths a relation between architecture and life which became a profession in the 19th century and it was taught previously at art history departments, however, architectural schools and institutions were later founded that became a crucial step for the development of the discipline in its own way¹⁰.

Due to the interest of architectural history in culture and other social issues the discipline often consults interdisciplinary methodologies to comprehend the ideological and cultural database of architecture and the built environment more efficiently. According to Dr. Arnold, when we consider architecture as a cultural artefact, it becomes a text so we inevitably see there are a variety of readings of how the past occurred and each of them aims to construct the past. In this way, theory, archive and history of the historiography of architectural history become fundamentals in producing histories¹¹.

¹⁰ Dietrich Neumann, "Teaching the History of Architecture in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. *Architekturgeschichte vs. Bauforschung*," *JSAH*, 61/3 (2002), 370-380.

¹¹ Arnold, "Reading the Past," 1-13.

Previously, writing on architectural history was constructed by a "White European", elite in society. Non western countries' architecture used to be classified under "non-historical styles", which were nourished from the western dominated architectural history writing mechanism. However, current approaches in the architectural history discipline modify subjective conditions and reveal distorted and inclined versions of truths that were used to falsify and mystify history through architecture¹². Notably, travel opportunities, archaeological research, photography and academic movement all constricted the Eurocentric standing in the architectural historiography field¹³.

Recently different methodological approaches have appeared in architectural history. For example, post colonial theory and criticism expanded the teaching and writing margins of the discipline. Nevertheless, every institution and author maintain their own canonical approaches, therefore, grouping and canonizing art periods and facts while dismantling others still continue to be the main problem¹⁴. The problem can best be followed using survey books, which can be seen as reference books or first hand information sources.

Survey books also help us to learn about the writing problems of architectural history. These books may bring different approaches to history of architecture, thus, they provoke and accelerate discussions about historiographies. As Pyla hints to us these survey books set the margins of histories¹⁵. This dissertation aims to clearly show multiple layers of Mudéjar

¹² Arnold, "Reading the Past," 1-13.

¹³ Sibel Bozdoğan, "Architectural History in Professional Education: Reflections on Postcolonial Challenges to the Modern Survey," *Journal of Architectural Education* 52/4 (1999): 207-215.

¹⁴ Bozdoğan, *Architectural History*, 207-215.

¹⁵ Panayiota Pyla, "Historicizing Pedagogy: A Critique of Kostof's *A History of Architecture*," *Journal of Architectural Education* 52/4 (1999): 216-225.

narratives in Spain. Therefore, I give attention to investigating Spanish survey books and their analysis, which will reveal Mudéjar's recondite condition in Spanish art and architectural history field.

Studies on Mudéjar and its architecture developed in the 19th century, in Spain, when history was handled more tenderly by the period's Romantic approaches in the world in general. The earliest application of the term Mudéjar was made by Manuel de Assas in 1857. The terminology and its connotations also became subject to the discourses of José Amador de los Ríos, who gave a speech in the "Real Academia de las Tres Nobles Artes de San Fernando" in 1859, which was based on the common social and political concerns of the periods.¹⁶

"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 intelectual de la grey española"

"in the grand Era of the Re-conquest, 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"¹⁷.

In his speech, Amador de los Ríos made the audience feel the existence and peculiarity of Mudéjar architecture in Spain. Actually, this atmosphere was created while ascribing it to a

¹⁶ José Amador de los Ríos, "El Estilo Mudéjar En Arquitectura", at *Discurso leído ante la Real A. de Nobles Artes de San Fernando y contestación de D. Pedro de Madrazo Madrid* (Madrid: Imp. Col. Sordo-mudos, 1859).

¹⁷ José Amador de los Ríos, *El Estilo Mudéjar En Arquitectura*, (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel Tello, 1872; re-print, Valencia. Librerías, Paris-Valencia, 1996), D.A.Crites, "From Mosque to Cathedral: The Social and Political Significations of Mudéjar Architecture in Late Medieval," (Ph.D dissertation., Seville University of Iowa, 2010), 4.

Spanish disposition. Amador de los Ríos also mapped Mudéjar's boundaries roughly, which had not been determined yet. According to him, this unique Spanish architecture composed the Christian and the Islamic art forms. However, he believed that it was the Muslims, who were allowed to live in the Peninsula, who produced the style starting from the 13th century and its fabrication continued until the 16th century. Later, it would be understood that the manufacturing was not done by the Mudéjars all the time and the emergence of Mudéjar architecture was much earlier than the 13th century. Amador de los Ríos's formulation of Mudéjar was subject to several discussions and his determination was harshly criticized in the early 20th century, especially the hybrid way that he categorized the Mudéjar did not allow some scholars to locate Mudéjar into a stylistic category¹⁸.

Spanish historiographer Pedro de Madrazo mentioned that Mudéjar art did not perfectly refer to Mudéjar etymology. One of his well-known studies, 'La Ilustración Española y Americana' that was published at the end of the 19th century took into account formal characteristic of Mudéjar art instead of making references to ethnical and artistic façades of the theme.¹⁹ His approach to Mudéjar reflected the Mudéjar inquiries circling around the ethnical, artistic, stylistic and cultural dynamics of the subject as well. It is important to note that sometimes, the ethnical features of Mudéjar were overseen according to the period's agenda. Being one of earlier approaches, the 19th century studies tried to oversee the ethnical components of the style due to the Romantic-nationalist political agenda, which aimed to construct a 'Spanish' notion and its culture on a new platform. Therefore, Madrazo's explanation could be seen as a reflection of the period's main concerns.

¹⁸ Amador de Los Ríos, *El Estilo Mudejar*: Crites, "Mosque to Cathedral," 5,6,7.

¹⁹ Pedro de Madrazo, *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, no 26 (Madrid, 1894). Gonzalo Borrás Gualis, "Introducción," in *El Arte Mudéjar* (Granada: Iber Caja, 1996), 16.

Correspondingly, the earlier scholars generally evaluated Mudéjar as a decorative style. Vicente Lampérez Romea as an architect, restorer and art historian, continued this tradition in his works, and pointed out that the Mudéjar art was produced by Moors who worked at the service of the Christian rulers, and Mudéjar usage should be classified as Christian structure containing Muslim ornamentations. He defined Mudéjar as having double characteristics where the construction was primary, but ornamentation was secondary, which was an attitude minimizing the Mudéjar role in construction process²⁰. He was the first scholar to use the category of Romanic brick. This material based interpretation of Mudéjar was soon criticized by historian Juan de Contreras (Marques Lozoya) to refer to these Castilian monuments, which were not a simple variety of Romanic style, but something fundamentally different. Vicente Lampérez Romea also did not want to use the term Mudéjar, and preferred to use Moorish art²¹.

In fact, Juan de Contreras's explanation can be seen as a common approach to Mudéjar art, which suggests that the Christian and Muslim formulations can be followed from a structural and decorative organization system. He assumed that Mudéjar buildings usually have a Christian plan and a Muslim decoration over it. According to him, there are few structural examples that exist where Muslim ornamentation features are still dominant. Ornament based Mudéjar reading can equally be found in the work of scholars who mention Romanic brick terminology. Among them, José Antonio Ruiz, in 1988, used Romanic brick terminology in his work on Segovia; through this evaluation method,

²⁰ Vicente Lampérez y Romea, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española en la edad media según el estudio de los elementos y los monumentos* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1930). Vicente Lampérez y Romea, *Arquitectura mudéjar (Historia de la Arquitectura cristiana española en la Edad Media)*, vol. 3 (Madrid: 1922), 479-579, Gualis, "Introducción," 24.

²¹ Juan de Contreras (Marqués de Lozoya, *Historia del Arte Hispánico* (Barcelona: Salvat editores, 1934). Gualis, "Introducción," 16, 19.

likewise, minimized Mudéjar to an ornamentation and material usage. Although there was a stance to limit Mudéjar only to a decorative context, Mudéjar's structural features were reminded by restorer and investigator Francisco Iñiquez Almech and architect & restorer Fernando Chueca Goitia in the following years.²²

This mainly material point of view can also be seen in the arguments of archaeologist and historian Manuel Gómez Moreno, who suggested that there was a kind of compact between two systems of works. According to him, the stone working system was using Romanic, Gothic and Renaissance styles due to having been influenced by French construction tradition; on the other hand, Mudéjar was used brick material. He asserted that Mudéjar work by its materials, techniques and working process could be linked to construction of Islamic tradition, where thick brick units, coating timber and gypsum plaster constitute the fundamentals of the Mudéjar work²³. Dr. Gualis asserts the characterization of the Mudéjar art cannot be simplified; formulation of material approach does not solve the problems as analytical classification and expression of brick cannot be enough to explain the Aragón Mudéjar. For him, the issue was actually the selecting and integration process of Mudéjar, which in its own universe reached new results²⁴.

There were also struggles to give architectural recipe for Mudéjar architecture as seen in the works of the French scholar Lambert who underlined the practice degrees of forms. According to this hypothesis, Mudéjar can only be applied whenever there is a true

²² Gualis, "Introducción," 13,18. Ruiz Hernando, José Antonio, *La Arquitectura de Ladrillo en la Provincia de Segovia, Siglos XII Y XIII*, (Diputación Provincial de Segovia: 1988). Fernando Chueca Goitia, *Aragón y la Cultura Mudéjar* (Institución Fernando el Católico, Zaragoza: 1970). Crites, "Mosque to Cathedral," 9.

²³ Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes: Arte Español de los siglos IX à XI*, Volumen 2 (Spain: Centro de Estudios Histórico, 1919). Gualis, "Introducción," 21.

²⁴ Gonzalo M. Borrás Gualis, *Arte Mudéjar Aragonés* (Zaragoza: Guarra Editorial, 1978) ,18, 19.

mixture of Islamic and Christian elements. Therefore, he assumed that with a few features of Islam and Christianity, a building cannot be classified as Mudéjar.²⁵ In addition, he divided Mudéjar into categories where a social rank mechanism shows level of the style while separating it as public and courtly Mudéjar.

To frame Mudéjar, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, one of earlier scholars, used a description of ‘Eslabón de Enlace Entre la Cristiandad y el Islam/‘connecting a link between Christianity and Islam’²⁶. He published the idea in a book with the same title in 1968 and concentrated his argument on a hybrid context that determined Mudéjar as a combination of Islamic and Christian formulations. This opinion considers that major religious groups within a geographical and chronological aspect produced *Mudéjar*. This formulation is broader and usually attributes the general features of *Mudéjar* to be subsumed as part of the total architecture and art works created under the Christian domain. However, this classification system is not able to elucidate stylistic changes in an accurate way because as we have already discussed, *Mudéjares* after their conversion were called Moriscos and they continued to produce the same style. This approach was precursor to the ‘convivencia’ notion that would be developed by Américo Castro who can be accepted as one of the prominent historians of Iberian history²⁷.

Gonzalo Borrás Gualis is one of the most remarkable scholars in Mudéjar studies in Spain. He can also be assumed as the most productive researcher. His several publications tell us

²⁵ Elie Lambert, “L’art Mudéjar,” in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, IX (Paris, 1933), 17–33. Crites, “Mosque to Cathedral,” 8–9.

²⁶ Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *España, Eslabon Entre la Cristiandad y el Islam* Descripción, 2ª edición (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1956).

²⁷ Américo Castro, *The Spaniards, An Introduction to Their History*, trans. Willard F. King, Selma Margaretten (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press, 1971).

that there are two aspects existing in the field; the first assumption sees *Mudéjar* as a *Hispanomusuluman/Hispanicmuslim* formulation, and the other consideration sees *Mudéjar* as a Christian art without Muslim influence. For Gualis, these methods minimize *Mudéjar* and its role in society. The author classifies Mudéjar as the artistic expression of society, therefore, while mentioning the ethnical origin of the style, saying that it is Christian or Islamic origin would be a kind of distant evaluation method from the cultural realities. He believes that Mudéjar demonstrates the artistic phenomenon of medieval Spain's way of living as well as the mixed atmosphere of Islamic, Christian and Jewish societies. He accepts Muslim contribution and suggests that Muslim influence on Mudéjar comes from not only decoration, but also architectonic structures, such as towers and ceilings. While interpreting Mudéjar, he takes cultural dynamics and gradual transformation process of the re-conquest into account. Gualis equally determines the stages of Mudéjar evolution by several factors including Christian fascination with Islamic works and the process of gradual re-conquest, as they were influential on the creation of diversity in each region²⁸.

According to Borrás Gualis, after the re-conquest and the expulsion, there was a cultural continuity, which at the same time was subject to the slow process of socio-cultural transformation during the 16th century. Different forms of Christian and Muslims are composed, thus having a 'proindivisio'-undivided/undivided part; they constitute a good part of medieval Spain²⁹. Since the forms are united, the historian cannot separate united forms as it turned out to be 'a new artistic taste'. Thus, for Gualis, Mudéjar appears neither as Christian nor Muslim, but a new expression. Although his evaluation attempts to

²⁸ Gualis, "Introducción," 15, 23.

²⁹ Gonzalo M. Borrás Gualis, *El Arte Mudéjar*; Historia 16 (España: Cudernos de Arte Español, 1991), 12. Gualis, "Introducción," 15,16.

separate artistic meaning from the religious origin, considering Mudéjar as a ‘Spanish phenomenon’ means de-constructing the ethnic connotations of Mudéjar. Another prominent researcher of Mudéjar is Rafael López Guzmán. He notably claimed that Ferdinand and Isabella adopted Mudéjar as an ‘expressive medium for a monarchy that is visually unifying its territory’. Guzman thinks that hybridization and acculturation over a long period in Iberia created the eclectic appearance of the period and the style. He suggests that Romanesque-Mudéjar together with Gothic Mudéjar is a way of re-formulating Mudéjar writings; however, those forms reflecting conventional restrictions started with Vicente Lamperez. According to him, Mudéjar has a broader chronological and geographical context. In addition, his publications on the spread of Mudéjar in the Americas show that Mudéjar lost its context before reaching America; thus, the socio-political framework of Mudéjar changed as a result of changing social conditions, and then, new meanings could be attributed to Mudéjar both in Iberia and America³⁰.

Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza’s approach seems to be closer to oversee the origin of Mudéjar architecture. According to him, so-called Islamic forms in the long term were used in pre-Islamic periods and adopted by Islamic culture, and then, the Spaniards adopted these forms while filtering; thus, continuity of forms was supplied. For him, when patron and applier were using the forms, they were not so conscious about the origin of the forms. He questions “how long it should 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

³⁰ Rafael Lopez Guzmán, *Arquitectura Mudéjar* (Madrid: Manuales Arte Catedra, 2005). Barbara Fuchs, “1492 and the Cleaving of Hispanism,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, Volume 37, Number 3 (Duke University Press, 2007), 497.

constituted local architectural tradition". Although Ruiz Souza argues that medieval patrons consider Mudéjar as something Iberian not Christian, Jewish, or Islamic. To oppose his ideas, Lopez Guzman introduced a document that belonged to the 16th century showing that it was not true³¹.

This document reveals that the Count of Tendilla ordered a tomb for his brother while saying "mi voluntad es que no se miezcle con la otra obra ninguna cosa francesa, ni alemana, ni morisca sino que todo sea romano"/ "my desire is that no other work is mixed, neither something French, nor German, nor Morisca, but that everything should be Roman³². With this order it was revealed that in the 16th century there was a conscience of Morisca taste/ *Moorish taste*. In addition, as we mentioned previously, literature sources demonstrate that there was a category of "morisca". They perfectly knew the origin of work; Mudéjar architectural forms such as muqarnas and qubba domes pass as "obra morisca"/Moorish work in Libro del Caballero Zifar, an epic poem written in the 14th century³³.

Current research also centres on the identification process of Mudéjar. Mudéjar architecture is seen as a continuation of Muslim culture. However, the number of researchers identifying Mudéjar as a prolongation of Islamic tradition is limited. Barrucand and Bednorz suggest in their work that "the form and functions of the buildings are determined first and foremost by Islam; their Spanishness is secondary". They maintain that

³¹ Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza "Architectural Languages, Functions, and Spaces: The Crown of Castile and al-Andalus," *Medieval Encounters*, trans. Deborah Roldán and Cynthia Robinson, Vol. 12 (2006) 373. Crites, "Mosque to Cathedral," 13, 18.

³² Crites, "Mosque to Cathedral," 15. Guzman, *Arquitectura Mudejar*, 17.

³³ Crites, "Mosque to Cathedral," 14, 13. Ruiz Souza, "Architectural Languages,".

the vocabulary of forms employed by Andalusian architects between the 11th and the 13th centuries demonstrated influences from North Africa as it can be seen in the terminologies of "Hispano-Maghrebian" or "Hispano-Moorish art"³⁴.

One of the current scholars, Jerrilynn D. Dodds likewise argues that the ornamentation program and usage of material, and in some examples even plans were derived from Muslim prototypes especially that of the Umayyad³⁵. Her approach stresses the forgotten Islamic reality; on the other hand, she assists the creation of a Spanishness notion for Mudéjar identity and stresses geography and Iberianness similar to María Rosa Menacol. According to Dodds, there are more words that should be added to the description of Mudéjar, and its boundaries should be enlarged. However, she fails to formulate a comprehensive approach to Mudéjar when she suggests that "oppressed people (Jews) usually use architectural forms of others (Muslims) to defend themselves". However, in Iberian example oppressive groups- the Spaniards admired those forms also, and used them in their buildings but with a distinction that usually preferred composing Islamic forms with Western forms³⁶.

In 1990, José María Azcárate in order to show how Christian architecture was influenced by Islamic currency used the term 'Islamized Christian Architecture' while talking about Spanish Gothic³⁷. Recent scholars, Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi evaluate Mudéjar

³⁴ Barrucand and Bednorz, *Moorish Architecture*, 18.

³⁵ Jerrilynn D. Dodds and Daniel Walker, "Introduction", *Al-Andalus. The Art of Islamic Spain*, ed. Jerrilynn D. Dodds (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992), xxii.

³⁶ Jerrilynn D. Dodds, "Mudejar Tradition and the Synagogues of Medieval Spain: Cultural Identity and Cultural Hegemony", *Convivencia. Jews Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*, ed. Vivian B. Mann, Thomas F. Glick, Jerrilynn D. Dodds (New York: George Braziller, 1992), 113.

without stressing ethnic realities and architectural roots. Thus, the connection between Islam and Mudéjar is ignored. Robinson thinks that Mudéjar must be analyzed in terms of its actual, specific condition without considering its traditional background.³⁸

This changing character of Mudéjar is stressed by María Judith Feliciano's dissertation where she asserts that by the 16th century, through colonial adventure Mudéjar had carried a pan-Iberian aesthetic to the Americas³⁹. She prefers to stay away from the problematic Mudéjar terminology and uses *Mudejarismo*. While using *Mudejarismo*, she thinks that Spaniards used Mudéjar forms in America since they very much adopted these forms as their own, and activated a filter mechanism so it can be assumed that Mudéjar Architecture in the Americas is actually a Christianized one⁴⁰. According to Feliciano, the colonial context of Mudéjar demonstrates the reality of Iberianness, whose usage changes up to dissimilar levels of Iberian people. She describes how Mudéjar objects were used by Iberian people as follows;

"As a result, each group's manipulation of the Mudéjar aesthetic produced different meanings (ranging from regal, Castilian and Catholic to Andalusí, Islamic, Sephardic, and Jewish, etc.) and facilitated different lifestyles (from contemplative monasticism and regal performance to rural dwelling and manual labour)"⁴¹

³⁷ Gualis, "Introducción," 19; Gualis, *El Arté Mudéjar*, 12.

³⁸ Fuchs, "Cleaving of Hispanism," 504.

³⁹ Maria Judith Feliciano Chaves, "Mudejarismo in its colonial context: Iberian Cultural Display, Viceregal Luxury Consumption, and the Negotiation of Identities in Sixteenth-Century New Spain," (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2004), 15-16. Fuchs, "Cleaving of Hispanism," 504.

⁴⁰ Crites, "Mosque to Cathedral," 12. Eve Grinstead, "Absorbing the Mudéjar : The Islamic Imprint on the Spanish Architectural Aesthetic," *Journal of Art History*, vol.4 (The University of Tampa., 2009).

⁴¹ Feliciano, "Mudejarismo," 15-16. Fuchs, "Cleaving of Hispanism," 504.

The early approaches, whether using Mudéjar terminology or not, reduced it only to the Hispano-Muslim usage by classifications that usually emphasized Mudéjars' decorative features. However, this approach was challenged in the following years. In this context, I Simposio Internacional del Mudejarismo (Teruel, September 1975) 1st International Mudéjarism Symposia could be considered a starting point in the renovation of Mudéjar studies, where new perspectives were introduced and Spanish contribution to Mudéjar studies was seriously dealt with. In these studies, the notions of *Coexistence/Convivencia*, *Spanishness* and *Iberianness* were produced. Therefore, in this dissertation, close attention was paid to this symposium series that indeed reflect the Mudéjar phenomenon and its development process very well. Parallel to Mudejarismo/Mudéjarism studies, the 1990s-studies suggest that Mudéjar is the manifestation of having belonged to the Iberian Peninsula; therefore, it reflects the notions of Iberian-ness. The same studies stress original and unique features of Mudéjar art as the oriental and occidental cultural elements have been interwoven in Medieval Spanish art and architectural history. As they identify Mudéjar art completely as a phenomenon of Spain, they don't find any parallelism to Europe. On the other hand, survey books starting from the earlier times continue to produce respectively Hispanidad, Convivencia, Spanishness, and Iberianness formulations related with their agendas that will be investigated in a detailed manner in the fourth chapter.

Consequently, it can be said that Mudéjar studies usually did not include Mudéjar in terms of the stylistic context but accepted it as a repetition of old forms combined in one architectural program. Therefore, Mudéjar did not assume to expose original solutions but rather hybrid formulation. Notably, recent studies concentrate on Mudéjar Architecture's different characteristic, as a new formulation and they so often emphasize its peculiarity and *Spanishness*. This point of view sees that the characteristic features of Mudéjar reflect

Iberian society; in addition, it produced a new formulation. On the other hand, both early and late studies created other divine terminology, "Spanishness", 'the Coexistence/Convivencia', 'Iberianness' where Mudéjar studies could not escape from being the tools of creation of idiosyncratic narrations.

CHAPTER II

A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

2.1. Iberia under the Pre– Roman, Roman and Visigothic Rules

“Off all the lands from the west to the Indies, you, Spain, O sacred and always fortunate mother of princes and peoples, are the most beautiful.. You are the pride and the ornament of the world, the most illustrious part of the earth.. You are rich with olives.. Your mountains full of trees and your shores full of fish”

Isodore of Seville

The provincial diversities of Spain, which is a wide-ranging region and located in the Iberian Peninsula, can be explained by the climatic and geographic texture of the country. The physical conditions shaped two dissimilar cultural and political characters in the same country. The first part of the countryside is determined by damp temperature, which occurs in the Northern parts. The South has dry weather conditions and forms the arid part of Spain⁴². The Iberian Peninsula throughout its long history has been settled by several civilizations who designated the Peninsula in their own way. This identification process can be connected with the political agenda of the societies who internalized the Peninsula as their home country. The Greeks whose aim was economic rather than political, preferred to call the Peninsula as Iberia referring to its geographical realities, and only established colonies to continue their economic pursuits without interfering with life on the Peninsula. On the other hand, when the Romans used the term ‘Hispania’, the attitude was political, and the imperial aim of Rome was to annex the geography to their cultural and political unit. Not surprisingly, Iberia became part of their ‘Pax Romana’ ideology. In the 8th century, the labelling process of the Peninsula reached its apex when Muslim control was experienced, and the new owners of the Peninsula called the Peninsula

⁴² John Fraser Ramsey, *Spain. The Rise of the First World Power*, Mediterranean Europe Series I (Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1973), 1. Raymond Carr, “Introduction,” in *Spain: A History*, ed. Raymond Carr (Oxford&Newyork: Oxford University Press, 2000), 3–4.

as al-Andalus; some scholars believe that etymologically the word came from the Vandals who had arrived earlier in the Peninsula. Another social group, Medieval Jews called the Peninsula as Sefarad but this group in the Middle Ages would leave the Peninsula because of the Catholic Monarchs' harsh attitude towards them. Their exodus stretched around the world under the name of Sephardic Jewry⁴³

It is important to note that, in ancient times the Iberian Peninsula housed a variety of ethnic groups; thus, the Peninsula developed a multilingual structure. The earliest human existence in the Peninsula goes back to 800.000 years ago. Apart from this earlier human subsistence, the first developed culture was the Iberians, who mainly settled around the Mediterranean and the Southern Atlantic coasts. Although their origin was conducted to the Berber ancestry, who used to speak two un-deciphered non-European-origin languages, a recent scholarship denies this assumption as it puts forward the idea that the Iberians were natives of the Peninsula. In the meantime, the Western Pyrenees section of Iberia was settled by the Basques – coming from a non-Indio European origin. It seems that they were earlier settlers of the Peninsula before the Iberians. The Romans designated them as the Vascones, from which the Basque terminology was developed in time. However, some suggestions point out that the Iberian language was proto-Basque; thus, an “Iberian fringe” notion was applied to the Basques, who try to stay away from Spanish connotations and stress their uniqueness both in the national and cultural arena⁴⁴.

⁴³ William D. Phillips, Jr. and Carla Rahn Phillips., *A Concise History of Spain* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 2. A. Levy, *Jews, Turks, Ottomans; A Shared History, Fifteenth Through the Twentieth Century* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2002). S. Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic* (New York: New York University Press, 1991).

⁴⁴ A.T. Fear, “Prehistoric and Roman Spain,” in *Spain. A History*, ed. Raymond Carr (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 11, 12. Eric Solsten and Sandra W. Meditz, *Spain; A Country Study*, ed. Eric Solsten, Eugene K. Keefe (Washington, D.C: Library of Congress Cataloging, 1990), 5.

The Iberians – *dwellers around the Rio de Ebro/ Ebro River* – first occurrence on the historical scene was between 3000 BC and 2500 BC, when the Bronze Age was experienced in the Peninsula. These tribal groups lived disjointedly from each other and demonstrated hostile attitudes to one another. However, they were mixed with the Mediterranean people, who brought trading activity to the Peninsula. Thereafter, the north and the west part of the Peninsula was occupied by the Celts, who arrived from the northern east, beyond the Pyrenees. Their large migration to the Peninsula occurred between the 9th and 7th Centuries B.C.E. They settled around *Rio de Ebro* and *Dio de Duero*, thus, with the native Iberian population, they formed the Celtiberian culture in the centre of the Iberian Peninsula. The Celtiberians used a mixture of the two groups’ language: Indo-European, similar to the Celts’. They were engaged with metal crafts learned from the Celts, and farming and herding were their other specialized occupational branches while they were taking a role in trading by producing products for the Mediterranean traders⁴⁵.

(Figure 1)

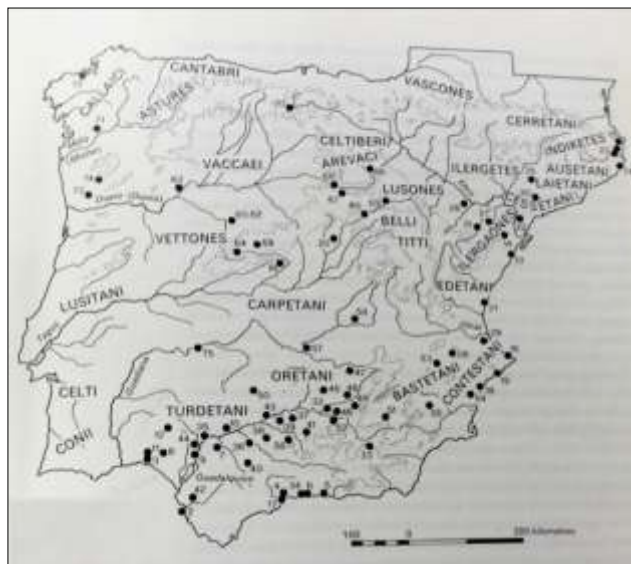


Figure 1. The Pre-Roman Setting of the Iberian Peninsula. S.J. Keay, *Roman Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press and British Museum, 1988), 9.

⁴⁵Solsten and Meditz, *Spain*, 4. Fear, *Spain*, 12, 13.

Mineral reserves on the Iberian Peninsula attracted the Mediterranean groups who were active in the trading network of the basin. One of the earlier occupants in trading was the Phoenicians; a trading community in Tyre and possibly one of the earliest active traders of the Mediterranean Basin. Archaeological excavations revealed the fact that they settled through the southern coastal line around the 12th Century B.C.E. However, publications points out to the 8th century B.C.E. for their existence in the Peninsula. The Phoenicians were very much interested in the metal reserves of the Peninsula in addition to wine, oil, textile, luxury goods and perfume. They established one of the centres to follow their economic pursuits in Tartessos. Their colonial activities soon gave birth to establishment of Gadir/Cadiz- the walled enclosure, which became an important colonial centre. The Phoenicians, who were also allies of the Assyrian Kingdom, were the suppliers of the metal for the Middle Eastern markets. When the Assyrian Kingdom was dispersed by Nebuchadnezzar in 573 BC, correspondingly the Phoenicians were erased from the historical scene. Indeed, the Phoenicians were one of the effective cultures among the others who left their fingerprints on the formation of Iberian Culture, and religious practice and literacy affected the Peninsula's cultural growth⁴⁶. (Figure 2)

⁴⁶ Diego Ruiz Mata (a), "The Beginnings of the Phoenician Presence in Southwestern Andalusia," in *The Phoenicians in Spain An Archaeological Review of the Eighth-Sixth Centuries B.C.E.* trans and ed. Marilyn R. Bierling and Seymour Gitin (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns Publishers, 2002), 294-295. Simon Barton, *A History of Spain*, Second Edition (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 5. Marilyn R. Bierling, "Introduction," in *The Phoenicians in Spain*, trans. and ed. Marilyn R. Bierling and Seymour Gitin (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns Publishers, 2002), xiii. Diego Ruiz Mata (b), "The Ancient Phoenicians of the 8th and 7th Centuries B.C. in the Bay of Cadiz: State of the Research," in *The Phoenicians in Spain An Archaeological Review of the Eighth-Sixth Centuries B.C.E.* trans and edit. Marilyn R. Bierling and Seymour Gitin (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns Publishers, 2002), 156. Solsten and Meditz, *Spain*, 5. Fear, *Spain*, 13, 16.



Figure 2. Trading centres of the Phoenicians, Bierling, *The Phoenicians in Spain*, 81.

The Greeks were equally familiar with the Peninsula; their first coming there was in the 8th century, but the Greek colonizers found the first Iberian colony in the 6th BCE, and named it as Emporion (Ampurias), which meant that 'a place where trade was conducted or market'. Other important commercial centres of Greek colonizers were built in Rhode (Rosas) and Massilia/Marseilles, which facilitated trading with the Celtiberians⁴⁷.

The Carthaginians were another effective Mediterranean community that settled in the Iberian Peninsula who were defeated by the Romans in 264-241 B.C, in the First Punic War. As a result of the warfare, the Carthaginians lost their important commercial centre, Sicily; the event pushed them to turn their attention towards the Iberian Peninsula, where there was a lack of politic unity because of individual groups of tribes and city-states, which created an easy condition for the Carthaginians to launch political entity in the Peninsula. Hamilcar Barca (275 – 228 BC) was at the head of the Iberian settlement policy, and he thought that they can grow a powerful empire in Iberia as opposed to their arch-rival and enemy: the Romans. Hannibal (247 – 183 BC), the son of Hamilcar Barca,

⁴⁷ Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 17. Solsten and Meditz, *Spain*, 5.

occupied Saguntum. The inhabitants of the city asked for the help of Rome⁴⁸. Rome was late to send its troops, and therefore, the city was captured by Hannibal. His expansion policy would be continued by his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, who made royal marriages with the natives in order to build closer relationship with the Iberian nobility. The Carthaginians created 30.000 inhabitants in Iberia, some of whom came from North Africa. As a matter of fact, when the Carthaginians created their colony in Iberia, they maintained their descendant's (the Phoenicians) living habits. They were trading with the Western Mediterranean and North Africa, and also established colony in Ibiza (Ebusus)⁴⁹.

The Carthaginians' passion to increase their dominance on the Peninsula inevitably started their long-term struggle with another imperial power: the Romans. Their activities in the Iberian Peninsula and around North Africa did not escape from the Romans' perception as their existence in Iberia became challenging to Roman imperial power. Although the Romans and the Carthaginians signed a treaty, their peaceful situation did not continue for long. Roman appetite over the Iberian Peninsula would produce the Second Punic War (218-202). Rome this time was more eagerly involved in the war with the Carthaginians, who produced the Second Punic War (218-201 BC). Although Hannibal fought enthusiastically, the Roman tactic, which was based on replacing the defeated armies with the new ones, was successful. The last battle at Zama in 202 would require the Carthaginians to accept the Roman superiority over the Mediterranean Region. The war continued for years. At the end, the Carthaginians' long-term great effort perished when the Roman army drove them from Iberia in 206 BCE. It was Publius Cornelius Scipio, who

⁴⁸ Michael Crawford, "Early Rome and Italy," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Roman World*, ed. John Boardman, Jasper Griffin and Oswyn Murray (U.S.A: Oxford University Press, 2001), 29. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 18, 19.

⁴⁹ Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 17-19. Fear, *Spain*, 18.

made a last powerful attack over the Carthaginians and defeated them; therefore, the name Scipio Africanus was given to him. After the war, the first city, Italica, was established by Scipio Africanus in close proximity to Seville for Italian professionals who used to work in the army⁵⁰. (Figure 3)



Figure 3. The Roman provinces in the late periods of the Empire, Richardson, *The Romans*, 265.

Following, the Romans obtained the control of the Peninsula, its rich mineral and agricultural benefits let them politically map the area. Their extension to Iberia meant that the Romans reached the end of the known world as they encountered with the Atlantic Ocean. In addition, enlargement of geographical seizure of the Empire meant the demonstration of an extended version of “Pax Romana” ideology. As the Roman

⁵⁰John S. Richardson, *A History of Spain: The Romans in Spain* (U.K. Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 18. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 18,19. Crawford, *Early Rome*, 29–30. Keay, *Roman Spain*, 29.

administrative policy was to divide and rule, the Iberian Peninsula was alienated into two important provinces in 197 B.C. as *Hispania Citerior* and *Hispania Ulterior*. The first division *Hispania Citerior/ Nearer Hispania* enclosed the geography from Pyrenees to the Sierra Morena. The second division, *Hispania Ulterior/Further Hispania* was the eastern half of the Guadalquivir Valley. Certainly, under this allotment of the topography, economic and military realities were constituted in the first place⁵¹. (Figure 4)

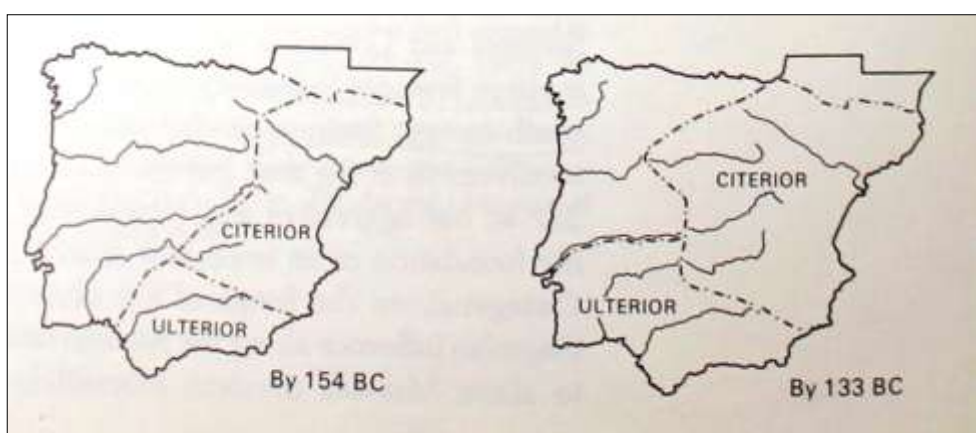


Figure 4. The Romans' conquest process in the Iberian Peninsula.
Keay, *Roman Spain*, 26.

The Capital of Hispania Citerior, Taracco, was the main centre; its strategic location was surrounded by the city walls as it was a military hub. In the inner sections of the Peninsula, city of Caesar Augusta (Zaragoza/Saragossa) was set up by Emperor Augustus in the final quarter of the 1st century B.C. This Roman colony, due to strategic necessities, witnessed the construction of a bridge over the Rio de Ebro/ Ebro River to facilitate the connection with the surrounding regions⁵². In Hispania Ulterior part, military organizations also took place. Obviously, the Romans wanted to establish Guadalquivir River as the western boundary of their territories. The river at the same time created an important harbour in

⁵¹ Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 22. Keay, *Roman Spain*, 31. Fear, *Spain*, 23 ,25.

⁵² Keay, *Roman Spain*, 31. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 25.

Corduba/Córdoba/Cordova. Therefore, Córdoba became an urbanized centre of the Roman Empire in the Iberian Peninsula, composed of temples, aqueducts and other prominent social infrastructures. Its river also held an impressive bridge; today, it is located just behind the Córdoba Mosque. Another important centre Hispalis (Seville), located in the upper part of Córdoba, was established in the period of Julius Caesar. The crucial geographical position of Hispalis gave a chance to reach the Atlantic Ocean. Like any other Roman towns, Hispalis was surrounded with walls, and held an aqueduct to supply water necessities of the city⁵³.

Long domination process of the Romans in the Iberian Peninsula was slow but Romanization deeply penetrated the geography. When the Romans took the Peninsula, they first made agreements with small groups, and only occupied the territories in case some tribal groups would resist their dominancy. The earlier periods of Rome in Iberia resembles U.S experience stated by scholar Fear as follows:

“After this, Rome’s involvement with Spain can be likened in part to the US experience in Vietnam, a long-protracted campaign against an inferior but determined enemy, and in part to British involvement on the North-West Frontier of India, where there was little danger posed to British rule, but a good theatre in which to obtain military glory and exercise troops⁵⁴”.

With the Roman special movement, it almost took 200 years to obtain full control of the Iberian Peninsula. This long-term struggle could be explained by the hard geographical realities of the Peninsula, where consolidating political control throughout, was hard. The Romans extended their control from the Mediterranean coastal lines beyond Gibraltar,

⁵³ Keay, *Roman Spain*, 32. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 25,26.

⁵⁴ Fear, *Spain*, 24

having control of Iberia would supply security for the Mediterranean Sea. In addition, they took advantage of offerings of the geography as there were good quality minerals.⁵⁵

In the era of Caesar, the expansion of Roman control was accelerated. After him, Augustus continued the same policy and he divided the Peninsula into three provinces: Baetica, Lusitania, and Hispania Citerior. However, Roman activity areas were limited due to the geographical rigidity of the northern parts that did not allow for Roman control over these areas, as a result, some of these northern sections stayed away from the Romanization procedure⁵⁶. At the first glimpse, it can be said that the Romans transported political firmness and harmony to the Peninsula by their legal codes. The Romanization process introduced new institutions, such as religion, education and language to Iberia. Local elites of the Peninsula, in order to communicate with the Roman authorities, had to know the Roman legal system and language. These, along with road networks, were the most important cultural facets of life introduced to the urbanization to the Peninsula. Thus, transportation and agriculture networks of an advanced society was established in Iberia. In addition to this successful technical integration, there were biological connections supplied by the marriages between the Romans and natives.⁵⁷ Some Roman emperors, nobles and other important historical figures were born in Hispania such as the Emperors Trajan, Hadrian, and Theodosius I. Seneca, Quintilian, Martial and Lucan who are famous in philosophy and literature were born in Iberia. Although Marcus Aurelius was born in Rome, he was from an Iberian ancestry⁵⁸.

⁵⁵ Fear, *Spain*, 24. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 21.

⁵⁶ Fear, *Spain*, 31. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 26, 27. Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Spain and Portugal* (U.S.A: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1973), 5-6.

⁵⁷ Payne, *Spain and Portugal*, 5. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 21, 22. Fear, *Spain*, 38.

The Romans were the creators of *latifundios* system in Iberia; thus, large agricultural estates where huge numbers of peasants or slaves used to work were controlled by the aristocracy. They also established new municipalities under the head of a retired or disabled soldiers, which facilitated Roman control over the Peninsula, and tax privileges were guaranteed to these colonial units by the Empire. There were twenty Roman colonies established to acquire the minerals of the Peninsula. Italica was one of these colonies founded by Rome. The other colonies were Merida, or Tarragona (Tarraco). Among them, Tarragona became the capital of Hispania Citerior⁵⁹.

The rich sources and strategic position of the Iberian Peninsula helped develop as one of the important Mediterranean trading spots. Olive oil and wine were carried to Italy usually by amphora. Some excavations that were carried out in Pompeii have revealed the existence of Spanish wine hidings in the ruins. Other goods, such as wheat, flax, fish, wool, rope, cloth and baskets, were transported from Hispania to various parts of the Mediterranean Region. Pottery and glass also found their places in Mediterranean market place. Mineral exporting for gold, silver, copper, and cinnabar was popular. However, as a result of development of other Roman provinces, Spain's vital position in Mediterranean trade decreased in time⁶⁰.

Another important cultural development introduced to the Iberian Peninsula was Christianity in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. It was the 2nd century when several religious figures fluxed into the Peninsula to spread the new religion. Christianity held its legal

⁵⁸ Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 28.

⁵⁹ Solsten and Meditz, *Spain*, 6. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 23. Ramsey, *Spain*, 8.

⁶⁰ Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 27, 28.

status in the 4th century, and its spread was in the period of Theodosius I. In addition to Christianity, the first Jewish settlements of Iberia were established in the Roman Period in the 2nd century as a result of their temple in Jerusalem having been pulled down in the 1st century by the Romans. This group of people became descendant of Sephardic Jewry in Europe⁶¹.

Roman architectural production of Iberia was passive in the Republican Period but with the constructions of some noble families, an extensive building program was seen in the Imperial Period. Roman special city planning developed as an imperial funding concept in the 4th BCE. The towns were laid on a rectilinear plan and composed of axes. *Cardus*, at the north south route was the main axis crossed by *decumanus*, at the east-west route. These streets were going through the *Capitolium*, where *cardus* and *decumanus* were intersected. *Capitolium* in the front contained gathering spaces for the public. These urban models were implicated to newly conquered cities as a political symbol of “newly born territory”. As the city was a symbol of the creation of an urban image, it was fulfilled by monumental buildings, which altered the expression of the urban fabric no matter if they were constructed within city walls or out. The main concern was not to violate the grid plan organization; they continued to define public and religious spaces. From religious to leisure buildings, such as theatres, amphitheatres and baths, all buildings were constructed as an urban symbol and accompanied the creation of the urban image. One of the characteristics of Roman type of buildings was Roman houses reflecting typical Mediterranean house concept, which was so much influenced from climatic conditions of the Mediterranean geography. In these examples, the house had a central atrium, which was encircled with rooms. Notably, the central atrium separated the street from the house

⁶¹ Payne, *Spain and Portugal*, 7. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 27,29.

with a wall at the street side that gave a sense of protection as alienated household from the street thus it provided both secrecy and security⁶².

The Romans were good builders; as their construction technique and building typology were advanced, they constructed city walls, bridges and several social infrastructures including temples, schools, aqueducts, theatres, amphitheatres, public baths and stadiums etc. Among them, aqueducts were the most important building typology. For example, Segovia Aqueduct supplied the water needs of the city of Segovia. Tarragona and Merida, likewise, housed crucial Roman aqueducts⁶³.

By the 4th century, the Roman Empire had already lost its power due to economic and military problems, which divided the Empire into two parts as the Western and the Eastern Rome. The well equipped and organized Roman lands in Iberia took attention of some tribes particularly that of the Visigoths in the beginning of the 5th century. In fact, it was a natural sequence of historical events since the Huns' invasion coming from central Asia pushed collections of tribes and created a pressure in these geographies; all immigration and occupation pressure would combine with weak Roman economic and social policy that would bring the leading Empire of centuries to the end but the end was sluggish in happening⁶⁴.

The Barbarian groups having distinct ethnic sources in the name of Alans, the Sueves, and the Vandals were ready to remove the Roman roots from the Iberian Peninsula. Among

⁶² Paul Zanker, "The City as Symbol: Rome and the Creation of an Urban Image," in *Romanization and the City: Creation Transformations, and Failures*, ed. Elizabeth Fentress (Portsmouth, RI: The Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1988), 37,40. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 23.

⁶³ Fear, *Spain*, 32. Zanker, "City as Symbol," 27, 29, 40.

⁶⁴ Payne, *Spain and Portugal* 8-9.

them so-called barbaric groups Sueves and Vandals belonged to Germanic origin, but Alans were thought to have Iranian origin. The Suevi, the Vandals and the Alans were the first groups that entered the Roman territory between 409–415. Among of them, Suevi and Vandals chose to settle in Gallecia (Galicia), and the Alans settled in Lusitania. The Visigoths emerged as a combination of Gothic groups. The ethnic identity of some Huns and Alans, who were Iranian nomads, developed in the 4th century at the Balkans. The Visigoths were the last tribal group that entered the Roman Empire. When the Roman Emperor Valens permitted the Visigothic groups to settle in Moesia–south of the Danube, in 376, he would not imagine that this tribe would erase Rome from the Peninsula at the final point⁶⁵.

The Visigoths became federal institution within the Empire and formed an alliance with the Romans with an agreement. The Visigoths supplied the military equipment to the Romans; they united the Peninsula twice, after which several barbaric immigrations divided. Thus, the Visigoths, while living in the Roman Empire, was helping them. Parallel to their military existence, they were also learning the Roman techniques, languages and other cultural labels; thus, acculturation in several aspects of life was in process for the Visigoths. However they were complaining about ill-treatment by the Romans, they soon organized a rebellion, which resulted in the death of the Roman emperor Valens on August 9, 378. Having been defeated by tribes in their own lands, the Roman Empire was disappointed. The issue led the Romans to make a treaty with the Visigoths. Equally important, the Visigoths needed this agreement since without the Roman aid they would not possibly survive in the geography. Following the defeat, the new Roman Emperor, Theodosius I

⁶⁵ Roger Collins (a), *A History of Spain. Visigothic Spain 409-711* (U.K. Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 11, 41. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 31, 34, 35. Roger Collins (b), "Visigothic Spain 409-711," in *Spain a History*, ed. Raymond Carr (Oxford&Newyork: Oxford University Press, 2000), 41. Chris Lowney, *A Vanished World: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Medieval Spain* (U.S.A. Oxford University Press, 2006), 22.

(379–95), signed an agreement with the Visigoths in 382, which allowed them to live as a free state as long as the Visigoths supplied soldiers to the Roman Empire. After the death of Theodosius, once again the Visigothic nobles changed their minds about their exact status within the Empire, and they wanted to become more independent. They did not obey the signed agreement any more when rebellions and invasions took the place of serenity and the next course of the Visigothic history in the Iberian Peninsula became more vigorous. Several realms were emerged; one of the well-known series of this kingdom was Balts who were a branch of the Gothic royal descendants⁶⁶.

The Visigothic commander Alaric captured the city of Rome in August 410. The Roman Emperor Attalus and other Roman nobles were captivated by the Visigoths. The Visigothic advance in Roman lands encouraged the other tribes and the Romans could not contain the situation any more. It is interesting to see that some Roman inhabitants were actually content with the situation as they were upset by the high tax policy of Rome. The first Visigoth attack on the Peninsula was in 414. As they entered the Peninsula, they obtained Tarraconensis, which was a Roman province at that time. Rome's substance was ended with the Visigothic conquest in 470⁶⁷. (Figure 5)

⁶⁶ Julian Marias, *Understanding Spain*, trans. Frances M. Lopez-Morillas (U.S.A. University of Michigan Press, 1990), 68. Collins (b), *Visigothic Spain*, 41. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 32.

⁶⁷ Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 33,34. Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 5. Collins (b), *Visigothic Spain*, 41.



Figure 5. Approximate boundaries of the Iberian Peninsula during the Visigothic rule, Collins, *Visigothic Spain* (a), 12.

In the 5th century, the Visigoths were totally 100.000 people in number. Not all of them were composed of the same social status. 4000-5000 of the population were the noble families. The largest portion of the society was the warriors. In addition to nobles and warriors there were some non-Gothics, ex-slaves and ex-soldier groups, who became part of the Visigothic culture through several battles, the most well-known of which was the Italian campaign. However, the Visigoths had numerous conflicts with Iberian society since their Christianity was the Arian sect but Iberians were from the Catholic bough. This religious problem prevented the building of a harmonious society in Iberia. As a result of some practical aims, the King of the Visigoths and some other royal and prominent figures abandoned Aryanism and became Catholics. Thus, the major obstacle in front of the unity with Iberian society was discarded⁶⁸.

⁶⁸Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 33, 37. Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 5.

The Visigoths learned several techniques from Rome. Specifically, agricultural techniques helped them to develop and continue agricultural life in Iberia, so the Mediterranean land when compared to their old places offered agricultural richness not due to the fact that it was more fertile than northern Europe. In contrast, advanced agricultural techniques learned from Rome closed the productivity gap and created agricultural prosperity in Iberia⁶⁹.

Though there were tendencies to see Visigoths as an origin of Spanish identity, the root of the Visigoths is still unclear. Challenging work of Américo Castro, who says the Spanish identity would form after the Muslim existence in the Peninsula, denies this assumption. However, for the origins of the Visigoths, an “ethnogenesis” notion was formulated. According to this idea, the Visigoths were formed by various ethnical groups over time, similar to the other German tribes who were living around the Danube River, especially in the Northern Dacia, in the late third century. They were the most developed Germanic tribe among the others; their close relationship with the Romans and two centuries of dominancy in the Peninsula proves that while they were living in Dacia, they started to absorb the Roman culture. Conversion into Christianity was also seen among the Visigoths. Important religious and historical figure Ulfila (Wulfila), who lived between 310–81, and was a descendant of a Cappadocian family, was captured as a war prisoner by the Visigoths. Ulfila became an important figure in the conversion process⁷⁰.

The Visigoths created a monarchical state whose centre was Toledo, which became an intellectual centre of the Kingdom since cathedral schools were established there. The schools housed noble children who received education in several branches of both social

⁶⁹ Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 31.

⁷⁰ Castro, *The Spaniards*, 179–181. Ramsey, *Spain*, 15. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 30, 31.

and applied sciences. It is necessary to mention Isidore of Seville (560–636), who was an archbishop, and founded schools in Iberia. His collection in the library of Seville cathedral consisted of works on classics. In addition to collecting the classics, he also wrote several books among which *History of the Goths, Vandals, and Suevi* can be counted. Isidore's most important work was *Etymologies*, according to his colleague Braulio "it included everything that ought to be known". The work comprised an inclusive catalogue of human knowledge. It is also possible to trace the writer's national feeling in these writings⁷¹.

Roderick, who was crowned by the nobles in 710, was the last Visigothic king, but later King Witiza, the descendant of Akhila, started a rebellion, and even announced himself as a new Visigothic king. It is often said that Akhila's supporters heartened the Muslims to attack over the Roderic's Kingship. However, hearsay relates that Visigothic count Julian sent his daughter to Toledo to have education, but King Roderick allured her. This event caused Julian, who invited Muslims to help him, to take revenge, and he also gave his help to Tariq ibn Ziyad. In 711, when Muslims came to the Peninsula, it was not temporary⁷².

Consequently, the decline of the Visigothic power and its easy defeat can be associated with several reasons. Firstly, the aristocratic partition on the succession to the throne ended the calm atmosphere and created bloody civil war among the aristocracy. Secondly, an unequal social structure, especially pestering of the Jews, cultivated a spoiled structure in society and fomented discontent. The Visigothic council stopped Jewish activities in the trading network, so they could not continue as merchants any more. They were also baptized forcefully and those who did not accept baptism were enslaved. Particularly, bad

⁷¹ Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 39, 40. Lowney, *Vanished World*, 17, 21.

⁷² Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 42. Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 8.

behaviours towards the Jewish society would let this discontented social group of people support Muslim invasion⁷³.

2.2. Iberia under Muslim Rule

My heart has become capable of every form,
It is a pasture for gazelles and a convent for Christian monks,
And a temple for idols and the pilgrim's Ka'ba and the
Tables of the Torah and the book of the Quran
I love the religion of Love⁷⁴. (Ibn-al Arabi)

Although the Iberian Peninsula had held connection with Africa starting from the pre-historic times, its communication increased when Tariq ibn Ziyad passed the *Gibraltar/The Rock of Tariq* with the Berber armed forces and overwhelmed the last Visigothic King Roderic's army in the southern part of Spain. The defeat would only be the beginning of the century's long Muslim transcendence in the Peninsula. Tariq ibn Ziyad did not stop and moved respectively towards Córdoba and Toledo and easily took the control of the cities. Following the Tariq ibn Ziyad's invasion of Visigothic land, Musa ibn Nasayr, who was one of the administrators in North Africa, joined to the conquest and with 18.000 soldiers laid siege to the cities of Seville, Mérida and Carmona. After the Muslim subjugation, the new rulers of Iberia bypassed the Visigoth capital Toledo and they established their new centre in Seville due to its proximity with Morocco and the Caliphate. However, the capital would change for the second time in 717, in favour of Córdoba⁷⁵.

⁷³ Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 7, 9.

⁷⁴ Lowney, *Vanished World*, 265.

⁷⁵ Richard Fletcher, *Moorish Spain* (Berkeley&Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 1. Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 15. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 47, 48.

The Muslim dominance is called as “al-Andalus”, usually considered to be a changed form of “Vandalicia”, referring to Vandal tribes of the geography. Al-Andalus unity was loyal to Damascus, where the Umayyad Caliph inhabited. The Caliph charged the Tunisian governor with the administration of the Peninsula, and this governmental sect was alleged by Damascus in Iberian locale. In 714, the ruler of al-Andalus was invited to give a report to the Damascus caliphate; therefore, he had to move to Damascus, and in the absence of Musa and Tariq, Musa's son Abd-al Aziz became responsible for the administration of the Peninsula⁷⁶.

The next part of the invasion included the northern parts of the Peninsula. Even though most of the Iberian terrains were captured, the occupation of the Northern parts was not successful. The Muslim excursion beyond the Pyrenees included the cities of Narbonne, Toulouse and Bordeaux. The Muslims led by the Arab governor Samh occupied Narbonne and captured the city in 719-21, but they failed to take Toulouse due to the resistance and the campaign resulted in the death of Samh. Although their advance was not successful, the impact was great as it was a demonstration of the Muslim advance in Europe. The Tours War in 732 was ended by Frank success; they did not allow Muslims to move forward. Muslims had to withdraw from the area beyond the Pyrenees to the Iberian inland. The next centuries witnessed the defensive struggle for their possession of the Iberian Peninsula⁷⁷.

There are several reasons explain why Muslims did not activate *the jihad* mechanism for any further excursions after the defeats in France. First of all, that region was not in a good

⁷⁶ Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 12. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 48.

⁷⁷ Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 16. Phillips, and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 49. Stephen Lee, *Avrupa Tarihinden Kesitler* (İstanbul: Dost Kitabevi, 2002), 56.

condition in that period. It can be considered that they were not accustomed to living in such a climate; therefore, the northern parts did not seem attractive to Muslims since the climate and geographical rigidity stemmed the desire to conquer France and possibly all of the Peninsula. Secondly, the Franks were increasing their strength led by Charles Martel whose fight against Islam revealed the fact that the conquest of French territories was not realistic for the Muslim groups. Thirdly, there were fierce fights among the Muslims that prevented them from uniting their power against Christendom⁷⁸.

As a matter of fact, since the early beginnings of al-Andalus there were several social problems within Muslim Society, particularly between Arabic groups of Yemenites and Qaysites; Yemenites belonged to Northern Arabic group sect, but Qaysites were tribal groups from Southern Arabia. After the early beginning of the conquest, an atmosphere of rivalry amongst the tribal groups dominated al-Andalus where the Qaysites and the Kalbites (Yemenites) were combating against one another⁷⁹.

In addition to the complicated problems between the Arabs, there was another crisis growing between the Arabs and Berbers. The Arabs considered themselves the first believers of Islam; thus, they saw themselves as original believers but the others were not; therefore, they felt the right to settle down at better places and to live in better conditions. This Arabic policy forced the Berbers to occupy the more barren sides of the Peninsula, the situation created negative feelings among the Berber groups towards the Arabs. Finally, several Berber originated rebellions took place in the Iberian Peninsula. An attempt was made to pacify the rebellions with the Caliph's troops, which were sent from the Syrian

⁷⁸ Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 48, 49.

⁷⁹ Roger Collins, *A History of Spain. The Arab Conquest of Spain 710-797* (U.K. Blackwell Publishing, 1994), 101. Watt, Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 21.

region. However, the Syrian troops, 7000 in number, failed to stop the rebellion in Morocco; however, they passed to the Iberian Peninsula and they obtained success there⁸⁰.

The growing power of Abbasids ended the Umayyad dynasty in 750. The last member of the family escaped from punishment and moved to North Africa, Morocco. He was known as Abd al-Rahman ibn Muawiya, and his mother was a member of the Morocco tribal groups. Abd-al Rahman I was considering passing to Iberia; therefore, he sent messengers to some ethnical groups of the Qaysite and the Yemenis who were already fighting against each other in the Peninsula. Abd-al Rahman I was in search of the possibility to set an alliance against the opposing group. The Qaysites did not like the alliance proposal of Abd-al Rahman I, but the other group, the Yemenis accepted his proposal. Having the support of the Yemenis, Abd-ar-Rahman I passed to Iberia with Syrian groups, the Yemenis tribe, and some Andalusian Berbers, thus, the Qaysite tribe were crushed in 756. His success let him establish his power in the Iberian Peninsula. He would declare himself as emir; therefore, the Al-Andalus would turn out to be an emirate⁸¹.

Establishment of the Umayyad Emirate was not an easy task since the Peninsula was already at the juncture. The problems between Arabs and Berbers began to be felt in 711. The rivalry of the tribes worsened the social and political atmosphere and prevented political unity in the Peninsula. For that reason, the Umayyad Emirate, which was established in 756, 45 years after the conquest of the Iberia, did not last for a long time and the geography experienced a succession of the Islamic dynasties⁸². It is possible to separate

⁸⁰ Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 49, 50. Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 21.

⁸¹ Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 51. Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 22, 23.

Muslim history on the Iberian Peninsula into four stages. (Figures 6–9) The first period goes until 1000. A peaceful atmosphere was dominant in the land. After 1000, revolts and invasions of Berbers coming from North Africa ended the Spanish Umayyad dynasty, whereafter thirty independent kingdoms were subsequently established. The period was named as the Taifa Period or the Party Kingdoms. Thereafter, Almoravids and Almohads respectively became the new owners that occupied the third phase of the history of Islamic Iberia. The last stage of this history was witnessed by the Nasrid ascendancy. In the cultural arena, these politic developments brought richness to the art and architectural field⁸³.



Figure 6. The Emirate and Caliphal Period, 711–1031. Olivia Remie Constable, *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources*, ed. Olivia Remie Constable, (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 28.

⁸² Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 21, 22, 23. George F. Earle, "Spanish–Moorish Architecture and Garden Style: Its Background, Meanings and Comparisons with Western Style," in *Islamic Architecture and Urbanism*, ed. Aydin Germen (Saudi Arabia: King Faisal University, 1983), 78–79.

⁸³ Ewert, "The Presence of Islam," 203.

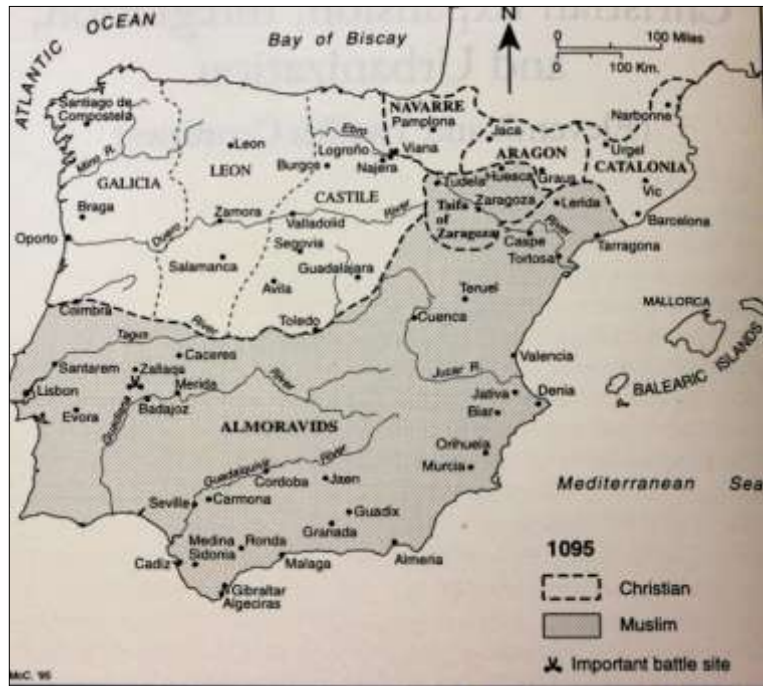


Figure 7. The Almoravids Dominion in 1095,
 Remie Constable, *Medieval Iberia*, 110.

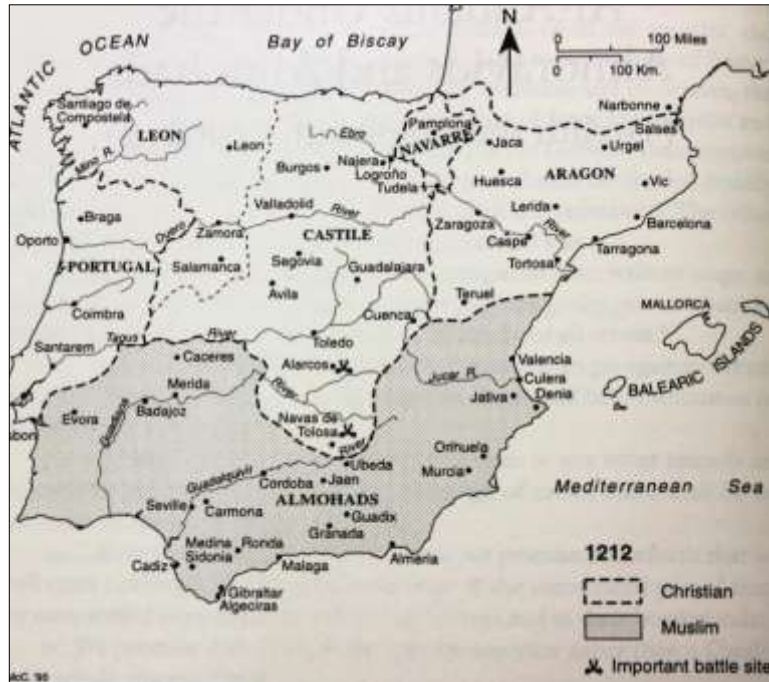


Figure 8. The Almohad Dominion in 1212,
 Remie Constable, *Medieval Iberia*, 174.



Figure 9. The Nasrid Kingdom, 1264-1492

Remie Constable, *Medieval Iberia*, 238.

During the first period of the Islamic phase in Iberia, Abd ar-Rahman I chose Córdoba as his capital, which became the centre of the Muslim entity for 200 years. Although Damascus was in charge of al-Andalus between of 711-750, after Abd ar-Rahman I's dynasty, it became an independent politic entity. Apart from other Islamic nations, Abd ar-Rahman I, coming from Umayyad descendant would open the way for the soon-to-be powerful Muslim presence in the Iberia in the name of al-Andalus⁸⁴

However, the emirate of Abdurrahman I, 756-822, witnessed several rebellions that were based on ethnic problems. As the ethnic diversity was great, Abd ar-Rahman I preferred to launch a professional army composed of foreign slave groups captured from the north of the Pyrenees. This successful army helped him to ensure the security of the state; thus, the Islamic dynasty experienced one of the most serene periods in Iberia⁸⁵. Abd-ar Rahman I

⁸⁴ Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 51. Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 44.

developed a political system that guaranteed the administrative succession. Accordingly, the existing ruler would choose the next sovereign. He chose his youngest child, Hisham I (788–796); however, the oldest son Suleyman did not like the selection and structured rebellions against Hisham I, whose follower was al-Hakam I (796–822), the eldest son of Hisham I, and became equally effective while ruling the country⁸⁶.

The administrative mechanism of the Umayyad Emirate was autocracy, which used Sharia/Islamic law. Their system was not equal to the positive law of modern periods because *sharia* held an important place in juridical issues determined by Qur’anic codes, which followed paths of Muhammad, and can be formulated as “sunna”/”beaten path”. In fact, Islamic belief was divided into branches. One of the well-known branches was Sunnites, the other one was Shiite. The Sunnites developed another four sub-branches of the schools, such as the Hanafite, the Malikite, the Shafiite, and the Hanbalite. Malik Ibn-Anas (795), who was trained in Medina, was the founder of the ideology of the Malikites. Islamic Spain followed the path of the Malik ibn-Anas among these religious sects but they previously obeyed Syrian Jurist al-Awzai school rules until the 800s. Although the official rite became Malikite, there were other religious sects small in number within the community, such as Shafiite and Sufism. While Ibn Hazm (1064) held Shafiite view, Ibn-Arabi and his followers became accepted as one of the important developers of the Sufi ideology⁸⁷.

⁸⁵ Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 26. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 51, 52.

⁸⁶ Collins, *The Arab Conquest*, 201.

⁸⁷ Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 48, 52–56.

Mozarabs/Arabized Christians in large number converted to become Muslims in the period of Abd al-Rahman II (822–52). The motivation behind conversions to Islam was mostly related to the high civilizations that Muslims created in the Peninsula. Economic reasons also accounted for the conversions. The Spanish Muslims were designated as “Musalim” the born Spanish Muslim, known as “Muwalladun”. Autocratic system of al-Andalus, allowed members of other religions to live in Islamic religion by concept of “People of Book” that facilitated the co-existence of different religious groups within the same geography. They were not required to convert as far as they paid tribute; they were allowed to live in Muslim territories. This system considered the non-Muslim groups in *dhimmi* position, which refers to the protected non-Muslims. The others who did not change religion moved towards the Northern Christian parts and were involved in strong campaigns organized against the Muslims among the Christian community in the name of the reconquest⁸⁸.

When Abd al Rahman III (912–916) became emir in 912, he re-established the central authority, and increased the naval power whose archrivals were the Normans and the Fatimids. Therefore, the Mediterranean basin turned out to be an arena where politic power was shown. In the period of Abd al Rahman III, the mighty power of the Fatimid Dynasty, which proclaimed to hold the caliphate, troubled the Emirate since military and political matters were meant to be overseen by the caliph. Therefore, in order to handle the problem, Abd al Rahman III took the title of Caliph; thus, his reign would hold equal importance in opposition to the Fatimids⁸⁹. Such political decisions also brought special architectural features. Architecture turned out to be a demonstration of the authority of

⁸⁸ Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 25, 26. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 52.

⁸⁹ Fatimid dynasty first established in Tunisia (909), later in Egypt (969). Some scholars consider this process as a domination of “sedentary Berbers over the nomads”. Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 36.

new al-Andalus Caliphate, which was a solid reflection of transformation from the emirate to the caliphate. Furthermore, with his decision Abd-ar Rahman III was trying to consolidate the intellectual convention of the Sunnite branch of Islam of the East in the West⁹⁰.

His heir, al-Hakam (961-976) maintained the stabilized country organization, which was based on a policy of central power and Cordoba became a unique centre; however, it gradually lost the connection with the other locales. Weak connection between the centre and its surroundings brought fragmentation in the geography, so the last Umayyad Caliph Hisham II would abolish the Caliphate in 1031. Ethnic diversity and localisms were responsible for the emergence of the independent administrative units. In addition, incapable leaders who came after Abd al Rahman III worsened the problem. It was indeed the correct time for the Christian States to conquer the Muslim State, which was ready to disintegrate. To sum up, it can be said that in the period of both Abd-ar Rahman III and al Hakam II, Umayyad Iberia was at its peak and politically advanced as itself from an emirate to a caliphate in an effort to stem a perceived threat in the south, from the Fatimids⁹¹.

The caliphate had to be abolished when the tribal quarrels reached their apex. The council met in Córdoba in 1031, and decided to end the fragmented structure of the society, which was a result of local and racial quarrels; as a result, the caliphate was abolished. The lack of middle class within society worsened the situation and the central government could not continue to function. In 1031, Cordoba lost its power and the cultural unity of Islam dispersed and the Taifa Kingdoms, whose origin was composed of the Berbers, the Saplaliba

⁹⁰ Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 53. Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 69.

⁹¹ Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 32, 38. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 53, 54.

and the Andalusians, took control. This political fragmentation of Islamic Iberia brought about an increased number of patrons to building activities⁹².

The most important Taifas were in Badajoz, Toledo, Seville and Zaragoza, whose administration was under Arab dominancy; however, Granada's administration was in the hands of the Berbers. Valencia, on the other hand, was ruled by Slavic origin groups. As the number of Taifa rulers was great, a competitive atmosphere quickly appeared among the rulers. This atmosphere of rivalry could be best followed from the art and architectural development of Iberian cities, which were growing rapidly and producing many new civic, religious and military buildings. The rivals were also keen for intellectual development; therefore, literature and scholars were sustained, as part of intellectual advance huge libraries were constructed⁹³.

The Party Kings period was an opportunity for the Christian powers because they were attracted by the lack of central authority, so they tried to enlarge their territories. The Christians were making pacts to support one Taifa ruler against another. For a while the Northern Christian's power required some of the Taifa rulers to pay tribute/*parias*, which would later turn out to be a re-conquest process and end the Muslim presence in the Peninsula. Notably, as the Party Kings were rivaling each other, sometimes the Christian warriors worked in the Muslim army to defeat the opposing Muslim groups; it was a part of a special re-conquest policy that aimed to take advantage of already quarrelling Islamic groups⁹⁴.

⁹² Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 73, 74, 75. Barrucand and Bednorz, *Moorish Architecture*, 115.

⁹³ Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 64.

⁹⁴ Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 80, 97. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 65.

The corner stone for the Christian advance was the conquest of Toledo. Actually, it was signalling the next course of the century and how it would continue. The Christian threat from the north brought about the end of the Taifa Period since Taifa rulers, particularly Seville Muslims, called upon the Almoravids (al- Murábutín- One who is tying) to rescue them. The Almoravids (1060-1147), a Berber union of tribes, were used to living in Morocco, whose head was Abd Alláh ibn Yásin, who related the Islamic messages to his followers; he was famous for his reformist ideas. The Almoravids, also known as Sanhaja, were settled as a nomadic tribe in the Sahara. Some of the prominent figures of the tribe went to Mecca at the head of Yahya ibn-Ibrahim; on their return, they visited North Africa. They were influenced by Abu-Imran al-Fasi, who was a Malikite jurist. Yahya ibn-Ibrahim wanted a trained student of Fasi to lead them. Then, Fasi charged Abd-Allah ibn-Yasin al-Jaluzi in 1039 for leading Almoravids in religious issues. Under the training of ibn Yasin *al-Murabitun*, the “house of retreat” “ribat” movement developed⁹⁵.

Unable to repulse the Christian threat, al-Mu'tamid of Seville called upon Tashufin from North Africa to Iberia. One of the combatant figures, Yusuf ibn-Tashufin (or Tashfin) won over Alfonso VI near Badajoz in 1086. After his victory Tashufin moved back to North Africa; however, he had to return to fight again with Christians in 1088. The Malikite jurists wanted him to take control over the Iberian Peninsula. Thus, he conquered Córdoba and Sevilla in 1091. Then Almoravid Period started in Iberia, and they announced their loyalty to the Abbasid Caliphs in Baghdad. Almoravids easily captured small states since they were too weak⁹⁶.

⁹⁵Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 67. Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 82, 83.

⁹⁶ Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 81, 84.

The rich cultural atmosphere of al-Andalus left its sign over the Almoravids, who were fascinated with the new places that did not resemble to what they had left behind. Scholars say that “this administration led, if not to moral corruption, at least to a speaking of moral fibre”. All began to consider only their own interest, and senior officers lost control of those under them. The Almoravids (Murabitûn) were the designers of the first towns, fortress palaces and mosques in North Africa. They continued to be good builders and weaved the urban texture in Iberia; thus, rich art and architecture atmosphere continued but their presence on the Peninsula was not long lasting because of another Berber tribe Almohad’s threat in the north. Although they were good builders, they denied the free expression of intellectuals because their approach to Islam was strict and advised people to adhere to Islamic rules austere. Their orthodox behaviours was not welcomed by the non-Muslim groups such the Christians and the Jews. Therefore, at that time the attitudes of the Northern Christian Monarchs who offered better living conditions to Jews and Mozarabs to move towards the Northern areas seemed more comfortable. This kind of strict awareness of Islam developed maybe due to increased Christian awareness. The Almoravids did not get along well with Arabo-Andalucian aristocracy because they took power from their hand and gave it to the Malikite jurists. When the Almoravids began to dissolve, small states developed. Some of these groups favoured Christian suzerainty but some of them favoured that of the Almohads, another Berber dynasty⁹⁷.

The decline of Almoravids came after the Zaragoza defeat when Alfonso I of Aragón won the battle over the Almoravids. Another Berber group the Almohads who came from North Africa sided with the Almoravids. At the head of Muhammad ibn Tûmart, the group based

⁹⁷ Barrucand and Bednorz, *Moorish Architecture*, 133, 141. Markus Hattstein, “Almoravids and Almohads: History,” in *Islam. Art and Architecture*, ed. Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius (France: Könemann Publishers, 2000), 245–253. Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 82, 83, 86–88,94. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 67.

their ideas upon *taw’hid* “unity” notion, and pupils of Túmart were known as al-Muwahhidun, “the assertors of unity”. Túmart, who declared himself as *mahdi* in 1121, was a well-educated interpreter of Islam, and developed the Almohad doctrine while giving himself divine responsibilities and features. Actually, Mahdi belief was Shiite rite; therefore, the idea did not affect the society at all. Following leader Abd al-Mumin weaved the Almohad power in the Iberian Peninsula in 1147. A successful siege started and firstly being an important centre, Sevilla was captured and it became the capital city of the Almohads; the other excursions of the Almohads increased the territorial seize, they destroyed or completely altered the Almoravid mosques and the other architectural monuments⁹⁸.

The Berber tribes admired art and architectural language of al-Andalus and inspired from the Andalusian forms. This period of the Berber domination witnessed a rising schematization in decoration and the sustained usage of geometric designs⁹⁹. Decoration reached its zenith where lobed arches and interlacing geometric designs accompanied the decoration program. Even so, the art of the 11th and 12th centuries were more vivid than that of the 10th century. Despite the previous dynasty, the Almoravids, showed interest in decoration but the Almohads mainly preferred plain surfaces. Some of the Almoravid work surfaces were plastered later in the Almohad Period¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁸ Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 69, 70. Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 86,89,90,93. Dodds, *Al-Andalus*, xx, xxi.

⁹⁹ Natascha Kubisch, “Almoravids and Almohads: Architecture,” in *Islam. Art and Architecture*, ed. Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius (France: Könemann Publishers, 2000), 263–67.

¹⁰⁰ Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 125,126.

The powerful Almohad image threatened the Christian leaders who began to lose battles; shortly after the Christians consolidated their power to defeat their enemy. The Kingdoms of Aragón, Castilla, Navarre and León were united to defeat the Muslims. The French knights also joined their attacks, and finally the Christians, crushed their big enemy in the battle of *Las Navas de Tolsa* in 1212. The battle held a symbolic connotation as it was a demonstration of the end of the Almohad dynasty. After this defeat, other Almohad cities were captured by the Christian forces; Córdoba in 1236, Murcia in 1241–43, Jaén in 1246, and Sevilla in 1248. Due to a special Christian policy to support a Muslim state against one another, they captured Ronda (1485), Málaga (1487), Almeria (1489) and the last target was Granada (1491)¹⁰¹.

After the decline of the Almohads, in 1229, the Nasrid dynasty became the last Islamic authority on the land; however, their activity area was limited. In 1231, Muhammad ibn-Yusuf ibn-Nasr ibn al-Ahmar established a small state in Jaén; but; he had to change his opinion and move towards Granada because he feared that the Spanish Monarchs would occupy Jaén. After conquering Granada, which is located at the centre of Bética mountain range, Muhammad ibn Yusuf ibn Nasr designated the city as the capital of his supremacy in 1235. Granada rescued itself from being conquered by the Christians as it supported their occupation, and accepted to pay tribute annually. In addition, geographically Granada offered a protected setting. Although they did not obey annual payments, the Nasrid Dynasty's tributary position would continue until 1492. Annual taxes let the Nasrids live more independently than any other Islamic state in the Iberian Peninsula but growing Christian power weakened the Nasrid realm. The Nasrid Kingdom understood

¹⁰¹ Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 70. Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 129.

their difficult position; the city was given to the Christians by Boabdil (Abu'Abd-Allah), who was the ruler of the Nasrids at that time without a fight¹⁰².

Islamic Spain was economically in a prosperous condition: agriculture, mining, trade, artisan production and animal breeding nourished the economy. Muslims introduced several vegetables, agricultural goods, such as rice, saffron, sugar cane, almond and fig, to the Iberian Peninsula. They also introduced paper production. Córdoba's estimated population was 100.000. In the golden ages of Muslim dominancy, it amplified domestic construction. Timber usage in buildings increased the demands on the forests; therefore, the Iberian Peninsula experienced a deforestation process, usually this argument is used in order to connect the natural degeneration process to the period of Islamic Spain¹⁰³.

In the intellectual arena, Ibn-Rushd (1126-98), known as Averroes in Europe was interested in Aristotlian ideas, and he developed these sources in his works. *The Theology of Aristotle* was written by him and Aristotelian ideas were transmitted through his works to Europe. Medieval Spain had important mystics as well like Moses de León and Ibn al-Arabi. When Ibn Arabi died in 1240, Moses de León opened his eyes to the world. Moses de León became a leading member of Jewish culture and wisdom. He was a representative figure of the Kabbalah mysticism. Zohar became the key element of Jewish mysticism, which meant "take", or "receive". The Kabbalah signalled "spiritual wisdom", which continued throughout the construction of the Jewish culture. Their mystical perception tried to

¹⁰² Antonio Orihuela, "The Andalusí House in Granada: Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries," in *Revisiting Al-Andalus: Perspectives on the Material Culture of Islamic Iberia and Beyond*, ed. Glaire D. Anderson and Mariam Roserr- Oweren, trans Lisa Moiser (Leiden and Boston: Brill Publishers, 2007), 169. Markus Hattstein, "The Nasrids of Granada: History," in *Islam: Art and Architecture*, ed. Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius (France: Könemann Publishers, 2000), 273. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 70. Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 96, 127, 128, 129.

¹⁰³ Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 61, 62, 64.

eliminate the differences among the different religions. These mysteries expressed that God was perceivable and they were looking for symbols, which, according to them, was hidden in the Hebrew Bible. They felt responsible to decipher the meanings of these symbols. Notably, in the Christian Iberian period, St. John of the Cross would follow the similar paths¹⁰⁴.

The triumph of Islamic Iberian architecture was the achievement of fusing the useful and extremely decorative rudiments of architecture in a harmonious agenda, in which a context of rich and historical art emerged the individual taste. This aesthetic taste so called Moorish art (Islamic Iberian Art), efficiently used multi-lobed arches, ornamental masonry works and multi-colored glazed bricks¹⁰⁵. Construction materials of these architectural materials were stone, marble, bricks, tiles, and wood. They were used in an original manner by Andalusian masters¹⁰⁶.

These innovative architectural works introduced a high level of sophistication and became representative of the leading political agenda and religious currents of the time. The Great Mosque in Córdoba was built on San Vicente church in whose construction Roman and Visigothic materials were reused at the time of Abd ar Rahman I. Actually, the construction of the Córdoba mosque was a symbol of the spiritual and politic centre of the new Emirate. These dual features gave way to new extensions for the mosque, which were completed by Al Hakim, who made the *mihrab*, the dome of the enclosure, and the dome of the Capilla de

¹⁰⁴ Lowney, *Vanished World*, 184, 185, 186, 265–66. Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 121.

¹⁰⁵ Wijdan Ali, *The Arab Contribution to Islamic Art: From the Seventh to the Fifteenth Centuries* (Jordan: The Royal Society of Fine Arts, 1999). Dodds, Al-Andalus, xx, xxi. Barrucand and Bednorz, *Moorish Architecture*, 15.

¹⁰⁶ Ali, *Arab Contribution*, 96.

Villavicesa, for Christian rituals. It was asserted that Byzantine artisans worked at the construction of the mihrab of the mosque in the period of al- Hakam II. The last extension, was carried out by Al Mansur and this extended the mosque's southward boundary. After the Córdoba Mosque was converted to a church in the Christian dominancy, the middle part was pulled down and a prayer section was opened to accommodate the Christian rituals¹⁰⁷.

One of the attractive visual elements of the mosque was created by rhythmic organization of the two-story arcades whose arrangement brought sovereignty to space. Even though these columns created superiority and mystified the space, the formation of its arches were linked to the Roman aqueduct of Merida by Manuel Gómez Moreno, but the examples of this type of two-story arch usage can also be seen in Damascus in the 8th centuries. As a different arch practice, interlaced arches were tried in maqsura while creating a definite section for the Caliph¹⁰⁸. Another significant architectural element, the mihrab of the Great mosque (962-966), is the unique example of Islamic Iberian art decorated by a horseshoe arch, gold mosaics and foliage motifs. The decoration concept of the mihrab and maqsura is linked to Jerusalem and Damascus¹⁰⁹. The Alhambra (from the 9th century onwards) is a reflection of the total experiences of medieval Islamic Culture because through the diverse Islamic dynasties, the construction of Alhambra underwent simultaneous changes and modifications. Additionally, modifications of the palace continued after the re-conquest. Charles V, the grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella (1516-1556), ordered his palace to be

¹⁰⁷ Kubisch, "Architecture," 221,227. Ewert, *Presence of Islam*, 203. Watt, Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 65 ,66.

¹⁰⁸ Henri Stierlin, *Islam. Early Architecture from Baghdad to Cordoba* (U.S.A. Taschen Publishers, 1996), 96, 98. Kubisch, "Architecture," 222.

¹⁰⁹ Kubisch, "Architecture," 225. Building of this section was carried out under the patronage of Caliph al-Hakam II, particularly the surroundings of mihrab and maqsura were decorated. Henri Stierlin, *Islam*, 93.

built next to the Nasrid palace, and his palace became an extension of the Nasrid Palace, and the Catholic monarch generously implemented previous architectural elements for their usage. Although the historical background of the Alhambra citadel goes back to the 9th century, the buildings in it belong to the 13th and 14th centuries¹¹⁰. The 1,730 meters long city wall surrounds these buildings and accompanies the citadel with 30 towers. The Alhambra expresses a strong, pure, and well-preserved example of the Islamic style. This unique artistic and architectural composition evoked European interest towards the East in the 19th century. The unique and harmonious character of the Alhambra was a result of its design and the visual strength, which took its origin from the modest scale of the buildings and structural fragility from the nature of the construction materials¹¹¹.

These local architectural forms, which were mainly influenced from the Córdoba tradition, produced a number of artistic works and new decorative forms emerged in stucco. For instance, compelling examples of the high standard of Taifa Period art can be seen in Zaragoza, Aljafería, in where interlaced and horseshoe arches with their large variety of shapes introduce a rich repertoire to the architecture¹¹².

¹¹⁰ Camilla Mileto and Fernando Vegas “Understanding Architectural Change at the Alhambra., Stratigraphic Analysis of the Western Gallery, Court of the Myrtles,” *Revisiting Al-Andalus: Perspectives on the Material Culture of Islamic Iberia and Beyond*, ed. Glaire D.Anderson and Mariam Roserr- Ower, trans.Elizabeth Power (Leiden and Boston: Brill Publishers, 2007), 194.

¹¹¹ Earle, *Spanish-Moorish*, 84. Hattstein, *The Nasrids*, 273.

¹¹² Kubisch, *Architecture*, 220, 233. Barrucand and Bednorz, *Moorish Architecture*, 115-116.

2.3. Iberia under Christian Rule

Prefer not to rule then to rule, over heretics
Philip II

The conception of the *holy war* or *Jihad* was an Islamic invention and became a good reason to unite the Muslims composed of different ethnical groups. It is logical to assert that the *jihad* perception assisted the emergence of the *re-conquest* as its counteract the *re-conquest* would turn out to be a ‘*holy league*’ among the Christian groups. The first rebellion which triumphed against Islam was experienced in 718 in the Asturias; it was a Visigothic noble Pelayo/Pelagius, who fought against the Muslims and was also the founder of Asturias Kingdom, which was located in the northern part of the Iberian Peninsula. Although Pelayo’s ancestral connection with the Visigoths has been denied by some scholars, the general tendency is to see if Pelayo was from the noble ancestry of the Visigoths. Whether he was a Visigothic noble or not, his successes encouraged other Christians to join his army. By then, the remaining Christian groups in the northern part of the Iberian Peninsula showed resistance to the Muslim authority, and accelerated the expansion policy; thus, this common re-conquest soul triggered the progress of all the Christian monarchs through the Iberian Inlands¹¹³.

By the early 8th century, as O’Challagan stresses, the re-conquest feeling had created an aggressive atmosphere between the Muslims and the Christians in the Iberian Peninsula. The re-conquest feeling shifted its place to crusade policy, which was supported by the Papacy in the 12th and 13th centuries. The Papacy guaranteed some premises to people who were fighting against Islam in the name of the re-conquest. In this regard, the re-conquest atmosphere had resemblances with the crusade feeling of Palestine, and similarly, it was traced carefully by the European countries. Hatred for the Muslims was at its peak not only

¹¹³ Phillips, and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 55. Collins, *The Arab Conquest*, 49.

in the Iberian Peninsula but all over Europe. Some examples of this hatred can be traced in the book named *The Song of Roland*, in which Muslims are depicted as a source of evil. This French national epic depicts the hostility between the Christians and Muslims dexterously¹¹⁴.

During the re-conquest process, the Christian rulers of Iberia created contact, particularly with the Kingdom of Franks, who established their sovereignty beyond the Pyrenees. A special alliance with Charlemagne (771-814), whose realm was located further than the Pyrenees, stopped the Muslim developing attacks towards the north eastern directions. The Muslim rivalry gave a chance for Charlemagne to enter the Peninsula as Muslim Zaragoza governor called upon a help to take the control of Zaragoza against forces of Emir Hisham I. However, Charlemagne could not obtain any success in that siege¹¹⁵.

Pelayo's successor Alfonso I (739-57), who was the son-in-law of Pelayo, upheld the dilatation policy of the Christian realm. He also took advantage of the struggle between the Berbers and the Arabs, who were politically fragmented and clashed with each other. Under these circumstances, he took the possession of Galicia, León and Santander. As the Muslims could not pay attention towards the North, the Christian powers extended their dominance day by day. Alfonso collaborated with religious institutions, to which good lands from conquered territories were promised to build cathedrals and churches. He also persuaded them to support their buildings financially. Accordingly, the church increased the degree of the pessimistic propaganda among the Christian society towards the Muslims and called people to join this spiritual disinfection of the re-conquest policy. Another

¹¹⁴Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Re-conquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: Penn University, 2004), xi. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 68, 69.

¹¹⁵ Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 27. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 59-60.

important political manoeuvre Alfonso made was to convey the Mozarabs to live in border areas of al-Andalus; thus, a re-settling process/ *repopulation policy* was activated. Alfonso continued to enlarge his anti-Muslim activities by forming an alliance with Charlemagne and Louis the Pious. In addition, he strengthened and re-organized the Visigothic legal code and administrative things¹¹⁶. In fact, this part of the Peninsula, Duero River, had not been populated so much by Muslims, and as a result of the revolt in 740s, Berber groups had been allowed to live there. Depopulation of Muslims was due to continuous attacks and climatic reasons; the level of the depopulation percentage was diverse from place to place. These depopulated parts of Muslims became hub of the re-settling/*re-population policy* of Christians. The re-population policy would give a chance to Austrian King Ordoño II (873-924) to move its capital to León to establish Kingdom of León in the future¹¹⁷.

The period of Alfonso II (791-842) witnessed the discovery of St James the Apostle (Santiago) grave. It was one of the greatest occasions of the period that would stimulate the re-conquest ideas and that Iberia would turn out to be a chief religious centre of the Western Europe. It was believed that Santiago was one of the apostles of Jesus who was charged with introducing Christianity to the Iberian Peninsula after the crucifixion of Jesus. After Santiago completed his mission, he went back to Palestine and he died there; mysteriously his body moved towards the northeast Iberia. Then, his followers put his body on a ship. In this region, Quin Lupadi did not give permission for the burial, but due to several miracles, she had to tolerate it. These miracles also led to the conversion of flocks of people into Christianity in Iberia. Nevertheless, by the time the place of the burial was

¹¹⁶ Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 56, 57.

¹¹⁷Thomas F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 84, 85. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 59.

forgotten, its origin had been subjected to many mystical explanations. It was Alfonso's time when the burial was detected by the help of a man who was living with religious motives and discovered the place with the help of the stars, the foundation spot was coroneted with a church and named as Compestela referring to Campus Stellea-Field of Stars. This place turned out to be one of the vital pilgrimage spots of Christianity in the Middle Ages¹¹⁸.

The Re-settling/re-population policy extended its activity areas especially after the bitter end of al-Mansur in 1002. His heir al-Muzaffar could not continue and unexpectedly, the Western Umayyad caliphate came to an end in 1031. This collapse was followed by the establishment of Berber states, such as the Almoravids and the Almohads. Actually, this ethnic shift was a true reflection of the loss of power of Islam in the Peninsula and resurgent Christian entity, which was in a more facultative manner advancing through capturing the Islamic lands. The Christian Monarchs who used to support oppositional groups within the Islamic dynasties were annexing the Southern part of the Peninsula to their realms. Toledo, where Muslim population was allowed to live, was captured in 1085; thus, Islamic science and philosophy found way to pierce into the European culture¹¹⁹.

One of the prominent figures of the Christian North Part was Sancho III (El Mayor/The Grate) (992-1035), who became the largest owner of the Christian territories after his several combats with the Islamic rulers; therefore, he was entitled 'The King of all Spain/Rex Hispaniarum' which referred to his political success. He was the ruler of Navarre (1000-35) and during his reign Sancho III acknowledged unification policy and soon Navarre and Castilla was united and constituted Tierra de Campos region which

¹¹⁸ Ramsey, *Spain*, 54. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 57, 58.

¹¹⁹ Barton, *History of Spain*, 104. Watt, Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 130.

signaled the areas among two rivers (Piswerga and Cea). However, his death caused the separation of his kingdom between his three sons. He was Alfonso VII, who inherited Castilla after the division of dominated territories of his fathers. His brother Fernando took control of León (1157–88).¹²⁰

Fernando III (1217–1252) was one of the noteworthy political figures who, as an efficient king devastated all his enemies and captured the imperial city of Seville. In the following years, his kingdom united León and Castilla Kingdoms. Similar to other rulers, whenever he conquered Muslim territories, he adapted the mosques into their new role as churches. However, he was distinct with his open-minded approaches while deploying the rules. It was important to notice that he did not force the society to convert, but accepted them as his citizens. His tolerant approach was a result of his policy, where he wanted to show himself as the king of the Three Books' People, and maybe he wanted to prolong the Islamic dynasties mission while demonstrating his grandeur over them. He also established the first university in Salamanca¹²¹.

His heir Alfonso X (1252–84) was the creator of the law codes which were launched to determine living conditions of the Christian society. The legal construction aimed to form the society. These law codes were known as *Siete Partidas/Seven Divisions* giving place to the Jews and Muslims in eight pages. In fact, when Alfonso X became the ruler he would not become a good skilled politician as his father. Instead, with his selfish attitudes, he spent his time and money trying to be a Holy Roman Emperor. Although he was not a skilled politician, he was an important intellectual, therefore, he was known as Alfonso the Wise (El Sabio). Poems written about him were in Galician language, as the language was

¹²⁰ Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 65.

¹²¹ Lowney, *Vanished World*, 195. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 72.

thought softer and more appropriate for poetry. He was eager to sponsor intellectual activities and sponsored the researchers for the writing of *Crónica General/La Historia de España* and *Grande General Historia*. Alfonso X encouraged translations from Arabic to Castilian; he recognized the Castilian language as an intellectual tool for learning. Thus, chiefly Greek and Hellenistic philosophical and scientific literature rebounded to the Latin world. His patronage protected the non-Christian scholars as well, who introduced Aristotelian ideas, the holy books of the Quran and the Talmud to his court¹²².

One of the chief personalities of late medieval Spain in the 14th century was Alfonso XI (1312–1350), who strengthened monarchical power in Castilla. In order to establish supremacy, he charged *corregidores/royal officials* to maintain the social order. However, Alfonso XI's sons fought for the crown. The first son Pedro I was his legitimate son but Enrique of Trastámara was not. Enrique was successful against the Muslims; therefore, he became the new king of Castilla as Enrique II. Following the reign of Enrique II, upcoming rulers similarly devoted themselves to enhance the Castilian dominance over the Peninsula¹²³.

The Medieval Ages of the Peninsula was usually depicted with *coexistence/convivencia* terminology to describe religious groups who were living next to each other. These groups revealed cultural parallelism owing to an activated cultural borrowing mechanism, which was an inevitable process of the geography. The *convivencia* situation after the Christian

¹²² John Edwards, *The Spain of the Catholic Monarchs 1474–1520* (U.K: Blackwell Publishing, 2000), 73. Robert I. Burns, "Jews and Moors in the Siete Partidas of Alfonso X the Learned: a Background Perspective," in *Medieval Spain Culture, Conflict, and Coexistence Studies in Honour of Angus MacKay*, ed. Roger Collins and Anthony Goodman (U.K: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 46. Lowney, *Vanished World*, 10. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 72, 73.

¹²³ William S. Maltby, *The Rise and the Fall of the Spanish Empire* (China: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 10. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 103, 104.

takeover of Iberia continued for a while. However, *convivencia* was not meant to be seen as tolerance. In that time, instead of respect, there was “a wary civic harmony constrained by the crown in the interest of social peace and punctuated from time to time by violent clashes”. Spaniards could not all of a sudden exile the Muslims because they were an important part of the economic mechanism of the Peninsula. Instead, they were re-named Muslims as Mudéjares for a while, which would shift to another discriminative terminology “Morisco” in the following years. Mudéjares, who were actually skilled in crafts and experts of several technical mechanisms, were required to pay tributes¹²⁴.

The so-called *convivencia/co-existence* or living-together was usually described in a peaceful context; however, it would reallocate itself with intolerant approaches such as anti-Semitism in time, which increased in the middle of the 14th century. This unrest developed as an outcome of general economic depression of Europe; Europeans were experiencing agricultural decline mostly due to the wars and plagues. In this century not only Europe but also the Iberian Peninsula was suffering from plagues; therefore, the century was named as *the Black Death*. The illness affected the Spanish economy negatively as the deaths amounted large numbers. Plague was so widespread that even King Alfonso XI died of the plague in 1350. *The Black Death* erased a great number of the European population; it was especially lethal in coastal regions where trading mechanism was more active. On the other hand, inland, especially in naturally protected areas, people were able to save themselves from the epidemic. The infection spoiled the urban and rural mechanism as it brought social problems and eventuated several rebellions in Europe. Under the economic and social depression, the Mudéjares’ good economic condition amplified negative attitudes of the Christians towards the Muslims. The increasing hostility

¹²⁴Henry Kamen, *Golden Age Spain* (China: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 57-59. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 74. Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 130, 131.

was also nurtured from the higher birth rate of the Muslims. On the other hand, some nobles were supporting the Muslims as they were taking advantage of the economic income of Muslims' contributions such as in Aragón and Valencia. The process would be worsened when Ferdinand and Isabella united their Kingdoms; the hate would turn to be a state policy not only against the Muslims but also against the Jews¹²⁵.

The Christian Kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula were active in trading on the Mediterranean Sea and inland. Among them Barcelona, Sevilla, and Valencia were vital centres in their trading network. The re-conquest movement also affected the Mediterranean trade in which Muslims used to hold important places. With the conquest of Murcia and the Guadalquivir Valley, important economic centres were passed to the hands of the Christians. The Muslim control of *Pillar of Hercules/ Strait of Gibraltar* was fettered; thus, trading networks among the Mediterranean and Atlantic areas were secured and guaranteed by the conquerors for their efficacy. The Christian trading route followed the coastal lines and reached from Italy to Northwest Europe particularly Flanders in the Netherlands. Here, one of the most important financial centres of Europe, Bruges with its banking mechanism, was located; therefore, Spanish relations with Bruges enhanced their economy as when Castilian merchants introduced Spanish wool type Merino to Flanders and Bruges. While Spaniards sold their wools to the Northern Europe, they bought cloths, paintings, luxury items and tapestries in return. Several Flemish paintings were delivered to the Iberian Palace and Castilla in this way¹²⁶.

¹²⁵ Ramsey, *Spain*, 99. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 74, 83, 95, 96, 98. Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 131 133.

¹²⁶ Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 84, 88.

Trading opportunities gave birth to the development of the specific institutions for legal issues. Among them, *alfondigos/consulates* were established and supported by the palace to obtain economic benefits. They were responsible for trading in North African coral Jewellery industry and species of Asia from Egyptian market, even selling these items through the Mediterranean basin. Thus, financial expansion of the Spanish Kingdom in the 14th and 15th centuries was a result of stock-raising, agriculture and manufacturing¹²⁷.

In the Medieval period, Castilla and Aragón were stronger and more well-known parts of the Christian Kingdoms. Isabella I de Castilla (1474-1504) became the new ruler of the Castilla after the death of his brother Henry IV in 1474. Ferdinand II of Aragón (1479-1516) ascended to the throne after his father John II's death in 1479. In the end of the medieval period, their control over Iberia was extended with the marriage of Isabel and Ferdinand. It was an important unification when Ferdinand and Isabella signed an agreement to bond their kingdom in 1479. It is usually considered that their marriage constituted the origin of modern Spain but it would be criticized by historian Américo Castro later. After the unification, the crown of Castilla and Aragón dynasties combined their powers and expanded their territories. Soon they would attack Granada in 1492, Navarre in 1512 and Portugal in 1580. In addition, North Africa and the Americas would be included in their conquest program between 1474 and 1700. As a prolific outcome of these special conquering policies, the universal monarchy would be established¹²⁸.

Actually, this kind of royal marriage was employed to unite territories in Europe. Similarly, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella was engaged to Portuguese heir Alfonso. In this way, the Spanish Monarchy extended its territories and enclosed the entire Peninsula. The

¹²⁷ Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 82,94.

¹²⁸ Barton, *History of Spain*, 98. Lowney, *Vanished World*, 7. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 2.

marriage held a symbolic value; their united power was depicted on the coins through which they gave agreement messages. The unity was equally strengthened by the ethnic and religious components of the culture. Therefore, they co-acted with the Church to activate religious apprehensions under a Catholic parasol. These religious agreements were important for both the Muslim and Jewish populations, particularly for the Jews, who were forced to convert or leave the Peninsula in 1492¹²⁹.

After the Christian Monarchs strengthened their political and economical power, they were soon attracted by the last Islamic Kingdom, the Nasrids. The Nasrids, whose existence was overseen in favour of taxation, were regularly paying high taxes to the Castilian rulers in order to retain their possessions in the Peninsula. However, The Nasrids' attack in 1481 close to the proximity of Zahara activated the Christian forces to get hold of Alhama, but the Christian Catholics' nemesis did not stop; they wanted to remove the Muslim dynasties from the Peninsula, so the re-conquest ideology reached a higher level, and activated the crusade mechanism. People joined this army voluntarily to defeat the Muslims, which was a total act that turned out to be a spiritual onslaught in which the institution *Santa Hermandad/Sacred Brotherhood* held an active role. The Catholic Monarch's occupation over Granada continued between 1482 and 1492. Emir Boabdil tried to rescue the Nasrid Dynasty; however, his struggle was not enough to change the destiny of Granada. Finally, he had to sign a treaty. Finally, he allowed the Christian forces to enter the city without resistance. It did not take much time to activate the conversion policy; it was 1499, when the Catholic Monarchs required Castilla and Aragón Muslims to convert to the Christianity; otherwise, they were obliged to leave Spain¹³⁰.

¹²⁹ Barton, *History of Spain*, 98, 99, 100. Lowney, *Vanished World*, 7.

¹³⁰ Barton, *History of Spain*, 103, 104. Ramsey, *Spain*. 218-222. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 111,112.

The Spanish Monarch was in elation as the centuries-old enemy was removed from the Peninsula. Meanwhile, Ferdinand and Isabella tried to strengthen the royal authority with councils, who created dominance over the aristocracy. As a result, Ferdinand and Isabella passed to a half feudal kingdom from a monarchy, which was reinforced by a strong bureaucracy. Their aim was to bring a whole Christian community together in the same way as their marriage. Although unification was achieved, each community continued to be subject to their own law. Actually, it was an ideology, which got stronger just after the re-conquest policy aiming to create religious unity under *Catholicism*. Isabella financially supported several reforms among the clergy. Special importance was given to religious education and twenty two universities were established; the number of university students reached 20.000. In 1508, Francisco Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros established the University of Alcalá de Henares in close proximity to Madrid. Alcalá de Henares developed to become a theological centre. Antonio Nebrija (1522), who wrote on Castilian grammar in 1492, was one of the prominent figures in the cultural arena¹³¹.

The archbishop of Toledo, Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, established the Spanish inquisition in Castilla after Granada was obtained in 1478-1483. The inquisition of Ferdinand and Isabella was established in order to solve problems that arose between the Catholics and other religions; while actually it was a demonstration of hostility towards the *conversos*. *The Holy Office/Santo Oficio* aimed to “persecute and punish them to the fullest extent that law and custom allow”. Isabel and Fernando, in Castilla in 1478, established their own inquisition, which finally decided to expel the Jews from Spain in 1492. It is worth mentioning that some converted members were very active in the emergence of the inquisition and in the mechanism itself. They might have been trying to convey to other members their devotion to Catholicism. Moreover, among the Catholic Monarch’s

¹³¹ Lee, *Avrupa*, 57. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 116. Barton, *History of Spain*, 109, 143, 144.

secretaries there were some church members of *converso* descendant. One of them was Hernando del Pulgar, whose parents were converts. By the 13th century, the papacy had already approved the inquisition mechanism. Inquisitors who were responsible for religious investigations were thus sent by Rome. However, Spain did not let Rome institutionalize in Spain. Therefore, it activated its own inquisition mechanism. It is estimated that 700 *conversos* from Judaism were burnt in Seville between 1480 and 1488. In some places like Catalonia, there were *conversos* who moved to other places to avoid this fate. In total, 2000 *conversos* were executed by 1530. In 1492, all Jewish families were expelled from the city. The Jews initially immigrated to Portugal but they could not stay there long since hostility among the Portuguese displaced them again. *Limpieza de sangre/pure blood* became the main idea orienting rulers' minds.¹³²

Santa Hermandad (Holly Brotherhood) was a part of an administrative structure that assisted the ideology of *the Catholicism*. It was formed to supply military and social continuity and to protect law and order under the reign of the Catholic Monarchs. To put it differently, they were "municipal peacekeeping forces" that were working under a council, *junta*. These political keepers of the system were suppressing rebellions, which arose from followers of other religions, especially Islam. Later, this institution was transformed and formed into *Corregidores/Royal jurisdiction* in the towns to serve for juridical and administrative issues. The most important body of the administration was the *Consejo Real/Royal Council*. In the following years, it was named as *Council of Castile/ Castilla*. Eventually, *the Council of the Inquisition (1483)* and *Council of the Military Orders (1495)* were additionally established to help the council system. Each inquisitional duty came to an end with *Auto de Fe/ Act of Faith*. The city squares/*plaza mayores* where the punishments of the non-Christians and converts were executed housed these ceremonies in the presence of

¹³² Maltby, *The Rise*, 17. Barton, *History of Spain*, 109. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 100, 101.

public. All of these abovementioned administrative organizations contributed significantly to create a single national and religious unity within the Empire. It is important to note that the punishment processes were accelerated with the effect of the growing power of the Ottomans in the Mediterranean, which was another Islamic dynasty. The Spaniards acknowledged the growing Islamic threat to Europe. The Vienna blockade by the Ottomans in 1529 increased this awareness process¹³³. In this sense, it can be said that the Ottoman Muslim advance worsened the hostile attitudes of Spaniards over the so-called Moorish population.

Catholic Spain wanted to divest itself of its Muslim population gradually. While just after the conquest in 1492, several Muslims were moved to North Africa, the rest of the Muslim population was not required to leave the Peninsula. Instead, they were allowed to remain and continue to perform their cultural practices. Even their legal practices were allowed to be performed according to Muslim rules. Muslims who remained in the Christian dominated territories were named as *Mudéjares*. Mudéjars were skilful in every aspect of life; they were good workmen but their conditions would not continue for long. After the last Muslim territory was captured, the re-conquest ideology was maintained, eventually to become an obsession. The wider power struggle in the Mediterranean was correspondingly part of this obsession, where fighting against Islam was assumed to be an inevitable task. In order to cope with the Muslim Ottomans, the Spaniards developed a special policy. Consistent with this, the Northern coastal line of Africa was captured and a holy league

¹³³ Jill Kilsby, *Spain Rise and Decline 1474-1643*, ed. Keith Randell (London: Hodder and Stoughton Publisher, 1989), 17-23. Henry Kamen, *Spain 1469-1714. A Society of Conflict* (Great Britain: Pearson Longman Publisher, 2005), 18-19. Barton, *History of Spain*, 102. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 114. Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 132.

was constructed in the Mediterranean Region to fight the advancing Ottoman dynasty, which will be mentioned in the following parts of the chapter¹³⁴.

France was another emerging power in the Mediterranean, an issue which also attracted the attention of Ferdinand. France occupied Cerdanya and Roussillon in 1462, but in 1493, these territories were taken back. However, France then occupied Italy in 1494. Thus, the 'Holy League/ Holy Union', composed of Spain, the Holy Roman Empire, England, Milan and Venice, was announced. Finally, France had to abandon Naples, and control of the Western Mediterranean territories passed to the Spaniards. Furthermore, Spain sought to create pressure over its rivals with marriages. Catherine of Aragón married Arthur, the heir of the English throne to create influence over France¹³⁵.

Intolerancy of the Jews was soon fashioned into an industry of expulsion throughout Europe. In fact, the beginning of the expulsions did not start with the Spaniards. The Jews were expelled from England at the end of the 13th century, and from France at the beginning of the 14th century. This kind of antagonistic attitude concerning the Jewish existence reached the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the 14th century. In this hatred process, religious ill-feelings were combined with financial reasons. The restrictions sometimes prevented Jewish doctors from treating Christians. It was not only Jews suffering from the Catholic Monarchs but also Mudéjares. Even though Mudéjares were primarily allowed to live in Spain and perform their religious practices, they were equally subject to conversion policy or take before the Inquisition as their conversion was not believed. Finally, Mudéjares were expelled from the Peninsula. As previously mentioned, Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros obliged conversions and enforced Ferdinand and Isabella's re-

¹³⁴ Barton, *History of Spain*, 105, 110, 111.

¹³⁵ Barton, *History of Spain*, 105-106.

conquest policy. Cisneros was an effective religious figure, who burnt Arabic literature especially during his visit to Granada, which resulted in the burning of Islamic literature and compulsory conversions in 1499¹³⁶.

After completing the re-conquest, conversion and the expulsion policy respectively, the Spaniards were ready to advance overseas. With the help of geographical discoveries, the way to colonialism would be opened. Having been nourished from the re-conquest winds, Ferdinand and Isabella were attracted by Columbus' project which aimed to reach the Asian land using a westward route. It would spoil the Portuguese cartel, which dominated the eastward route around Africa. The project was introduced by Genoese sailor Christopher Columbus, who was a merchant and sailor. The idea was to reach Asia and establish a trading network independent of the Mediterranean Sea, where Ottoman naval power was strong and preventing European trade. In addition, the project would support the expansion policy of Spain with regard to territorial and religious aspects. Christopher Columbus launched his expedition to find a new way to the Orient with the help of three ships and eighty eight crewmen. When he crossed the ocean, he arrived in the Canaries and Bahamas, and he named these places as Hispaniola. After this expedition, there were additional expeditions carried out by Columbus; the second was in 1493, the third one was realized between 1498 and 1500, the fourth expedition was between 1502 and 1504. Although Columbus believed that he discovered Asian lands, he failed to find out what he had discovered. Unlike Columbus, Florentine navigator Amerigo Vespucci, who gave his name to America, was conscience about his discovery¹³⁷.

¹³⁶ Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 99. Barton, *History of Spain*, 111. Maltby, *The Rise*, 15-17. Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 132.

¹³⁷ Kilsby, *Rise and Decline*, 23. Henry Kamen, *Empire: How Spain Became a World Power 1492-1763* (Britain: HarperCollins Publishers, 2003), 14. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 120. Barton, *History of Spain*, 106-108.

The Spanish arrival in America caused the death of natives since their bodies were unprotected from the unknown diseases brought from Spain by the conquistadors. The Conquest of America was started by Hernán Cortés act in 1519; although he was banned from traveling, he ignored the Crown and sailed with 600 men and 32 horses. Cortés established a town in Veracruz. When Cortés arrived in Tenochtitlan, Montezuma, who was the king of Aztecs, welcomed the conquistador. However, he was not aware of Cortés' will. Cortés kidnapped Montezuma. After some time, he captured Tenochtitlan in 1521. Another conquistador, Francisco Pizarro conquered and decimated the Inca Empire with 180 men and 27 horses in 1530. It is important to realize that there were native troops who were against Aztecs or Inca and who helped the conquistadores. Underlying these conquests, some myths such as El Dorado and Cibola encouraged several people to join the expeditions as they dreamed of wealth¹³⁸.

After the death of Ferdinand and then Isabella, the crown passed into the hands of the Habsburg Family. The family originally was from Alsace and Switzerland but they extended their reach to other parts of Europe with their marriage policy with the royal families. The family held an important place in the historical line of Europe until the 20th century. One of the Habsburg rulers, Friedrich III obtained the crown as a holy Roman Emperor in Austria. He married his son Philip, to Joan, who was the daughter of King Ferdinand II of Aragón and Queen Isabella I of Castile/Castilla; accordingly, he extended their territories to include the Iberian Peninsula. Spanish control meant that other places, such the Netherlands, Italy and the American Colonies, which were under the control of Spain, were equally going to be put under the rule of the Habsburg Family¹³⁹.

¹³⁸ Barton, *History of Spain*, 119, 121.

¹³⁹ Barton, *History of Spain*, 98, 112, 113.

Philip and Joan produced two infants named Charles I and Ferdinand I. As a result of their close connection with Spain, their son Charles I became the next Spanish Emperor in 1516. Indeed, this dynastical succession necessarily happened since his elder brother and heir passed away childless. Charles I was crowned Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, with the help of his brother Ferdinand I, who controlled most of Europe. The time of Charles V witnessed several revolts, and his policy aimed at continuing the unity of Christendom. However his reign also witnessed the maintenance of territorial problems with France, but an agreement that granted Italian control was signed. This agreement supplied enough time for the Spaniards to turn their gaze to the Ottoman advance in the Mediterranean. The Ottomans' growing power in the Mediterranean constituted a significant threat to western countries. When Suleiman the Magnificent captured Hungary from Charles' cousin Louis of Hungary in 1526, European powers' anxiety reached its peak. Unsuccessful sieges of Vienna in 1526 and 1532 brought relief for a while. In an effort to hamper the Ottomans, Charles V sponsored the St John Knights of St John in Malta in 1530. The Knights were an international force fighting against Islam. Interestingly, in this war atmosphere, France, entered an alliance of the Ottomans and financed their attacks. This situation was criticized very much by the Christian world at that time¹⁴⁰.

The last years of Charles V reign experienced the Protestant movement in Europe. The Catholic Church had to deal with the problems of Protestant reforms, which undermined the Catholic dogmas. Martin Luther and his opinion supporters such as philosopher Desiderius Erasmus and their works were forbidden. An attempt was made to eliminate Lutheranism from society. Charles V tried to protect his realm from the religious problem. Nonetheless, he divided his realm between his brother and son. Philip II became the successor of Charles V. Central Europe was given to Ferdinand I, uncle of Philip II. Philip II

¹⁴⁰ Barton, *History of Spain*, 114-116. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 139-141.

(1527-1598) was brought up in Castilla and obtained the crown in 1556; all Hispania was granted with its colonies. Spain campaigned with Emperor Ferdinand II to Austria, which would cause the involvement of Spain into the Thirty Year War¹⁴¹.

Philip II had spent time in England as he was married to Queen Mary I. He was engaged to her at the age of 27 when she was 43 years old. When he took the crown, he chose Madrid as the capital of the Empire. Although the town was small and unnoticed, he would develop into a big royal centre in time. Philip II, similar to other Kings of Spain, aimed at protecting his realm and combined his policy with *the Catholicism*. Therefore, he became one of the most remembered combatants against Islam. Philip II continued the conversion and expulsion policies that forbade the travel of non-Christian groups to America. In addition, he encouraged Catholic reformers, such as Ignatius Loyola, who once had been a Spanish soldier, to establish the Jesuits. Another one was Teresa of Ávila, who established the Discalced Carmelites. A quote attributed to Philip II also revealed his opinion of these policies: "prefer not to rule than to rule over heretics"¹⁴². (Figure 10)

¹⁴¹ Barton, *History of Spain*, 116,117, 135.

¹⁴² Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 143-146.



Figure 10. Philip II on horseback, 1628 Rubens, Peter Paul, 251 cm x 237 cm
Prado Museum Collection, Reference number P01686.

Being such a fervent supporter of Catholicism, Philip II would, not surprisingly need to challenge the Ottomans. As both the Spaniards and the Ottomans enlarged their territories and activity areas, they began to clash in the Mediterranean Sea. The first encounter was in 1565, when the Ottomans laid siege to Malta. The Ottoman initiative was prevented with the help of Philip II. Another important encounter took place off the Italian coast. Spain invited its alliances to form the Christian Holy League against the Ottoman naval power in the Mediterranean. The holy league was composed of Spain, Venice and the Papacy. Catholic Spain economically sustained the war and at the head of Don John of Austria, the Ottoman fleet was defeated. The Gulf of Corinth witnessed a significant Mediterranean power struggle, the Lepanto War, where the naval force of Ali Pasha was destroyed. The

Christian victory at Lepanto was depicted by Italian painter Tiziano where the Emperor Philip II is seen offering his new borne son to the Victory¹⁴³.

The same year witnessed another success of Philip II. It was the unification of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns in 1580. The unification process was a result of Spanish strategic royal marriages as Philip II's mother was from the Portuguese realm. Philip II promised to Portuguese officials that he would not interfere with the Portuguese law and not attempt to combine the societies. In addition, Portuguese society financially and bureaucratically would stay distinct from the Spanish society. As Philip II aimed at diminishing the problems, the treaty of Cateau Cambrésis was signed between France and Spain in 1559¹⁴⁴.

Phillip II was trying to assimilate the Muslim groups. Against the assimilative attitudes, rebellion of Muslims arose in 1568 in the Alpujarras area, which was suppressed by Don John of Austria. Approximately 60.000 people were killed and additionally 100.000 people were forced to leave the Peninsula in order to diminish the possibility of further revolt around Granada. In order to cope with the Morisco problem, Muslim children at the age of five or under were taken away from their parents and given to the service of royal families or clergy. Consequently, Phillip III required Morisco population to leave the Peninsula in 1582. Forcefully expelled people found shelter in North Africa, France, Italy, and Istanbul.¹⁴⁵

Phillip III (1578–1621), the successor of Phillip II, was not as talented as his ancestors, he spent his time with entertaining activities such as hunting. He moved the capital from

¹⁴³ Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 146, 148. Barton, *History of Spain*, 126.

¹⁴⁴ Barton, *History of Spain*, 126, 129. Phillips, *History of Spain*, 148, 149.

¹⁴⁵ Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 133. Barton, *History of Spain*, 128, 134.

Madrid to Valladolid in 1601. However, after five years, the town council paid 250.000 ducats for his return to Madrid. His reign witnessed the so-called Morisco problem which occurred due to the increased pressure at the time of Phillip II. The Moriscos un-assimilative structure brought edicts of expulsion in 1609 and 1614. Expulsion of the Muslims from the Peninsula created economic and demographic depression in some areas. For example, Valencia lost a third of the population and in Aragón agricultural production and tax benefits were negatively affected. Although Phillip III took over a kingdom, whose territory enclosed Spain, Portugal, Netherlands and America, the economic problems, such as the Dutch Revolt, the Anglo-Saxon war and The Thirty Year Wars (1618-48), created tremulous political conjuncture within the Empire. As military expenses increased, (there were almost 100.000 people who were under the army) every passing year produced debt problem to the Spanish Realm. Even by 1588, costs of Armada had reached 10 million ducats. Especially, The Thirty Year War increased the debt. The atmosphere caused social and economic depression, at the final point Catalonia and Portugal revolted against the Spanish Habsburg¹⁴⁶.

Among the followers of Philip II, another significant political personality who should be mentioned was Philip IV, whose nickname was the Poet King. Famous painter Velázquez worked under his patronage. Therefore, various Philip IV paintings were depicted by Velázquez and even the paintings reveal the emperor's epiphany from youth to the Middle Ages. Velázquez portrayed the daughter of Philip IV, Princess Margarita Teresa as well, who was born from Marina of Austria. (In famous *Las Meninas*/ *The Ladies Waiting*, the

¹⁴⁶ Barton, *History of Spain*, 131, 133, 134. Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 133. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 158, 159, 163.

infant was portrayed at the focal point of the canvas). This painting was recognized as one of the master pieces of the European art¹⁴⁷. (Figure 11)



Figure 11. Las Meninas, or The Family of Felipe IV, Velázquez, Diego Rodríguez de Silva y, 1656, 318 cm x 276 cm, Prado Museum Collection, Reference Number. P01174

After the death of Philip IV in 1665, Charles II (1665–1700), who was only at the age of four, became the new King. Spain was in bad condition economically and dynastically. In the same way problems with France continued. With the Rijswijk Treaty, Spain lost some of its islands, but re-captured Catalonia, Luxembourg and Flanders. Charles II was the last emperor of the Spanish Habsburg Dynasty because he could not have any heir from his marriages. The dominance after him passed to the Bourbon dynasty with the female lineage of royal succession. This dynastical change pushed the Empire into the Spanish Succession War. The Utrecht and Rastatt Treaties (1713–14) ended the Succession War when the Bourbon Dynasty's ascendancy was acknowledged by the other rivals¹⁴⁸.

¹⁴⁷ Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 161.

The sister of Charles II, Maria Theresa of Spain (1638–83), daughter of Philip IV was married to Louis XIV from the Bourbon Dynasty in France; therefore, the Spanish crown was her right. She did not refuse and accepted the dynastical role; if she ever refused, in the line, the uncle who was from the Habsburg dynasty was waiting. In addition, Charles II also wanted the Duke of Anjou who was the grandchild of Maria Theresa to become the new Emperor. The Duke of Anjou was crowned as Philip V in December, 1700. Louis XIV grandfather of Phillip V stated that “there are now no Pyrenees” and peace in Europe was constructed as the long lasting Spanish and France enmity were over. Besides, he gave some instructions to his grandchild as “to be a good Spaniard; that is your first duty; but remember that you were born French in order to preserve unity between both nations; this is the way to make them both happy and to preserve the peace of Europe”¹⁴⁹.

Philip V utilized the French administrative style in his reign. In this regard he stimulated “centralization, rationalization and modernization” rules for Spanish Monarchy. *Despacho/cabinet council* held the main administrative organization to take foremost decisions for the Empire. Due to the reformist attitudes, the 18th century became a transformation era in Spain. The Bourbon dynasty reformist attitudes wanted to re-organize relationship between the church and the state. At the end of his reign, Philip V was not in good condition mentally. It was asserted that he even refused to sign the official documents. Therefore, he was discarded from the throne in 1724. When Philip died, the Empire did not have voluminous atmosphere in Europe as it used to do¹⁵⁰.

¹⁴⁸ Barton, *History of Spain*, 145, 146, 150.

¹⁴⁹ Barton, *History of Spain*, 147–149. Maltby, *The Rise*, 150.

¹⁵⁰ Maltby, *The Rise*, 150– 155. Phillips, *History of Spain*, 177. Barton, *History of Spain*, 151,152.

Ferdinand VI (1746–59) and Charles III (1759–88), successors of Philip V, likewise experienced hard times during their reigns as *Siglo de las Luces*/ *Ilustración*/ *Enlightenment* ideas were strong. The books and other publications of the French Philosophers were forbidden but later the newspapers informed the readers about the ideas of the French Revolution. Although the Bourbon dynasty's reforms aimed to preserve Spain's strong position in Europe, the French Revolution damaged the process deeply. Napoleon Bonaparte ascendancy also did not bring prolific outcomes to Spain since its imperial territories were occupied by Napoleon. Not only Spain, but also Europe experienced hard times when Napoleon Bonaparte became the new ruler in 1799. Napoleon's campaign against Europe including Spain and North Africa led flocks of people to fight against the French intervention¹⁵¹.

As a consequence, Spain's position in Europe became challenging because of the acquired economic and politic prosperity in the 16th century. However, its unexpected glory increased hostilities. In Europe, a black legend was produced, consistent with the attempts of Philip II over the Protestants, and the expansion policy towards the Dutch, English and French territories created some kind of negative sensation about the image of Spain among the Europeans. Inquisitional details which were neglecting human rights that were brought into question were considered as ill-treatment as can be seen in *Apologia* written in 1581 by William of Orange. In addition, activities in America were criticized. This continental superiority of Spain was detested by France who newly emerged in Europe. Moreover, Protestant countries like England and Holland were newly rising European powers whose religious choices were different from the Catholic Spain. As Spain tried to protect its diagnostic position in Europe, it had to indulge into several battles which sometimes

¹⁵¹ Barton, *History of Spain*, 154, 156, 172, 173. Phillips, *History of Spain*, 198–201.

continued thirty years and caused to lose economic and military power. The issues later on brought the Empire to the end when it lost its colonies and dominance in Europe¹⁵².

¹⁵² Barton, *History of Spain*, 98, 130-131.

CHAPTER 3

MUDÉJAR IDENTITY

Nosotros pronunciamos la x como los árabes, de cuya vezindad nos la dejaron en casa, con otros trastos cuando se mudaron.

We pronounce the x as do the Arabs, our neighbours, who left it in our home with some other bits and pieces when they moved¹⁵³.

Mateo Alemán

3.1. History and Terminology

Iberia, during its long lasting history was ruled by the pre-Roman, Roman and Visigoth governances respectively that created a rich cultural vocabulary in the Peninsula. Different religious and ethnical entities of the Peninsula facilitated the emergence of a prolific cultural encounter ground where artistic and architectural atmosphere resembled to each other. When dominated over the Iberian Peninsula, the Christians absorbed the former cultural lessons, and produced new solutions. Long lasting Islamic presence in Iberia equally produced a set of specific terminologies. On the other hand, this historical richness of the Iberian Peninsula introduced terminological difficulties to the scholarly field, which inevitably affected the writing process of Iberia. Arguments related with these terminologies especially contradict to one another when they include geographical, cultural and historical aspects of the Peninsula. As a matter of fact, terminologies of the Iberian Peninsula itself reflect socio-political standing of the geography, which can be alternatively accepted as the sub conscience of the Iberian cultures. It is important to be aware of the fact that these meanings of the terminologies varied from place to place and often transformed themselves into new meanings in centuries.

¹⁵³Mateo Alemán, *Ortografía Castellana* (1609), translated by Fuchs, *Cleaving of Hispanism*.

Among the ethnic terminologies, the word *Moor* is one of the most popular terms, which could be encountered in the Islamic Iberian and Christian Iberian studies. This term simply reflects eight centuries of Muslim experiences in the Peninsula. Even though the term is rarely used nowadays, its previous usage, which signified hostility (the term comes from Greek ‘mauros’ or ‘dark’) was popular. This expression was first used by Lucian to indicate the Aboriginal non-Negroid people of the West Africa¹⁵⁴. Interestingly, scholarly circles continue to use the vocabulary though sometimes with meanings not really intended for. In the following decades, the re-conquest ideology considered newcomers as “landlords” of the Iberian Peninsula, who inhabited the area for seven hundred years, built some monuments, and left the geography when Christianity drove them from the territory, where only the buildings left reminded this community”.¹⁵⁵

The Iberian geography’s ethnological background demonstrates that there were already diverse ranges of ethnic sources when Arab and Berber origin groups conquered the Peninsula. The Christian groups formed by the Hispano-Romans, Goths and Serfs constituted the biggest portion of the population. When the dominance passed to the hands of Muslim rulers, they used common name *Ayam* or *Ayami* for the non-Muslim communities of Iberia. *Muahid* and *Ayami* alternatively were used for the Christians. However, in time, Islamic authority put forward an option to the population whether to stay faithful to Christianity or change their belief. People who did not convert but stayed true to Christian faith were named as *Mozarab* (*Mozarabe- Mustarib-Mustaribun*), which was the most frequent description for the foreigners in the Islamic epoch.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, 1. Barrucand and Bednorz, *Moorish Architecture*, 18.

¹⁵⁵ But the recent scholarship denies the usage of the *Moorish* and *Reconquista*, considering they hold overly simplistic notions derived from the 16th-century ideology of the Ferdinand and Isabella conquest Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, 1.

Mozarab is derived from the Arabic term *Mustarib* or *Mostarabi* that signified Arabized condition. The active version *Musta'rib* means “to make oneself similar to the Arab”, and the passive version *Musta'rab* signals “having assimilated Arabic customs”¹⁵⁷. *Mozarabs* were not forced to change their religion and were allowed to practice their religious activities. They continued to go to their churches while enlargement of their buildings were forbidden but restorations were permitted. They were subject to their own laws and officials. *Mozarabs*, most of whom were even communicating very well in Arabic in daily life, used the Latin language but also learned Arabic.¹⁵⁸ As these people were living under the Muslim rule, their customs and behaviours were mainly influenced from Muslim environment; for that reason, their way of living was Arab-like. A large number of the community was living in Toledo, Cordoba, Seville, Mérida and some other cities.¹⁵⁹

F.J.Simonet, in his work *Historia de la Mózarabes de España deduciada de los mejores y más auténticos testimonios de los escritores chirstianos y árabes*, mentions the Mozarabs of Iberia in the 9th century. He tells that Mozarabs can be accepted as the original Spaniards, who were loyal to Christian rules without changing their origin, and they lived in Muslim Spain. It is also interesting to point out that there is no any demonstration that Mozarab terminology has been used in the Islamic Iberian documents but the first appearance of the term in Latin documents occurs as *Muzarave*, particularly in the Leon Kingdom, in the 11th century¹⁶⁰.

¹⁵⁶ José Fernández Arenas, *La Arquitectura Mozarabe* (Barcelona: Ediciones Poligrafa, 1972), 16.

¹⁵⁷ Richard Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Identities and Influences* (U.S.A: Ashgate Publishers, 2008), ix.

¹⁵⁸ Arenas, *Arquitectura Mozarabe*, 16.

¹⁵⁹ Joseph F. O'Clallagan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (U.S.A: Cornel University Press, 1983), 96.

The Christian community, who preferred to change their religion, was primarily named as *Musalima/Muwalladun/ Maladies /Muladi /Musalim (Spanish Muslim)*. *Muwalladun* directly emphasized those born of convert parents and who were not actually Arab but Islamized.¹⁶¹ They were members of descendants of mixed ancestry raised in Muslim culture and were demonstrating Islamic living traditions, and they can be accepted as new Muslims. Conversion of these Christians to Islam took place in the 8th, 9th-and 10th centuries. In this regard, the 10th century was important since the number of conversion to Islam increased. These converts were mainly not subject to paying tribute; therefore, acknowledging Islam became beneficial for some social groups to get economic opportunity and security. On the other hand, long term rebellions created confidential problems and prevented them from being allowed to serve in the highest ranks of the government.¹⁶²

After the Spanish conquest, the Muslims who were still living in the Iberian Peninsula but this time under the domination of the Christian kingdoms, found their expression in the *Mudéjar* terminology. The *Mudayyan* – permitted to stay or *domesticated* – was a source for the *Mudéjar* word. Notably, the word *Mudéjar* comes from *Mudajjan*, which is an Arabic word but an altered version became popular in Spanish usage. The term equally was pejorative. The Christian kingdoms of the north permitted *Mudéjares* to remain, they became subjects to the new political power. While *Mudéjares* were preserving their

¹⁶⁰ Hitchcock, *Mozarabs*, xi, xix.

¹⁶¹ Arenas, *Arquitectura Mozarabe*, 8.

¹⁶² Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1983), 96. L. P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614: 1500 to 1614* (University of Chicago Press, 2005).

Muslim religion and legal status, their social structure varied¹⁶³. L.P. Harvey describes *Mudéjar* as "a Muslim who, after the surrender of a territory to a Christian ruler, remained there without changing religion and entered into a relationship of vassalage under the Christian King". His explanation of *Mudéjar* was nourished from the Diccionario de la Real Academia Española¹⁶⁴ but *Mudéjar* is sometimes used as synonymy of the *moro*, which created problems while explaining artistic productions even today.

During the re-conquest policy of the Christian Kingdoms, it was quite common to encounter *Mudéjar* population who was not yet converted to Christianity in the Peninsula. However, after the last Islamic dynasty Nasrids who fell into the Christian Kingdom, the issue gave impulse to the Christian Spain's conversion policy concerning the Muslim community just after the Jewish society who was first forced to conversion and then expelled from the Peninsula. Thus, new groups of people so-called *Moriscos* (Moorish) appeared who were forcefully converted to the Christian religion. It is important to note that each case of both conversion and expulsion from the Peninsula diversified. For example, in 1501, Christian authorities forced the Muslims of Granada to convert to Christianity; otherwise, they were guaranteed to be expelled from the Peninsula. Therefore, the largest so-called *Morisco* population lived in Granada. The other important *Morisco* group was settled in the cities of Valencia, Castilla and Aragón. Notably, in time, Moriscos were supposed as sacred Muslims and they were named as Crypto-Muslims (sacred Muslims). Their Christian practices were not believed. The Moriscos were completely expelled from Iberia in 1609 since they were considered to be secret heretics and followers

¹⁶³ Barrucand and Bednorz, *Moorish Architecture*, 15.

¹⁶⁴ Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, 3.

of Muhammad. Through the ideology of *limpieza de sangre* – pure blood – they were continually attacked and forced to leave the Peninsula.¹⁶⁵

Most of these etymological terminologies are based on ethnic sources, but a few of them, *Moorish*, *Mudéjar* and *Mozarab*, are applied to art and architectural history. Among them *Moorish style* or *Moorish Architecture*, refers to the 8th century–Muslim existence and their constructed buildings on the Iberian Peninsula; sometimes, this terminology encapsulates North African cultures as well. The second term, Mudéjar architecture addresses to the architectural style applied by Muslim, Christian and Jewish masters after the *Re-conquest* under the Christian patronage. *Mozarab architecture* designates Arabized Christian architecture under the dominance of Islamic rule¹⁶⁶. Recently, *Mozarab* terminology has shifted with the re–population architecture; its Islamic connotations were eased. We may claim that *Mudéjar* was strongly nourished from *Andalusian Style or Islamic Iberia* and carried artistic traditions of the Peninsula even to the far reaching locations such as to the American Continent. In addition, *Mozarabic* condition stylistically has a closer connection with Mudéjar architecture, where both Christian and Islamic formulations met in the same building program.

Usage of Mudéjar terminology and its connotations reveals varied forms of interpretation methods among historians and art historians. The definition of Mudéjar architecture is made by Vicente Lampérez as “Moros and Christians” in *Historia de la Arquitectura Cristiana en la Edad Media*|*Architectural History of Christian in the Medieval Epoch* (1906). He defines Mudéjar for the both cultures trying to eliminate ethnic troubles. In

¹⁶⁵ Kevin Ingram, *Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond: Departures and Change*, Volume One (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2009), 2.

¹⁶⁶ Dodds, "Mudejar Tradition," 113–114.

1933, French scholar Elie Lambert proposed that Mudéjar architecture is labour of Christians made by Moro masters. In 1934, Lozoya used the term Morisco in the same meaning with Mudéjar which ignores political connotation of the term¹⁶⁷.

Among the historical terminologies *convivencia* is one of the most encountered words in today's scholarly field. The terminology designates a condition of centuries of living together in the same geographical sphere, particularly in the Iberian Peninsula. A harmonious character has been attributed to the term; however, it was the Medieval Age conditions requiring people to live together under certain determinant rules. In the period of Islamic rule, it was usually asserted that the *convivencia* was achieved due to Islamic acknowledgement of people as "people of three books" and these non-Muslim communities were respected because of being the members of the two sacred religions: the Christendom and Judaism. These non-Muslim groups were allowed to live in Islamic territories as long as they paid tribute of *jizya* in *dhimmi* statues. *Dhimmi* signified a protected person. On condition that they accepted the superiority of Islam and paid tribute, *dhimmi* statues were given to these groups¹⁶⁸. The *convivencia* view continued for a while in the Catholic Kingdoms period; nevertheless, *convivencia* atmosphere was soon replaced with the *re-conquest*, *conversion*, *expulsion* and *colonization* objectives of the Christian Catholic Monarch.

¹⁶⁷Vicente Lampérez y Romea, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española en la edad media según el estudio de los elementos y los monumentos* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1930). Gualis, "Introducción," 16.

¹⁶⁸Hitchcock, *Mozarabs*, xii.

3.1.1. Mudéjar as a Cultural Entity

The distinctive historical condition of the Iberian Peninsula, particularly that of mudéjar, requires operating interdisciplinary studies to understand this cross-cultural issue. In this regard, interdisciplinary studies help to map the exact nature of the Mudéjar phenomenon, which at the same time contributes to architectural history reading and writing mechanism¹⁶⁹. Especially, anthropological point of view may facilitate to understand social and historical standing of the era with its components. Having been illuminated by cultural studies, it becomes clear to grasp the existence of the eastern and western forms and their usage procedures in the same building. Hence, the interdisciplinary studies reveal the living reality of human beings and societies that reflected itself upon architecture.

One of the most well-known social anthropologists Taylor describes culture which encloses artistic activities, law, moral values and other capabilities obtained by individual through a life time¹⁷⁰. Thus, he attributes culture to a humanistic feature that includes everything that can be learned during a life time. Another anthropologist Clifford Gertz believes that culture is a mechanism which takes its strength from the learning and thinking systems based on symbols. According to him, culture works with plans, receipts, and norms that create a control mechanism; as "a set of shared meanings and symbols that are constantly being created and re-created during the course of social relationships, humans usually get this mechanism within boundaries of tradition, and acculturation process". Notably, everybody inevitably is in an acculturation process with or without conscience. Once they encounter a culture, they indistinctly adopt the mechanism and internalize it while activating cultural filter mechanism¹⁷¹. There is a variety of contact situations and process

¹⁶⁹ Fuchs, "Cleaving of Hispanism," 499, 497, 500.

¹⁷⁰ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures; Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 44.

of acculturation, which develop in life¹⁷². Being sub-branch and special kind of acculturation process, *syncretism*, which does not have any standard usage, occurs. The term has developed for 50 years, and holds two meanings. The first meaning is related to fusion of both religious and un-religious traits, where interaction takes place both between institutions and traditions face to face. This first formulation of syncretism gives way to new entities because cultural encounters create proper condition for new reinterpretations of each culture. The second application of syncretism usually involves religious elements only, and it does not require direct confrontation. In this dissertation the first meaning of syncretism and its usage is applied to Mudéjar reading of the Iberian Peninsula. Sometimes, acculturation indirectly causes the issue called *transculturation*, which continues to use concrete and abstract cultural elements via connected reasons as can be seen in the American case of Mudéjar¹⁷³. I think that syncretism also shapes aesthetic conceptions of cultures. The learned cultural codes reflected by forms start to appear logical to close contact societies/ to neighbours. Equally, the aesthetic process of Mudéjar is worked on in the Iberian Peninsula consistent with the system of learned cultural codes where Mudéjar obtained aesthetical value for both the elite and public of the Christian society.

Arabic word Mudéjar has several connotations and meanings that varied from place to place and over the centuries. The term is sometimes used ethnically for Muslim population who stayed in Christian controlled Iberian Peninsula. Sometimes, Mudéjar term is referred

¹⁷¹ John W. Berry, Ype H. Poortinga, Seger M. Breugelmans, Athanasios Chasiotis, David L. Sam, *Cross-Cultural Psychology, Researches and Applications* (U.K: CambridgeUniversity Press, 2011), 228. Phillips Kottak, *Antropoloji: İnsan Çeşitliliğine Bir Bakış* (İstanbul: Ütopya Yayınları, 2008) 46.

¹⁷² Thomas. F. Glick and O.P. Sunyer, "Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept in Spanish History," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 11 (1969), 154.

¹⁷³ Hugo.G. Nutini "Syncretism and Acculturation. The Historical Development of the Cult of the Patron Saint in Tlaxcala, Mexico (1519-1670)," *Ethnology*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1976),302-303. Glick, "Acculturation," 140.

to art production produced both by the Mudéjares and the Christians under the Christian patronage¹⁷⁴. In this context, it becomes apparent that although art can be considered as the symbol of geography and culture, which is influenced from political and ethnic issues, it can equally have a sense of autonomous status explicitly. In architectural history case, these cultural conditions could produce distinct terminologies that sometimes can fall apart from the ethnic and political realities. In Mudéjar architecture case also the designation passes beyond the ethnic and political connotation of the word.

As we have already discussed, Spanish history has experienced strong historical circumstances such *the re-conquest, the conversion, the expulsion and the colonialism*. The question is even though there was a great deal of religious hatred towards Muslims, why did the Spaniards acknowledge using Islamic formulas in their constructions? Did they admire Islamic architecture or was Islamic architecture just a tool to demonstrate their authority symbolically? Or were they not conscious of the usage since they internalized the forms? The following part of the study will demonstrate how Spaniards were conscious of the usage of the Islamic forms they called as *obra-morisca/ Moorish work* in addition to the internalized the forms. Then, optimum cultural reading will be tried to be developed for Mudéjar architecture.

There are several assumptions developed for the usage of Mudéjar artistic forms. The first one suggests that the Spaniards admired the Islamic forms¹⁷⁵; the other assumption argues that it was beyond the admiration; they sensed these forms as theirs. The third assumption is concerned with the Islamic forms, which politically adopted to show the dominance. One of the very well-known Andalusian examples, the Alhambra Palace and Cordoba Mosque,

¹⁷⁴ Harvey, *Islamic Spain*.

¹⁷⁵ Crites, "Mosque to Cathedral," 17, 18.

is usually used to support the idea how Spaniards owned the Mudéjar style. The assumption suggests that Islamic examples today exist as they have been ‘absorbed as royal style’ by the Christian Spain¹⁷⁶. (Figures 12, 13) The example of the Alhambra Palace, a separate section from the city, housed the ruling elite and is composed of several architectural monuments including religious, military and civic buildings. The palace was built in the Nasrid Period but the masterpiece witnessed little destruction after the Christian dominance. (Figures 14–16) The Spaniards politically preferred to use the Alhambra as the royal residence when the Nasrid Dynasty member Emir Mohammad XII left the city to Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492. Consistent with that, it is claimed that Islamic architecture did not disturb the Catholic kings because the Spaniards considered Islamic forms ‘Iberian’ and ‘Andalucian’ instead of ‘Muslim’¹⁷⁷.



Figure12. The Cordoba Mosque, exterior view (taken by the author)

¹⁷⁶ Grinstead, "Absorbing the Mudéjar."

¹⁷⁷ Grinstead, "Absorbing the Mudéjar."



Figure 13. The Cordoba Mosque, interior view (taken by the author)

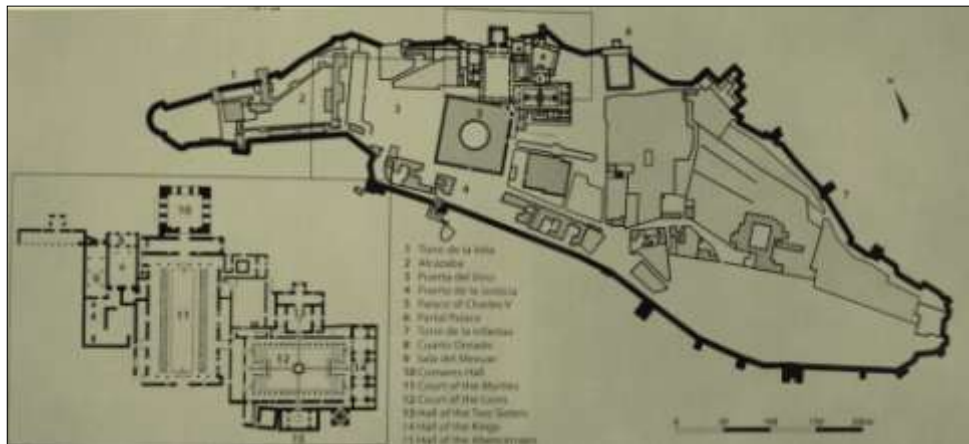


Figure 14. Plan of the Alhambra Palace, Jesús Bermúdez López, "The Alhambra", *Islam: Art and Architecture*, edit. Markus Hattstein and Peter Delius (France: Könemann Publisher, 2000), 279.



Figure 15. The Alhambra Palace, exterior view.
(taken by the author)



Figure 16. The Alhambra Palace, details from the courtyard.
(taken by the author)

If we accept the assumption, another inquiry comes out questioning why they felt it necessary to build a Renaissance styled Palace, the Palace of Charles V at the court of the Alhambra stylistically different from the Alhambra while explaining how the Spaniards

owned the style as Iberian, it is logical to take the location of the Renaissance styled palace into account. Actually, in the spatial arrangement, the Spaniards were stressing and reminding the central power of the Christian Kingdom; therefore, the usage of Islamic buildings seems more than simply admiring it but mainly was a result of their political and symbolic deeds. (Figures 14, 17 ,18) I think, another action of the Spaniards that supports the idea that it was a political act can be seen in the example of the *Medina Azahara*. Even though the *Alhambra*, which was the heart of Islamic rulers, was not pulled down, the *Medina Azahara/The town of Zahra*, built near Cordoba, a well-built palace, was completely destroyed by the Spaniards; it was also a new urban setting demonstrating urban formulation of Muslims created in the 10th century. (Figures 19,20)

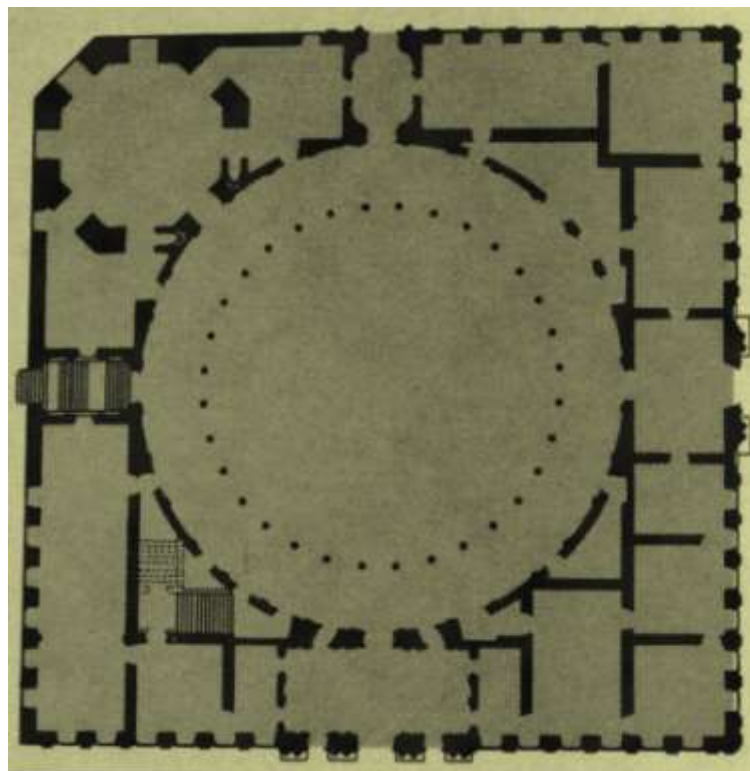


Figure 17. Plan of the Palace of Charles V. José Luis Morales y Marín, Wifredo Rincón García, "Arquitectura Renacentista", in *Historia de la Arquitectura Española*, Tomo 3 (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1985), 1178.



Figure 18. The Palace of Charles V (taken by the author)

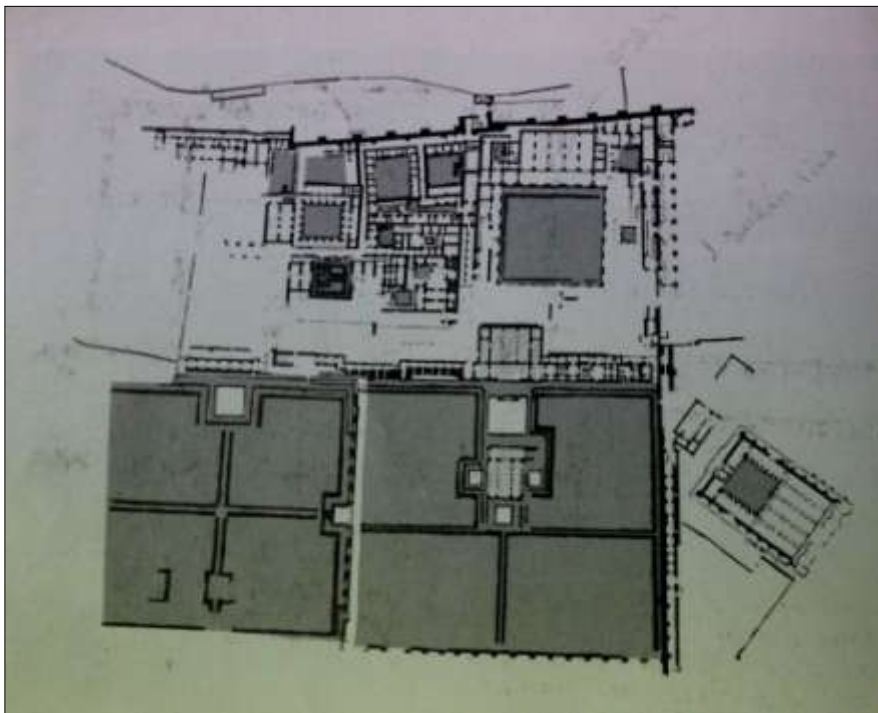


Figure 19. The Medinat al-Zahra's partial plan (after excavations).

Gonzalo M. Borrás Gualis, *El Islam de Córdoba al Mudéjar* (Spain: Silex, 1990), 62.



Figure 20. The Medinat al-Zahra , the facade of Abd al-Rahman III residence, Gualis, *El Islam*, 61.

On the other hand, the example of University of Alcalá's ceremonial Hall, which has a geometric ceiling design with intricate and endless geometric motifs, was nourished from Islamic taste though it was constructed in the Christian era. The institution was found by Cardinal Cisneros in order to create a well-established and strong education centre to the royalty and the clergy. The institution followed the traditional educational paths. Even though featured with religious and national feelings, the usage of Mudéjar in this ceremonial hall probably demonstrates how Mudéjar architecture with its Islamic roots is internalized by the Spaniards.¹⁷⁸

One of the other common theories is that the Christian patrons admired Mudéjar because of cheapness of wood, stucco, and brick. However, Teresa Pérez Higuera with *exotic theory* demonstrated that it was not correct in all cases. A number of these materials could not be

¹⁷⁸ Grinstead, "Absorbing the Mudéjar,".

easily obtained in the Peninsula; therefore, their price was high in some parts of Iberia¹⁷⁹. This assumption contradicts not only with claims related with the practical usage of Mudéjar architecture but also with the statement of the Spaniards owning the style. From this theory, it can be sensed that Mudéjar forms were fashionable in certain time periods within court and public architecture. Spanish taste for Islamic formulas and complexity of architectural formation of this period could be followed from an example that belongs to Casa de Pilatos, the construction of which took two centuries, starting from the 15th century until the 17th century. Local vernacular and Italian Renaissance elements together were formulated in the structure of the building; thus, there is a dominant hybridization has appeared in the construction. Italian fashion was combined with Mudéjar architecture, as Arabic inscriptions accompanied Italian Renaissance forms. *Azulejos panels/ tile panels* were accompanied by antique form sculptures. This Renaissance contribution was a result of increased relation between Spain and Italy during the 16th century but still the smooth Renaissance capitals of the courtyard columns continue to remind of pseudo-Nasrid capitals¹⁸⁰. (Figure 21)

¹⁷⁹ María Teresa Pérez Higuera, "El Mudéjar una Opcion Artística en la Corte de Castilla y León," *Historia del Arte Castilla y León 4, Arte Mudéjar*, ed. José Javier Rivera Blanco, Francisco Javier de la Plaza Santiago, Simón Marchán Fiz, 132, Vol. 4 (1996), 132. Crites, "Mosque to Cathedral," 17.

¹⁸⁰ Fuchs, "Cleaving of Hispanism," 500.



Figure 21. Atrium of Casa de Pilatos (Pilate's House). Jesús María Caamaño Martínez, "Arquitectura Hispanomusulmana", *Historia de la Arquitectura Española*, Tomo 2 (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1985), 742.

The Medieval studies show how medieval patronage so often acknowledged itself as an inheritor of the past and this idea was linked to the visual formation of the buildings. Remarkably, recent arguments also declare that the architecture of Iberia consists of composite contacts of different religious identities, such as Christians, Jews, and Muslims. Américo Castro was the first scholar who used the terminology of *convivencia* in the field. He believed that this terminology perfectly demonstrated the actual structure of the Spanish Culture. Co-existence of different religious groups in a certain space equally became subject to Oleg Grabar. He suggested that 'Iberia, under both Muslim and Christian rule, was a frontier territory. Often in these places there was a rather contradictory nature having appeared between different groups, which is at times defined as hate and warfare, while at other times exhibited open-minded cohabitation and creative inventiveness'.¹⁸¹ Notably, Oleg Grabar's ideas take our attention to frontier structure of the Iberian

¹⁸¹ Oleg Grabar, "Two Paradoxes in the Islamic Art of the Spanish Peninsula", *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi, Volume I (Leiden&Newyork&Köln: C.J. Brill Publisher, 1994), 590. Crites, "Mosque to Cathedral," 1, 2.

Peninsula, where duality fact was mentioned. According to Grabar, there was a balance between the Christians and Muslims who sometimes lived in peaceful coexistence, and also experienced cruel battles and conversion efforts¹⁸². From his ideas, it can be grasped that continuous time in a certain frontier did not reach the same solutions all the time. Due to geographical specifications of the Peninsula, which looked like a cultural bridge, there were both cultural quarrels and peace experienced so often in the same area and cultures existing with their dual conditions in the Iberian Peninsula. What is significant to us about how this coexistence was formulated in architectural program and how the patronage mechanism worked? and how aesthetic taste of patrons likewise influenced the issue?

To produce general theories about the Mudéjar architecture's patronage seem invalid since all of them were very much connected with the changing political schedule of each city and the desires of their ruling elites. Each case should be studied as specific projects and works of individual patrons, and their compartment with other examples. This type of analysis would produce better results for the Mudéjar studies as it can be seen in the examples of Granada, which sharply differs from the other regions. Díez Jorge suggests that Granada churches were built in Mudéjar tradition in order to attract Mudéjares (Muslims) to come to the churches¹⁸³. Even this single example shows that without taking regional differences and individual patrons' motivation into account, the interpretation of Mudéjar architecture falls into traps. In this regard, Crites' dissertation, in which she demonstrates that Seville's Mudéjar monuments built under Alfonso X strongly reveal French ancestral connotation of the Empire, is very much valued. According to her, Alfonso's Palace in Alcazar and some churches express this gothic connection to the

¹⁸²Grabar, *Two Paradoxes*, 590.

¹⁸³ M.Elena Díez Jorge, *El Arte Mudéjar: Expresión Estética de Una Convivencia*, Instituto de la Paz y los Conflictos (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2001), 307-309.

French. In her thesis, Alfonso's protection of the Islamic city and usage of Almohad Mosque is explained as a result of the economic and political restraints by the same author¹⁸⁴.

In addition to the patronage issue, the situation of so-called Moriscos was different from each other as some of them let Arabian lapse utilize but some others did not. For example, the Valencian Moriscos settled in the rural areas and isolated themselves from the rest of the community; however, the Castilian Moriscos were living among the Christians. The case of Zaragoza's Moriscos shows that they remained in the irrigated lowlands¹⁸⁵. Hence, it can be said that patronage and living conditions and local behaviours of Mudéjars all determined Mudéjar's architectural standing in each cities. Consequently, there cannot be a single recipe for this style to be produced.

When we turn our glaze towards the American Ibero-Mudéjar context, we encounter with a trans-cultural passage of the style. In a sense, trans-Mudéjar condition was created in the so-called New World—the colonized American territory in the 16th and 17th centuries by the Spaniards. Mudéjar examples produced in America mostly show Spanish taste because Mudéjares and Moriscos were not allowed to travel across the Atlantic Ocean and the buildings were produced only by the Christian and Indigenous people. Accordingly, we can say that Mudéjar context in America purely reflects Spanish acknowledgement of the style and the degree of their relation and connection with the Islamic architecture¹⁸⁶.

¹⁸⁴ Crites, "Mosque to Cathedral," vi , 265 , 266, 268.

¹⁸⁵ Glick, "Acculturation," 150-151.

¹⁸⁶ Diego Angulo Íñiguez, *Historia del Arte Hispanoamericano*, Tomo I (Instituto de Estudios y Documentos Historicos, A.C, 1974), 134-158.

Buildings constructed in Spain and America have apparent differences. First of all, Spanish patterns are applied in larger framework; especially some examples show Mudéjar patterns completely, but in the American examples, very particular parts of the buildings house Mudéjar decoration, which are filtered, or contextually transformed by adding more Spanish and Indian features. Usually, the patterns are applied in wooden ceilings/*artesonados*. Artesonado ceilings became part of Spanish aesthetical taste, which was admired and found its place in construction programs in America¹⁸⁷.

Centuries long cultural contact has produced specific acculturation ground that was critical in the formation of a distinct Spanish cultural model. Mudéjar architecture can be accepted as the reinterpreted version of Islamic forms by Jewish and Christian cultures in Christian dominated areas. This cultural encounter turned out to be an essential part of Spanish Historiography. However, we must acknowledge that there were flexibility and rigidity up to ecology and demography all defining the nature of contact and Mudéjar mechanism¹⁸⁸. Defining Mudéjar's character became a part of national periodization process as well. Amador de los Ríos's effort, in the 19th century, was the corner stone for Mudéjar's evaluation and he charged it a national character. "Political tolerance" and "social alliance" were concepts derived from his talk that was in parallel with the political agenda of the period just as serving to romantic national periodization deeds, which included Mudéjar phenomenon while trying to decipher or blur its boundaries¹⁸⁹.

¹⁸⁷ Grinstead, "Absorbing the Mudéjar.". Crites, "Mosque to Cathedral," 266.

¹⁸⁸ Glick, "Acculturation," 137, 145, 151.

¹⁸⁹ Fuchs, "Cleaving of Hispanism," 505. Crites, "Mosque to Cathedral," 268.

Consequently, it can be said that although the Muslims and Christians fought so often, they were trading peacefully at the same time in the Iberian Peninsula. Institutional handover, cultural exchange and commerce created a *syncretic* atmosphere in the geography¹⁹⁰. In its simplest sense “Mudéjar” covers all the changes that arise following the contact between individuals and groups of different cultural backgrounds. Mudéjar stands at the end of a cultural evolution process, which gained new connotations. Although the purposes changed, formal elements recall and continue to transmit previous cultural codes to that of the Muslims.¹⁹¹ Therefore, it can be said that why these monuments appeared attractive to the Spaniards in the early periods of conquest is because they were already familiar with Islamic formal logic codes, as they lived within the same environment for centuries. In addition, when the re-conquest was completed, this familiarity became helpful in activation of the handover mechanism with the effect of the process, Muslim spaces converted to the Christian ones where a cultural handover mechanism produced hybrid structures, which exactly describes the emergence of Mudéjar architecture. As the forms were derived from the already learned formal logic codes; they inevitably held aesthetical taste of the Spaniards who just chose what seemed proper to use; therefore, it can be said that their cultural filter mechanism was active in this process. Acculturation process evoked aesthetic mechanism of the culture, and aesthetic internalizing proceeded in the Mudéjar architecture. With or without conscience these cultural components pierced into the society of Jews and Christians. After so-called the re-conquest process, the Christian Kingdom used the same style and its effect still exists today since they became the part of cultural mechanism¹⁹².

¹⁹⁰ C.J. Halperin, “The Ideology of Silence: Prejudice and Pragmatism on the Medieval Religious,” *Frontier Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (1984), 442.

¹⁹¹ Kenneth Bollen and Juan Diez Medrano “Who are the Spaniards? Nationalism and Identification in Spain,” *Social Forces*, Vol. 77, No. 2 (Oxford University, 1998), 587–621.

¹⁹² Fuchs, “Cleaving of Hispanism,” 497, 498.

3.1.2. Mudéjar as a Style

The discussions turning around Mudéjar identity are mainly based on artistic aspect of the theme. Accordingly, Mudéjar sometimes is evaluated as a continuation of Islamic art, sometimes accepted as linkage between Islam and Christendom, in which two cultural components were solidified in a same example. This evaluation method did not include isolated Islamic architectural forms to Mudéjar context such as interlaced arches and domes with intersecting ribs that can be seen in Romanesque churches¹⁹³. These two cultural based Mudéjar architecture recipes usually forget the Jewish reality while evaluating the style. The example of the Synagogue of Santa Maria Blanca in Toledo, which was built at the end of the 12th century, shows similarly how Mudéjar became the shared language of the Jews in the Peninsula. It was converted to a church after the re-conquest. This Jewish architecture reveals the fact that even after the collapse of the Islamic politic power they continued to use the Arabic calligraphy and material and decoration methods intensively. Especially the Almohad style became a common visual taste of both the Muslims and Jews¹⁹⁴.

Mudéjar was practiced at different levels where forms exposed a hybrid and eclectic stance in architecture. This hybrid condition usually is not appreciated by art historians. Accordingly, Mudéjar is not included into any stylistic category. Apart from this formalistic observation, I want to use the anthropological point of view for evaluating Mudéjar architecture within a stylistic category because I think Mudéjar architecture reflects the cultural condition of the Iberian Peninsula.

Although Mudéjar architecture was interpreted as a style in the 19th century, the stylistic concerns were replaced with its opposite in the following decades and its character was

¹⁹³ Crites, "Mosque to Cathedral," 9.

¹⁹⁴ Dodds, *Al-Andalus*, 118.

designated differently as new studies were completed in time. It was the first time José Amador de los Ríos used Mudéjar terminology as an artistic manifestation in his study of 'El Estilo Mudéjar en Arquitectura'- *Mudéjar Style in Architecture*. The earliest approach of Amador de los Ríos defined Mudéjar as a conjunction of the styles of the Muslims and Christians. He used specific connotation for Mudéjar architecture with the expression "marriage of Christian architecture and the Arabic". His contribution actually was erasing negative attitudes of the Spanish Enlightenment historians towards the Middle Ages who believed that religion and monarchy were twin pillars of the Spanish society¹⁹⁵.

Amador de los Ríos has a tendency to categorize Mudéjar into Arab, Mauritanian (North African), and Nasrid (Granadan) origin; however, according to his contemporary colleague Manuel de Assas y de Ereño, Mudéjar should be categorized under the title of Christian styles of Romanic and Gothic. Whenever the first assumption of Amador de los Ríos is applied to Mudéjar, the problem emerges as how dynastical differences of Islam could be categorized within the Mudéjar formulation. On the other hand, when the second perception of Assas y Ereño is taken into account, the construction of Jewish Culture, El Transito and Santa Maria Blanca, which do not reflect any European style in their formation, stays as a problematical in the architecture of Mudéjar. Apart from Spanish scholars, French Elie Lambert preferred to use a social rank mechanism, and divided Mudéjar architecture as popular and courtly Mudéjar, but as Crites puts forward, a parish church in Seville whose patrons are royal and display regional characteristics do not have any parallel to the Lambert formulation¹⁹⁶.

¹⁹⁵ Amador de los Ríos, *Mudéjar Style*. Gualis, *Arte Mudéjar*, 16, 23. Derek Flitter, *Spanish Romanticism and the Uses of History Ideology and the Historical Imagination*, Leganda Series (London: MHRA/Maney, 2006), 22.

¹⁹⁶ Crites, "Mosque to Cathedral," 7-9, 268.

One of the first approaches that denied a Mudéjar's stylistic category was given by Marqués de Lozoya. He preferred to use the terminology "Morisco" to refer to the Mudéjar art, whose connotation was much vaguer and broader. Marqués de Lozoya, recognized certain inability to categorize the formal characteristics of Mudéjar art¹⁹⁷. Leopoldo Torres Balbás equally denied the artistic category and stylistic connotations of Mudéjar because he considered Mudéjar art as a footprint of the period's life. According to him, it was a phenomenon, which would persist for centuries through multiple transformations of the western art, and Mudéjar was characterized by the decorative richness, violent polychrome that shook the classical and balanced values.¹⁹⁸

The above mentioned complex structure of Mudéjar prevented scholars from evaluating Mudéjar's stylistic aspects, consistent with the fact that Mudejarismo terminology was reproduced in 1976 with the studies of "Mudejarismo: Symposias y Actas". In these studies, the approach to Mudéjar is generally to see it as a phenomenon that occurred due to historical circumstances, which affected all branches of the Iberian life from economy to language. These broad historical circumstances found their counterbalance in Mudejarismo terminology.

The Mudéjar's identity, whether it is style or not, has not been an issue solved definitely and its artistic qualification still often goes under discussion. Actually, 'style' itself is not a clear concept, which is still problematic to scholars. There are various types of styles whose connotations change according to scholars' background. The archaeologists describe style as a 'motive and pattern' or the quality of the network of art. These details enable archaeologists to date objects. On the other hand, for art historians style becomes a

¹⁹⁷ Lozoya, *Arte Hispánico*. Gualis, *Mudéjar Aragonés*, 22.

¹⁹⁸ Gualis, *Mudéjar Aragonés*, 22.

necessary part of their studies, which helps to date objects; in addition, the origin of objects and their connection with the other materials of cultures all require stylistic analysis¹⁹⁹. Although there are some differences of disciplines, the common ground in the academic field has a tendency to see style as a unique approach. All these formalistic approaches try to identify artistic artwork but whenever a cultural identification process is active that kind of formalistic approaches fails to reach original results.

Style, coming from Latin word *stylus*, signifies a constant form. This word has been used for visual arts since the 18th century. It is usually asserted that style is an unchanging feature of an artist. It has a conceptual value and can both brings and separates the object. It expresses personal taste, and determines the peculiarities and personalities; thus, style functions as a *signature*. The earlier formulation of style also suggests that “repeated motive, pattern, or trait is what helps one identify a style, at the personal, group, or national level”²⁰⁰.

Apart from personal identity, style could also determine a certain social group, and then, it functions as an identification tool for those groups. Scholar Meyer Schapiro suggests that style as a term could be used for “whole activity of an individual or society which is a manifestation of the culture as a whole and the visible sign of its unity”. In other words, style reflects the component of society. It is important to understand culture and art as a whole where style becomes a vehicle of expression within a group, communicating and fixing certain values of religious, social, and moral life through the emotional

¹⁹⁹ Mayer Schapiro, “Style,” in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Donald Preziosi (U.S.A. Oxford University Press, 1998), 143.

²⁰⁰ S.M. Leuthold, *Cross-Cultural Issues in Art: Frames For Understanding* (New York and London: Routledge, 2011), 148.

suggestiveness of forms²⁰¹. In this sense, having been nourished from Schapiro's style definition, Mudéjar can be grouped in a stylistic conception due to being a demonstration of a certain period and society. Mudéjar architecture shows that both Christian and Muslim elements were interwoven within the art of Mudéjar, and they turn out to be a cultural stamp where Islamic space, technique and ornament met with the Christian iconography, space and construction conception. Some examples of Jewish cultures show that pure Islamic forms without using any western forms. Therefore we can say that these cultural patterns are not used in the same way each time. Each example exposes different approaches. Accumulation of century-long living constructed habits, although it has a hybrid character in a sense, reflects the cultural standing of the society, which was multicultural. Hence, Mudéjar obtained stylistic designation and all works of art completed it from architecture to furniture.

Though, I do not agree with all ideas that evaluate Mudéjar from a stylistic context, I particularly oppose the usage of "Mudéjar style", as the terminology Mudéjar etymologically and ethnologically refers to "mudayyan" - Muslim people, who were allowed to live in the Iberian Peninsula after the Christian dominance over the Peninsula. Although the Mudéjar terminology refers to a particular social group, contrary to its etymological and ethnical usage, it does not refer to the architecture that was produced by Mudéjares in an art and architectural context. Unconnected with etymological linkage, Mudéjar architecture is used to describe architecture, which was produced by the Mudéjares, Christians and Jews under the Christian dominated areas. In this architecture, the patrons were mainly from the Christian ethnicity, but sometimes the patrons were the wealthy Jews as it can be seen in the examples of Santa Maria Blanca and El Transito Synagogues (Samuel Halevi). This architecture though is known as Mudéjar, there must be new

²⁰¹Leuthold, *Cross-Cultural Issues*, 149.

terminologies that should be offered instead of Mudéjar style due to the unresponsive character of it²⁰².

3.2. Emergence of Mudéjar Architecture in Iberia

Mudéjar architecture brought distinct styles under a *parasot*, that is, a continuous historical process which occurred over a long time. The first crucial phase of the formation of Mudéjar art was 903 years of Muslim existence in the Iberian Peninsula starting from 711 with the invasion of Tarik until the so-called re-conquest movements. Without the Muslim presence, it would have been impossible to witness Mudéjar art and architecture in Iberia. The Christian dominion particularly the re-conquest ideas of the Catholic Kingdoms constituted the second important process, and their gradual conquering progression in Iberia initiated the transformation process for the society (Mudéjarized them)²⁰³. Depopulating the Northern parts of the Peninsula facilitated the Christian Monarch's deeds since the first stage of the re-population policy gave them the opportunity to capture the Islamic territories. With the purpose of re-capturing the Islamic territories, the Christian rulers encouraged not only the Christians but sometimes the Jews to settle in de-populated parts of the Northern sections. It was absolutely a significant part of the policy opened these lands to the Christians. In this regard, the repopulation policy as Gualis asserts as a result of pragmatic deeds of the Christian Kings formed the Mudéjar phenomenon²⁰⁴. (Figure 22)

²⁰² Due to un-responsive character of Mudéjar, the Pan-Andalusian style can be offered to explain this hybrid condition of the style in art and architectural field.

²⁰³ Gualis, *Arte Mudéjar*, 14.

²⁰⁴ Gualis, *Arte Mudéjar*.

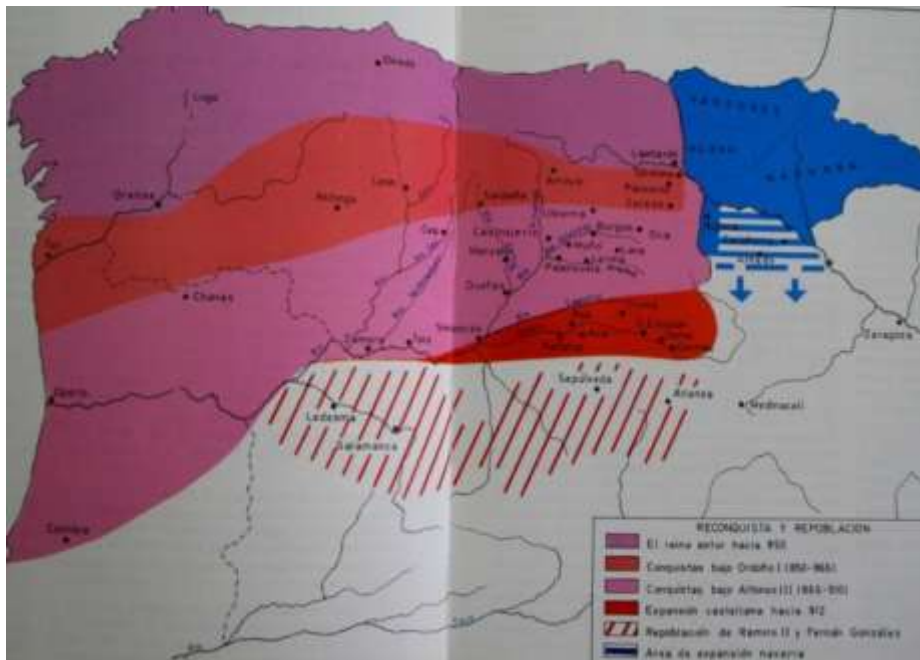


Figure 22. The Re-conquest and Re-population process in the Iberian Peninsula, Fernando Regueras, *La Arquitectura Mozárabe en León y Castilla* (Salamanca: Consejería de Cultura y Bienestar Social 1990), 19.

Due to economic necessities the Christian reign of the northern part of the Peninsula following the conquest applied a specific settlement policy, which authorized the Muslims to settle in empty locations while staying under Christian population geographically,²⁰⁵ Lower statuses were not only given politically but also socially to the Muslims seeing that Mudéjar terminology would shift to Morisco to give a lower identical designation to the Muslim converts. I encountered during the research period in Spain that Morisco terminology also encapsulated the Jewish ancestry in some parts of the Valladolid region.

The 11th century was important because it was an initial stage of Mudéjar architecture, especially when Alfonso VI of Castilla took the control of Toledo in 1085. Afterwards, step by step, Zaragoza in 1118, Valencia in 1238, Seville in 1248, and Granada in 1492 were captured. Connected with the extension of the Christian dominancy, mosques and

²⁰⁵ Gualis, *Arte Mudéjar*.

fortresses were converted into their new function to supply Christian needs. Conquered cities were adorned with variety of Mudéjar buildings and various elements of Islamic architecture were integrated to Christian Romanic or Gothic Architecture from this blueprint of conversion²⁰⁶.

Gradually conquered areas from the Islamic rule by the Christian kingdoms demonstrated an important Muslim contribution in science, craft, agriculture, linguistics and architecture. Production of art process was large and rich during the re-conquest process as Muslim craftsmen were very much skilled in their works; it did not take the new rulers long to acquire the richness of Islamic culture, which consisted of a variety of shapes and colourful decoration repertoire creating fascination among the wealthy Christians. The Muslim masters were particularly preferred by the Christian patrons to work in their buildings. Among them, Pedro el Cruel ordered his palace in Seville to be completely built in Andalusian style. This interest could also be seen in numerous precious objects, such as treasure chests and glass works, which were transformed and used for religious deeds in monasteries²⁰⁷. In this context, it can be said that acceptance of the Islamic techniques and aesthetic forms was one of the prominent factors that gave way to the emergence of Mudéjar atmosphere in architecture.

The pragmatic solution of the Catholic kingdoms also let Muslim people use their own language and perform their religious duties.²⁰⁸ This religious tolerance enabled the coexistence of Christians, Mudéjar and Jews living next to each other, until when the

²⁰⁶ Gualis, *Arte Mudéjar*, 19.

²⁰⁷ Anonymous, *Arquitectura Mudejar*, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores (Madrid: Direccion General de Relaciones Culturales, 1987), 8. Anonymous, *Mudéjar en Andalucía*.

²⁰⁸ Gualis, *Arte Mudéjar*.

Christian monarchs united and turned the re-conquest ideology into expulsion policy in 1492. In the same year, the Spaniards either expelled the Jews from the Peninsula or forced them to convert into Christianity. The same destiny of Hebrew culture would face the Muslim community under the Crown of Castilla in 1502 and the Crown of Aragón in 1526. In time, Mudéjar expression lost its dynamics and instead Moorish–Morisco or New Christians were used by the 16th century. Moriscos remained in Spain until the first decade of the 17th century but Philip III would decree its final expulsion in 1614 as a result of growing demographic and economic forces.²⁰⁹

The coexistence of three major religious groups in the same geography produced a common architectural language as it can be observed from mosques, synagogues and churches, which demonstrate similarities in the formation of their architectural and ornamental program. They were the outcome of multifaceted interrelationships of long years that formed by coexisting in the same locale. However, after the Spanish conquest, Romanesque and Gothic cultures and their art and architectural taste were exported from Europe by the Christian kingdoms. These Western styles were combined with the already existing Islamic Iberian forms that mainly formed Mudéjar reality in art and architecture.²¹⁰ In this regard, Mudéjar stands as a transformative style in architecture and it equally reveals political shifts from Islam to Christianity.

After the re-conquest, in addition to the Christians, the Jewish community intensively used the Islamic forms, since the dominant Muslim way of life deeply penetrated the Jewish culture. The close contact between the Jews and Muslims developed architectural taste, which turned out to be a common cultural phenomenon and became a part of their

²⁰⁹ Gualis, *Mudéjar Aragonés*, 14.

²¹⁰ Dodds, *Al-Andalus*, 113.

cultural life. Some scholars consider that oppressed hegemony of Spain on the Iberian Peninsula stopped the link between the Christians and Jews. Doods suggests that oppressed groups resist the dominant culture by reverting to an old vanquished tradition or by developing new forms in opposition to it²¹¹. However, I think that only Mudéjar style united them remarkably with some formal and contextual differences. Distinctions between the Christian and Jewish usage of Mudéjar are; the Christian conception formed their buildings usually with the Western and Islamic forms but the Jewish perception of Mudéjar was based on a pure Islamic construction and decoration model. Fine Mudéjar examples come from Toledo synagogues, where Santa Maria Blanca and El Transito reveal Mudéjar's Islamic density with horseshoe arches, ceiling, decoration and even calligraphy. (Figures 23-25)

²¹¹ Dodds, *Al-Andalus*, 129. Jerrilynn D.Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology in Medieval Spain* (London and University Park, 1991).

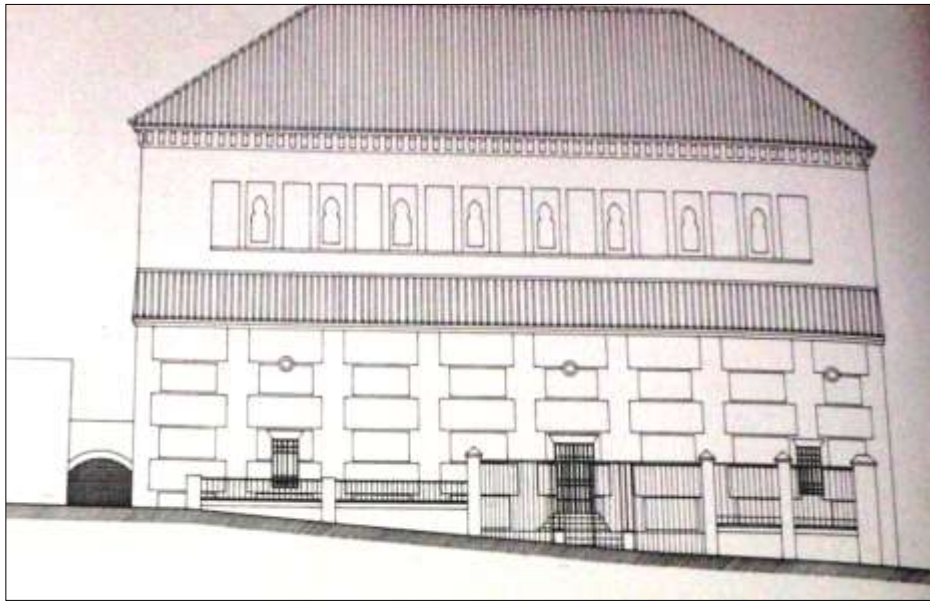


Figure 23. Section of El Transito, Rafael del Cerro Malagón, María Jesús Sáinz, Clara Delgado Valero, Teresa Pérez Higuera, M. Angeles Franco Mata, *Arquitectura de Toledo Del Romano al Gótico* (Toledo : Junta de Comunidades de Castilla-La Mancha, 1991), 388.

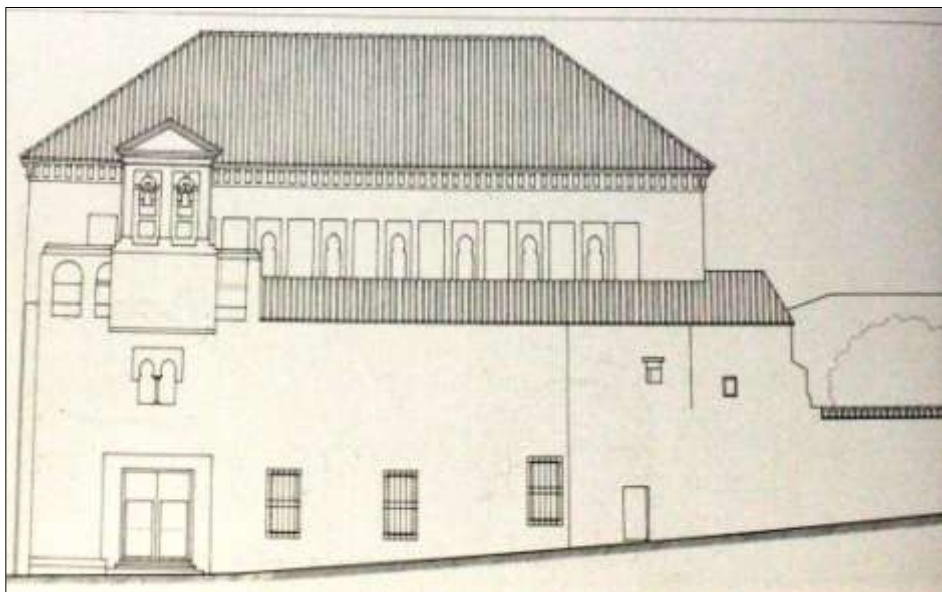


Figure 24. Section of El Transito, Malagón and Sáinz, *Arquitectura de Toledo*, 388.



Figure 25. Interior view of El Transito (taken by the author)

The preference of Mudéjar architecture by the Spanish court and the aristocracy can be associated with several reasons such as admiration, familiarity and state policy. On the other hand, over time the Mudéjar trend was diminished at the aristocratic. As the Spaniards were keen to compete with their European counterparts, Renaissance architectural forms and subsequent Baroque ideas became fashionable. Philip II sent urban regulations to colonial America to build an ideal Renaissance town.²¹² Political and historical circumstances, together with the result of the recognition of the Renaissance and Baroque ideas, ended the popularity of Mudéjar in the 16th century. However, the decline was limited to the courtly and aristocratic level; that is, Mudéjar's popularity continued in public, which means houses with *azulejo/glazed tile* decorations were adopted into public taste and were used widely in the Iberian Peninsula. Today examples of *azulejos* with Muslim ornamentation can be seen in Portuguese vernacular houses, as Portugal was once under the effect of Muslim dynasties. However, examples of the style did not become so popular at the courtly and aristocratic level. In some examples, Manueline style

²¹² Jean-Francois Lejeune, "Dreams of Order: Utopia, Cruelty, and Modernity", in *Cruelty&Utopia: Cities and Landscapes of Latin America* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2005), 37-40.

overlapped with Mudéjar and was used within Gothic buildings, where identical construction material, which is brick, cannot be observed so often²¹³. (Figure 26)



Figure 26. Façades of houses with horse shoe arches and azulejos in Porto, (taken by the author)

The usage of Mudéjar forms were seen not only in the Iberian Peninsula but also in the so-called Nuevo Mundo–New World (the Americas) as the master builders carried their *Mudéjar* memories beyond the Atlantic Ocean.²¹⁴ Their Mudéjar past would be effective in the emergence of the *Churrigueresque style*, which combined Mudéjar and Baroque forms and was mostly preferred in Latin American cities.

Consequently, the Mudéjar phenomenon, first of all, has relation with the Islamic presence in the Iberian Peninsula. Secondly, it has relation with the re-conquest process. Thirdly, the repopulation policy of the Christian Monarchs that allowed the existence of Mudéjar

²¹³ Florentino Perez Embid, *El Mudejarismo en la Arquitectura Portuguesa de la Epoca Manuelina* (Madrid : Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1955).

²¹⁴ Rafael López Guzmán, "Las Primeras Construcciones y la Definición del Mudéjar en Nueva España", *El Mudéjar Iberoamericano; del Islam al Nuevo Mundo* (España: Lunweg Editores, 1995), 199–209.

society in a small portion in the Peninsula. Finally, the admiration, familiarity and political concerns of the Christian kings to the Islamic Iberian formulas let Mudéjars apply their construction techniques and allowed their style to exist as an aesthetical taste in the Christian society²¹⁵. In addition, the subsistence of the already existing Islamic buildings and their conversion and usage by the members of the Christians, the patronage mechanism shed light on other facets of the process, which shows both political and practical deeds of the conquerors.

3.2.1. General Features

Mudéjar architecture was nourished from two important cultural dynamics and their sub-branches. The mainstreams of Mudéjar style come from the Islamic and the Christian formal codes. The technique usually composed oriental style that took its shape from several sub-branches of Islamic dynasties' (Taifas, Almorávides, Almohadas and Nazarí) art forms and western occidental styles (Romanic, Renaissance and Gothic). As previously mentioned, it can be assumed that the 8th centuries of Islamic dominance in Iberia, the reconquest chronology, the situation of the repopulation areas, traditional Islamic buildings of each region, and patronage mechanism are the important factors while evaluating the style and its standing, to which a large time, a large geography, a large ethnic variety and a rich tradition must be added.²¹⁶

The earliest usage of hybrid composition of the Eastern and the Western artistic elements in Iberia goes back to the 11th and the 13th centuries. Some scholars call this period

²¹⁵ Anonymous, *Mudéjar en Andalucía*.

²¹⁶ Gualis, *Arte Mudéjar*: 20, 21.

‘románico de ladrillo- romanico Mudéjar-Romanic brick’. This style was formed in Old Castilla- Castilla la Vieja where brick was used as a decoration element in towers and apse that formed the blind arch elements. However, with the effect of cultural symbiosis in the 14th, the 15th, and the 16th centuries, this art widened and created richness in the Christian Spanish art. Both the Islamic oriental and Christian occidental forms shaped an affluent architectural atmosphere. This formation is considered as Arté Gótico Mudéjar- Gothic Mudéjar Art or simply Mudéjar. In this style, Islamic way of ornamentation united with the Christian elongated gothic forms and it reached high decorative results. (Figures 27, 28)



Figure 27. The Royal Monastery of Santa Clara, Tordesillas 15th century (taken by the author)



Figure 28. The Royal Monastery of Santa Clara , Tordesillas (taken by the author)

It must be noted that when a comparison is made between the other Christian styles in Europe and Spanish experience in Iberia, there are quite different approaches appearing

mostly as a result of the Muslim history of the Peninsula. On the other hand, Dr. Gualis suggests that when Mudéjar is compared with the *Romanic*, *Gothic* and *Baroque* styles, it appears as an exclusive approach because it is geographically limited to the Iberian Peninsula, but the other styles were applied all over Europe; therefore, according to him the origin and elaboration stages of Mudéjar mainly has the Islamic and Christian Iberian formulation rather than the Western. This special art formed over an extended period of time consistent with the advance of the Re-conquest in the South, in which both the West and Islam evolved considerably in their artistic expression, and created diversified conditions in each region. In other words, the emergence and general characteristics of Mudéjar correspondingly has a close linkage with special social and historical circumstances, which distinguish the Spanish Christian art from the other Western art forms²¹⁷.

All of these reasons guided Dr. Gualis to formulate Mudéjar art as an artistic phenomenon. According to him, Mudéjar architecture is typically Hispanic, on the other hand he accepts that it is a melting pot where the Islamic and Christian art formulations were combined and constructed a new way of expression and a cultural symbiosis. Though it was unique, this cultural symbiosis led to several discussions because the art with hybrid features did not find a place in stylistic category. Whether it is a style or not, the valuation and assessment of the Mudéjar art is in its progress and new information is still coming out today, as explained in the previous chapters. It is now timely to focus on architectural features of Mudéjar although it is hard to make a general assessment due to Mudéjar's multi facet of conditions, however this part of the chapter will try to determine general boundaries of the Mudéjar style.

²¹⁷ Gualis, *Mudéjar Aragónés*, 16. Gonzalo Borrás Gualis, *El Arte Mudejar* (Teruel: Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 1990), 44-57.

Mudéjar Art is mainly dominated in architecture; important examples of the style can be seen in religious, civil and military architecture of three cultures²¹⁸. The civic tradition can still be sensed mostly in Andalusian part of the geography and Portugal; particularly at the building surfaces in the name of *azulejos-glazed tile* covers. It is also possible to mention Mudéjar cities where Mudéjar buildings identical with towers emphasize certain parts of the city sections. These churches became urban and rural landmarks as well as pivotal places of communal life for a long time. Additionally, narrow streets like a Muslim remembrance accompanied this urban arrangement.

However, the main Mudéjar vocabulary was left from religious architecture; mosques, synagogues and churches. As we know, Muslim art holds Islamic belief and its representations obey Islamic rules under it; however, when Muslim art was transformed into a new platform in the name of Mudéjar, it lost some of its features. In this manner, though it is rare, statues and paintings could be seen in Mudéjar architecture. As the style was the prolongation of Muslim art, it has formal similarities; however, representative features of the style transformed and obtained transitive features. Mudéjar ceilings demonstrate how Catholic Spain's iconography was indulged with the Muslim way of design.²¹⁹.

Brick is the main element of Mudéjar architecture and its usage with diverse constructive and decorative techniques created a unitary nature. Brick is so identified with the style that even some Romanesque churches that were built in Iberia were sometimes wrongly categorized under the Mudéjar title. It was believed that Renaissance and Gothic buildings required cut stone, which was hard to obtain and expensive; that is why the Mudéjar

²¹⁸ Gualis, *Arte Mudéjar*.

²¹⁹ Anonymous, *Arquitectura Mudejar*, 12.

technique was preferred by many. Brick was not only a construction technique but also a suitable decorative program that accompanied architecture, where Islamic decorative concepts and compositions created rhythms on building surfaces.²²⁰ Another common identical material of the Mudéjar style is gypsum. This material whose origin goes to Iran is part of a long Islamic tradition. Another constructive and decorative material of Mudéjar is wood, which was typically preferred for ceilings and their decorations; thus, several types of wooden covering systems were developed.

Notably, some Mudéjar constructions started with the Romanic technique but ended with Mudéjar. It is obvious that the changes from the system of Romanesque stonework to the system of Mudéjar could be explained with geographical and economic constraints. In places, such as Toledo, Guadalajara and Extremadura, Mudéjar was exposed to Romanesque ancestry with unique features. Although the Romanic architecture liked stone construction very much; it was forced to change due to economic conditions; thus, the earliest examples, which were seen around Shagun, changed their material preferences during the construction process. We should bear in mind that the re-conquest activity possibly affected the economy for a while, and which would only be re-gained by 16th century colonial activities. In addition to economic viability of the material, a rapid production method and the absence of stone quarrying in some regions facilitated the use of brick masonry.²²¹

This situation usually created a debate for the arguments where it was asserted that Mudéjar was born from the Romanic architecture, which later due to its own material and design logic differentiated from the previous style. Sometimes in the construction of

²²⁰ Gualis, *Arte Mudéjar*, 21.

²²¹ Gualis, *El Arte Mudéjar*, 161, 162.

buildings masonry and brick were alternatively used. Friezes created by interlaced arches and horseshoe arches were used as exterior ornamentation. Bell towers were built in brick and sited away from the church as if they were minarets. Actually, these types of buildings, whose construction started with stone and were continued with another material or brick was common of the period. The example of this construction model can be seen in San Juan and Santo Domingo de Daroca buildings, where typologically churches with their naves do not have a transept, but they have apses which are semicircular and a tower dome of three naves. The volume of the tower-dome is not elevated over the transept, but the straight stretch of the presbytery, where the walls are thick, and the nave do not create an arch appearance, but is covered with a wooden frame. This application was a result of economic precaution.²²² That stone started churches were continued with brick can be seen in a wide range of geography. Among them, Real Monastery of Santa Clara in Tordesillas reveals a stone beginning but brick continuation in its construction. Though it gave a patch-work like appearance to the building, the main reason was practicality as previously mentioned. (Figures 29, 30)

²²² Gualis, *El Arte Mudéjar*, 162,163.

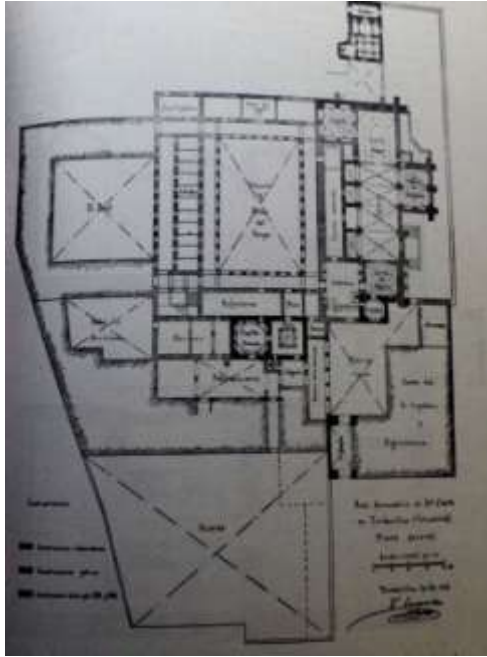


Figure 29. Plan of the Royal Monastery of Santa Clara, 15th century, Valladolid

Fernando Chueca Goitia, *Historia de la arquitectura*

Española. Edad antigua y edad media (Madrid: Dossat, 1965), 517.



Figure 30. The Royal Monastery of Santa Clara, exterior wall (taken by the author).

In several examples of the construction of the religious buildings, master builders coming from different ethnic origin worked together in the same building. For example the construction of San Pedro Martir de Calatayud (today the building does not exist) was directed by Mahoma Rami. During the construction Jewish, Muslim and Christian masters worked together. This example and the other similar examples usually have been used as a proof of the *convivencia*- coexistence atmosphere of three important religious traditions. There are few examples demonstrating in churches that a so-called Moorish master builder firm his work while writing sentences from Quran “la ilah illa’llah, Mohammad resul Allah”. Another example is that just next to some religious sentences written in Latin other Quranic words appear such as “la galib illa’ illah”.²²³

²²³ Anonymous, *El Mudéjar, Símbolo de Convivencia y Tolerancia. El Arte Mudéjar*, 7-8.

As aforementioned the master builders' origin was not limited to the Muslims; both the Jews and Christian masters took part in the constructions of Mudéjar buildings. In this context it is important to mention the "moving master" reality when we talk about Mudéjar architecture. The Muslim craftsmen who were traveling around the Peninsula were especially demanded by the Christian nobles and sometimes by the religious and wealthy Jews. There were centres of craftsmen in a specific location, but the masters were continuously moving to other places where they were demanded. Their mobility can be followed from some Aragonese documents. Consistent with these documents it can be understood that the main centre of Mudéjar masters was Zaragoza.²²⁴

It is also important to note that *alarifes/builders* worked more cheaply than the Christian masters; so they were able to find more work than the Christians. Equally, Dr. Yarza asserts that in employment, *alarifes* used to hold somewhat the highest percent and they tended to utilise low price materials in order to tender for the lowest payment from a patron. These facts were all reasons for their success to be preferred among the Christian masters as builders but Mudéjar's working skill must also be influential for their successes in the construction sector. Exceptionally, it should be keep in mind that there were some other cases, as it can be seen in the example of great specialist Rami, who probably was not paid less than the Christians.²²⁵

If Mudéjar architecture is classified chronologically five important periods appear as follows;

²²⁴ Joaquín Yarza Luaces, *Historia del arte Hispánico. La Edad Media II*, Volume II (Madrid: Alhambra Editorial, 1996), 256.

²²⁵ Yarza, *La Edad Media*, 254, 256

**Until 1240:* The birth of Mudéjar by the conquest of Toledo in 1085, forming the earliest stage of Mudéjar. This epoch witnessed capitulations that let small groups of Mudéjares to live in the conquered lands and keep chief monumental buildings of Islamic culture while transforming them into their new functions.

**1240-1350:* Conquest of Córdoba and Seville. Gothic featured buildings accompanied Islam influenced elements. Important Mudéjar monuments of Seville, such as Alcázar de Seville, were constructed in this period.

**1340-1450:* Islamic techniques combined with strong Gothic forms. Palacio del Rey Don Pedro, San Francisco, San Pablo el Real, San Agustín, San Isidoro del Campo were built in this period.

**1450-1550:* Technical innovations were seen; brick, ceramics and their decorations were favoured and used widely particularly in Aragón.

**1550-1650:* During this period Mudéjar is seen in the secondary towns as a popular rural approach, and it lost its popularity in the cities.²²⁶ Mudéjar met with the new continents where it gained interpretative features. However, it was only Christian master builders of Mudéjar architecture who could travel to the American Continent due to legal restrictions concerning Islamic descendants.

Consequently, it can be said that functional, aesthetic, and tectonic availability of Mudéjar buildings were influential to be selected as a construction technique. As a result, the Mudéjar usage became fashionable both in public and courtly level²²⁷. The 12th century and 15th century expressively do not reveal parallelism in Mudéjar usage. With the advance of the years, it seems that the surfaces are more decorated and also they allow to be influenced by other motives, such as by Romanic and Gothic style. The attached

²²⁶ Anonymous, *Mudéjar en Andalucía*.

²²⁷ Gualis, *Arte Mudéjar*: 21.

pilasters, the multi usage of arches, squares, sometimes with inserted crosses were realized completely in brick, although these motives always kept on turning out to be treated according to the aesthetic beginning of the Islamic art.²²⁸

3.2.2 Building Techniques

Mudéjar's working technique of construction is mainly determined by Muslim culture, which was usually constructed in brick or *rejola* as it appears in the Aragonése documents. Though brick was one of the most preferred materials in Mudéjar architecture, it was not the only material since there were other materials accompanying it. The brick material offered a proper way for an architectural typology, which does not belong to the western Christian origin, but it was influenced from the Islamic roots. Application of brick went beyond the constructive aims as it became a decorative element.²²⁹

Actually, it was not so easy to form brick; once the material was shaped, it adapted itself easily to the forms and frames demanded in façades, windows, arches, naves, etc. In addition, it was asserted that due to being a cheap material, brick was preferred widely; however, as can be seen in the restorations of the brick materials, it is not as cheap as it was once considered. It was even more expensive than stone in some locations of the Iberian Peninsula. Brick was cut into a crude shape corresponding to form before baking. It was also used as a measurement unit in the contracts of works and in the exact measurements of certain parts of the building like the thickness of the walls and arches, etc.²³⁰

²²⁸ Iciar Alcalá Prats, Ana María Revilla Hernando, Beatriz Rodrigo Garza, *Guía Del Arte Mudéjar en Aragón* (Zaragoza: Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 2005), 23.

²²⁹ Gualis, *Arte Mudéjar*, 21. Dodds, *Al-Andalus*, 116, 117. Prats and Hernando, *Guía Del Arte Mudéjar*, 22.

As an ornamental element, brick appears on the façades of bell towers, in the apses of the churches and in their domes. Decoration in brick allows for the creation of geometric surfaces in the façades. However, in the beginning, they overlapped girdles or horizontal bands of ornamental motifs and then, little by little continued to cover surfaces of Mudéjar building. Ornamentation programs usually reproduce geometric forms and stress the horizontality of the buildings. Brick decorative systems are particularly based on the repetition of the same geometric schema with their endless repetition, which signified the infinity and eternal power of God. Among the usages of other habitual dispositions of the brick are zigzag bands and thorn of fish forms. (Figures 31-33)



Figure 31. The Church of Santa Maria, Tobed, 13th Century, Aragón.

www.panoromio.com

²³⁰ Prats and Hernando, *Guía Del Arte Mudéjar*, 22.



Figure 32. The Church of Santa Maria
Tobed, www.panoromio.com



Figure 33. The Church of Santa Maria
Tobed, www.panoromio.com

Intersections of multiple arches, which were created by disposition of the brick material, are very common on the brick surfaces of Mudéjar architecture. Particularly, decoration of tower bodies with friezes of interlaced arches, semicircular arches, multiline arches, hybridize-lobed arches are widespread.²³¹ This way of ornamentation creates movement in façades no matter the arches are sealed. In addition, repetitive usages of tiny arcades give a sense of order and creates an elegant atmosphere on the building surfaces. The Royal Monastery of Santa Clara, which was built in the 15th century, features an arch series that runs immediately below the exterior body wall, and equally on the interior below the ceiling. Similarly, the Church and Tower of San Pedro in Teruel reveals the same usage. (Figures 34, 35)

²³¹ Prats and Hernando, *Guía Del Arte Mudéjar*, 22.



Figure 34. The Royal Monastery of Santa Clara, 15th century
Valladolid. (taken by the author)



Figure 35. The Church and Tower of San Pedro, Teruel, Tower façade detail
(taken by the author)

In addition to the usage of brick, Mudéjar building technique developed wooden covering systems. Usage of wood was popular especially in the ceilings and roofs of buildings; Islamic origin wooden panelled ceilings- *artesonados*- were used widely in Spanish architecture. Ceilings demonstrate that wood was used both structurally and decoratively. Although it was previously thought that wooden roofs were more common in civil architecture than in the religious, recent discoveries show that Mudéjar armours were hidden or replaced by vault work later in the temples of Aragón.²³² In these buildings timber was arranged horizontally on the right foot. Different types of wooden coverings were used consistent with the space to cover. The beams can be smooth or decorated with carvings or paintings. Sometimes, intersections of beams can have decor. Simple or complicated compositions are painted with figural, vegetable, geometric, and heraldic elements or with epigraphy. They may also have incised decorations or carvings of all kinds like the honey-combed *muquarnas* that come from the purest Islamic tradition.²³³ (Figures 36-39)

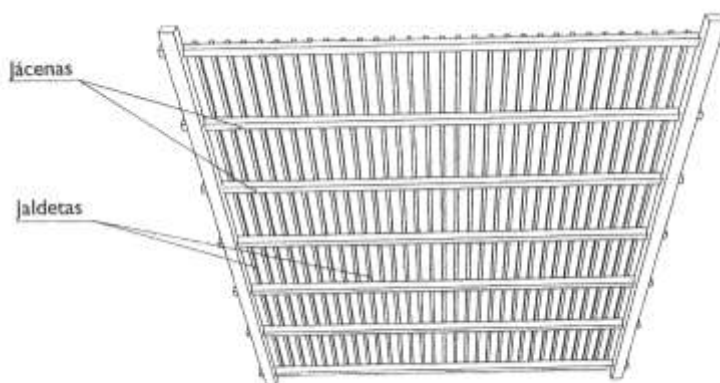


Figure 36. Wooden ceiling detail -single order of beams
Anonymous, *Mudéjar en Andalucía*.

²³² In addition to the roofs there is a wide variety of examples of Mudéjar carpentry related with the furniture: lockers, cabinets, doors, windows, viewpoints, epigraphs, pulpits, feet body, stackable, etc. Prats and Hernando, *Guía Del Arte Mudéjar*; 26. Anonymous, *Mudéjar en Andalucía*,

²³³ Anonymous, *Mudéjar en Andalucía*. Prats and Hernando, *Guía Del Arte Mudejar*; 26.

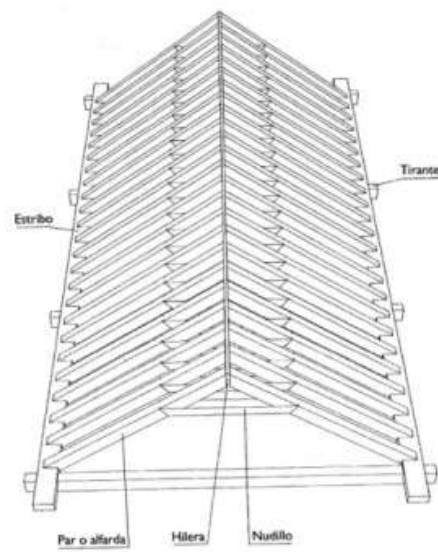
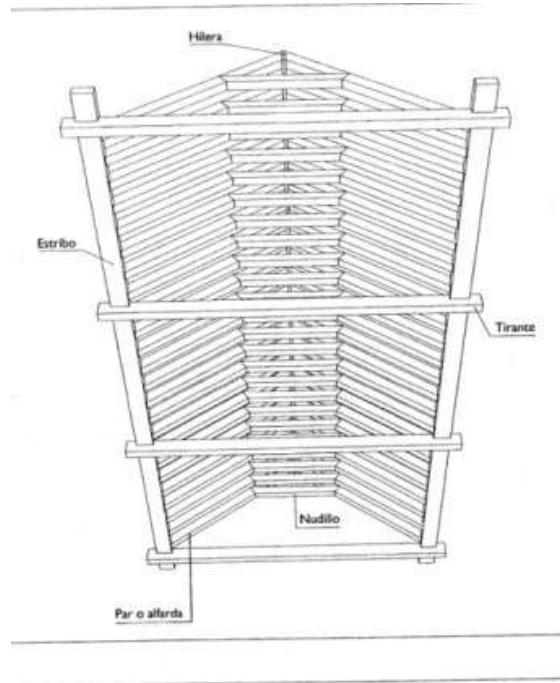


Figure 37. Wooden ceiling detail / armadura de par y nudillo Anonymous.
Mudéjar en Andalucía.



(a) (b) (c)

Figure 38. Drawing of ceiling types, a.Armor of couple nuckle (par hilera) b.Armor of couple row (par nudillo) c.Lima bordón. Anonymous, *El Mudéjar en Andalucía*
 Anonymous, *Mudéjar en Andalucía*.

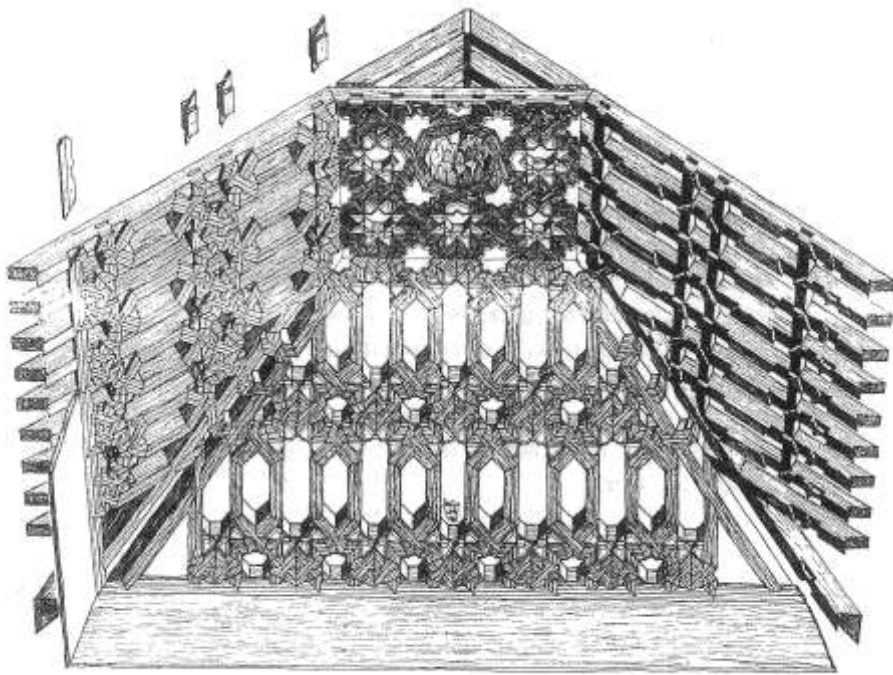


Figure 39. Drawing of four-pitched roof/ cuatro aguas (four pitches hipped roof)
 Anonymous, *El Mudéjar*.

Gypsum is another common material used in Mudéjar buildings. Its ductile and responsive character fulfilled ornamental needs of the Mudéjar art. Gypsums generally were used in

parapets on chorus and forums, pulpits, capitals, coating of vaults, domes, and some entrance parts of chapels as well as in the interiors. On the other hand, the motifs behind the usage of gypsum change according to the place and decorative fashions. Stucco can be described as sulfate calcite bihidrate ($\text{SO}_4\text{H}_2+2\text{H}_2\text{O}$). When the raw material is hot it loses water molecules and starts crystallization, and transforms itself into much softer state, and takes shape easily by a touch. Its combination with water gives it a sticky feature that can be modelled easily after all. (Figure 40)



Figure 40. The Córdoba Synagogue, details from stucco ornamentation, 14th century, Córdoba. (taken by the author)

Ceramic is another characteristic material of Mudéjar architecture, and perhaps also the most attractive one especially preferred by the public. Usually, ceramic pieces were designed exclusively for exterior surfaces in order to provide light and colour for the wall surfaces. When ceramics integrate with sunlight they create a vibrating appearance and mirror effects. There are different types of ceramic pieces that were produced consistent with their colours in Iberia. The predominant colours used were composed of green, white, blue, purple, yellow or honey-coloured and even black. The polychrome pieces were

created by more advanced skills. Like the colour, the forms of the ceramics vary as well. Among them, the most repeated forms were discs or plates, and flat tiles that appear in square, triangular, orthogonal and arrow shapes. Ceramics both separate and bring a composition. The pieces can come together in entire friezes repeating the same simple motif or giving place to more complex figures like bonds formed from the extension of the sides of a regular polygon. The polychrome pieces were implemented in varied forms, including stars, decorated with coats of arms, floral and geometrical motifs.²³⁴ Glazed ceramics were popular for coating and ornamentation of both the exterior and interiors of the buildings. Such tiles – *azulejos*–/*glazed tiles* were especially preferred to recover walls, tissues, metal ivory boxes and burial works. These forms and materials became popular especially in the 14th and the 15th centuries while the Christian nobles of the Iberian Peninsula were decorating their homes with Andalusian tradition of design and were using tiles, carpets, chests, Cordoban cushions.²³⁵

In addition to building materials, construction typologies equally marked Mudéjar architecture. One of the striking remembrances of Mudéjar architecture shows itself in Mudéjar towers, which may be square or octagonal. It is believed that the structure of the *alminar*-minaret was adopted towards the end of the 13th century and was widespread by the end of the 14th century. From the 15th century and 16th century central buttress predominated opposite minarets of Almohad tradition. These high-quality tower-patterns include the example of the Giralda in Seville.²³⁶ (Figures 41–45)

²³⁴ Prats and Hernando, *Guía Del Arte Mudéjar*, 24–25.

²³⁵ Anonymous, *Simbolo de Convivencia*, 7–8.

²³⁶ Anonymous, *Simbolo de Convivencia*, 7–8.

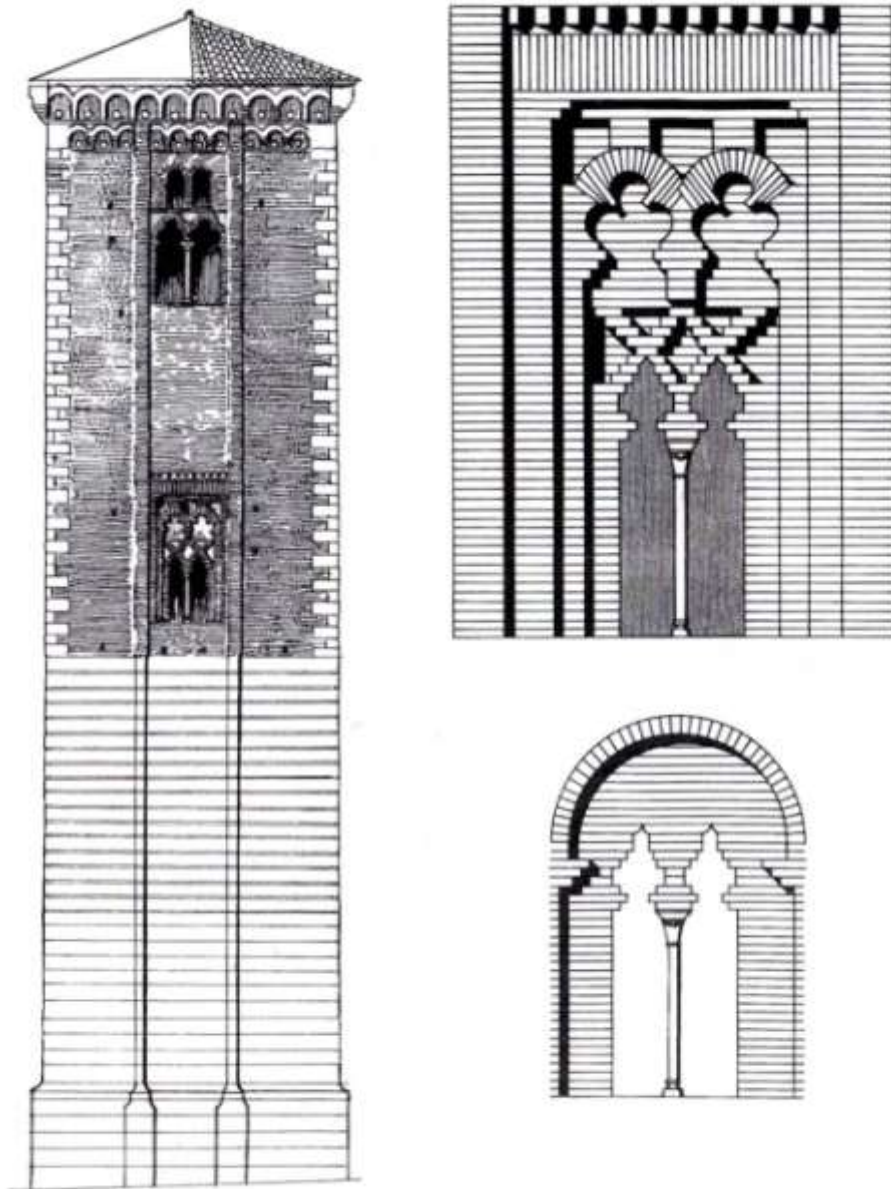


Figure 41. Drawing of the Santa Domingo Tower, Daroca
Basilio Pavon Maldonado, "Hacia Tratado de Arquitectura de Ladrillo Arabe y Mudéjar," *Actas del III Simposio Internacional de Mudéjarismo*, Teruel, 20-22 de septiembre de 1984, *Actas Volumen I* (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 1986), 343.

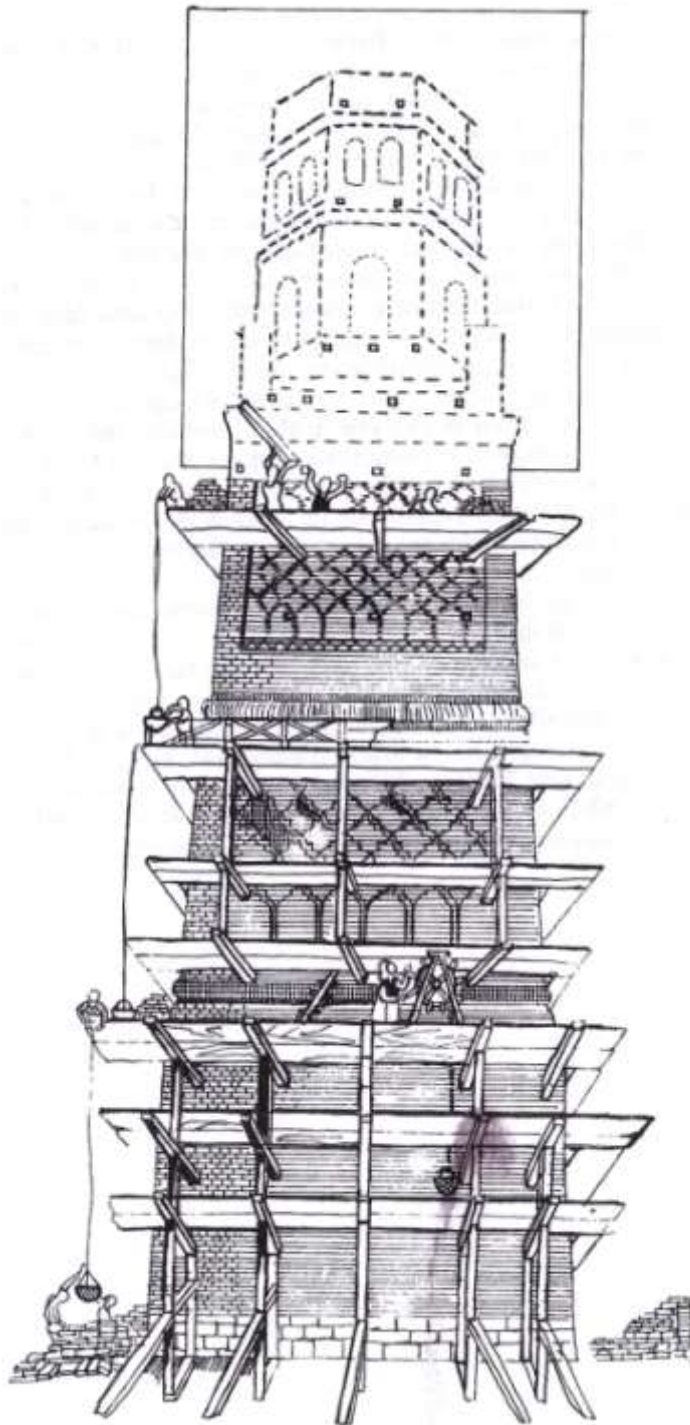


Figure 42. Hypothetical construction process of Torre de Alfajarín.
Maldonado, *Hacia Tratado*, 340.

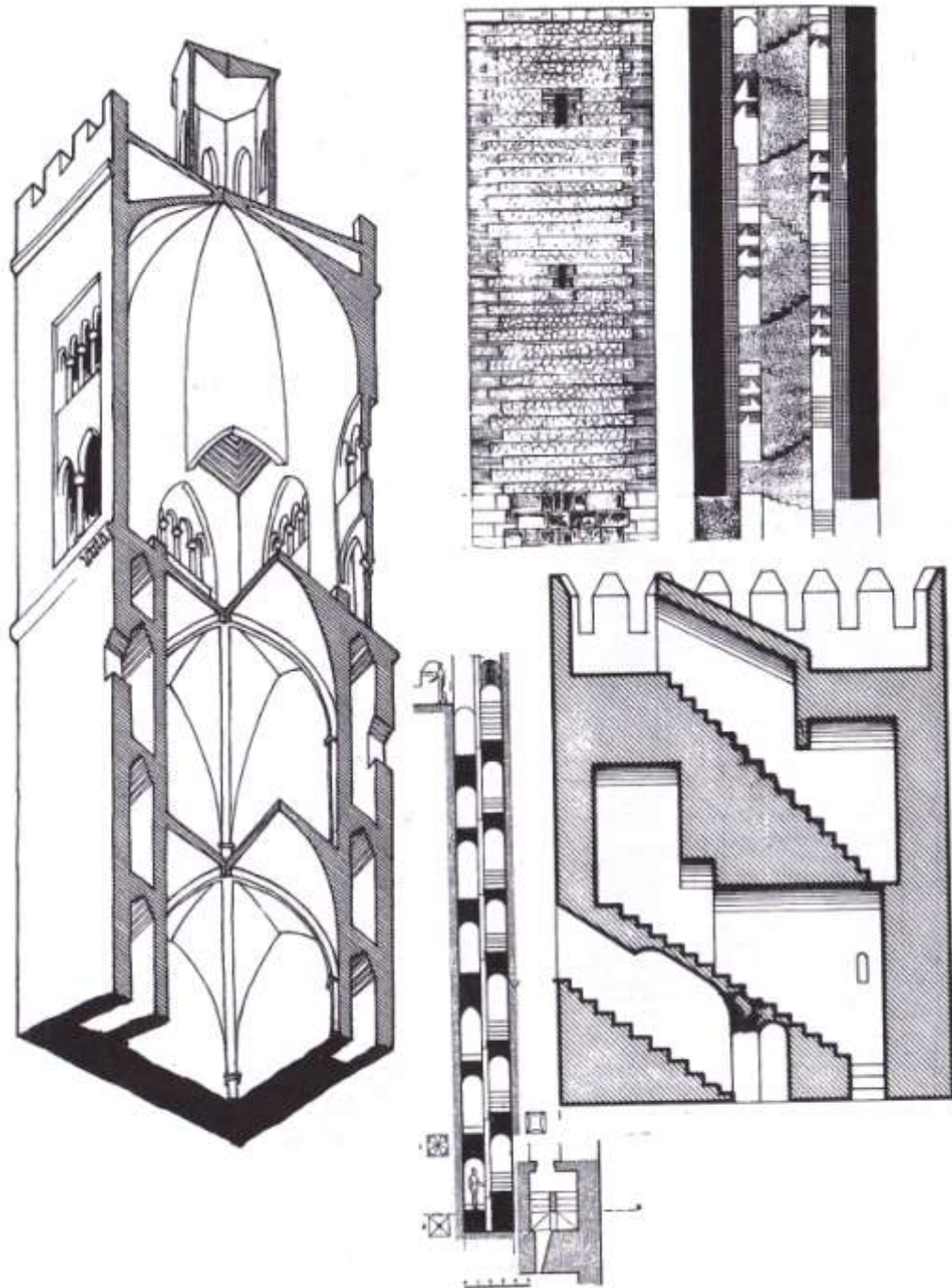


Figure 43. Details from tower drawings; a. Aragón towers b. Toledo towers c. Staircases of Comares Tower in Alhambra d. Muhammad Tower in Alhambra. Maldonado, *Hacia Tratado*, 345.

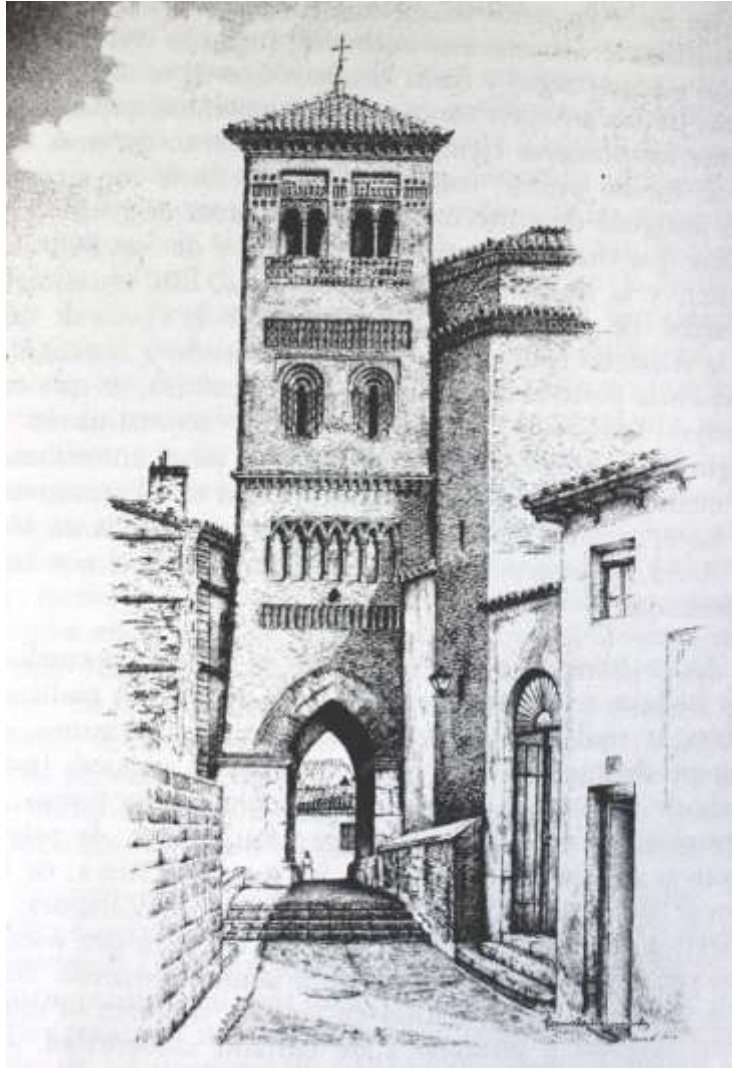


Figure 44. The San Pedro Tower, 14th century, Teruel.
Gualis, *Mudéjar Aragonés*, 99.

Formerly, the Giralda tower which is 95.5 meters in height was an Almohad minaret. When the city of Seville was captured by the Catholic Monarchs, the structure of the mosque was transformed into Seville Cathedral. Originally, it was built at the end of the 12th century. Though Renaissance styled contributions especially for the upper parts were added, an elegant Almohad touch is still visible on the formation.²³⁷ On the surface, arches were created and their decoration of the platform above continues with brick zigzags; thus,

²³⁷ Mark Ellingham Garvey, *The Rough Guide to Andalucía*, Fourth Edition (U.K. Rough Guides, 2003), 282, 283.

in a rectangular framework a rich decorative impression was created. (Figures 45) Notably, both rectangular and polygonal types of Mudéjar towers were seen in Aragón. As a matter of fact those kind of polygonal types were strange to Mudéjar tower applications of the Iberian Peninsula. They seem to be influenced by other motives.

Symbolic usage of material as a common approach was seen in Mudéjar buildings. The symbolic usage can be understood from the importance given to materials, and forms, which can be observed in key sections of Mudéjar buildings. In this regard, stone entrances formed by western style charges an important role to stone material and western styles of Romanic and Gothic. These applications bring to mind that due to economical reasons brick was preferred in these kinds of buildings where it was hard to obtain stone as a construction material. (Figure 46)



Figure 45. The Giralda Tower (taken by Dr. Nusret Çam).



Figure 46. Symbolic Usage of materials from the Church of San Gil Abad, 14th century, Zaragoza. Gualis, *Arte Mudéjar Aragonés*, 29.

Mudéjar buildings were open to organic development; according to the needs in structures, the buildings were developed. Simple space and multipurpose were partly inherited from the classical Mediterranean tradition where rectangular, square, basilica floor, organization around a patio were produced. An enormous "horizontal" and "versatility" of the style creates a proper condition to adapt and assimilate new constructive and decorative items. This versatility of the Mudéjar art marked the Middle Ages²³⁸.

²³⁸ Gualis, *Mudéjar Aragonés*, 20.

There are different types of Mudéjar churches built in distant geographies. Among all, the typology Aragón Mudéjar, which shows so-called churches-fortress (developed from prototypes of the church with a single nave) is much more interesting than the others, some of which were related to the examples of the Levantine gothic. The single nave churches typically present a polygonal apse, which generally have no exterior buttresses and their decoration are not interrupted, maintaining a unitary character and rhythmic organization inherited from the Moslem tradition. The churches with three naves and their diversity are difficult to study and find regular characteristics. There has been a speculation concerning their plan, which may be linked with the previous mosques in the area.²³⁹

3.2.3. Stylistic Features

The previous subtitle of the dissertation "Building Techniques" sheds light on Mudéjar's working logic in architecture. It is important to be familiar with the Mudéjar's working technique to understand how the system functions, which equally determines the stylistic aspects of the theme. In other words, technical features of Mudéjar inevitably underline the stylistic debate where usage of different materials, their combination and alternative applications all formed Mudéjar buildings.

In Mudéjar buildings, tectonic forms have always been simple and functional; on the other hand, decoration sometimes seems overlapping this architecture.²⁴⁰ In several Mudéjar

²³⁹ Gonzalo M. Borrás Gualis, "Estructuras Mudéjares Aragonesas", *Arte Mudéjar en León, Castilla, Extremadura y Andalucía*, ed. María del Carmen Lacarra Ducay (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando El Católico, 2006), 297-313.

examples, decoration is dominated over construction. Islamic decoration motifs arabesque forms, *el ataurique*, and geometric forms, which sometimes created *lacerías- bowed lines* that give a sense of infinity with their repeated application on building surfaces. Islamic technique, forms (horseshoe arches, interlaced forms) and materials (brick-*ladrillo*, tile, stucco- *yeso*) all answered the Christian Spain's stylistic and spatial needs in architecture. Sometimes, Christian buildings demonstrate the usages of principle Western art forms with Muslim forms even sometimes just next to it. The Christian flower forms combined with the Islamic sense of composition and accompanied creation of rhythm. (Figures 47, 48)

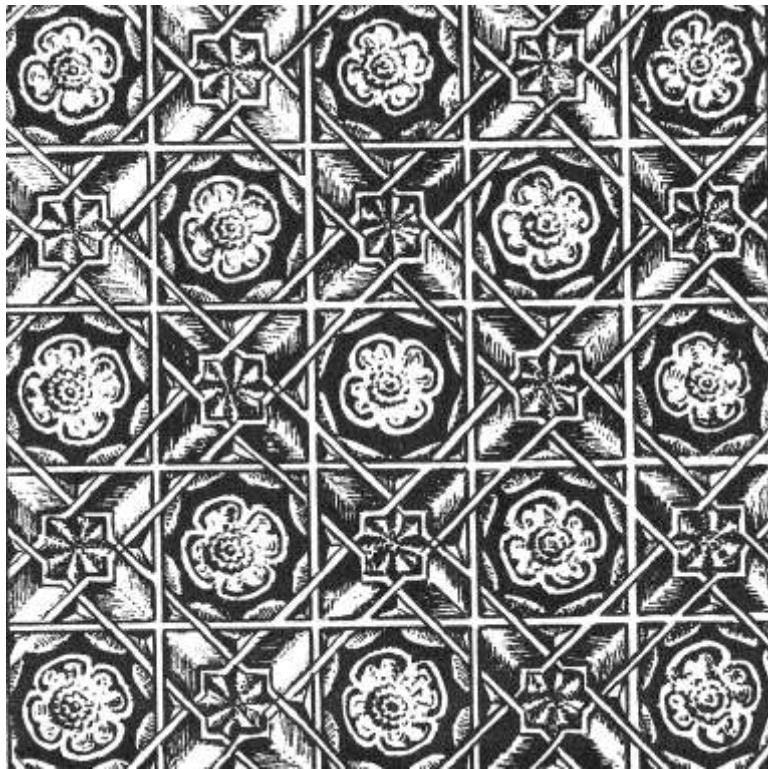


Figure 47. Details from the San Ildefonso Church, Zaragoza,
Gualis, *Arte Mudéjar Aragonés*, 93.

²⁴⁰ Anonymous, *Arquitectura Mudéjar*, 12.

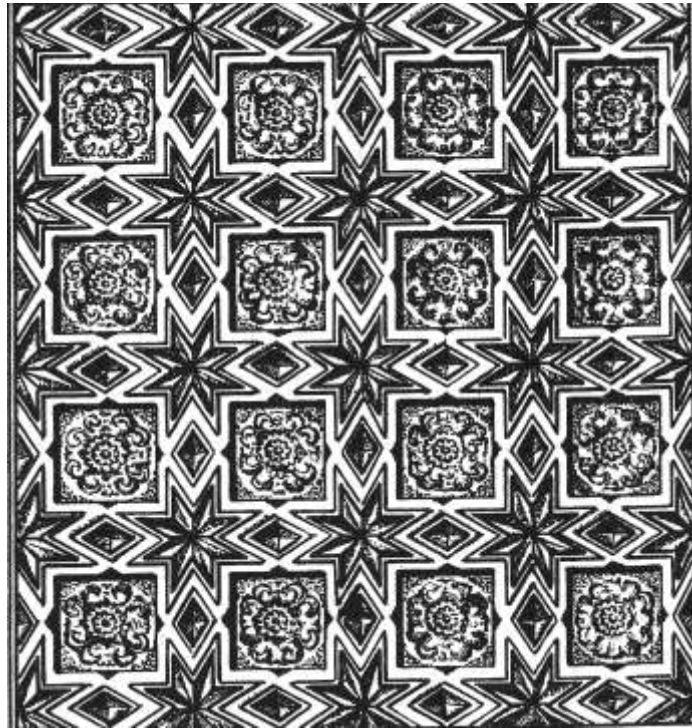


Figure 48. Details from the San Ildefonso Church, Zaragoza,
Gualis, *Arte Mudéjar Aragonés*, 93

While being used for constructive aims, building materials, brick, stucco and wood were also used for decorative targets of interior and exterior arrangements of the buildings. Most of the *Mudéjar* examples were constructed in brick and covered with both simple and engraved stucco material. Slender columns became a common taste of the style. Wooden ceilings of the buildings, ribbed domes both structurally and decoratively represented the Islamic way of design and its geometric ornamental style. Different types of arches mainly horseshoe arches enriched both the interior and exterior of the buildings. With this multi-language arch arrangement, rhythmic spatial and decorative atmosphere was created. The coloured ceramic mosaics and calligraphic bands accompanied this rhythmic and organic composition of the building.²⁴¹

241 Ali, *Arab Contribution*, 106.

Brick as a construction and ornamental material have been used since the early periods of the Islamic architecture. Its abundant application can be seen in Mudéjar architecture as well. Brick is largely used in construction, to support a building and to cover it with arches and vaults and for decorative purposes. Brick was not used alone in constructions all the time. There is an alternative usage combining brick and stone together in walls. Scholars conduct an alternative usage of brick material with stone to the Late Roman and Visigothic cultures, and they deny seeing it as a Muslim invention. This type of alternative usage of stone and brick is seen in the Kingdoms of Taifas in Andalusia and Aragón, and other Islamic dynasties . However what is commonly accepted by scholars is that the usage of brick with plaster is a Muslim tradition.²⁴² (Figures 49, 50)



Figure 49. Brick as a construction and decoration material, the Santa Maria Magdalena Church, 14th century, Zaragoza (taken by the author)

²⁴² Guzman, *Arquitectura Mudéjar*, 96,97. Maldonado, *Hacia Tratado*, 331.



Figure 50. The San Pedro Church, brick detail, 14th century, Teruel (taken by the author)

In Mudéjar buildings, bricks can be classified according to their scales. One of the researchers Basilio Pavón Maldonado's investigations relates that in the Islamic East, from Massatta and Samarra, the brick sizes are square, and their sides do not exceed 42 centimetres. According to him, the Iberian patterns show that the dimensions of the brick can be divided into two important groups. Castilla y Leon has $2/3$ proportion, Extremadura, North Africa, Orient, Aragón and Andalucía $1/2$. On the other hand, $2/3$ (with maximum 28 and 29 cm) measured bricks were used in places influenced from Toledo and Castilla y León region. (While bear in mind, the Romans used 32-45 cm). Starting from the 14th century, after the advancement in system, the proportion of brick reached to $1/2$ as seen in Toledo and in the southern part of Aragón. (The highest side was 26-35 cm and the thickness was 5-6 cm). Equally, the brick's physical analyzes demonstrates that Andalusian bricks also have the proportion of $1/2$. A remarkable importance was given to the Andalusian labour seeing that the northern plateau and

Aragón's architectural works, Tordesillas and Astudillo, the Dueñas of Salamanca, Guadalajara reveal Andalusian stylistic employment.²⁴³ (Figures 51, 52)

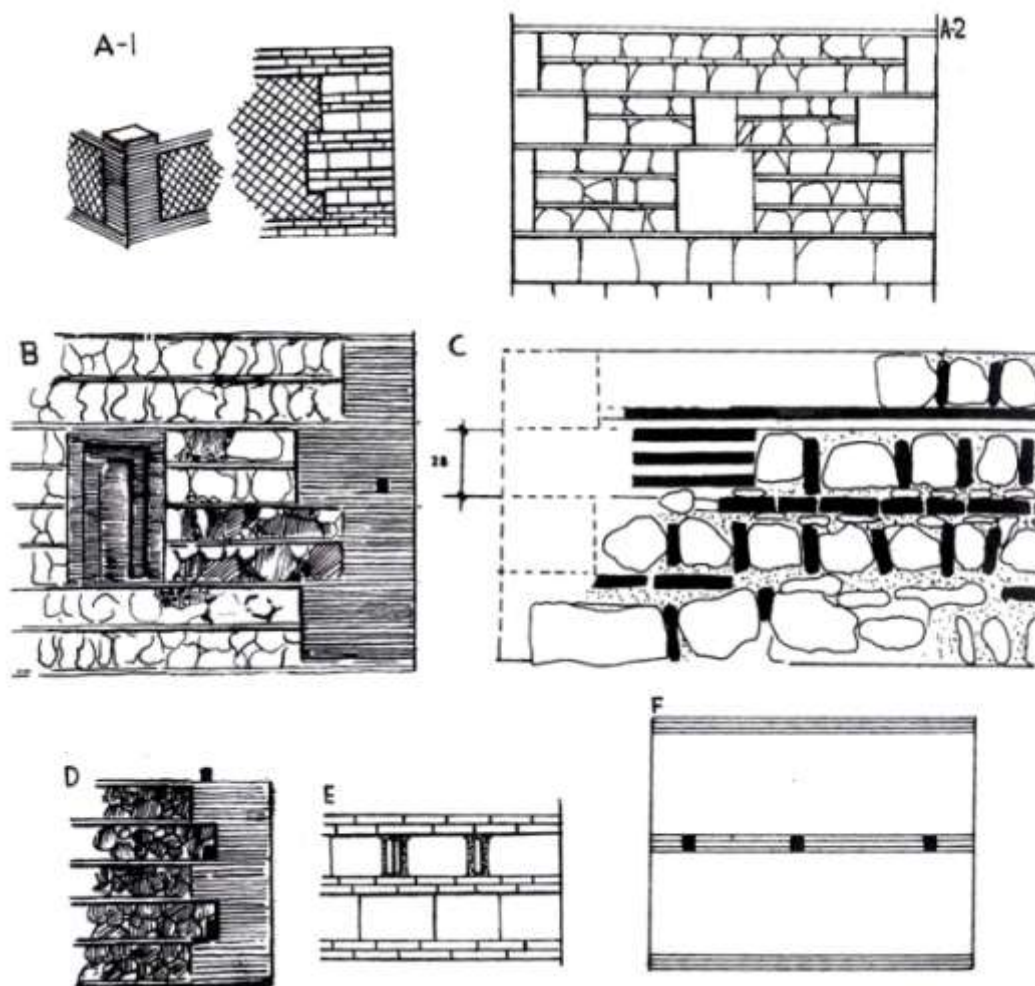


Figure 51. Masonry works of brick
Maldonado, *Hacia Tratado*, 348.

A-1. Antique Rome A-2, primitive Islamic Iberian example, Toledo region (10th century), Talavera de la Reina; B, Toledo (11th and 12th century), Castillo de Oreja; C. Peñafora, Guadalajara (10 and 11th century); D, Toledo masonry 12-14th century; E, masonry of Andalusia, Byzantine type (10-13th century); F, 14th 15th century, ladrillo with tapial (brick with earth) Alcalá de Henares.

²⁴³ Maldonado, *Hacia Tratado*, 309.333.

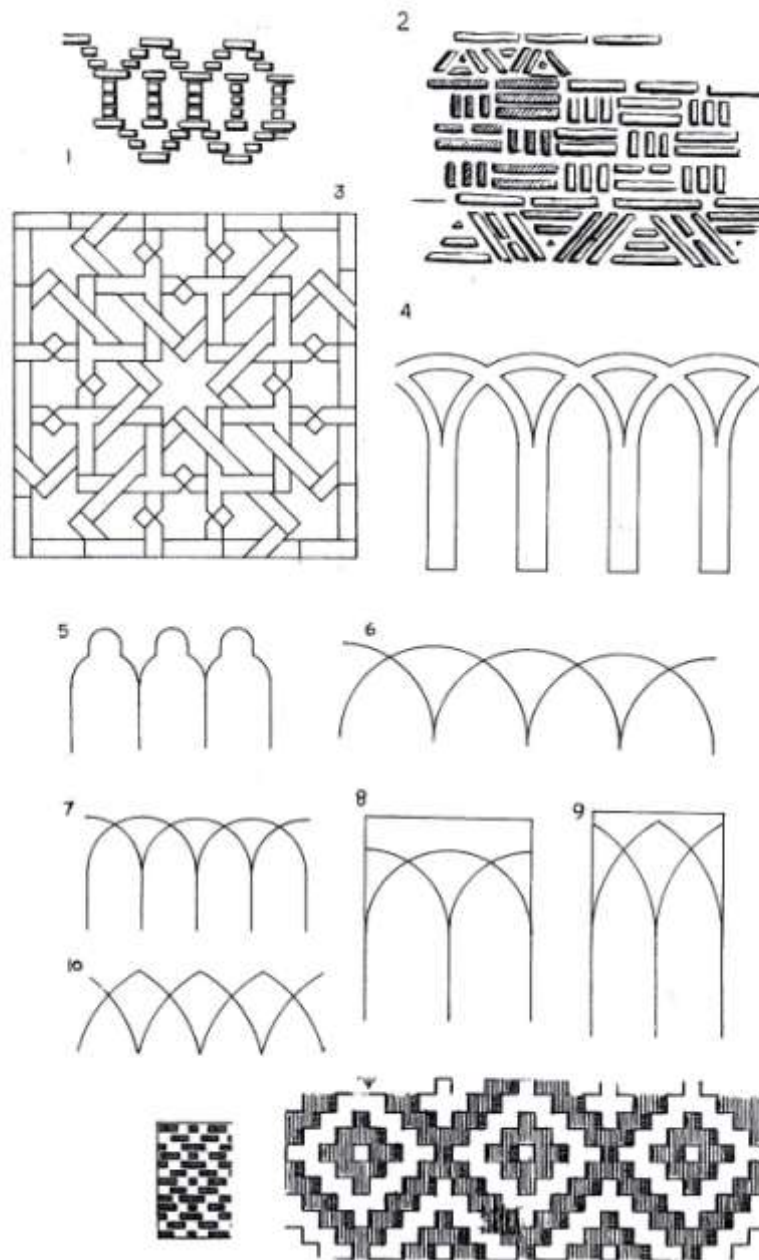


Figure 52. Brick and its decorative usage. Maldonado, *Hacia Tratado*, 345.

1. Aragonés and Casa de los Capiteles, Tozeur (Túnez); 2. Capilla de Lucena, Guadalajara; 3. Muralla de Mançura, Tremecén (Argelia, the 10–11th centuries) and Torre de Quinto (Zaragoza); 4. Arabic Palace ziri de Achir (Argelia) and Medinat al-Zahira (Córdoba); 5. San Juan and San Pablo, Zaragoza; 6. Torre de Aniñon; 7. Utebo, Belmonte, San Pablo de Zaragoza, Tauste, San Pedro y Catedral de Teruel; 8. Almunia de Doña Godina; 9. Belmonte; 10. Ateca; 11 and 12. Precedents of mudéjar decoration of Aragón.

Among these materials stucco could be encountered in a range of Mudéjar works. The material is favoured due to its practical features and both answers to constructive and decorative aims like the other materials do.²⁴⁴ The constructive aims and decorative usages can be seen in the example of Toledo Santa Maria Blanca's column capital.²⁴⁵ Santa Maria Blanca was built as a synagogue at the end of the 12th century, later; it was converted to its new function as a church in the beginning of the 15th century²⁴⁶.

Popularity of stucco in Mudéjar buildings comes from its abundance and low cost of the material. Actually, the origin of the stucco goes to the Islamic roots; the Iranian tradition was carried over the Peninsula. The great example the Aljafería in Zaragoza and the Alhambra Palace demonstrate how the Muslim stucco tradition reached its apex in the Peninsula. The Aljafería's principally arabesque/*ataurique* Taifa tradition later taken by the Christians and forms were re-interpreted, especially throughout the 14th century. Generally, the existing examples demonstrate geometric motifs, such as bonds that combine crosses, diamonds or diamond points, cocktails of vegetal theme with other more naturalistic floral motifs of Gothic tradition. The buildings were covered with both simple and engraved stucco. The rapid and repetitive usage of the material over building surfaces reminds of textile and carpentry, therefore, *yaserías/stucco work* in Mudéjar orients to think that they cover building like a cloth²⁴⁷. (Figures 53, 54)

²⁴⁴ Guzman, *Arquitectura Mudejar*, 88,90.

²⁴⁵ Guzman, *Arquitectura Mudejar*, 88,90.

²⁴⁶ Dodds, "Mudejar Tradition," 114, 115.

²⁴⁷ Prats and Hernando, *Guía Del Arte Mudéjar*, 23-24. Dodds, *Al-Andalus*, 116, 117. Guzman, *Arquitectura Mudejar*, 88,89,90.



Figure 53. The Aljafería, stucco details, 11th century, Zaragoza (taken by the author)



Figure 54. The Aljafería, stucco detail, 11th century, Zaragoza (taken by the author)

To use fresh stucco permits all kind of strokes of decorative lines, particularly that of geometric compositions. These plasters also facilitate the usage of abundant natural forms such as vegetable and floral patterns. Along with them, floral forms became popular with

the effect of Renaissance ideas. Equally, *Grotesque*, a gothic ornament, was composed of leaves shells, was favoured in Mudéjar buildings. This style was adopted in the Castilian regions; however, the Islamic forms lost their strong connection with the pure Islamic geometry and turned out to be the transformed version of it.²⁴⁸

As a decorative material, ceramic was produced from clay, which is usually employed in the regions where pottery centres were located and pottery was produced largely. As is known, clay is an ancient material, the oldest element in the world that has been used in both construction and designing of small objects. In Mudéjar architecture, clay equally served a decorative purpose; its abundance around Aragón finally brought its popularity. Particularly, Mudéjar towers surfaces demonstrate a variety of treatment of baked and glazed clay, the ceramic.²⁴⁹ (Figures 55,56)



Figure 55. The Tower of San Martín , 14th century, Teruel (taken by the author)

²⁴⁸ Guzman, *Arquitectura Mudéjar*, 90.

²⁴⁹ Guzman, *Arquitectura Mudéjar*, 103-113.



Figure 56. The Tower of San Martín, 14th century, Teruel (taken by the author)

Ceramic in building surfaces carries and reminds aesthetical taste of the previous cultures' art works, that of the Muslims. Artistic character of the materials and their combination bring spiritual features of Islamic theological by way of design where the art of Muslim conceptually follows the tracks of the divine, eternal God image. Repeated motifs in Mudéjar buildings such as abstract, geometrical and vegetal, remind of Gods' eternity and power.²⁵⁰ As Mudéjar is a part of the historic and artistic process of Islamic art, which was experienced from the 8th until the 15th century, materials and techniques represent the last phase of long Muslim tradition including *almorávide*, *almohade*, *nazarí* (Almovarid, Almohad, and Nazari). Thus, it can be said that certain materials and techniques of Mudéjar such as brick, ceramic and gypsum were born from the Muslim ancestry of the Eastern traditions²⁵¹. Spanish art historian Pavón Maldonado, though fails to define Mudéjars' ethnic varieties as uses only Arabic excluding the Berbers, contributes to this

²⁵⁰ Gualis, *Arte Mudéjar Aragonés*, 319,320.

²⁵¹ Gualis, *Arte Mudéjar Aragonés*, 320.

argument while saying that “I think Arabic art and Mudéjar resembles two sides of the same coin”.²⁵²

Although Islamic formulations occupy the first place while evaluating Mudéjar architecture but they were mainly not alone as two important architectural traditions’ structure and material usage were combined in a same Mudéjar building. Different elements of Christian and Islamic traditions created a kind of harmony. In some examples, Islam, Romanesque, Gothic and Baroque elements were used in the same construction. Alcázar de Seville that was built by Pteer I in 1350–1369 demonstrates Mudéjaristic features as well as Renaissance. Its large courtyard and arches also briefly display Islamic forms²⁵³. The Church of San Pedro in Teruel can be considered as one of the important mixtures of the style, which has impact of Western-Gothic and Islamic art–Almohad (Figures 57–60).



Figure 57. Gothic and Islamic details, the Church of San Pedro
14th century, Teruel (taken by the author)

²⁵² Maldonado, *Hacia Tratado*, 329.

²⁵³ Earle, *Spanish-Moorish*, 85. Kubisch, *Almoravids and Almohads*, 266–67.



Figure 58. Gothic and Islamic details, The Church and Tower of San Pedro
14th Century, Teruel (taken by the author)



Figure 59. Gothic, Islamic, Romanesque features, the San Pablo Tower, 14th century, Zaragoza.
Gualis, *Arte Mudéjar Aragonés*, 17.

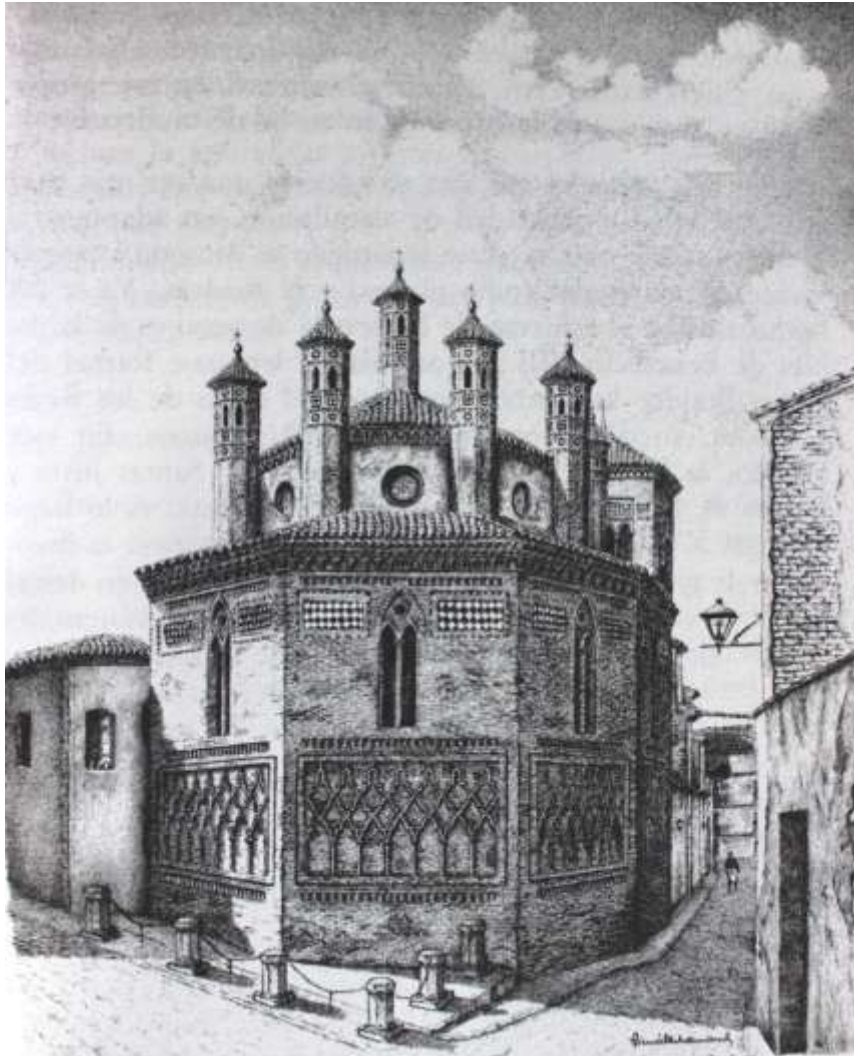


Figure 60. Drawing of the San Pedro Church, apsidal wall from exterior.
14th century, Teruel. Gualis, *Arte Mudéjar Aragonés*, 109.

The existing examples from Mudéjar architecture reveal the fact that the Almohad style was mainly preferred in Mudéjar tradition whose style elaborated relief carving, which was limited by rectangular frame and sharpened by pointed horseshoe arches. Equally, Jewish synagogues reveal exclusive stylistic usage of Mudéjar where Almohad style became a shared visual language of the Muslims and Jews. Here, Islamic forms are used alone without any western touch in some Jewish architecture. The synagogue of Santa Maria

Blanca in Toledo that was built in the 12th century was one of the solid Mudéjar examples of Jewish architecture in the Peninsula. It was converted to a church after the re-conquest. With its simple trapezoidal construction of brick alternating with stone, the building was divided into 5 aisles, supported by 24 columns and linked to Almohads style. Among the aisles, the central one differed from the others with its wider arrangement. Horseshoe arches are carried by elegant piers. Their stucco relief decoration is applied to arch spandrels and upper walls of the arches. Consistent with the Islamic way of design, the decoration program is limited to vegetal and geometric motifs.²⁵⁴ Likewise, the Synagogue of Córdoba, which was built in Toledo, expresses similarity to the Almohad style. Its decoration and plan purely demonstrates influence from the Islamic descendants. (Figures 61-63)

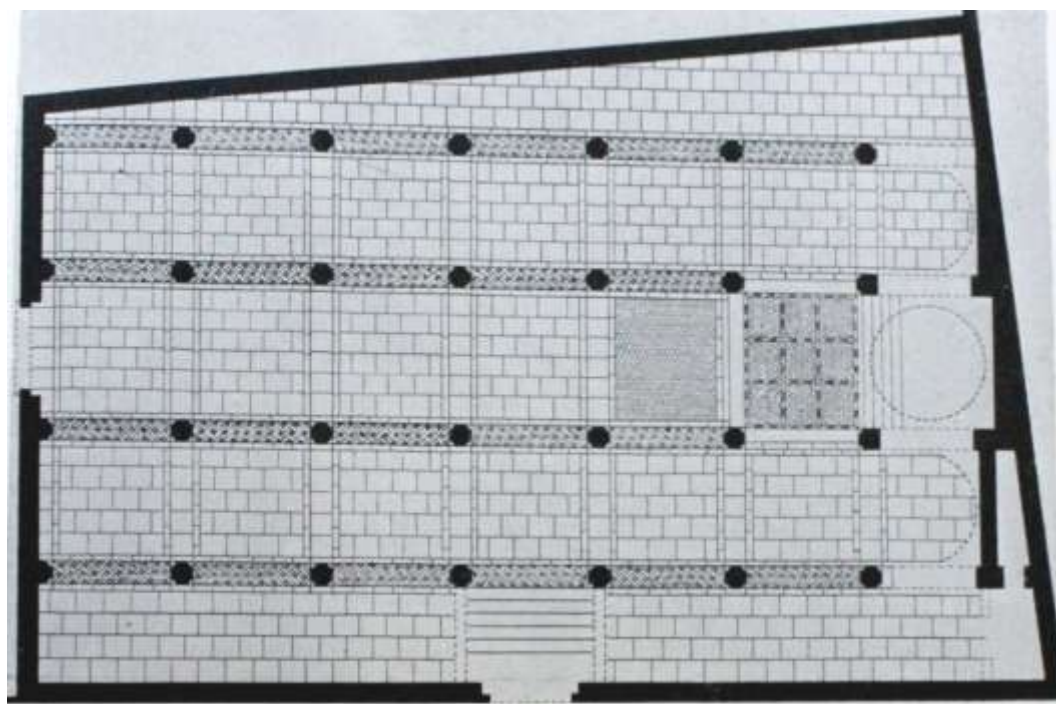


Figure 61. Plan of the Santa Maria Blanca Synagogue, 13th century, Toledo.
Contreras, *Historia del Arte Hispánico*, 441.

²⁵⁴ Dodds, "Mudejar Tradition," 114, 115.



Figure 62. The Santa Maria Blanca Synagogue. 13th century, Toledo
(taken by the author)



Figure 63. The Cordoba Synagogue, 14th century, Córdoba (taken by the author)

Minaret-like towers are identical to Mudéjar style. Though Aragón province due to its examples of octagonal tower formulations differs from the other regions, commonly, their

square plant formation and brick construction create important façades of style. Mudéjar towers supply good surfaces for ornamentation programs composed of brick and ceramic materials. When the decoration concept is analyzed, it is easy to understand that some Iranian ancestral similarities found place in Mudéjar architecture. These groups of minaret-like towers usually belong to the late period of Muslim dominion and were re-used in the Christian period. This type of Iranian–Sassanid decoration concept of Mudéjar architecture is named as *Zagri Style* by Javier Peña and J. Miguel Pinilla. They classify this type of buildings from Mudéjares differently while using *arquitectura zagri* terminology while referring to Zaragoza's peculiarity in Mudéjar history.²⁵⁵ (Figures 64, 65)

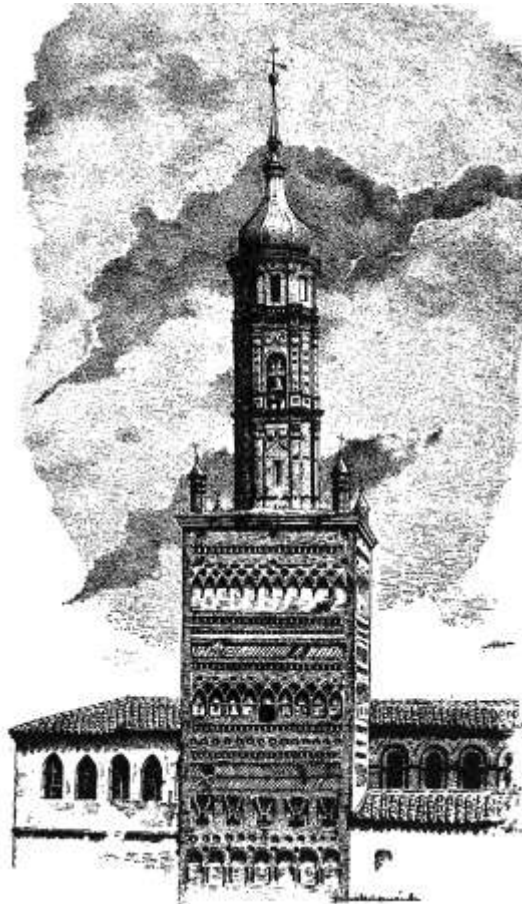


Figure 64. Drawing of the Torre de Santa Maria, 16th century, Ateca Gualis, *Arte Mudéjar Aragonés*, 21.

²⁵⁵ Javier Peña y J. Miguel Pinilla, "The Zagri architecture," *Islamic Art in Aragon* (España: 1986).

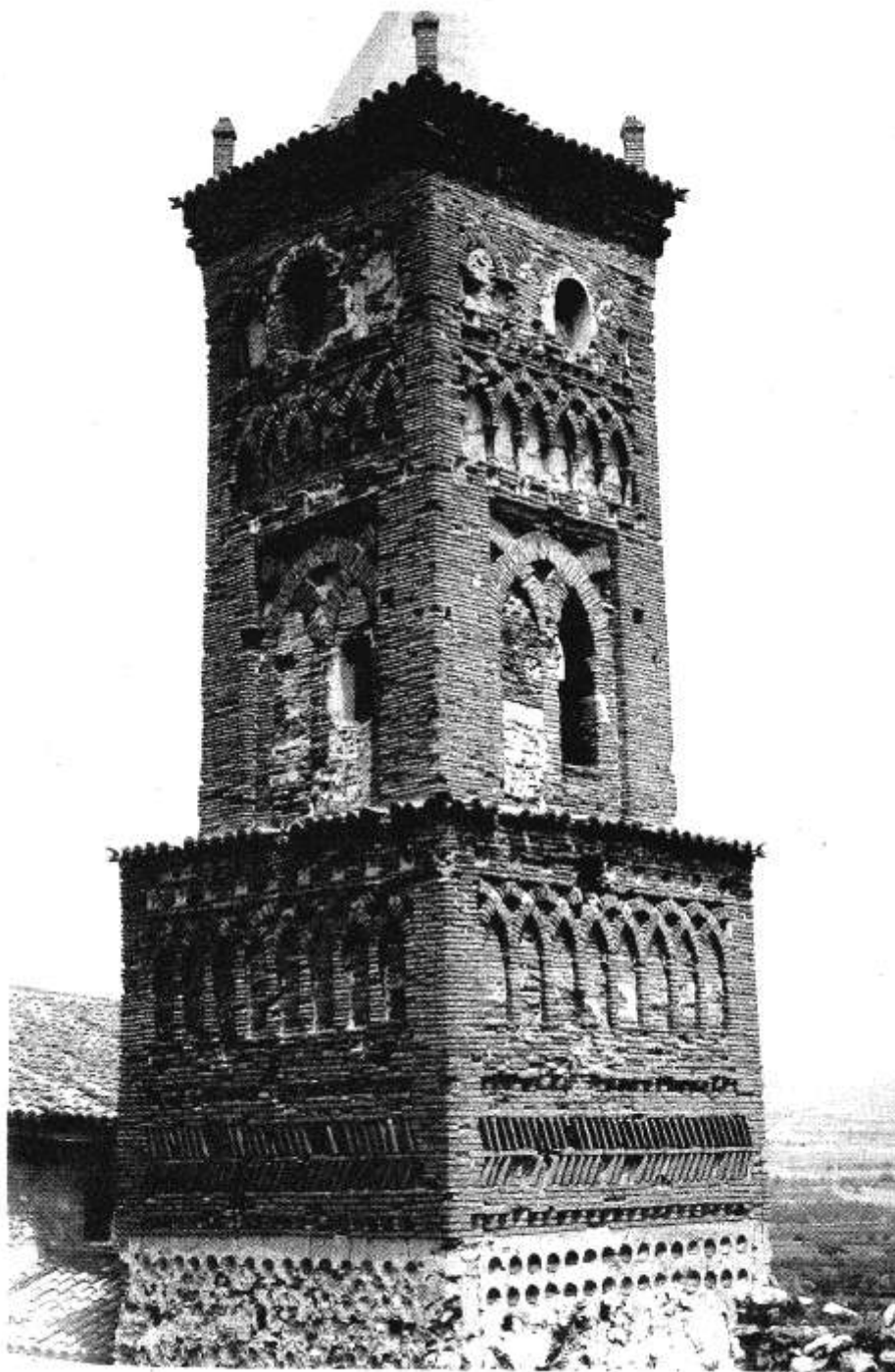


Figure 65. The Tower of Belmonte Church, Calatayud,
Gualis, *Arte Mudéjar Aragonés*, 113.

It is hard to create any identical recipe for Mudéjar architecture because applicers of Mudéjar did not select the certain forms to communicate in architecture all the time. Materials, forms and their usage sequence/degree usually vary. In every building, the style reaches surprising results. One of the stylistically attractive Mudéjar example is the Real Monasterio de Santa Clara de Tordesillas, which was built for Doña Beatriz in the second half of the 14th century. The monastery is located in Tordesillas, Valladolid. The exterior design shows both gothic and Islamic details in construction and ornamentation. While its main entrance is constructed with stone and Romanic style, the other entrance, which is located in the atrium is composed with lintel double arches that have repetitive usage of grid of rhombuses over them which are a prolongation of Islamic reminiscences. (Figures 66-69)



Figure 66. The Royal Monastery of Santa Clara, Valladolid, 15th century (taken by the author)



Figure 67. Techumbres of the Royal Monastery of Santa Clara ,www.wikipedia.org



Figure 68. Arch detail, the Royal Monastery of Santa Clara, diputaciondevalladolid.es

One of the Mudéjar buildings constructed in Toledo, the Monastery of San Jun de los Reyes, belongs to the 15th century. The building was constructed with stone and the first floor gallery exposes gothic vaults. However, the upper parts of the building differs from the first floor gallery.. Although the building is accepted as Gothic-Spanish-Flemish style, the details, such as wooden ceiling- *artesonado* of second floor galleries, give the idea about Mudéjar construction technique. Here, Mudéjar ceiling is composed with royal iconography where lions and some royalty symbols appear side by side with abstract geometric rectangular forms. (Figures 69,70)



Figure 69. The Monastery of San Jun de los Reyes, 15th century, Toledo
(taken by the author)



Figure 70. The Monastery of San Jun de los Reyes, 15th century, Toledo
(taken by the author)

Artesonado is an important building technique and a style widely used in Mudéjar architecture. *Artesonados*, belonging to the Muslim ancestry holds a special position in Mudéjar architecture. These coffered wooden ceilings were largely preferred both in the Christian and Jewish architectures due to their power to create decorative and creative spatial effects at the interiors. (Figures 71,72) The Aljafería pattern, the famous Islamic castle also represents great compositions of *artesonados*. Interlaced beams of the ceiling create rich geometric forms. (Figure 73) The El Transito Synagogue in Toledo also gives one of the pure formations of the *artesonados*. Similarly the Santa Cruz Hospital reveals strong Mudéjar touch with its *artesonado* decorations and patio formation.²⁵⁶ (Figure 74, 75)

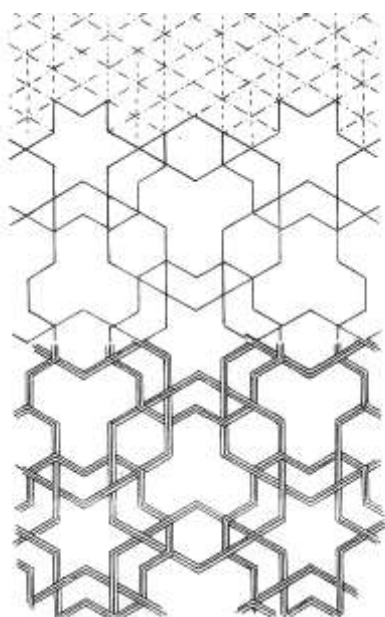


Figure 71. Artesonado composition
Monastery of Sijena.

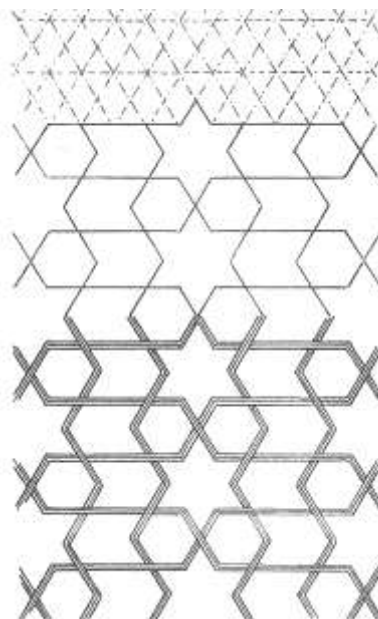


Figure 72. Six stars composition
San Miguel Church

José Galiay Sarañana, *El Lazo en el Estilo Mudéjar: Su Trazado Simplicista*
(Zaragoza. Institución Fernando el Católico, 1995), 18, 21.

²⁵⁶ José F. Ráfols, *Techumbres y Artesonados Españoles*, Colección Labor, Biblioteca de Iniciación Cultural, Barcelona&Buenos Aires, presente edición (Valladolid: Editorial Maxtor, 2005), 74.



Figure 73. Artesonado ceiling from the Aljafería Palace, Zaragoza (taken by the author)



Figure 74. The Santa Cruz Hospital, ceiling
16th century Toledo (taken by the author)



Figure 75. El Transito, ceiling details
14th century, Toledo (taken by the author)

Lacería is another famous decorative style of Mudéjar architecture where jointed bows create specific ornamental network. This style can be applied to various materials such as wood, bricks, ceramics and plaster. *Artesonados*, wooden ceilings are one of the most practiced surfaces of *lacerías*. Another popular surface is ceramic, particularly the glazed surfaces of ceramics give the sense of continuity with *lacería* usage. The plaster surfaces with easy formation are one of the other most suitable materials. The origin of *lacería* goes before the Christian conquest; in the Islamic Period they were used largely; for instance, the Alhambra Palace reveals the elegant usage of *lacería*, which was constructed in the period of the Nasrid Kingdom. However, according to José F. Ráfols, *lacería* was developed in Spain by the western origin masters though the character continued its existence being more rigid and geometric, and became part of the Spanish construction program.²⁵⁷ (Figures 76–80)

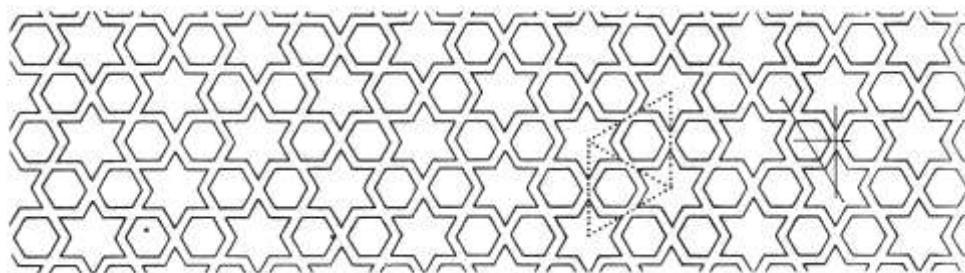


Figure 76. Ornamental Bows/interlaced patterns. Josefina Basteiro Ráfols, "Representaciones simétricas en las lacerías mudéjares de Aragón", *Actas del III Simposio Internacional de Mudéjarismo*, Teruel, 20–22 de septiembre de 1984, Actas Volumen I (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 1986), 467.

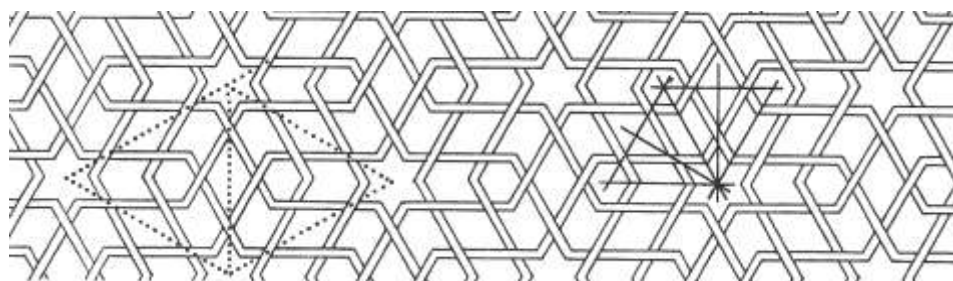


Figure 77. Ornamental Bows/interlaced patterns. Ráfols, *Representaciones Simétricas*, 467.

²⁵⁷ Ráfols, *Techumbres y Artesonados*, 23.

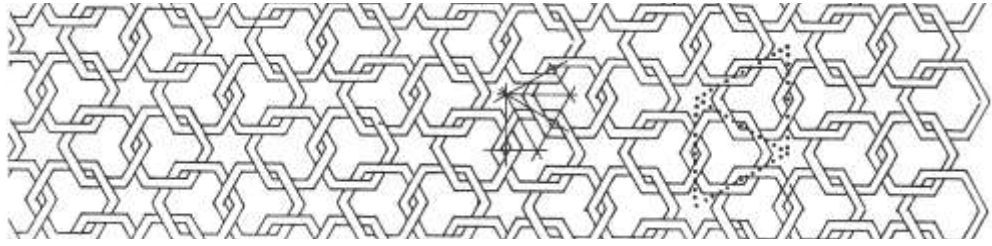


Figure 78. Ornamental Bows/interlaced patterns Rrafales, *Representaciones Simétricas*, 467.



Figure 79. Lacería details from the Alhambra Palace, Granada
(taken by the author)



Figure 80. Lacería details from the Alhambra Palace, Granada
(taken by the author)

According to Dr. Yarza, there were stages and schools of Mudéjar architecture, where apprehension of figural decoration was not valued as it was introduced in the previous chapters. Although they did not like the representation of images, several Mudéjar buildings reveal the usage of figural scenes especially stucco examples in Toledo. It is also important to mention that these forms, particularly animal forms, were sometimes made with imperfection. Several domes, such as Teruel Cathedral, and cloister of Santo Domingo de Silos, were painted with a lively world of figuration. Although these parts reveal the usage of animal forms, the master of the works can be questioned as who did it. It is logical to choose the explanation that the representation of animals followed the romantic and gothic traditions and, probably were done by the Christian masters rather than the Muslims²⁵⁸. (Figures 81–84)

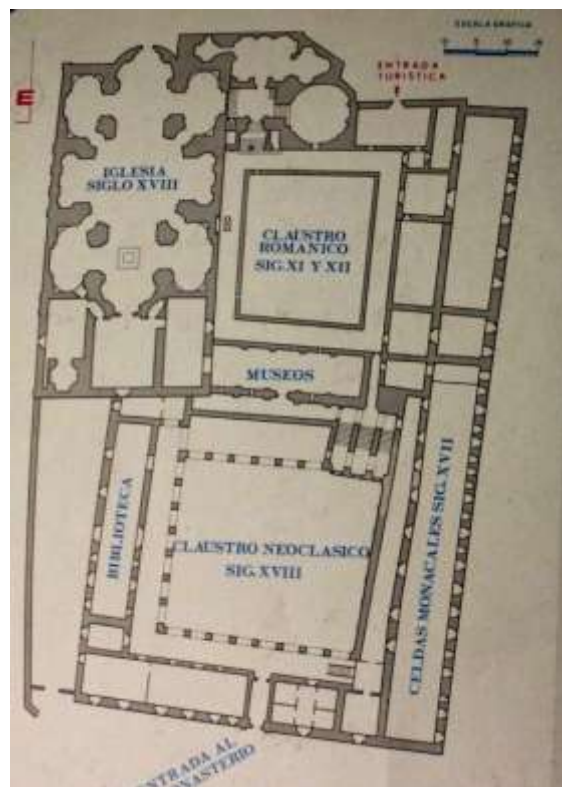


Figure 81. Plan of the Monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos, 11–12th century, Burgos. Castilla y León. Mariano Palacios, J. Yarza Luaces, Rafael Torres, *El Monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos* (Madrid: Editorial Everest, 1987).

²⁵⁸ Yarza, *La Edad Media*, 258.



Figure 82. The Monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos, 11-12th century, Burgos.
Palacios, Luaces, Torres, *Santo Domingo de Silos*, 5.

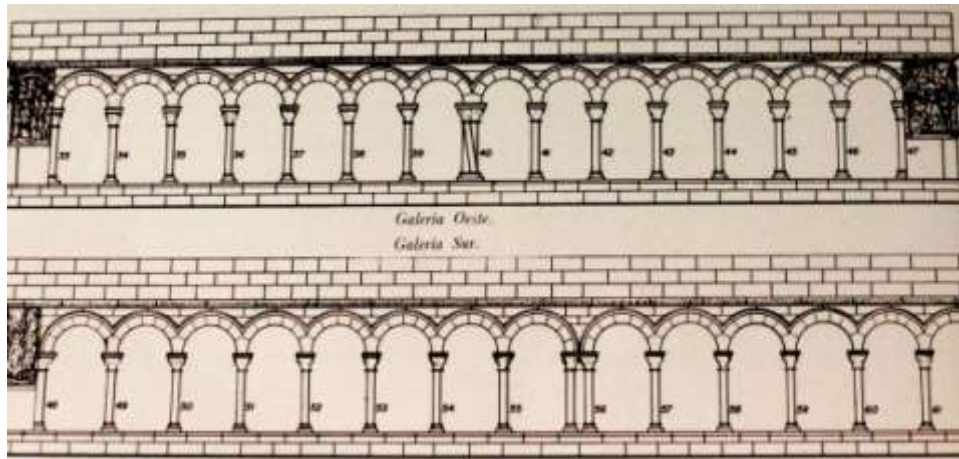


Figure 83. Arch drawings of the Monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos, 11-12th century,
Burgos. Palacios, Luaces, Torres, *Santo Domingo de Silos*, 18.



Figure 84. Cloister of the Santo Domingo de Silos. 11-12th century, Burgos.
Palacios, Luaces, Torres, *Santo Domingo de Silos*, 20.

3.2.4. Provincial Features

Spain is located on the Iberian Peninsula and surrounded by Portugal in the east, France in the north west, and the Mediterranean Sea in the south. The country also has neighbouring relations with Africa. According to SEAP, The 1978 Constitution of Spain accepted that the country is composed of seventeen autonomous communities on the other hand additional two cities (Ceuta and Melilla), which are located in the African coast, are given the highest level of autonomy. The communities of Spain have distinct types of autonomous statues. Communities have been divided into 50 provinces. In some examples, such as Madrid, the community consists of only one province; however, there are other examples, such as Aragón, divided into three provinces: Huesca, Zaragoza and Teruel, where communities hold several provinces²⁵⁹.

In order to facilitate the observation of the community and provincial structure of Spain, I have produced a chart that shows the Iberian Peninsula to consist of fifteen communities,

²⁵⁹ www.seap.minhap.gob.es

among which the largest are Castilla y León, Castilla la Mancha and Andalucía. This chart enables easier reading of the database of Mudéjar studies referred to in the following chapters. Ceuta, Melilla, Baleric Islands and Canary Island are not included on the chart because they are not located in the Iberian Peninsula and their material culture is away from this dissertation's concern. (Table 1)

Table 1. Community and Province Chart of the Iberian Peninsula

COMMUNITY	PROVINCES
Andalusia /Andalucía	Huelva, Sevilla, Cordoba, Juan, Granada, Almeria, Málaga, Cadiz
Aragon /Aragón	Zaragoza, Huesca, Teruel
Asturias	Asturias
Basque Country /País Vasco	País Vasco
Cantabria	Cantabria
Castile-La Mancha/ Castilla-La Mancha	Toledo, Guadalajara, Cuenca, Ciudad Real, Albacete
Castile and Leon/ Castilla y León	León, Zamora, Palencia, Burgos, Soria, Segovia, Avila, Salamanca, Valladolid
Catalonia/ Cataluña	Lleida, Girona, Barcelona, Tarragona
Extremadura	Cáceres, Badajoz
Galicia	La Coruña, Lugo, Ourense, Pontevedra
La Rioja	La Rioja
Madrid	Madrid
Murcia	Murcia
Navarre / <i>Navarra</i>	Navarra
Valencia /Comunidad Valenciana	Castelleon, Valencia, Alicante

The geographical boundaries of the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the 15th century were distinct from now. The Romans, Visigoths, Christian Kingdoms, and Islamic dynasties left their fingerprints on the formation of the districts of Iberia. Islamic dynasties in Iberia, although they encapsulated a large portion of the geography, could not control the northern regions such as Galicia, Asturias, and País Vasco, which were the areas naturally protected by mountains that prevented easy Muslim occupation of these areas. This alienated geographical condition of the northern parts isolated them from the rest of the Peninsula. Hence, the northern parts of the Iberian Peninsula do not display remarkable Mudéjar touches in their architecture.

When the Christian kingdoms wanted to throw the Muslim dynasties out of Iberia completely, they united their political and military power and gave birth to the re-conquest ideology. With the re-conquest, which started in the 11th century, the geographical condition of the Peninsula was once more transformed, and its boundaries were subject to adjustment with each passing phase of the conquest. These local conditions inevitably created local differences in Mudéjar architecture with the effect of time; therefore one of the premises of the study is to show these differences. Though some Islands around the Iberian Peninsula demonstrate Mudéjar patterns, the study mainly will focus on the Iberian Peninsula case.

After the Muslims were defeated by the Christians, there were some emerging centres where Mudéjar architecture was practiced masterfully. One of these, León and Castilla la Vieja (Old Castile) turned out to be a centre of Mudéjar work. The other most important centres were Aragón and Andalucía. Particular Mudéjar examples became characteristic of each region. Especially, in the Northern kingdoms, in Cataluña and Navarra, a combination

of the Gothic and Islamic forms was favoured.²⁶⁰ In Castilla–Leon region, Mudéjar held several names due to usage of Islamic architectural forms with the Romanic architecture such as ‘románico ladrillo/romanic brick’ or “románico mudéjar/ romanic mudéjar”. Actually, the early Mudéjar examples, which were constructed in the 12th, the 13th and the 14th centuries created clues about their Romanic and Mudéjar formations. The architectural examples from these periods, made of brick and used in the Romanic forms encouraged scholars to produce special terminologies. The term *románico mudéjar* was first applied by Vicente Lampérez and the terminology is favoured by other scholars, such as Fernando Chueca.²⁶¹

The motive behind the Mudéjar’s difference in each region can be connected to the subsistence and features of Muslim culture in newly conquered lands and to multi-behavioural patronages of the Christian Monarchs. As in all parts of Iberia, there was a certain relationship between the population rate of Muslims and the construction density. Strong effects of Mudéjar were seen in places like Castilla–Leon and Castilla–Mancha, Andalucía, Aragón, where the Muslim population was higher. However, it is interesting to see that cities like Valencia and Extremadura, although they contained a significant Muslim population, produced fewer Mudéjar buildings, this issue can also be conducted to the patronage mechanism, which did not favour the style as other patrons did. Furthermore, though the occurrence of Mudéjar examples was very much related with Mudéjar population and patronage mechanism, the style was not all the time practiced by the same ethnicity; the Christians and the Jews also worked in Mudéjar buildings.²⁶²

²⁶⁰ Yarza, *La Edad Media*, 254, 259–280.

²⁶¹ Gonzalo Borrás Gualis, *El Arte Mudejar* (Teruel: Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 1990), 161.

²⁶² Yarza, *La Edad Media*, 254.

Some of the cities were centres for the construction activities from where the masters moved to work in other cities. One of the documents discovered in the archives gives important details about Zaragoza's role in the construction activities; Pope Moon, who decided to build two chapels, requested this work to be constructed in Mudéjar style. What is important was that the Pope especially wanted his buildings to be constructed by Mohammed Rami, resident of Zaragoza. Being a chief architect Mohammad Rami worked on the commission of the Pope. This same architect also worked in Seo and in the church of Cervera de la Cañada (Zaragoza). Similar conditions was repeated in the case of Jucaf Huzmel, who was called from Teruel to work, and granted a special treatment and wages. The palace of Tordesillas (Valladolid) was equally built by *alarifes* -builders from Toledo. These bodies of evidence led scholars to make generalization about the master builders' condition in Mudéjar architecture. Accordingly, the master builders were living in the cities whose numbers are difficult to calculate, but some assumption could be made about their movements, which can also map their existence. Archival documents tell that construction activity was significant in Calatayud in the end of the 15th century and in the beginning of the 16th century, and from the 14th century to the expulsion, the documents show that several bricklayers and master builders were living in Seville. ²⁶³ (Figure 85)

²⁶³ Yarza, *La Edad Media*, 256-257.



Figure 85. Book cover of “De La Carpinteria de lo Blanco”

The first Mudéjar manifestations were seen in Castilla y Mancha, whereafter Especially Toledo became a centre of Mudéjar works at the time. The first religious buildings of Toledo in Mudéjar style were constructed between the 12th and the 13th centuries. These early examples have relation with the Mozarab basilica form, which has three naves and are separated by horseshoe arches surrounded by *alfiz*-arch spandrel. In addition, three naves are covered with a wooden cover. Mudéjar examples in Toledo continued to transmit the previous century’s Mozarabic traditions. Muslim minaret structures, rectangular plant, and buttress, and rich exterior ornamentation in constructions were all continued. Bell towers’ were decorated with friezes and arch series.²⁶⁴

²⁶⁴ Gualis, *El Arte Mudéjar*, 163, 176, 177.

Mudéjar Toledano is characterized by polygonal apses, which was the effect of the Almohade tradition, whilst the Leonese Mudéjar architecture offers semicircular apses, and a tower-dome on the straight section of the presbytery that comes from the Romanesque tradition. The exterior volume is different from the Romanic churches. Dissimilarly, the exterior resembles to the interior. Articulation is achieved by simple formal vocabulary with blind arches, which are simple or double, -bricks placed to edge vertically to form a frieze. Another element differ the Toledo's Mudéjar from the Castilla y Leon is the church doors, which shows Islamized decorative aspects. In the example of Santiago del Arrabal (Toledo) door, the colar-beam and mural ornamentation were taken from Almohad tradition.²⁶⁵ (Figures 86- 87)

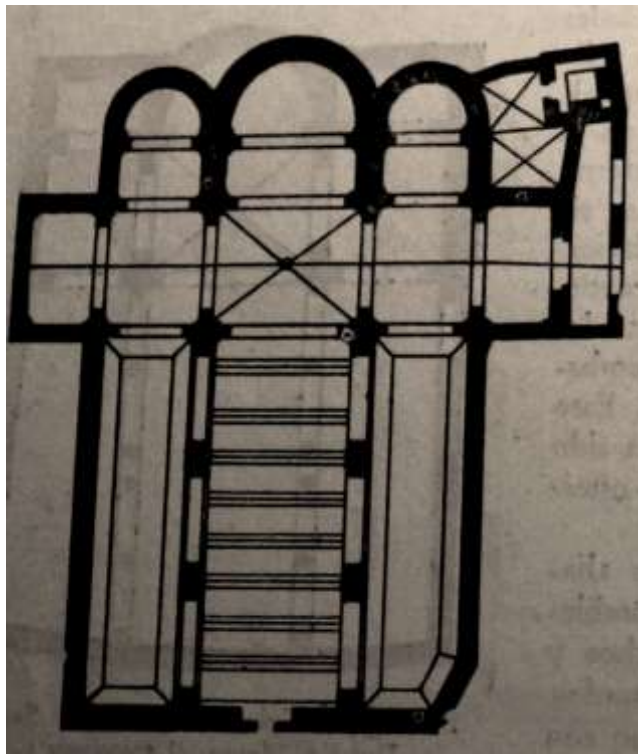


Figure 86. Ground floor plan of the Santiago del Arabal, Toledo.
Goitia, *Historia de la Arquitectura Española*, 470.

²⁶⁵ Gualis, *El Arte Mudéjar*, 163, 176, 177.



Figure 87. The Santiago del Arabal. Rafael del Cerro Malagón, María Jesús Sáinz, Clara Delgado Valero, Teresa Pérez Higuera, M. Angeles Franco Mata, *Arquitectura de Toledo Del Romano al Gótico* (Toledo: Junta de Comunidades de Castilla-La Mancha, 1991), 293.

The round formation was seen similarly in a Santa Leocadia example that was constructed in 1162, and later was converted to Cristo de la Vega. In the 13th century, a tower bell was added to Santa Leocadia whose portal and apse represent Mudéjar touch. Although there was a Romanesque crisis, Castilian self assertion against Leon and the Almo had threat affected construction activities and created surprising results. Another example belongs to a converted religious building Cristo de la Luz, originally constructed in the 10th century. Later, a small mosque Bab al-Mardún, whose name is changed and converted into Cristo de la Luz, was used by the Christians in the 12th century.²⁶⁶ (Figures 88-90)

²⁶⁶ Yarza, *La Edad Media*, 260.

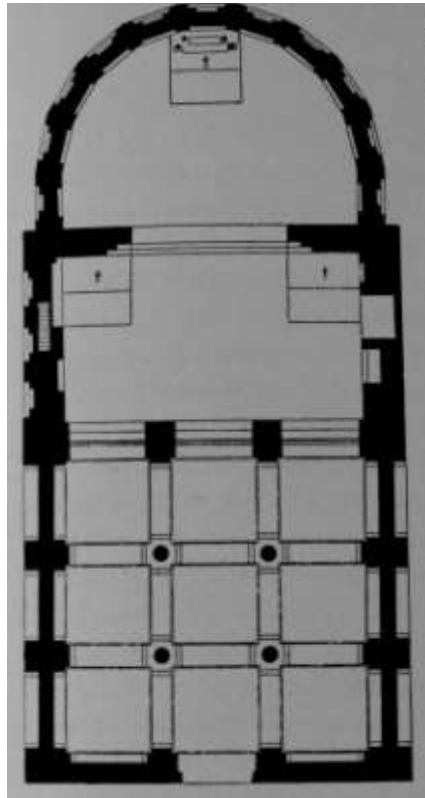


Figure 88. Plan of the Cristo de la Luz, 12th century, Toledo.
José Pijoán, *Arte Islámico*, Vol. Xu (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1973), 475.



Figure 89. Cristo de la Luz, 12th century, Toledo. (taken by the author)



Figure 90. Cristo de la Luz, 12th century, Toledo. (taken by the author)

It is possible to think that rounded arches with their Romanesque feature was a necessity of the Christian faith, which required Mudéjar masters to build a semi-circular apse that gave an appearance of Romanesque building. By comparison, Mudéjar building differs from the Romanesque, by its horizontality, which is much more stressed by towers. In Romanesque architecture the volume was created at the apse section. In Mudéjar examples, the apse wall is divided into segments and horizontal lines slice the wall. In addition, repeated arch forms, sometimes different from each other, were applied to the surfaces of the exterior wall. The plastic appearance was created by using *esquinillas*/angled brick friezes²⁶⁷.

Within the Castilla y León region, in the province of Palencia, the usage of wooden roofs was common. In the same province, the historic San Tirso Monastery, Shagun was

²⁶⁷ Yarza, *La Edad Media*, 260-261. M. Valdés Fernández, M. T. Pérez Higuera and P.J. Lavado Paradinas, *Historia del Arte de Castilla y León, Arte Mudéjar* (Valladolid: Ambito, 1996), 32-51.

constructed in the 12th century. The construction was started in stone; however, due to economical and practical necessities the construction was continued in brick. For that reason, the church is classified as *Romanic Brick/románico ladrillo* by scholars. At the exterior, polygonal apsidal niche and its tower heightened the building. Apse is decorated with repeated blind arches step by step, the same systemization continued on the body of the tower. However here, arches are not blind anymore and small columns carry the arches. In the interior remarkable horseshoe arches were repeated²⁶⁸. (Figures 91-93)

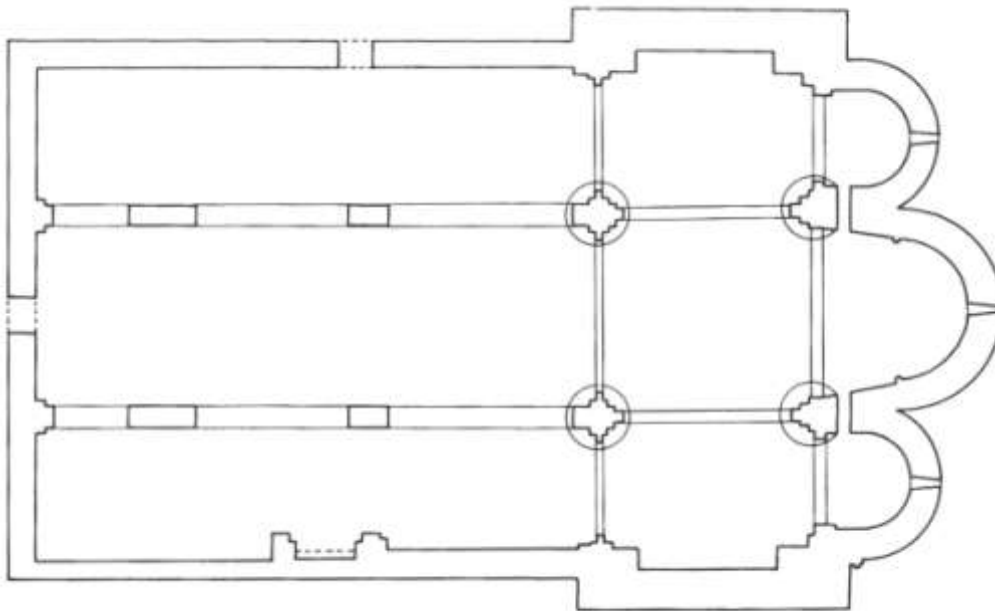


Figure 91. Plan of the San Tirso Church, 12th century, Shagún.
Fernández and Higuera, *Arte de Castilla y León*, 58.

²⁶⁸ Yarza, *La Edad Media*, 260, 263, 264.

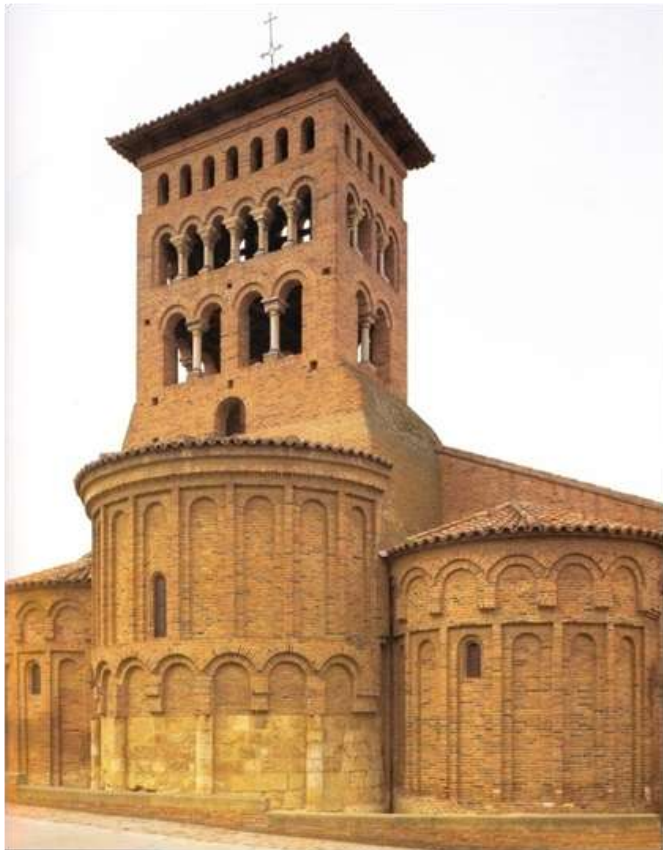


Figure 92. The San Tirso Church, general view, 12th century, Shagún.
Fernández and Higuera, *Arte de Castilla y León*, 59.



Figure 93. The San Tirso Church, general view, 12th century, Shagún.
Fernández and Higuera, *Arte de Castilla y León*, 61

San Lorenzo was built in the 13th century in Sahagún. At first sight, the structure resembles the San Tirso but the details show dissimilarities. San Lorenzo was completely built in brick. Its tower ornamentation is different from San Tirso and has more window openings to animate the building. In this building, it is not possible to see a column arrangement with arches. However, both of the church's apse tower surfaces were decorated with blind arches. In San Lorenzo, four arrays of arches rhythmically are used on the first, second and third floors of the tower body surface. On the fourth floor, the number of arches has increase and has become five. In the San Tirso's tower body, two twin arches are carried by columns at the outset. The double arches are followed by six rhythmic arch series at the upperparts²⁶⁹.

The San Tirso's construction logic continued with the chapel of St. Mancio in Shagún, a typical formation was repeated elsewhere as in the churches of Daroca in Zaragoza. It started with a stone construction; it was a Romanesque church in its early days then with the help of material its building program and technique were changed. For this reason, the building has been assumed as a brick Romanesque church more than Mudéjar.²⁷⁰ (Figures 94-97)

²⁶⁹Fernández and Higuera, *Arte de Castilla y León*, 60. Yarza, *La Edad Media*, 263, 264.

²⁷⁰ Fernández and Higuera, *Arte de Castilla y León*, 55. Yarza, *La Edad Media*, 263, 264.

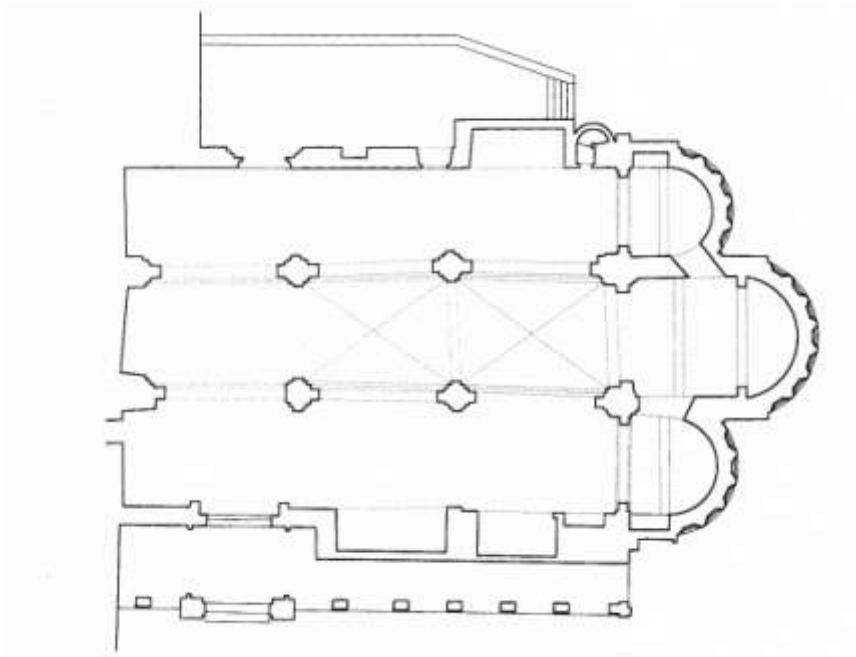


Figure 94. The San Lorenzo Church, Sahagún.
Fernández and Higuera, *Arte de Castilla y León*, 76.



Figure 95. Brick details of the San Lorenzo Church, Sahagún.
Fernández and Higuera, *Arte de Castilla y León*, 77.

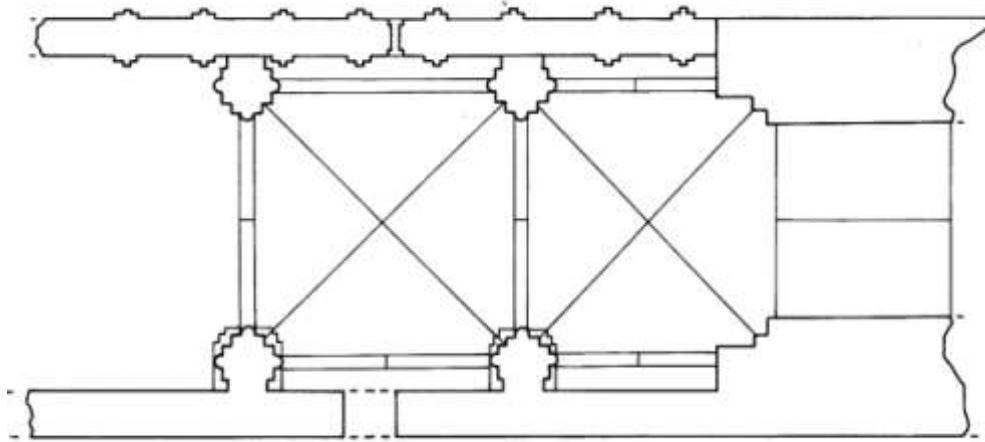


Figure 96. Plan of the San Mancio Chapel.
Fernández and Higuera, *Arte de Castilla y León*, 54.



Figure 97. The San Mancio Chapel, exterior wall.
Fernández and Higuera, *Arte de Castilla y León*, 55.

In Leon province of Spain, the Monastery of San Pedro de Dueñas, built in the beginning of the 11th century, can be grouped among one of the early Mudéjar examples of the region. (Figure 98) The Basilica formed building equally reminds of the Romanesque models. Two different materials were used for construction due to economical necessities. The building

was started in stone but later the construction was continued in brick. Its apse is typical of early Romanic Mudéjar examples; its above section contains a series of blind arches. The rectangular bell tower, which was built in the Mudéjar style, is enriched and animated by window openings covered with arches. Another example of Castilla y León province, Tierra de Campos, housed the late Mudéjar application of religious architecture dated to the 15th century, and the 16th centuries. These buildings usually have three naves and are supported by columns. The wall painting of the churches gives poor details, actually this rural painting method contradicts with rich timber roofs.²⁷¹



Figure 98. The Monastery of San Pedro de las Dueñas.
Fernández and Higuera, *Arte de Castilla y León*, 63.

Apart from Castilla y Mancha and the Castilla and León Regions, the second important centre of Mudéjar was Aragón, particularly Zaragoza. It is difficult to date the Aragonése Mudéjar buildings, whose earlier stage was started by the Christian conquest, because they were produced over a long period of time. Apart from the early Mudéjar examples, it is

²⁷¹ Gualis, *El Arte Mudéjar*, 169.

assumed that in the beginnings of the re-conquest, Muslim buildings were used by the Christians.²⁷².

The solid example for this situation can be traced in the Aljafería case, the Palace of the Taifa in Zaragoza. This residence of Taifa rulers is a spectacular example, and a single remaining architectural model from that period. The place, after the capture of the city by King Alfonso I in 1118, continued to be used as a court residence. It seems the Aljafería affected the conquerors due to its elegant architectural formation. The elegant atmosphere was created with the usage of interlacing arches and carved stucco ornamentation during construction of the building. As the building was transferred to its new function some additions were made. Artesonado ceiling details also enlivened a connection with the Islamic past²⁷³ (Figures 99–101).

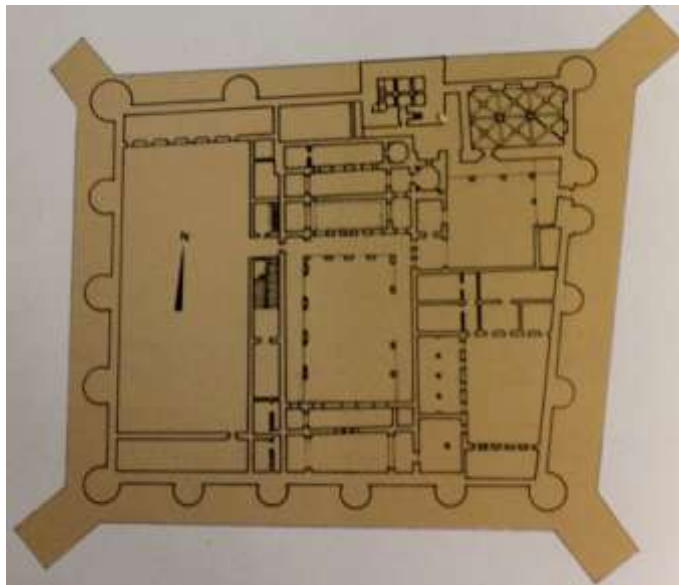


Figure 99. The Aljafería, ground plan. Martínez, *Arquitectura Hispanomusulmana*, 788.

²⁷² Gonzalo M. Borrás Gualis, "Coronación de los Reyes de Aragón," in *El Arté Mudéjar la Estética Islámica en el Arte Cristiano* (España: Electa, 2000), 86.

²⁷³ Gualis, "Coronación," 86.



Figure 100. The Aljafería, general view (taken by the author)



Figure 101. The Aljafería, interior view (taken by the author)

The chronological phase of Mudéjar art in Aragón can be grouped under four period. (starting from the 12th century until the 17th century) The earliest phase of Mudéjar style

was seen in Teruel and Daroca, the period was experienced between the 12th and 13th centuries. Teruel Cathedral, located in Teruel, with its ceiling construction could be accepted as a major example of this period. Although Teruel cathedral was constructed in the 13th century, it was actually a renewal process of the earlier Romanesque building by Mudéjar architect Juzaff who made additions converted the church into an attractive Mudéjar masterpiece. Bell towers, aisles, and naves were added which introduced the Mudéjar approach to the building²⁷⁴.

In order to supply religious needs, the mosques were converted into churches. The Cathedral Seo in Zaragoza was constructed as a mosque in the 9th century and reconstructed in the period of Taifa (11th century). It was converted to a cathedral, when the city was conquered by the Christians in the 12th century despite the fact that it was used as a mosque at the time. In the course of time, the Cathedral Seo experienced several styles with later additions, such as Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, and Baroque. The building was demolished in order to build a Romanesque cathedral there in the 13th century; it was a long construction period. In the 14th century, new additions such as higher nave and elongated forms to transform the building into a Gothic cathedral were made. Another important addition was made in the beginning of the 15th century; the church gained Renaissance features with a new dome. Its Mudéjar tower was pulled down in the 17th century and a baroque tower, whose design was done by an Italian designer, was constructed.²⁷⁵ (Figures 102–107)

²⁷⁴ Prats and Hernando, *Arte Mudéjar*, 12–16.

²⁷⁵ Balbás, *Arte Mudéjar*, 276–281.



Figure 102. The Cathedral Seo, Zaragoza
(taken by the author)



Figure 103. The Cathedral Seo, Zaragoza,
tower detail (taken by the author)



Figure 104. The Cathedral Seo, vault detail, Zaragoza.
(taken by the author)



Figure 105. The Cathedral Seo, Mudéjar wall details, Zaragoza
(taken by the author)



Figure 106. The Cathedral Seo, brick details, Zaragoza
(taken by the author)



Figure 107. The Cathedral Seo, Mudéjar brick and ceramic details, Zaragoza (taken by the author)

The second period of Aragonése Mudéjar corresponds with the emergence of Gothic style in Europe; thus, the 14th and 15th centuries were influenced from this artistic atmosphere of Gothic in which mixed Islamic and gothic features were used within building. In these structures, Islamic traditions continued to dominate the building. Nevertheless, to witness the usage of gothic features, such as extended forms, animal and vegetal forms led some scholars to classify these buildings in the name of *Gothic Mudéjar*. This period of Mudéjar holds rich architectural examples with more decorative ones.²⁷⁶ The third period of Mudéjar phase in Aragón was extended from the 16th century until the 17th century. The period is important because ethnic group Mudéjares were forcefully converted and they are obliged to choose Christian believes. Then Morisco terminology was born. Similarly, the strict atmosphere reflected upon construction process of the buildings well. Thus Mudéjar taste started to lose its popularity among the Christian patrons, and Italian Renaissance became new artistic taste that replaced dominant Mudéjar skill.

²⁷⁶ Yarza, *La Edad Media*, 268.

As previously mentioned in the chapter, traveling Mudéjar masters of the Iberian Peninsula was important in the construction process of Mudéjar buildings. Among them, Aragonese masters, who in addition to working around Aragón, were the most active. Likewise, they were charged with the erection of community architectural works in different regions. Aragonese masters produced a special featured building, which had more individualistic approach. The examples usually represent Christian-gothic and Islamic forms jointly in the buildings. Rich decorations were seen in bell towers where various geometrical shapes were created with brick material including interlaced arches and ornamental networks. These compositions were enriched with tiles. In the interior, a spatial atmosphere was created by wooden ceilings. Apses with thick walls formed an octagonal plan. Aragón Mudéjar examples regularly do not present *attaurique- arabesque* and the interior of the churches are usually decorated with carvings or paintings. As Aragón's examples of Mudéjar structures at the first glance were much more composite, it can be asserted that much more exaggeration, which sometimes created high decorative results, especially brick friezes create several decorative shapes such as multi-formed arches and etc.. The *alfiz/ arch corner* is used to frame both the decorative wall arches and the constructive ones. Last but not least, the most striking feature of the Aragonese Mudéjar was the usage of glazed ceramics on the surfaces of the bell towers that created decorative festivity with dominant colours like white, green and pink. Among Aragonese cities Teruel and Zaragoza are important Mudéjar centres. Particularly, Teruel examples with their peculiar decoration of bell towers obtained special gaze from the UNESCO and the small town was declared as a world heritage city in 1986.²⁷⁷ (Figures 108, 109)

²⁷⁷ Yarza, *La Edad Media*, 268, Prats and Hernando, *Arte Mudéjar*, 20-25, 28, 29.



Figure 108. General view of Teruel (taken by the author)



Figure 109. General view of Zaragoza (taken by the author)

One of the attractive Mudéjar buildings, San Pedro, was built in the 13th century in Teruel. In this structure, Romanesque and Gothic styles were combined with the Islamic touch. The

usage of blind and interlaced arches, mullioned windows and decoration are created with the usage of green ceramics. *Catedral of Santa María*, being one of the Teruel's masterpieces located in Calatayud, was built in the 14th century, and it represents one of the important gothic Mudéjar examples.²⁷⁸ Multi- language styles can be observed in Santa Maria Cathedral; while cloister was built in Mudéjar style, the tower which was added in the 16th century exposes the Renaissance details. (Figure 110)

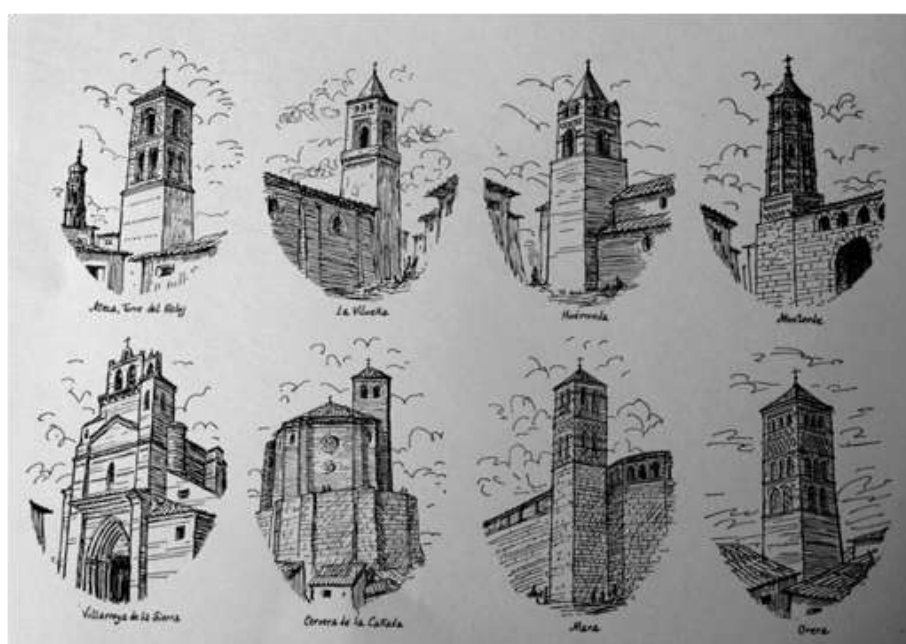


Figure 110. Drawing details of the Calatayud towers. Agustin Sanmiguel Mateo, *Arte Mudéjar en la Comunidad de Calatayud* (Zaragoza: Inst. Fernando el Catolico, 1982).

Muniesa, located in Teruel, housed to Mudéjar churches with a polygonal planned bell tower. These churches can be dated to the 16th and 17th century. It is interesting to see that in Muniesa, we find a tower that can perfectly exemplify the evolution of these constructions with the passing of the years. Other prominent examples of Mudéjar are located in Montalbán, Teruel. In the river region of Jalon and Jiloca, a greater number of

²⁷⁸ Geneviève Barbe-Copuelin de Lisle, "Arquitectura Mudéjar," in *Historia de la Arquitectura Espanola* (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1985), 717.

Mudéjar style churches were constructed. These recognized Zaragoza Mudéjar style churches can be seen in the capital as well: la Magdalena, San Pablo, and Tobed. Zaragoza Mudéjar style is especially attractive for its bell towers where an excellent usage of coloured tiles and bricks in addition to elegant height of the construction are apparent. There are several classification methods that can be produced about Aragón's Mudéjar typology. One of the categorization can be made according to the naves of the churches. Here, in Aragón, the churches can be grouped in three types. The first group is with one nave, the second group is with three aisles, and the last group took its name from its appearance, which is called as fortress churches. In some regions of Mudéjar architecture, a classification system based on court and public culture is used.²⁷⁹ (Figures 111-116)



Figure 111. The Church of San Miguel de los Navarros, 14th century, Zaragoza
(taken by the author)

²⁷⁹ María Dolores Aguilar García, "El mudéjar en el Reino de Granada: realizaciones de Almería y Málaga", *Mudéjar Iberoamericano: Una Expresión Cultural de Dos Mundos* (Granada: Universidad Granada, 1993), 58.



Figure 112. The Church of San Miguel de los Navarros, 14th century, Zaragoza (taken by the author)

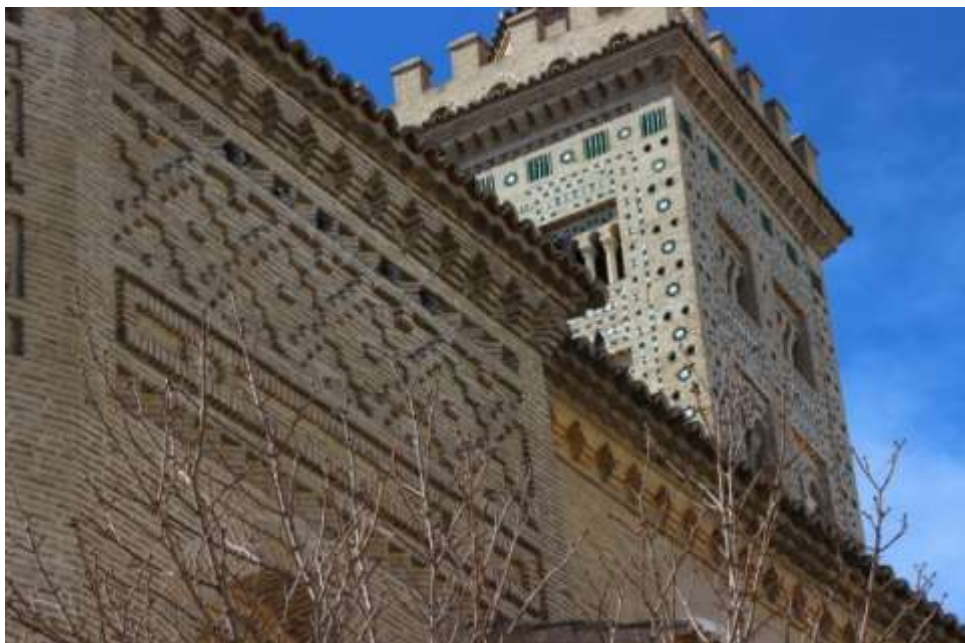


Figure 113. The Church of Santa Maria Magdalena, 14th century Zaragoza (taken by the author)

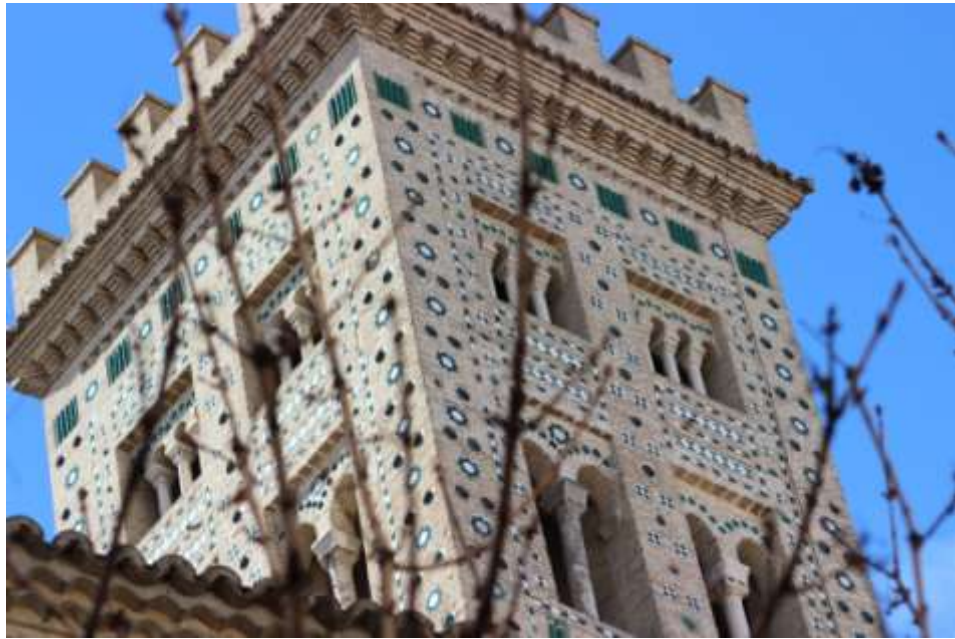


Figure 114. The Church of Santa Maria Magdalena, 14th century
Zaragoza (taken by the author)



Figure 115. The Church of Gil Abad, 14th century, Zaragoza (taken by the author)



Figure 116. The Church of Gil Abad, 14th century, Zaragoza (taken by the author)

The third distinctive centre of Mudéjar architecture was Andalucía. Whenever compared with the other Mudéjar regions, it can be said that Andalusian Mudéjar is a shorter experience. The reason why Mudéjar standing is peculiar to Andalucía has two explanations. Firstly, it was largely populated by Muslim community. Secondly, the last Islamic Dynasty Nasrids were located in this part of the geography until their dissolution in the 15th century and the Christian control came late to this geography. If we remember that the Alhambra Palace was constructed at the period of the Nasrids in Granada, the Nasrids' elegant level of art and architecture, whose effects can be traced in Mudéjar architecture, can be grasped more efficiently.²⁸⁰

The first conversions of mosques into churches in Córdoba took place in the 13th century. When the Christians started to construct their own buildings, some northern traditions, such as the Romanesque and early the Gothic forms, were favoured. Although it is usually

²⁸⁰ García, "Reino de Granada," 157-167. Yarza, *La Edad Media*, 259.

asserted that it was a political shift that was wanted to be demonstrated, *techumbres/roofs* were used in these structures of Córdoba. Mudéjar elements can be encountered in the Church of San Miguel; its south facade has Islamic appearance. Its arch resembles horseshoe arches and is surrounded by *alfiz/arch corner*. Another Mudéjar patterns are observed in the church of the St Lawrence which is one of the most exquisite styles of Córdoba.²⁸¹

In the 14th century, Córdoba witnessed the construction of a Mudéjar synagogue, which was built by Isaq Moheb. The prayer room of Cordoba Synagogue has nearly a square plan. It has three balconies decorated with small arches. The tabernacle is formed by a large lobed arch niche and its surrounding is gilded with stucco. Walls of rooms are coated with stucco ornamentation²⁸². The Royal Chapel of the Great Mosque of Córdoba was built in 1312 by Doña Constanza. The construction reveals a completely Almohade artistic taste with its elegant formation particularly at the exterior arrangement. The exterior is very much ornamented. Arch corners have ornamental network and Catholic Spain's emblem was added to this composition. Above the door, sliced arch forms were used. The interior of the arches was painted consistent with the Christian iconography. (Figures 117-119)

²⁸¹ Yarza, *La Edad Media*, 278.

²⁸² Dodds, "Mudéjar Tradition," 120, 122.

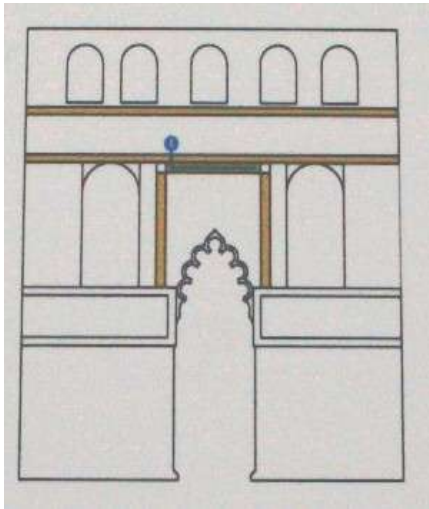


Figure 117. Drawing of the Córdoba Synagogue, Córdoba Synagogue Archive

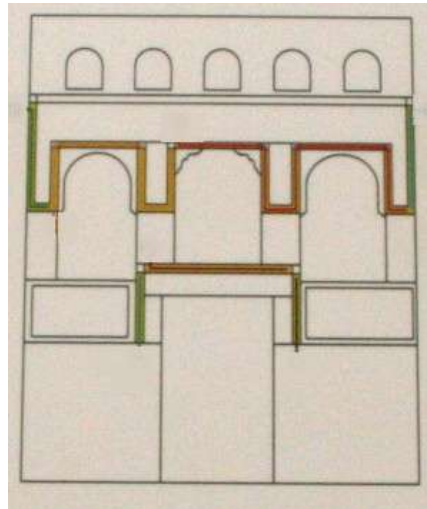


Figure 118. Drawing of the Córdoba Synagogue, Córdoba Synagogue Archive

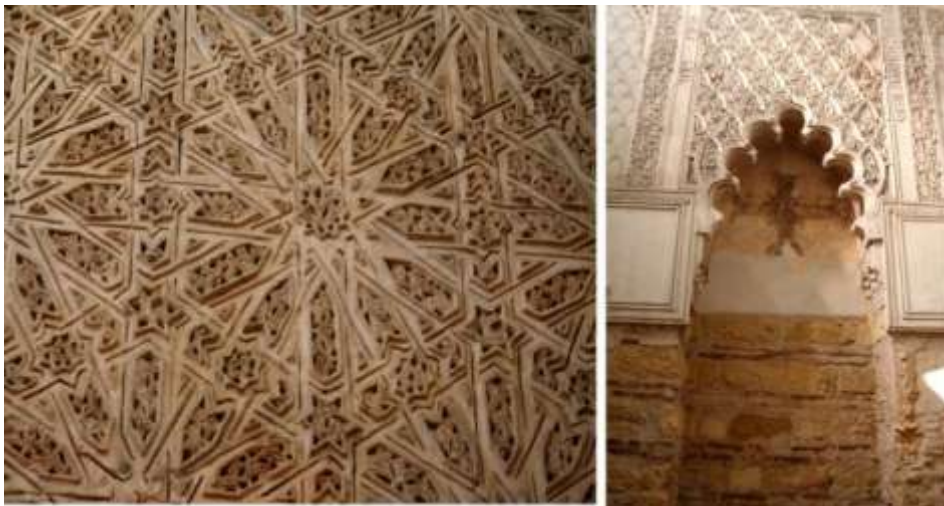


Figure 119. The Córdoba Synagogue's stucco details (taken by the author)

Mudéjar carpenters were required to be skilled in their works, which meant to be specialized in geometry. There are mainly four types of building category with the geometrical aim constructed in Córdoba.

1. category. Covering of semi-circle with ribbon.
2. category. Covering of five wall panels with ribbon.
3. category. Covered with octagonal form or geometric squared ribbon.

4. category. Covering of polished collar-beam (*par y nuddilo*)²⁸³.

Apart from Córdoba, Sevilla also reveals the masterpieces of the Mudéjar architecture in Andalusia. The Church of Lebrija in Seville with three naves separated by columns is a notable example. The spatial concept enriched with Muslim origin details such horseshoe arches and horizontal space formation totally different from the Christian spatial formation.²⁸⁴ Almeria and Málaga Mudéjar examples resemble each other with their simple decoration program, which is bare but striking. Málaga churches with their columned version have characteristic features, which reveal peculiarity in architecture. Likewise, in Almeria, diaphragm arches are peculiar to the region. However, remaining artefacts from each region demonstrate that Almeria with its monuments is more preserved than Málaga. The condition can be related to climate and the catastrophes experienced, such as floods and earthquakes. In Almeria, military buildings are attractive; they are more monumental than Málaga examples. However, civic buildings are not as rich as the ones in Málaga. In addition, aristocratic, mercantile bourgeoisie and high clergy dominated in Málaga, where Mudéjar formulations were preferred especially to provide space for daily living. However, instead of applying Islamic tradition, stonework was preferred for the front of the buildings since it was accepted as a distinctive aspect of social prestige²⁸⁵.

Mudéjar was changed into deep-rooted aesthetic reason in some regions especially in Andalucía; it became part of everyday life from gastronomy to music. Civil Mudéjar architecture in Córdoba was surprising with its immense quantity. The buildings were

²⁸³ García, "Mudéjar en el Reino de Granada," 58.

²⁸⁴ Gualis, *El Arte Mudéjar*, 185. Yarza, *La Edad Media*, 278, 279.

²⁸⁵ García, "Mudéjar en el Reino de Granada," 58. Guzman, *Arte Mudéjar*, 387-402.

constructed in the 15th century and later turned into convents by the donation mechanism. The common feature of these buildings was to have a central courtyard and columns supporting the arches. Column capitals show stylistic taste both from the antique and Islamic periods. The roof construction is also spectacular to these buildings²⁸⁶.

Although another Mudéjar centre, Extremadura, was populated by Muslims, it does not exhibit an attractive quantity of Mudéjar architecture. The issue can also be conducted to the poor number of scholarly studies over this part of the geography. Known examples of Extremadura demonstrate the influences from the North Toledo and Andalusia in the South. In Extremadura, Mudéjar shows itself with decorated towers. At the basement of towers, diamond bands, ceramics and interlaced blind arches were used. Gothic lattice work in portals and windows are popular. The Almohad and European gothic art mingled in Mudéjar art of Extremadura as it happened in Toledo. Cáceres and Badajoz have important representations of Mudéjar architecture. Especially, it is the South of Badajoz where numerically, the Mudéjar heritage is rich.²⁸⁷ In the 16th century, construction activity was at the highest level; Senora de la Concepción is important to mention from that period. The construction of the church started in 1511 and it finished in 1520. However, the tower was added lately.²⁸⁸ From the same province, La Asunción of Galisteo, a Mudéjar building of the 13th century, which has a semi-circular plan, gives details from the Romanesque tradition. A masonry base, semicircular arches, simple arches, bricks in *esquinillas*/angled brick friezes are identical features of the building.

²⁸⁶ García, "Mudéjar en el Reino de Granada," 74, 75.

²⁸⁷ Guzman, *Arquitectura Mudéjar*, 366-369. Yarza, *La Edad Media*, 280.

²⁸⁸ Guzman, *Arquitectura Mudéjar*, 366.

The Monastery of Guadalupe demonstrates the summit of the Mudéjar in the region. After the battle of Salado, Alfonso XI ordered the construction of a fortress with a church attached to it. The Church's construction was started at the end of the 14th century and completed in the early years of the 15th century. The Monastery of Guadalupe reveals the most notable efforts of Gothic and Islamic forms. Particularly, pure Andalusian cloister and horseshoe arches used in two floors have important Islamic imprint²⁸⁹. (Figure 120- 122)

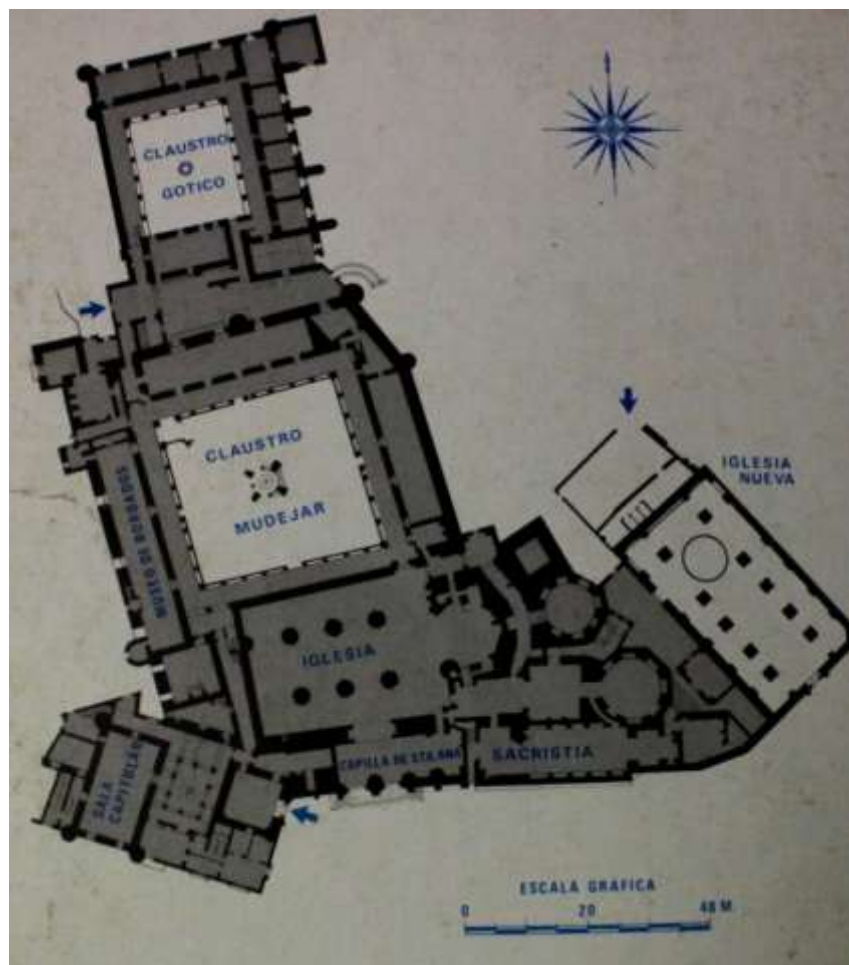


Figure 120. Plan of the Monastery of Santa Maria de Guadalupe., Extremadura, Antonio C. Floriano, *El Monasterio de Santa Maria de Guadalupe* (Madrid, Editorial Everest, 1984).

²⁸⁹ Yarza, *La Edad Media*, 280.



Figure 121. The Monastery of Santa Maria de Guadalupe, Antonio C. Floriano, *El Monasterio de Santa Maria de Guadalupe* (Madrid: Editorial Everest, 1984).



Figure 122. The Monastery of Santa Maria de Guadalupe, Floriano, *Santa Maria de Guadalupe*, 21.

However, undoubtedly, the Mudéjar in Badajoz, with the exception of small primitive remains, has two important stages. The first can be dated to the 15th century, when

structures and temples were more modest or previous constructions were enhanced. The second is the 16th century and it was the time of richness. The construction density of the last years of the 15th century and the first decades of the 16th was due to the economic prosperity that came after the conquest of Granada and the early stages of exploration of the American Continent. In these years, the refinement of the Mudéjar style melts with the Gothic forms and Renaissance walls. Tentudia Monastery is a well-known the medieval heritage of Badajoz that was built in the 13th century. One of the characteristics of Badajoz late Mudéjar is the presence of towers façades usually decorated with wall arcades and other rich Mudéjar decorations. These characteristic towers were constructed between the end of the 15th century and 16th century²⁹⁰.

The above mentioned differences, in the construction process of Mudéjar architecture in the Iberian Peninsula has inevitably increased the number of terminologies in the field. For instance, to define stylistic and periodical aspects of the theme, terms such as Romanic Mudéjar and Gothic Mudéjar terminologies were developed. Other terminologies for the courtly and popular Mudéjar are produced in the example of Andalucía; however, the classification method usually does not bring satisfactory results because a sensitive type of Mudéjar can be seen in Málaga examples but these examples are not courtly ones. In Almería, important palaces were also built in the style of early Renaissance. On the other hand, popular Mudéjar examples were mainly constructed with cheap materials²⁹¹.

²⁹⁰ Pilar Mogollón Cano-Cortés, "El Arte Mudéjar en Extremadura", in *El Arte Mudéjar*; ed. Gonzalo Borrás Gualis (Zaragoza: Iber Caja, 1996), 83-96.

²⁹¹ García, "Mudéjar en el Reino de Granada," 58.

3.2.5. Spread of Mudéjar

The 16th century was a glorious period for the Spaniards as it witnessed several important political developments. In this century, the re-conquest ideology was transformed into *expulsion* and *expansion* systems respectively. Among them, expansion introduced *colonial* activities to Spanish history. The re-conquest ideology of the Spaniards, while ending the Islamic dynasty, expelled the Hebrew culture from the Peninsula. In this epoch, the Spaniards wanted to compete with their European counterparts who were economically and culturally beyond Spain. As the Spaniards were trying to look for economic upliftment, rumours of gold reserves and prosperity of the Mesoamerican civilizations attracted their attention in the 16th century. Then, the Spaniards would decide to realize their transatlantic voyages in order to confirm the rumours of the rich American Civilizations in the following decades.²⁹²

Actually, one of the most important advancement was achieved by accepting the project of Christopher Columbus, who aimed to find an alternative trade route to India. Although he had failed to decipher the place exactly, his followers discovered, deciphered what they encountered with and named the place as America. Mythologies concerning the richness of the American Continent led the Spaniards to make return voyages to the Americas. The Spanish commander Hernán Cortés and others soon would take advantage of new offerings of the American Continent. New expeditions were made, so, a designation of “expansion era” could be attributed to the 16th century. The expansionist colonial ideology pushed numbers of soldiers and homeless people to obtain the gold reserves of the American

²⁹² Diego Duran, *The History of the Indies of New Spain*, trans.Doris Heyden (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994).

continent. Certainly, the process brought disastrous results to the Aztecs, who were the natives of the country, and their territories were in danger with the new arrivals²⁹³.

In 1519, when Hernán Cortés entered the city of Tenochtitlan, the Aztec land, and he was welcomed by the last Aztec emperor Montezuma since he considered that Cortés could be the famous legendary figure Quetzalcoatl, who supposedly would return from the West to enliven the golden age of the Aztecs. It did not take long for Montezuma to understand the actual role of the Spaniards. Cortés was not the so-called leader but the conqueror; the issue brought a long struggle between the Aztecs and the Spaniards. It is important to mention that the Aztecs were not favoured by their neighbours in the geography due to their hostile and cruel relation with them. Neighbours of the Aztecs were similarly scared of being a captive of the Aztecs, who ritually adopted to sacrifice the captives in their temples. This political and religious act became influential on the emergence of great hate towards the Aztecs. In order to cope with the problem, the neighbours of the Aztecs, such as Tlaxcalatecas, made an alliance with the Spaniards; thus, the Spaniards used the advantage to conquer the whole Aztec land. Finally, Hernán Cortés captured the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlan, in 1523.²⁹⁴ (Figures 123, 124)

²⁹³ Maltby, *The Rise*, 20–29.

²⁹⁴ Duran, *Indies of New Spain*.



Figure 123. Plan of Tenochtitlán before the Spanish Conquest

Manuel Toussaint and F.J. Ferederico Gomez, *Planos de la Ciudad de México Siglo XVI y XVI, XVII* (Distrito Federal: UNAM, 1990)



Figure 124. Illustration of the Templo Mayor/ Great Temple. (National Geographic)

At the first stage, the Aztec territory was entirely unknown to the new comers; invaders had to build a city according to their needs. A new town plan was sent from the motherland to

the so-called New Spain by Philip II. Perspective cities were created in the American Continent by rules determined by him²⁹⁵. Consistent with the ordinances of Philip II, several rules were observed during the construction of the cities in the American Continent, which even gave detailed building regulations as follows; (Figures 125, 126)

“do not select sites that are too high up because these are affected by winds, and access and service to these are difficult, nor in low lands, which tend to be unhealthy; choose places of medium elevation that enjoy good hills, these should be in the west or in the east, and if there should be a need, build in high places, or in areas not subjected to fogs; take note of the terrain and its accidental features and in case that there should be a need to build on the banks of a river, it should be on the eastern bank, so when the sun rises it stares the towns first, then the water”²⁹⁶.



Figure 125. The Plaza Mayor/ Zócalo, México, 1791, G. F. Brambila
Photographic Archive of Manuel Tousiant of IIE, UNAM, Reference no. CA-3778a

²⁹⁵ George Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of Sixteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Publishers, 1948), 90.

²⁹⁶Jean-Francois Lejeune, "The laws of the Indies, Ordinances for the Discovery, the Population, and the Pacification of the Indies (excerpts)", in *Cruelty&Utopia: Cities and Landscapes of Latin America* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2005), 19.



Figure 126. The Plaza Mayor/Zócalo and governmental buildings
(taken by the author)

In addition to the transfer of town planning, there are some architectural styles transported to the American Continent as well. Being one of them, Mudéjar style was exported to the American Continent, which had already become an architectural taste of the Spaniards for centuries in the mother land. With this cultural shift beyond the Atlantic Ocean, Mudéjar as a part of the colonial remembrance gained trans-cultural features. Mudéjar style was applied with Baroque style, which attained its pinnacle while creating ultra Baroque Churrigueresque. Apart from this, the style applied carpentry works, especially on the roofs of churches as *artesonados*²⁹⁷. *Churrigueresque style* as a combination of Mudéjar and ultra baroque is particularly applied at the façades where big entrance doors are located. Around a doorpost and façade, tiny details remind of silverworks. In addition, at the interior arrangement, a similar design is applied to metal surfaces sometimes in gold. Due

²⁹⁷ Rafael L. Guzman, "Las Primeras Construcciones y la Definición del Mudéjar en Nueva España," in *El Mudéjar Iberoamericano. Del Islam Al Nuevo Mundo* (Mexico: Lunweg Editores, 1995), 199–211.

to high decorative and symbolic connotations, the Churrigueresque style was widely preferred.

In this regard, it can be said that *Mudéjar* was transported to the American Continent, which used traditional native motifs of the American Civilizations with the Islamic and Christian forms while holding trans-cultural features. For that reason Islamic origin star composition and Incan and Aztec originated solar disk became popular in the American Continent because of their similarities. Arches, vaults, arabesque motifs (ataurique) and ceramics decorated magnificent churches of America²⁹⁸. (Figure 127)



Figure 127. The Aztec Solar Disc. Templo Mayor Museum

²⁹⁸ Anonymous, *Simbolo de Convivencia*, 7, 8.

Mudéjar expression can especially be observed on carpentry works. Union of the Islamic, Jewish and Christian civilizations reflected itself particularly in Mudéjar wooden ceilings and double arch windows. Decoration of *lazos*/bond, interlaced star shaped-polygons are frequently used themes in Mudéjar style of Mexican carpentry examples. One of the finest examples could be seen in San Francisco Church, Tlaxcala. It is essential to mention that Mudéjar expression is usually seen in secondary towns, which seems interesting and waiting to be investigated in the case of Mexico²⁹⁹, The artistic historiography of Mudéjar in the American Continent has not a satisfactory development but there is some advancement on the identification of elements. Consequently, with the emergence of Renaissance and classical ideas, the Mudéjar style declined but kept its existence.³⁰⁰(Figures 128, 129)



Figure 128. Mudéjar examples/ armadura de lacería of San Miguel Church, Sucre (Bolivia). Santiago Sebastián, "Existe El Mudejarismo en Hispanoamérica?," *El Mudéjar Iberoamericano; del Islam al Nuevo Mundo* (España: Lunweg Editores, 1995), 47.

²⁹⁹ Guzman, "Definición del Mudéjar," 199.

³⁰⁰ Ali, *Arab Contribution*, 106.



Figure 129. Mudéjar examples, San Francisco, Sucre (Bolivia). Ignacio Henares Cuéllar, "Perspectiva Historiográfica Finisecular del Mudéjar en la Península, Archipiélagos Atlánticos e Iberoamérica," *El Mudéjar Iberoamericano; del Islam al Nuevo Mundo* (España: Lunwerg Editores, 1995),31.

3.2.6. Neo-Mudéjar

The architecture of the mid-nineteenth century and the twentieth century were in search of a new style due to the changes which occurred in society after the industrial revolution. The industrial revolution meant that technological advancement would damage the crafts sector as serial production, which produced items in less time with less effort; it was much cheaper and efficient. Not surprisingly, this new industrial approach evoked human sensitivities towards nature; thus, romantic feelings towards the past became popular. In the art and architectural realm, consistent with the periods' contradictory industrial and romantic atmosphere, several styles, such as Art Nouveau, Arts and Crafts and several neo formulations of the previous styles, developed. Art Nouveau, which means a new style, used organic and natural forms in their designs. Arts and Crafts movement by Romantic sensation intended to unite the already separated art and crafts concepts. There was also a

desire for the enlivenment of forgotten Middle Age crafts mechanism as a result of industrialization.

Initially, in the last decades of the 19th century and the early 20th century, this search was particularly located in two styles: historicism and eclecticism. The first style applied as the recovery of the past while the second aimed to develop a new style nourished from a combination of architectural elements inherited from the various styles of the past³⁰¹. Neo-Mudéjar style is considered as one of the most eclectic styles, which is also in a sense assumed as an ephemeral architectural type of the 19th century by scholars. The emergence of neo-Mudéjar has a strong relation with dense regionalist aspects. Actually, the 19th century had a special place in Spanish historiography as political wind so often turned its direction. This period aimed to demonstrate liberty and tolerance in several branches of life including the social and religious fields. Equally, architecture turned out to be an application ground of current political ideas during the late 19th and the 20th century. It can be assumed that the birth of neo-Mudéjar style has more connection with political and social agenda more than aesthetical issues. The first building, which reflects neo-Mudéjar taste, was constructed in 1873 for Vienna International World Exhibition fairs. Neo-Mudéjar styled Spanish pavilion was projected by Lorenzo Álvarez Capra. The construction time of this pavilion matched with the first Republic foundation following the Revolution in 1868 that ended the period of Isabel II³⁰².

³⁰¹ María Pilar Biel Ibáñez, Ascensión Hernández Martínez, *Precisiones en Torno a la Arquitectura Neomudéjar en Aragon*, edit. Jesús Fermín Criado Mainar (Zaragoza: Coloquio de Arte Aragonés 2002), 347.

³⁰² Ibáñez and Martínez, *Neomudéjar en Aragon*, 331.

The Universal World Fair exhibitions was the result of a growing oriental interest based on trading opportunity of the West in the East and avangard researches' curiosity towards the East in the second half of the 19th century. These exhibitions were displaying the Eastern cultures and their material cultures to the West.³⁰³ One of the most prevalent images of this period was the Paris Universal Exposition held in 1889. Here, the Spanish Pavilion was designed to reflect neo-Mudéjar taste. Another neo-Mudéjar example was the Moroccan Pavillon (1925-28) designed in Mudéjar style when Morocco was still under Spanish colonial control. The pavilion was designed by Antonio Got and Mariano Bartuhci. Actually, such representation of Morocco was intended to demonstrate Spain as a leading power in the World. In addition to a demonstration of Spanish power, the pavilion mainly served to excited the 'exotic' desires of Western viewers This pavilion used Almohad mosques forms and emulated the minarets of Rabat and Marrakech. Its colour was similar to the Marrakech examples.³⁰⁴ (Figure 130, 131)



Figure 130. Central Dome of the Paris Exhibition, 1889. <http://www.loc.gov>

³⁰³ Zeynep Çelik, *19.yy'da Osmanlı Başkenti Değişen İstanbul* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları 1992).

³⁰⁴ Fuchs, "Cleaving of Hispanism," 498. Crites, "Mosque to Cathedral," 271.

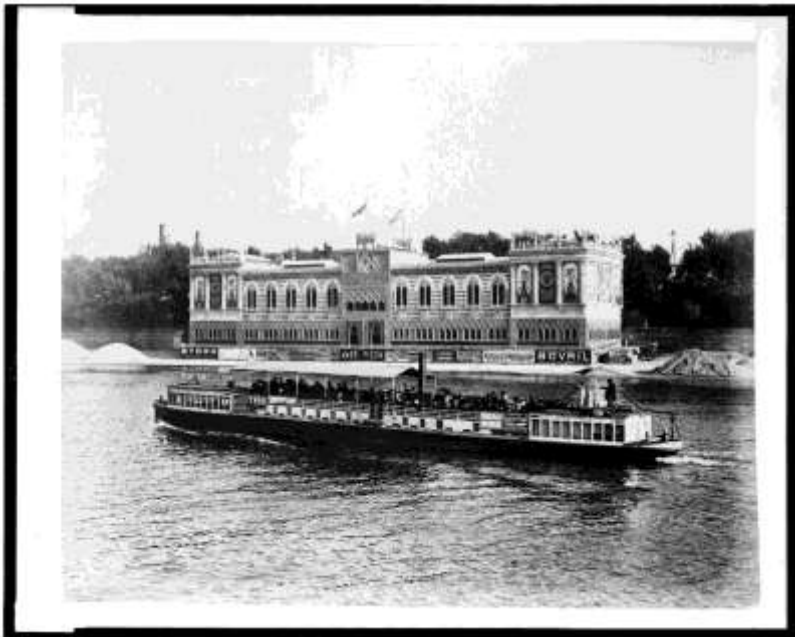


Figure 131. The Spanish Pavilion with tourist boat on the River Seine, Paris Exposition, 1889 <http://www.loc.gov>

Neo-Mudéjar was firstly seen in architecture of Madrid in the 19th century. Neo-mudejar buildings can be seen in various parts of Spain but the most well-known and applied place for neo-Mudéjar architecture examples were constructed in Madrid and Zaragoza. Cheap materials were used for the exteriors of the buildings. In Madrid, Plazas de Toros (1874) was built by Emilio Rodríguez Ayuso, the building was one of the most striking examples, but unfortunately it was destroyed. Iglesia de la Paloma (1896-1912) of Lorenzo Álvarez Capra, the church of San Frnín de los Navarros (1891) of Carlos Velasco and Eugenio Jiménez Corera, San Vicente de Paúl (1904) of Juan Bautista Lázaro, Parroquia de Santa Cristina Church (1906) of Enrique Repullés and Vargas are other examples of Mudéjar designs in Madrid. In Zaragoza, the same current style was applied by Regino Borobio, Vicente Rodriguez, Antonio Parellades, Antonio Rubio, Manuel Sainz of Vicuña and Miguel Angel Navarro³⁰⁵. (Figures 132, 133)

³⁰⁵ Ibáñez and Martínez, *Neomudéjar en Aragón*, 331. J.Arrechea Miguel, J.C. Brasas Egido, J. Hernando Carrasco and A.Álvarez Mora, *Historia del Arte de Castilla y León. Arte Contemporáneo*, Tomo VIII (Valladolid: Ambito Publishers, 2000).

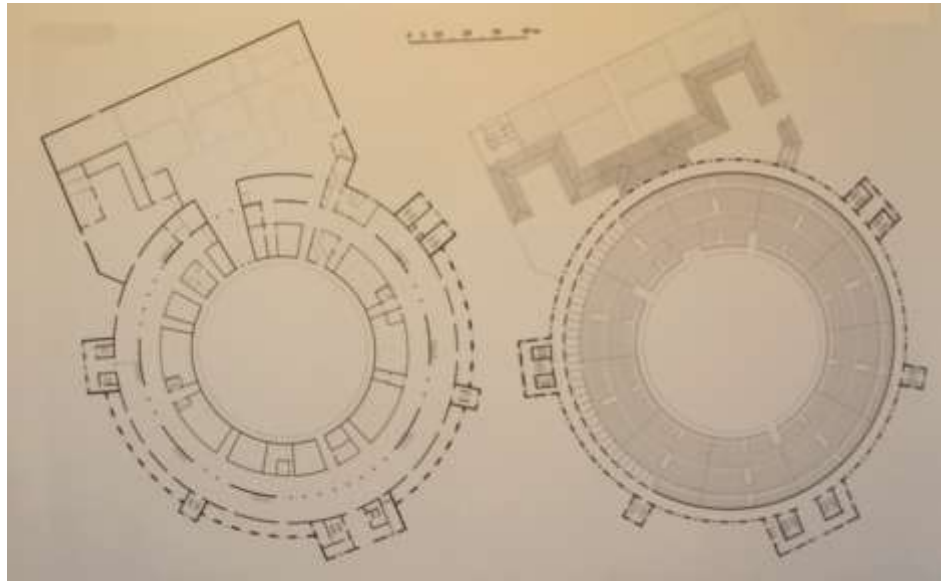


Figure 132. The Bullring of Madrid/ Plazas de Toros, Anonymous, *Plazas de Torros* (Seville: Dirección General de Arquitectura y Vivienda, 1995), 330.



Figure 133. The Bullring of Madrid/ Plazas de Toros. Anonymous, *Plazas de Torros*, 328.

In some examples neo-Mudéjar style was applied with other architectural styles. In this group: Plaza America, where four architectural styles were used, was built as three plazas by Aníbal González. Islamic forms, plateresque, and gothic were used in an eclectic

manner. The designer was famous with *estilo sevillano/ sevillean style*, he explained his approach as being nourished from proportion, light, colour and regional features³⁰⁶.

The regionalist segment of the 20th century was different from the Historicism of the previous century. Firstly, it explored more peripheral areas of history and concentrated on a particular region where local archaeology took attention. Andalusian architectural regionalism was an interest grown after the Ibero-American exhibition of 1929 in Seville. This interest combined traditional Andalusian taste with neo-Mudéjar taste. The exhibition of 1929 prepared a debate for hybrid constructions. Another aspect of regionalism was nourished from contradiction of politic blocks in Spain. In this regard, Franco's dictatorship was trying to consolidate national spirit as the uniting element of the territory. His dictatorship rejected modernity associated with the Republic and sought for own signs of identity in each region, which finally brought pluralistic atmosphere to the Iberian Peninsula³⁰⁷.

Even though Aragón demonstrates several Mudéjar examples here for the neo-Mudéjar, there was a chronological delay. The recognition of the neo-Mudéjar did not occur in Aragón until the 1920. The neo-Mudéjar was considered something foreign and exotic that brought Arabic influenced eclecticism by the architecture schools that were giving education according to the Beaux Arts traditions where Renaissance ideas were trendy. In other words, the Renaissance was accepted as a cultural model both in architecture and history. Architects mainly preferred designing Renaissance style buildings. The 19th century architect Ricardo Magdalena (1849-1910), who worked in Zaragoza Municipality, was responsible for several constructions in the city. He was the first important figure that used

³⁰⁶ Crites, "Mosque to Cathedral," 270.

³⁰⁷ Ibáñez and Martínez, *Neomudéjar en Aragón*, 333-335.

Renaissance design logic in his projects, and a determinant figure for spreading the Renaissance style in Aragón. Ricardo Magdalena worked on the construction of the building for the Science and Medicine Faculty of Zaragoza (1893). Notably, brick was used as a construction material for these Renaissance styled buildings, but sometimes neo-Mudéjar attribution was made to these buildings. It was common for both Renaissance and neo-Mudéjar designers to prefer using brick for constructions. Although Magdalena was famous for his Renaissance styled formulations, he also used some neo-Mudéjar patterns in his buildings; such as brick for structure and ceramics for ornamental reasons.³⁰⁸ Patio arrangement and wooden ceiling can be accepted as neo-Mudéjar touches in these buildings. (Figures 134-137)



Figure 134. Zaragoza Municipality, 19th century, Ricardo Magdalena
(taken by the author)

³⁰⁸ Ibáñez and Martínez, *Neomudéjar en Aragón*, 333-335.



Figure 135. Zaragoza Municipality, 19th century, Ricardo Magdalena (taken by the author)

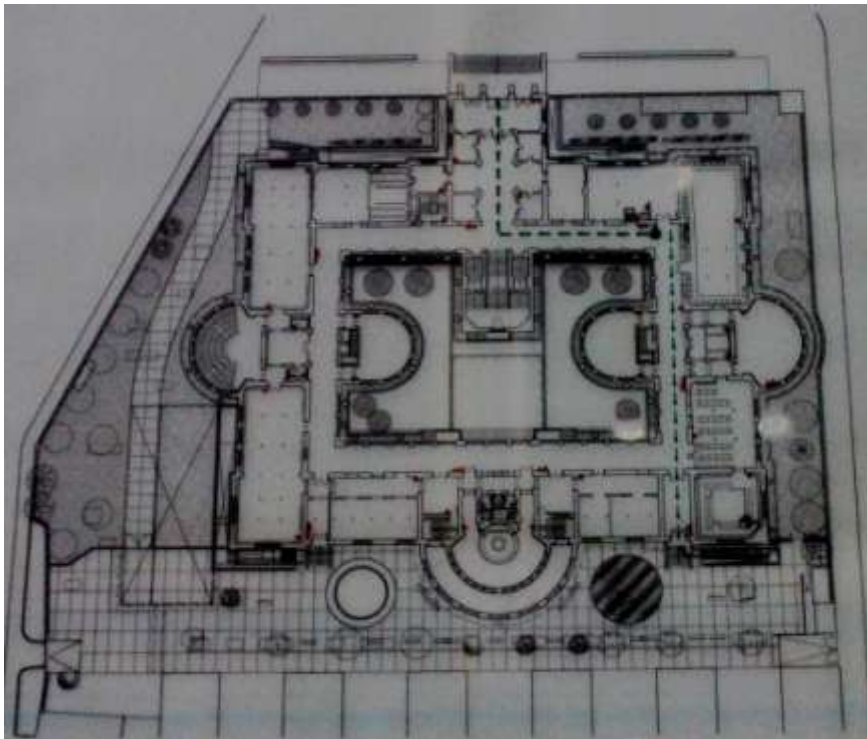


Figure 136. The Science and Medicine Building, Ricardo Magdalena, 19th century, Zaragoza (taken by the author)



Figure 137. The Science and Medicine Building, interior view, Ricardo Magdalena, 19th century, Zaragoza (taken by the author)

Félix Navarro who used representative typologies in industrial architecture symbolically was another famous architect who was also a contemporary of Magdalena. Félix Navarro's projects gave place to the decoration concept of Mudéjar. Regnio Borobio developed a more modern version in which rationalism mingled with the Aragonése tradition of brick architecture. Particularities of Aragón made Aragonése Renaissance different from the rest of the Peninsula's styles. Two architects; Antonio Rubio and Juan Antonio Muñoz were inspired from the Mudéjar tradition in Teruel. In these decades, for administrative activities, such as post office buildings, sanitary as psychiatric hospitals, prisons and jails or various private schools, brick was used as a building material and their walls were enriched with tastefully decorated Mudéjar patterns. However, after the Civil War, the reconstruction of the cities were occured, which had been lost or damaged as a result of the Civil War. One of them, Fábrica Gal (1915), was built in Madrid by Amós Salvador and Carreras. It was one of the most well-designed neo-Mudéjar architectural examples that

used brick material densely; the building was restored in 1963. In Aragon, rebuilding was away from Mudéjar architecture. Instead, as previously mentioned, the Aragonése Renaissance was introduced by Ricardo Magdalena and its modernized version was done so by Regino Borobio; thus, only a few neo-Mudéjar examples remained from that period³⁰⁹.

During the reconstruction (1939–1956) that followed the Civil War, the neo-Mudéjar was sustained artificially, and survived because according to dictatorship it was holding a regional spirit and was a kind of the rejection to artistic modernity (or rationalism), of the II Republic. In spite of these motivations, there are specific examples in which the Mudéjar art was understood as a tradition to be inspired for more modern and harmonious buildings, such in the case of the works of Regino Borobio, the tradition is well-understood and certain resources of the Mudéjar art were simplified and gained new meanings. Abstract brick surfaces highlight house facades or tower walls in his works without being a copy of Mudéjar buildings and stand as an inspiration source for the new while reminding the past.³¹⁰

Toledo Train Station (1920) was built by Narciso Clavería, one of the striking neo-Mudéjar models constructed at the entrance of the city, while welcoming passengers to historical past of the city of Toledo. Consequently, the 19th century's search condition for a new style created vigorous artistic debate. The 20th century was equally marked for search of the signs of identity of the country as it happened in each region. In this way, architecture with multi-styles developed to identify the country, which sometimes nourished underneath from remembrance of powerful Spain of Carlos V as well. Richness and diversity of cultural tradition and the need to assimilate all cultural stages processed in this century.

³⁰⁹ Ibáñez and Martínez, *Neomudéjar en Aragon*, 332–348.

³¹⁰ Ibáñez and Martínez, *Neomudéjar en Aragon*, 369.

Neo-Mudéjar style was a result of the discovery stages of regional identity. After analyzing these works, we can point out that the regionalism of Mudéjar was used in a series of specific construction typologies such as housing, schools, administrative buildings and public buildings without special representative or symbolic significance ³¹¹. (Figures 138-140)

The German architect Gottfried Semper brought into question eclecticism and experimentalism because he suggested that such an investigation was an abandonment of the formal qualities of the original archetypes and at the same time caused the loss of simplicity of the form. The beginnings of Rationalist currents can be seen in Viollet-le-Duc's principles as well, whose influences can be traced in the foundation of modern procedures of restoration where new constructive skills(technologies) or the constitution of new tectonic solutions were formulated³¹². In the final decades of the century, next to the eclecticism, starting from 1910 to 1915, the panorama of the city's architecture was enriched with a new flow, the modernism, which will determine the architecture of this period. This modernism and its beginnings mainly came from the hand of the Catalan architect who started to mark the appearance of the cities. (Figures 141-144)

³¹¹ Miguel and Carrasco, *Castilla y León*. Ibáñez and Martínez, *Neomudéjar en Aragón*, 367, 354, 369, 370, 348.

³¹² Miguel and Carrasco, *Castilla y León*, 11.



Figure 138. Toledo Train Station, exterior view, 1920, Toledo (taken by the author)



Figure 139. Toledo Train Station, exterior view, 1920, Toledo (taken by the author)



Figure 140. Toledo Train Station, interior, 1920, Toledo (taken by the author)



Figure 141. The Park Güell, Gaudí, 19th century (taken by the author)

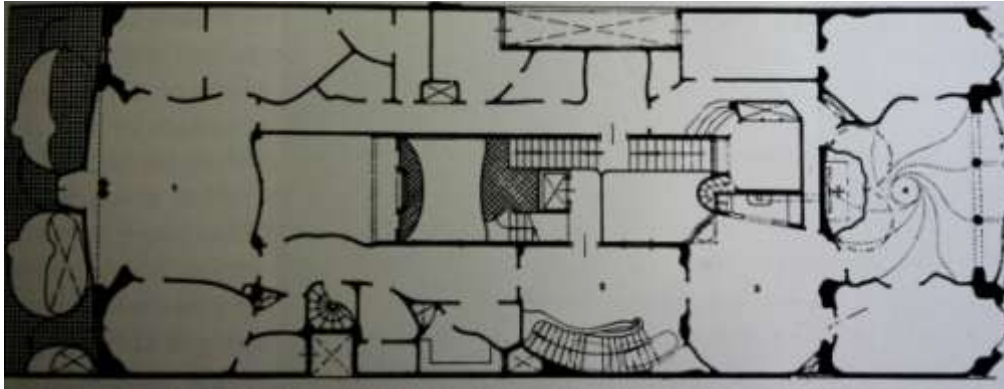


Figure 142. The first floor plan of the Casa Batlló, Gaudí, Barcelona, 19th century, Pedro Navascués Palacio, *Arquitectura Española 1808-1914*, vol. Xxxv (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1993), 631.



Figure 143. The Casa Batlló, Antoni Gaudí, Barcelona (taken by the author).



Figure 144. Detail from the Casa Batlló, Antoni Gaudí (taken by the author).

CHAPTER 4

‘MUDÉJAR’ IN ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY ON SPAIN

4.1. Historical Background

4.1.1. Spanish Identity: The Reconquest Ideology, Hispanidad and Convivencia

The Medieval Age witnessed the emergence and formation of ethnical identities of the Iberian Peninsula, where ‘the re-conquest’, ‘Hispanidad’, and "convivencia" notions were born and evolved in time. These notions and their effects can still be sensed through arguments in the scholarly field of Spain. The arguments usually revolve around the Spanish identity and its constituents. The identity questions sometimes tried to illuminate with geographical issues; however, sometimes political designations were chosen for identical explanations. Inevitably, the identity formulations of the Peninsula brought new terminologies to the field. Therefore, the following parts of the paper will analyze these preferences to clarify historical and ideological tools as they are used to explain solid cultural components of the Iberian entity.

Terminologies of “Iberia” and “Hispania” are applied to geographical setting of today’s Spain and Portugal. The first usage of “Iberia” appears in the Ancient Greek documents; the name is driven from an important river- Rio de Ebro. Although Greek usage of Iberia is based on geographical determination, Hispania, which was used by the Romans mostly, has held political and economic connotations in time.³¹³ As it was explained in previous chapters, after the fight with the Cartegahanians who were one of the earlier possessors of the Peninsula and active in trading, the control of the Peninsula passed to the hands of the Romans by the Second Punic War (218–201 B.C.). Then, the Romans introduced urban and

³¹³ Eventually, Hispania pronounced as España in the medieval Romance dialect. O’Callaghan, *Medieval Spain*, 20.

economic progress to the Peninsula. Actually, the foremost addition of the Romans to the Peninsula was the establishment of a central authority who created strength in social and economic system at the same time. The institutional and cultural effect would continue even after their collapse. Both trade and the military mechanism of the Romans became influential creating strong communication networks. Several architectural works, such as roads and water supply aqueducts were constructed; thus, the Roman Empire cultivated both the Iberian Peninsula's physical and cultural arena³¹⁴.

Not surprisingly, the Roman political control over the Peninsula brought affluence that would produce the Hispania notion in coming centuries. When the Roman supremacy shifted to the hands of the Visigoths, the established Roman cultural mechanism including the Roman Latin language was adopted by the new comers. In fact, the acceptance of the Roman cultural system and traditions, even adaptation of language, could be explained with general features attributed to the Middle Ages, built on practical structure in addition to symbolic ones; this feature let people easily use cultural mechanisms of previous centuries or of neighbouring cultures. From this perspective, the medieval period appears to not hold ideological place so greatly when it is compared with the following epochs³¹⁵.

Rapidly, the Berber and Arab originated military groups occupied the Iberian Peninsula in 711 and dispersed the Visigothic Kingdom, who was already experiencing its hard times politically. With this conquest, the northern part of the peninsula housed several small states that emerged as a fraction of the Visigoths; Asturias, León, Castilla, Navarre, Aragón, Catalonia, and Portugal. Among them, Asturias and León pretended as the successor of the

³¹⁴ Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 19-23, 27, 28. Fear, *Spain*, 38. Bernard F. Reilly, *The Medieval Spains* (U.K. Cambridge University Press, 1993), 4,5.

³¹⁵ O'Callaghan, *Medieval Spain*, 20, 21.

Visigoths. Though these states were conflicting, in the case of fighting against Muslims in the southern part of the Peninsula, they were easily united to repose the former Visigothic lands. Their attitudes were an initial stage of *re-conquest/reconquista* ideology that would evolve in time³¹⁶.

The re-conquest seized a special role against the Muslims, who were seen as a threat and enemy by the Catholic Kingdoms. The Catholic Kings were not alone while fighting against Islam; they were supported by the Papacy, whose support for the re-conquest holds vital place in the Spanish History. This much success might have owed its existence to this encouragement, which guaranteed the remission from their sins as well. Certainly, the aim was to obtain the support of people for the re-conquest process who indulged voluntarily in the process. In this manner, the re-conquest of Iberia turned out to be a 'holy war', which was a special kind of a crusade promoted by the Papacy³¹⁷.

In the Umayyad Emirate and Caliphate Period, which lasted until 1031, social and political conditions let people live in a more peaceful atmosphere but the radical Islamic believers of Almoravids' less tolerant attitudes towards non-Muslim populations created negative feelings among them in the following period. The re-conquest ideology of the Christian Kingdoms took advantage of these circumstances. When they were conveyed, both the Jews and the Christians moved to and lived in the de-populated areas of the northern parts of the Peninsula. Their strategy can be named as re-population/re-settlement policy. With their policy, these parts were easily captured by the Christians. In addition, their strategic aims led them to make alliances with the already fragmented Muslim dynasties with one

³¹⁶ O'Callaghan, *Medieval Spain*, 22.

³¹⁷ O'Callaghan, *Re-conquest*, 209.

another³¹⁸. Thus it can be said that both the already fragmented structure of the Muslim entities and the wise strategies of the Christians brought success in the mechanism of gradual re-conquest process.

Amalgamated power of the Catholic Kings weakened the Islamic dominancy whose hinterland was limited. By the 15th century, most pledged advances were developed by the Christian Kingdoms towards Muslim controlled areas, certainly these developments were the consequences of long centuries of the process of Christian advance and Muslim decline. As the most significant development, the Catholic kings of Aragón and Castilla united their kingdom with a marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella; thus, they combined their power and grew strength contrary to Islamic dominancy on the Peninsula. This unification was usually considered as a part of the early Spanish nation building process in the 15th century when the other European countries did not yet activate the nationalism mechanism³¹⁹.

On the contrary, there was an admiration for Arab civilization. Also, this admiration produced another terminology "Mozarab", which meant a person though not Arab but used to live similarly to Arabs. Arab language, customs, particularly art and architectural styles had great impact over Mozarab communities, but this situation was not welcomed by the period's fervent Christians. The view of 15th century religious men decipher the situation of Arabization/Mozarab which was felt in the Christian Society³²⁰.

"Our Christian young men, with their elegant airs ad fluent speech, are showy in their dress and carriage, and are famed for the learning of the gentiles; intoxicated

³¹⁸ Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 86, 87. Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 67, 68.

³¹⁹ Fuchs, "Cleaving of Hispanism," 493. Carr, "Introduction," 6.

³²⁰ Watt and Cachia, *Islamic Spain*, 46, 47.

with Arab eloquence they greedily handle, eagerly devour and zealously discuss the books of the Chaldeans (i.e. Muhammadans), and make them known by praising them with every flourish of rhetoric, knowing nothing of the beauty of the Church's literature, and looking down with contempt on the streams of the Church that flow forth from Paradise; alas! The Christians are so ignorant of their own law, the Latins pay so little attention to their own language, that in the whole Christian flock there is hardly one man in a thousand who can write a letter to inquire after a friend's health intelligibly, while you may find a countless rabble of all kinds of them who can learnedly roll out the grandiloquent periods of the Chaldean tongue. They can even make poems, every line ending with the same letter, which display high flights of beauty and more skill in handling mere than the gentiles themselves possess".

Remarkably, the 15th century was not only witness to the re-conquest but also several rigid political behaviours of the Spaniards, thus the period turns out to be a focal point of the Spanish historiography. One of the most well known historic acts of the Spaniards, the *re-conquest*, reached its climax in 1492, and destroyed the last Muslim dynasty, the Nasrids. This operation was followed by *expulsion* of the Jewish communities from the Peninsula, which was operated by the United Catholic Kingdoms. These steps were followed by the *colonization* process of the American Continent introduced to the world history in 1521 by Spanish Commander Hernan Cortez³²¹.

It can be asserted that the re-conquest ideology's role was significant to the formation of *expulsion* and *colonization* ideologies. In a sense these historical movements could be accepted as the transformed version of the re-conquest ideology. At the same time, with the first expulsions in 1492, the colonization activities started in the American Continent. The second *expulsion* wave occurred; however, this time it focused on so-called Morisco population in 1526. Actually, the political mechanism of *the re-conquest*, and its sub branches of *colonization* and *expulsion* served the same national and religious aims; for the constitution of the Spanish nation, which was depicted and strengthened by Catholicism.

³²¹ Richard F. Townsend, *Azteklar*; tran.Meltem Özdemir (Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınları, 2001), 14.

Consistent with this nationalist ideology, there were challenging steps taken. *Gramática Castellana*, being one of them, was published by Antonio de Nebrija in 1492. It was a grammar book about the Castilian language, which asserted that two languages, both Christian and Islam, used the same vocabulary derived from the Latin ancestors, the Romans. After the refutation of the Arabic origin, he mentioned the influences of Arabic language over Spanish language³²². This step aimed to erase the strong Arabic influence on the Catholic Spanish culture; in a sense it was a *catharsis/purification* process both at a religious and national level. This purification process of the Spanish nation was defined by religious codes.

The 19th century's nationalist feelings were derived from the Romantic approach of the period. In general, the world saw the French revolution in the 18th century, let millions of people become aware of their common national feelings, these national progressions turned out to be a political movement. Centuries long empires started to lose their colonies, and their boundaries were reduced. Likewise, Spain lost its colonies in the American Continent with the effect of nationalism, but Spain like other societies started to look for its national roots. What is the core of the Spanish identical or cultural identity? This question became inevitable to answer in the 19th century. It is to say that while national identities were forming in the world in general, Spain, likewise, had to be involved in the process. Then, finally, Hispanidad formulations were produced. This Hispanidad had to be welcomed and grasped by other ethnicities as well because the same century was very much historicist and filled with an oriental appetite due to financial reasons.

In this regard, at the first glimpse, Hispanidad seemed as an original and creative solution to answer this nationalistic problem of Spain in the Romantic Period. The examples from

³²² Fuchs, "Cleaving of Hispanism," 493, 506.

the late periods also supported that the Spanish nation building process was combined with the Hispanidad, which was in progress especially in the 19th century. A competition in 1893 held in Madrid by the San Fernando Academy of Fine Arts, which was the most influential art institution and had a determinant position in Spain, aimed to find the true depiction of Hispanidad. This institution's competitions also demonstrated the struggles for the creation of a Spanish nation built on Hispanidad dynamics. With these competitions 'true Hispanidad' was asked from competitors. To depict 'true Hispanidad' was not an easy task; therefore, the first competition held in 1873 could not give the first place to any competitor because visualizing 'true Hispanidad' could not be achieved in the opinion of the San Fernando Academy; however, in 1893, the aim was accomplished. The first and second place awards were given to José Garnelo y Alda, Luis García Sampedro respectively³²³.

Spanish identity as an intriguing question also took the attention of scholars. The earlier scholars evaluated their history to be interrupted by Muslim dominancy, which prevented Iberia from achieving modernization. This consideration became sharpened when they compared their history especially with Europe. Successors of Nebrija asserted that the Roman period gave actual structure to Spain linguistically. However, in the following years, some other scholars accepted the existence of different cultures' effects on the formation of the Spanish culture. For instance, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, historian and philosopher, suggested that there were several cultural features such as "austerity, stoicism, individualism, bravery to the point of rashness, and the desire for fame—the imperishable fame that comes through remembrance in history" that could be seen among the Hispanic

³²³ Oscar E. Vázquez, "Defining Hispanidad: Allegories, genealogies and cultural politics in the Madrid Academy's competition of 1893," *Art History*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (1997), 100, 120.

people.³²⁴ Actually these sentences were referred to in the earlier usage of *convivencia/living together* that later would be used in a coexisting manner. Ramón Menéndez Pidal used “convivencia *de normas/coexistence of norms*” for the first time. This terminology was seen in the work of *Orígenes del Español/Origins of Spanish* in order to show cultural evolutions of words³²⁵.

However, Américo Castro, the 20th century’s Hispanist, assumed that it was co-existence of their different religious groups that formed the Spanish identity. He re-introduced *convivencia*-(living together or shared existence) concept to the field in his study *The Spaniards: Introduction to Their History* as a unique explanation method for the Spanish origin. He also believed that the *re-conquest* after the expulsion of Jews had austere deprived Iberian culture. Castro point of view opened the way for scholars who stressed the existence of three cultures in the same geography that produced a total art work, a situation which was completed by the 16th century.³²⁶ As Américo Castro populated *Convivencia* terminology in the cultural arena, it found many enthusiasts in the 20th century of the late studies; this term is particularly favoured by architectural historians in order to explain the burly condition of Mudéjar which became popular especially in the 1990’s studies of Mudéjar.

Convivencia refers to “cultural interaction” between religious groups of Christians, Muslims, and Jews in the Peninsula where common cultural ground was created by these

³²⁴ O’Callaghan, *Re-conquest*, 17. Fuchs, "Cleaving of Hispanism," 506.

³²⁵ Thomas F. Glick, “Convivencia: An Introductory Note,” in *Convivencia. Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*, ed. Vivian B.Mann, Thomas F. Glick, Jerrilynn D.Dodds (Newyork: George Braziller, 1992), 1.

³²⁶ O’Callaghan, *Medieval Spain*, 18. Fuchs"Cleaving of Hispanism," 497.

groups. Thomas F. Glick suggests that Convivencia terminology “carries connotations of mutual interpenetration and creative influence, even as it also embraces the phenomena of mutual friction, rivalry, and suspicion”³²⁷. Each evaluation including the Castro’s optimistic formulation, and the others who criticize Castro actually inform us about the Medieval Age’s political condition while saying that there was not a peaceful environment all the time.

According to a historian, Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, the Spanish identity was formed by several cultures of the Iberia such as Romans, Visigoths and later the Christians, Muslims and Jews contributed to this. Thus, the author accepted continuity and integration of long centuries and he included the Castilians, Portuguese, Basques, and Catalans under the Hispanic title, so he tried to bring the fragmented ethnicities of the Peninsula together³²⁸. It is true that the Spanish characteristic was not only formed by its Catholic and European background but also through interaction with the Romans, the Visigoths, and the various Muslim dynasties, composed of the Berbers and the Arabs. The cosmopolitan history distinguishes Spain from the other European ethnical compositions. O’Callaghan writes that when Arab and Berbers conquered the Peninsula, they did not Orientalised, Arabized, Islamized, or Africanized it or this Islamic Dynasty could not erase the contributions of the Romans, Germans and Christians because there was a “shifting balance” aroused as a result of geographical position where cultural and religious effects likewise influenced the cultural atmosphere. Both the Muslim and Christian groups were allowed to exist in certain limits in the kingdoms but in the end, the above mentioned balance changed mostly

³²⁷ Glick, "Convivencia," 1.

³²⁸ Claudio Sanchez-Albornoz, *Spain, a Historical Enigma*, trans. Colette Joly Dees and David Sven Reher (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española/Publications of the Spanish University, 1975). O’Callaghan, *Medieval Spain*, 18, 19.

in favour of the Christians. Therefore, 1492 stand as a chronological boundary in the political arena. Gualis asserts that the chronological boundary of the *reconquest* usually hides the real historical facts especially in the architectural arena. Even though it was a *reconquest* period, there was a dense cultural relationship between the Muslims and the Christians. In this regard, as Fuch puts forward, the existence of 1492 does not supply a certain map about hybrid social compositions and their art and architectural productions³²⁹.

The 19th century inquiries over *Hispanidad* to determine its identity and components have changed overtime. The *convivencia* and *pan-ethnicity* formulations have been tried to rescue Spain from this complex formation of the past. The *pan-ethnicity* re-identifies national groups as a branch of a bigger composition; in a sense creates a collective labelling. No matter which formulations have been produced, the re-conquest and the *Hispanidad* were a process of stabilization and supremacy, which served the emergence of centralization and building a national identity of Spain. The evolutionary version of *convivencia* became a tool to explain cultural hybrid composition and also turned out to be part of an advertising mechanism. Moreover, Mudéjar is composed with this *convivencia* structure, and Mudéjar fetishism was created by attributing it to a privileged situation such as *Spanish-ness*. The style was accepted as symbol of a national and regional condition. The historical richness of Spain with its art and architectural productions attracts millions of people every year to visit Spain; the income from tourists remarkably cultivates the state economy with no doubt³³⁰.

³²⁹ O'Callaghan, *Medieval Spain*, 21–22. Gonzalo Borrás Gualis, "Introduction: El Arte Mudéjar; un Fenómeno Hispánico," in *El Arte Mudéjar* (Zaragoza: Iber Caja, 2005), 14. Fuchs, "Cleaving of Hispanism," 494–496.

³³⁰ Fuchs, "Cleaving of Hispanism," 494–496. Vázquez, "Defining Hispanidad," 119.

4. 1.2. The Medieval Interest of Spain in the 19th Century

A diplomatic meeting that was held in Paris in 1814, gathered around an idea, which considered Spain as *a second-class nation/un cour secondaire*. According to them, Spanish culture was distinct from the other European communities because of its oriental nuance. Actually this kind of comprehension could not be limited to the 19th century; even today, Spain is perceived as individual, apart from the rest of Europe; the reason for this finds its answer in the history of Spain³³¹.

Although Iberia has experienced a complex atmosphere, it is the Roman Empire, which still constitutes an important role in the history writing of Spain and whose beginning goes back to the Second Punic War (218–201 B.C). Dominance of the Roman Empire in Iberia, who brought its communication, transportation and other social infrastructure mechanism became beneficial for the Peninsula. Although Roman dominance was ended by the Visigoths, the savage people maintained the Roman traditions within a Christian context. In accordance with the established canonical point of view, the Islamic invasion changed the situation dramatically³³². Accordingly, it was assumed that the Roman earned cultural habits were passed into the hand of Muslims who were even alien to agriculture due to living in barren geographies but they learned agriculture from the Romans and were thus shaped by their hand³³³.

The medieval signifies the Middle Age– Medium Aevum in Latin language. It is apparent that in the first half of the 19th century Medieval Arts' fascination and its appraisal was at

³³¹ Carr, "Introduction," 3.

³³² Bernard F. Reilly, *The Medieval Spains* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). Fear, "Roman Spain *Spain*," 38.

³³³ Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*.

its peak³³⁴. In general, through the Romantic Period, there was a growing interest in the Eastern cultures and distant geographies³³⁵. The 19th century travellers provoked the creation of oriental interest towards the East. Their travel books increased the awareness of the Islamic monuments and enlivened the “exoticism” mechanism. The travellers formulated the Eastern image through Western eyes. William Thomas Daniell, 1784, *Picturesque Voyage to India by Way of China*, and Thomas Daniell, 1800, *Antiquities of India* were among the many significant travel documents. Examples like François-René de Chateaubriand’s *The Last of the Abencerragues* (1827), Washington Irving’s *Tales of the Alhambra*, Richard Ford’s (1834) *Handbook for Travelers in Spain* (1845)³³⁶ were among the other significant works. The last but not least, *The Grammar of Ornament* which was written by Owen Jones, was a colossal work, which contained monochrome illustrations that were skilfully drafted to show the architectural tradition of Spain, particularly al-Andalus. This work became an important reference for the Western Orientalists while simultaneously developing their attraction to Islamic art and architecture. (Figures 145-147)

³³⁴ William Vaughan, *Romantic Art* (U.K: Oxford University Press, 1991), 106. Crites, "Mosque to Cathedral," 267.

³³⁵ Vaughan, *Romantic Art*.

³³⁶ Vaughan, *Romantic Art*, 100, "Mosque to Cathedral," 18.



Figure 145. The Alhambra Palace, Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament*, no.4 (re-printed)(New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1972)

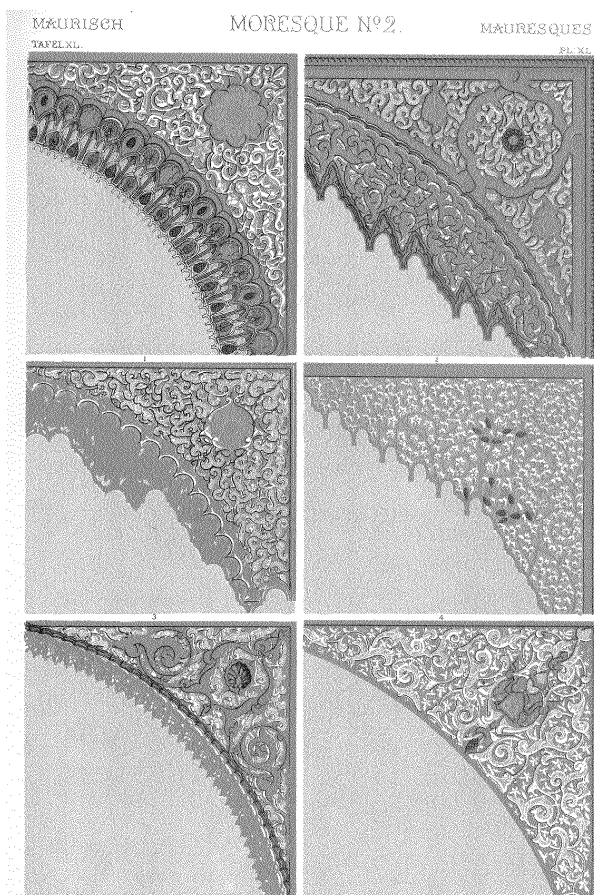


Figure 146. The Alhambra Palace, column details.
Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament*, no.2.

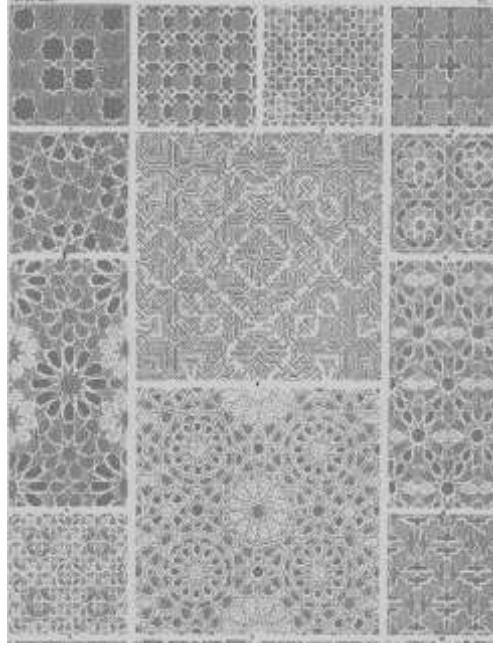


Figure 147. The Alhambra Palace, decoration details.
Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament*, no.5.

Oriental interest gave way to the organization of the universal expositions in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Spaniards were one of the participants of the above mentioned fairs³³⁷. All of these developments created the revival of styles such as *Neo-Gothic*, *Neo-Moorish*, *Neo-Mudéjar* and several others in romantic context when the canonical usage of the European styles of neoclassical ideas lost their dynamics. The issue can be conducted to a reaction that appeared for the new construction materials; also to colonialism, which helped the creation of appeal towards the non-western world. In addition, historicizing of European thoughts, the Romantic Historicism supplied a different perspective for the past but it distorted and biased the history and its relationships within both the national and global context³³⁸.

³³⁷ Çelik, *Değişen İstanbul*.

³³⁸ Flitter, *Spanish Romanticism*, 8.

Spain could not escape from the Medieval wind either; thus, it indulged the Romantic Period with works by Johann Nikolaus Böhl von Faber, Agustín Durán, Walter Scott and others. Though Spanish awareness of the medieval past started in the Enlightenment Period, the Romantic revival of medieval art took place in the 19th century when real restoration projects started. Actually, the medieval revival was a part of a romantic, world-wide movement in the 19th century that resisted technological advancement and speed in humanity. The political unsteadiness and disorder also helped the creation of an idealized Middle Age notion, which was seen as an alternative of what existed in the current period. Due to the interests in Middle Age artefacts and building of a nation process, Mudéjar was seen as a part of this Middle Age art tradition of Iberia in the 19th century.³³⁹

However, the nineteenth century historical imagination did not allow for the creation of a solid history for Spanish Romanticism, which took its strength from nationalistic feelings nourished from the Roman past and Romantic attitudes. In this period prominent ideologies were produced from two important sources; the French Revolution and the socio-political problems. Ideologically significant narratives were produced from the past. Inman Fox says that the construction of Spain's national cultural identity was essentially historic-political in nature it was ensued by experienced moments in history, which falsified and mystified the history called as *casticismo*. *Casticismo* was a kind of movement in Romanticism; this idealization of Christian Middle Ages supported the national past; in this sense, the term comes closer to *volksgeist*. *Casticismo* idealized and mystified the Roman Past, the Middle Ages and the Golden Age. Apart from Europe, features of Spanish Romanticism were mainly determined in terms of its religious emphasis and its dynamically intense patriotism- these two factors became distinctive aspects of the period³⁴⁰.

³³⁹Flitter, *Spanish Romanticism*, 8, 9. Crites, "Mosque to Cathedral," 267.

The works of Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, who created fascination for restoration of medieval monuments in France, gave impulse for the same activities in Spain. It was José Amodor de los Ríos, who first affected from him and published *Seville Pintoresca* in 1844. Categorization of Mudéjar monuments were made between the end of the 19th and the 20th century in Spain. Accordingly, Mudéjar monuments were the most attractive in grouped architectures as cultural origins were reflected upon the formation of buildings³⁴¹.

Consequently, it can be said that in the 19th century both for the world and Spain, the past constituted an important place in the social and political agenda. In Spain, it brought wind of previous cultures that once inhabited the Iberian Peninsula. In addition, this historical wind turned out to be a part of recovery process of ethnical identities and deciphering them. The recovery process of Spain invented *Hispanidad* and *convivencia* notions in accordance with political agenda, which also produced Hispano-Muslim terminology.

4.1.3. Political Agenda in the 19th and 20th Century

The major step for Castilianization of the Spanish Kingdoms was achieved with the unification of the Catholic monarchs through the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1469, which equally started the Hispanization process of Castilla. As Castilianization was linked to Hispanization, Spanish nationalization emerged. The nationalistic attitudes were strengthened with the conversion and the expulsion policies when the Christian Monarchs at the final point excluded non-Catholic groups from the Peninsula. Following centuries

³⁴⁰ Inman Fox, "Spain as Castile: Nationalism and National Identity", in *Modern Spanish Culture*, ed. David Gies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 21-36. Flitter, *Spanish Romanticism*, 1, 3, 184-197.

³⁴¹ Crites, "Mosque to Cathedral," 7,8,9,268.

witnessed the golden age of Spain when transatlantic voyages and colonization was started. The golden age of Spain came to its end by the 18th century, then the country lost most of its colonies and suffered economically³⁴².

By the 19th century, as previously mentioned, the romantic winds of the world seized the Spanish political and social atmosphere. Likewise, Spanish Romanticism was nourished from national perceptions in parallel to the rest of Europe. In this revival process of the past, the Renaissance and the Imperial Roman past of Spain became subject to the 18th and the 19th century academic environment. Spanish cultural background featured with the Roman past where Hispanidad became a common ground of the nationalistic formulations. For the time being, foreign influences could not find a place in this construction even critiquing intolerantly as a preventive element to reach modernization³⁴³.

Modernization and tradition became two contradictory features of the Spanish political past, particularly during the 19th and 20th century. The modernization procedures could be followed easily from the education field. In order to modernize the education of Spain, in the 18th century, some reforms whose effects reached the 19th century and onwards were initiated. M. Quintana and Gil de Zarate were important figures, who put forward reformist and progressive ideas trying to rescue the educational system from its restrictions. Their attempts failed. The '1812 Constitution' gave major importance to Spanish education but its performance was only seen in the middle of the 19th century³⁴⁴.

³⁴² Marias, *Understanding Spain*, 143–158. Flitter, *Spanish Romanticism*.

³⁴³ Marias, *Understanding Spain*, 143. Flitter, *Spanish Romanticism*. Vázquez, "Defining Hispanidad," 100.

³⁴⁴ <http://education.stateuniversity.com>.

During this period, academic revolts occurred in universities, and many professors were dismissed from their jobs. Actually, it was a struggle between the Democrats and supporters of the Crown. In addition, Queen Isabella's bad reputation accelerated social and economic turmoil. Following the Revolution of 1868, the First Republic (1873-74) was founded. Though it was a short experience, the Republic demonstrated the importance of academic freedom. Academic freedoms were not obtained enough in the eyes of the First Republic as the reforms could not be activated due to the struggle between the Church and the Democratic Movements. The Republic tried to separate the State and the Church at the educational level³⁴⁵.

The Civil war among different political blocks produced instable political conditions; therefore, King Alfonso XII, the son of Isabella, returned to the throne in 1875 after the First Republic. He wanted to restore the monarchy, and re-activate the dominance of the Church over education. A declaration proclaimed that nothing contrary to Catholic dogma or morality would be taught in the universities. Therefore, especially the 19th century was politically challenging as two distinct ideologies wanted to grasp power and their effects limited freedoms, particularly in education³⁴⁶.

Notably, another division was between the Federalists and the Unitarians that prevented the establishment of a strong political standing in the country. The most remarkable centralizers of the 19th century liberals known as Jacobins divided the historic parts of the country into provinces, replicating the French model. Though radical centralizing policy was dominant, the autonomy of social groups was guaranteed. The autonomy dreams would be spoiled with national unity aims of the same policy, which would finally

³⁴⁵<http://education.stateuniversity.com>. Barton, *History of Spain*, 205-207.

³⁴⁶ <http://education.stateuniversity.com>.

produced the Basque and Catalan nationalism in the 20th century and fascist control over the country³⁴⁷.

In 1898, during the reign of Alfonso XIII (1858-1923), Spain lost its last colonies. Economical and social problems and revolts finally would lead to anarchist behaviours and communist attitudes. On the other hand, the nationalist feelings all fed discontent amongst the military. This political and social atmosphere created a tension between blocks while simultaneously curbing civil liberties. Thus, the period of Restoration ended with a military coup; General Primo de Rivera, in 1923, changed all reformist arenas in education, and all academicians in his period lost their jobs and could not be active in education³⁴⁸.

Primo de Rivera governed Spain as the Prime Minister with dictatorial power under King Alfonso XIII in the 1920s. General Primo de Rivera believed in state planning and governmental intervention in the economy. He declared his political intervention as a 'brief parentheses for the history of constitutional monarchy'. He was the first military interventionist in Spanish History under the auspices of the King. He eliminated the Liberals and the Conservatives; and composed a single party 'Union Patriótica' (Patriotic Union) in 1924. Spanish intellectuals especially faculty members and students did not agree with the regime, so they organized a movement called The Scholarly University Federation (Federación Universitaria Escolar, or FUE) in 1927. Consequently, although the first military government of Spain wanted to create a national consensus, it widened the gaps among the social groups and damaged the parliamentary basis of the constitutional

³⁴⁷ Carr, "Introduction," 7.

³⁴⁸ www.educationstateuniversity.com.

monarchy. Even though the Morocco War ended with victory, the government could not stay in power³⁴⁹.

On April 14, 1931, the Second Republic was founded; it brought new reforms, academic freedoms and non-religious instruction to the country, which was used to be ruled by an oligarchy, the clergy and the military establishment. The Republic separated the church and the state, limited the church's prosperity, similarly its effects on education. Reducing the role of the Church in education found its expression in a sentence as follows 'Spain is no longer Catholic'. Among other well known efforts the Second Republic allowed autonomy for Catalonia, brought democratic notions, and women obtained the right to vote. However, for traditional Spaniards, the Republic was acknowledged as a problem, which was supposedly going to sweep away centuries of traditions and customs that established Spain. The Catholic Church wondered about the laicizing reforms, which would open the doors of Spain to freethinkers, Protestants and Atheists. Democracy was considered as an anti-Spain evolution, which finally would create the dissolution of the country. The solution was ready in the minds of the traditionalists who desired a military operation. They assumed a military stroke would stop the Republican system problem in Spain.³⁵⁰

When the Second Republic came to the power, there was a general worldwide economic and political recession that unsurprisingly affected the success of the Republic, and created hard times for it, particularly when implicating social and economic reforms. In addition, the right wing CEDA was able to assert economic pressure over the government³⁵¹. Finally,

³⁴⁹ Phillips and Phillips, *History of Spain*, 241-244.

³⁵⁰ Sebastian Balfour, "Spain from 1931 to the Present," in *A history of Spain*, ed. Raymond Carr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 243-44.

the Second Republic of Spain did not work out well as Spain was divided into two distinct political blocks. The struggle between the two blocks would bring the Spanish Civil War and finally introduce fascism to Spain. English poet Cecil Day Lewis described those days as a “battle between light and dark”³⁵². (Figure 148)



Figure 148. After the Spanish Civil War and its effects on buildings of Belchite. Paul Preston, *The Spanish Civil War 1936-39* (London: Butler&Tanner Ltd, 1986), 144.

The Spanish Civil War was fought between the National Army under the command of Franco and the Popular Army headed by the Republicans. National military forces beat the Popular Army of the Republicans in Spain with the help of Mussolini, and Hitler. The destiny of the war was mainly determined by Mussolini’s and Hitler’s support for Franco. Franco's well-equipped and organized military group in Morocco and both the interruptive and helpful attitudes of Britain and France became effective in Franco’s glory. In other

³⁵¹ Confederation of Autonomous Right-Wing Groups was established in 1938 to struggle for establishment of authoritative power in Spain. Balfour, *Spain*, 246,249.

³⁵² Balfour, *Spain*, 257-264.

words, the alliance of the fascist wing of Europe overwhelmed the Popular Army of the Republic, which was largely isolated.³⁵³ (Figure 150)



Figure 149. Propaganda of the National Army. Preston, *Civil War*, 6.

Consequently, the Republicans failed with the Spanish Civil War in 1939. General Franco, who wanted to compose Spanish nationalism with the Catholic ideology, obtained power. When Franco came to head the government, his status was not temporary, and he guaranteed his regime with several strategic skills. After the war, Franco who was continuing the alliance with Mussolini and Hitler gave priority to institutionalizing, and salvage from the Republican supporters. Even “for the empire towards God” was the fascist official slogan that had to be given in public spaces of Spain³⁵⁴. (Figures 150–153)

³⁵³ Balfour, *Spain*, 257–264.



Figure 151. Nationalist propaganda that depicts Franco with his allies,
Preston Civil War, 6.



Figure 151. The victory of Franco after the Civil War, 20 May 1939.
Preston, Civil War, 174.

³⁵⁴ Stanley Black, *Spain since 1939 Studies in Contemporary History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan Publishers, 2010), 7, 8, 9. Balfour, *Spain*, 265,266.



Figure 152. Women's support for Franco in Madrid. Preston, Civil War, 172.



Figure 153. Soldiers and Nuns- showing the alliance between the Church and State.
Preston, Civil War, 172.

The vision of Franco idealism was twofold. The first was to obtain previous glorious days by rescuing Spain from its enemies; the other was for building National Catholicism. Actually, the National Catholic mission was the reflection of a Spanish past when Jewish and Islamic entities were expelled from the Peninsula and Spain started its adventurous colonial

activities in the 15th and 16th centuries. The Church supported Franco's victory because it found the opportunity to return to its previous glorious days; the Clergy obtained its previous powers. In addition, nationality was harmonized with the Catholic point of view that was defined as 'true Spaniard' in the eyes of the Fascist regime³⁵⁵.

Franco's power took its strength from three institutions; these were the church, army and Falange³⁵⁶. The Falange as a political organization was established by José Antonio Primo de Rivera, in 1933. This organization, also known as the National Movement (*Movimiento Nacional*) after 1945, continued until Franco's death in 1975. Falange constituted the doctrines of the fascist party of Spain and was originally similar to Italian fascism in certain respects³⁵⁷. (Figure 154)



Figure 154. José Antonio Primo de Rivera, The leader of the fascist party of Falange Española. Preston, Civil War, 26.

³⁵⁵ Black, *Spain*, 8, 10.

³⁵⁶ Balfour, *Spain*, 264.

³⁵⁷ Black, *Spain*, 19, 20.

Franco believed that there were several systems and ideologies that corrupted the Spanish identity. The corruption started in the 18th century with the Enlightenment when French ideas were introduced to society. The Francoist regime, which was 'authoritarian' and 'conventional' determined its threats as communism, the Jews, and freemasons. Spain would rescue itself from these threats by following the imperial and hierarchical traditions of the Catholic Kings obtained in the Golden Age in the 16th century. It was considered that the struggle to get rid of these enemies was actually a spiritual disinfection of the country³⁵⁸.

Pacto de la sangre –pact of blood was a result of the spiritual disinfection policy and could be the summary of the Francoist regime in Spain starting from 1939 until the death of Franco in 1975; the ideology redefined the nation and state notions³⁵⁹. Franco considered that purified Spain must be achieved only with the elimination from society of a multicultural configuration; therefore, he aimed to create a single flag and blood line, similar to the ones promoted by other Fascist leaders. The issue, finally, brought a series of applications such as executions, imprisonment, and redemption through forced labour. Most importantly, he used education as a tool, psychological programming, and media propaganda. According to the records, almost 10.000 people were executed after the Civil War. People who did not share the ideas of Franco suffered from the regime while losing their freedom, beliefs, and languages. Previously given autonomy of Catalonia in 1932, Basque Country in 1935, and Galicia (was on the way to obtain their rights) were cancelled since the Franco regime aimed to eliminate all cultural distinction. Their languages,

³⁵⁸ Balfour, *Spain*, 265,266.

³⁵⁹ Balfour, *Spain*, 264–266. Black, *Spain*, 2.

emblems, and flags were forbidden. Street names and monuments were all either destroyed or Castilianized. Moreover, social issues were subject to censorship³⁶⁰.

The restrictions were in every field of life, including discussions, which were especially forbidden when cultural and ethnical diversities were the subject. As previously mentioned, Franco's desire for a unitary state was to be achieved with a single language and ethnicity. In this atmosphere, the Castilian language appeared as the only acceptable language; this was the process of nation building of the Francoist regime. Therefore, diverse cultural groups, such as the Basques, the Catalans and the Galicians, the Gitanos (Gypsies) and the Hungaros could not take no part.³⁶¹

After the Second World War, the regime of Franco was not supported by the European countries and their isolation policy compelled the Francoist regime to find a way for self-sufficiency in the economy. Later, a process of change, that is, revisionism, was experienced in the region. Although Franco maintained modernization without democracy, the issue introduced contradictions and several problems arose. Therefore, semi-liberation was applied in 1950s³⁶². A Press law was declared to change the censorship mechanism in 1966. Religious freedom came with a 1967 law. It can be said that by the 1960s, limited pluralism had appeared in the Francoist regime. Within three years of Franco's death, his system was totally changed and replaced by a plural modern democracy³⁶³.

³⁶⁰ Balfour, *Spain*, 266. Black, *Spain*, 15, 16.

³⁶¹ <http://education.stateuniversity.com>.

³⁶² Black, *Spain*, 23. Carr, "Introduction," 1. Balfour, *Spain*, 268.

³⁶³ Black, *Spain*, 53, 54, 74-76.

The reason why the periods of the 1960s and the 1970s witnessed several changes and developments both in the financial and social arena can be linked to the economic miracle experienced in Spain. The rapid economic enlargement in the 1960s brought riches to the country. In 1975, Spain turned out to be the ninth most powerful economy of the world. Economic expansion was very much related to the European tourists who started to visit Spanish beaches. Tourism reality forced reforms in institutional organizations. Economic growth, likewise, affected the population rates as people migrated to cities to find employment and here contacted with the other European nations³⁶⁴.

Franco's regime is evaluated as authoritarian, post-totalitarian or a sultanistic system. Especially, the period between 1939 and 1959 is usually described as the dark decades of Spanish history. However, scholars Lins and Tepan describe that Franco's authoritarian regime was less restrictive in the 1960s and Spain grew economically and demographically, yet the regime failed to initiate democratic reforms; therefore, this period witnessed an internal conflict especially in Spanish universities. The death of Franco opened the way for transition in the society when economic and social developments occurred between 1975 and 1982³⁶⁵.

The Francoist dictatorship was replaced with a parliamentary democracy. The first free election was held after Franco's death (1975) on June 15, 1977. The Spanish Constitution played an important role in Spanish history as it supplied the freedoms. In addition, the country's division into autonomous parts was guaranteed. The elections of 1979 was a step

³⁶⁴ Black, *Spain*, 43, 47, 74. Richard Gunther, *Public Policy in a No-Party State: Spanish Planning and Budgeting in the Twilight of the Franquist Era* (U.S.A. Berkeley University of California Press. 1980), 32-35. Balfour, *Spain*, 269.

³⁶⁵ Gregorio Alonso and Diego Muro, *Politics and Memory of Democratic Transition: the Spanish Model* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 2. Black, *Spain*, 76, 77. <http://education.stateuniversity.com>, Balfour, *Spain*, 271, 278.

for consolidating democracy in Spain. Finally, in 1982, the social democrat (PSOE) obtained power, and parliamentary democracy was activated.³⁶⁶ (Figure 155)



Figure 155. Franco as a leading actor of Spain. Preston, *Civil War*, 8.

Consequently, Spain suffered from two dictatorships and a civil war during the twentieth century. Intellectual constraints particularly, became one of the well-known features of Francoism. In addition, the Catholic Church, which always played an important role in the social and political education, supported restrictions. All of these issues were strongly sensed in the academic environment. If we think that one of the characteristic features of the Francoist regime was its prolonged existence, it is easy to guess the effects of such longevity on the social and educational field. Franco's suppression was restricting especially of intellectuals who could not act freely but became subject to political control³⁶⁷. Democratization process of Spain also had a significant impact on Spanish

³⁶⁶ Alonso and Muro, *Politic and Memory*, 1, 3, 8. Black, *Spain*, 108, 112, 113

³⁶⁷ Black, *Spain*, 5, 12. Balfour, *Spain*, 266.

historiography, particularly on Mudéjar historiography. The impact of this political agenda over Mudéjar publication will be investigated in the following parts of the study.

4.2. Assessment of the Publications on Mudéjar Architecture

4.2.1. Analysis of the Chronology

Analysis of the publication chronology of the Mudéjar studies demonstrates that there is an important instability about publication situation in the field. Particularly, at the end of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, the number of the publications is limited. The reason is twofold. Firstly, the political atmosphere in the 19th century, which was tremulous, affected the quantity of academic publications. Additionally, the 19th century Romantic nationalistic feelings of Spain focused on nationalistic formulations rather than national variation in the country.

Similarly, the number of Mudéjar publications in the first half of the 20th century was also not promising because the strict Franco regime structured an intellectual isolation and fettered the academic productivity of Spain by restricting academic freedoms. Educational restrictions prevented academicians from focusing directly on Mudéjar architecture. As aforementioned, ethnic diversities and their influence on Catholic culture in Spain was not welcomed by the new regime; instead, a single Spain notion was combined with national Catholicism. Disagreeing groups who were working in universities lost their jobs; as a result, the regime caused Spanish decay in science and all other intellectual branches. It is important to notice that after Franco's regime was dissolved, the number of the publications about Mudéjar art and architecture increased with each passing decade. It can be accepted that the political-social and economic aspects of the regime showed great impact over Mudéjar publications and their formulation process.

Analysis of the chronology of Mudéjar studies shed light on how the political agenda, particularly in the 20th century oriented the publication process. In order to make a detailed chronological analysis, I obtained materials from some research libraries of Spain. In this regard, the Valladolid University Library, University of Seville Library, National Library of Spain in Madrid, University of Complutense Library, and Universidad Autonoma de Madrid collections and their sources about Mudéjar were analyzed. Additionally, the work *Bibliographia de Arquitectura y Techumbres Mudéjares 1857-1991/Bibliography of Mudéjar Architecture and Ceilings*, produced by Ana Reyes Pacios Lazano in 1993, was examined. This general bibliographical study gives a place to most of the Mudéjar publications starting from 1857 until 1991.

Though Ana Reyes Pacios Lozano wrote bibliographical analysis of the publications, which particularly focuses on Mudéjar architecture and techumbres, her methodology fails to create certain limits as the Islamic Period is sometimes included in her investigation³⁶⁸. However, the main research criterion of this thesis is to analyze publications, which are used for Mudéjar terminology or its equivalents in their headings. Thus, being the core of the thesis, the publications specifically written on Mudéjar are included in the categorization work of this thesis. With this methodology, demonstrating direct and incisive interest towards the Mudéjar phenomenon is aimed.

Obtained graphics reveals that, at the end of the 19th century, few publications were made because of biased Spanish Romantics, who idealized Middle Age concern, which was mostly based on the Christian Spain notion. After the 1900s, due to the unstable conditions

³⁶⁸ Ana Reyes Pacios Lozano, *Bibliografía de Arquitectura y Techumbres Mudéjares 1857-1991*, Serie Estudios Mudéjares (Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragon, 1993).

of the country, the number of the Mudéjar publications did not increase much. After 1935, the number of publications was poor. After the Franco regime was over and the economic upheaval was obtained, the number of publications about Mudéjar studies had increased by the end of the 1970s. In this regard, *Mudejarismo: Simposias y Actas* could be accepted as one of the most well-known undertakings in the Mudéjar studies that promoted interest in the Mudéjar topic. (Figures 156-170)

The chronological analysis of the publications also reveals the fact that most of the publications come from articles and periodicals. These studies show that the main interest was given to the Aragón and Toledo regions. On the other hand, Extremadura was one of the regions featured in a few publications. Consequently, it can be said that fluctuations in Spain's political condition are reflected in the Mudéjar publication history. If the publication history of Mudéjar is accepted as a coin, while the chronology of these publications is one side, the other side is composed of the methodology of these publications. This part of the study demonstrates the first side of the coin; the other side will be indicated in the following parts of the thesis.

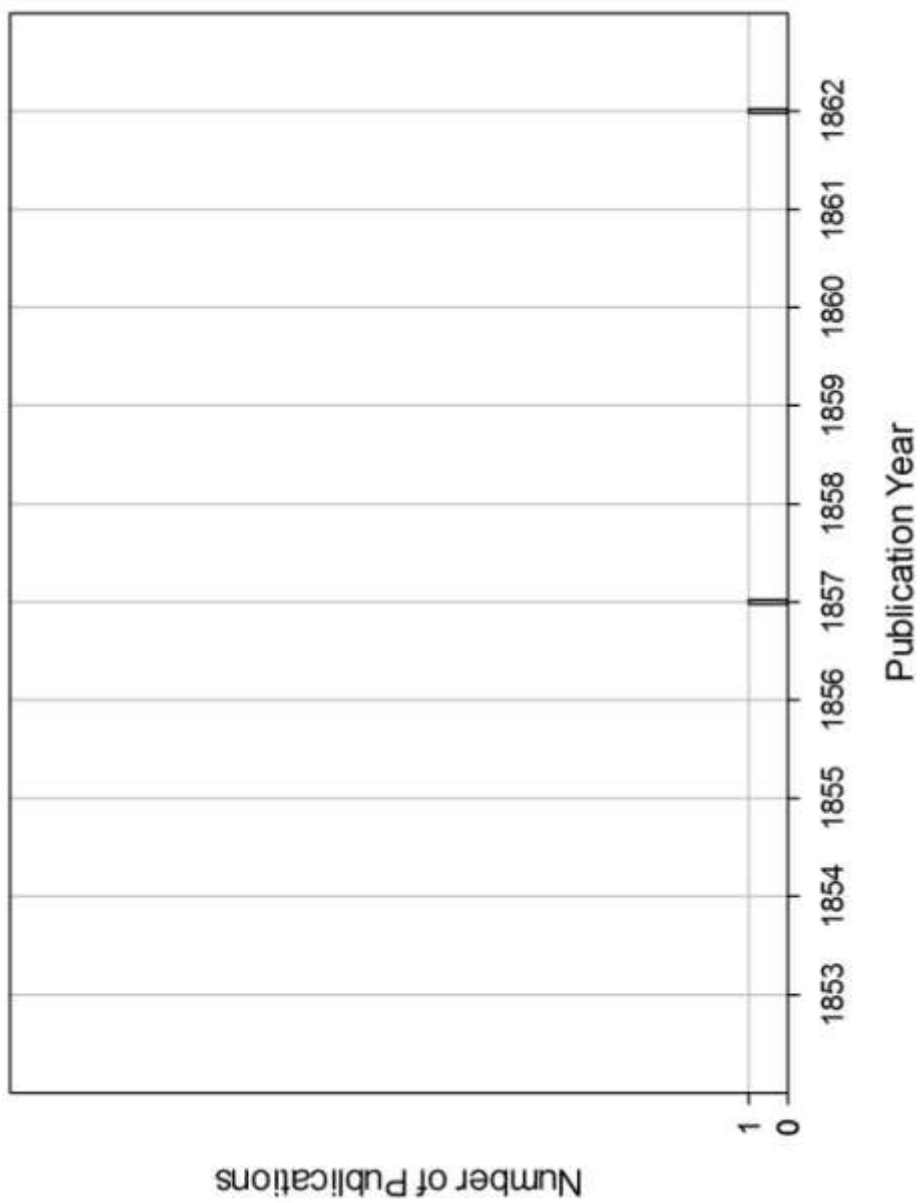


Figure 156. The graphical illustration of Mudéjar publications' distribution per year between 1853-1862.

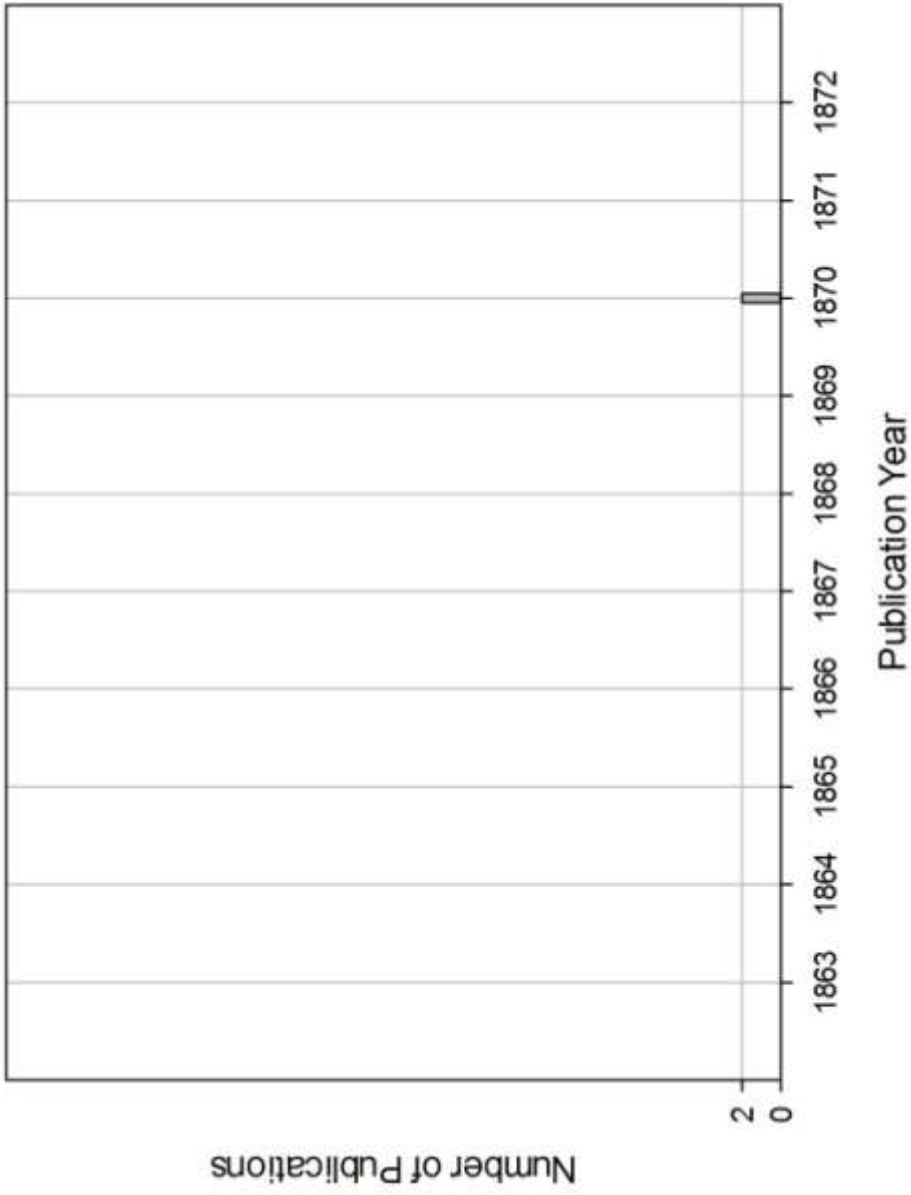


Figure 157. The graphical illustration of Mudéjar publications' distribution per year between 1863-1872.

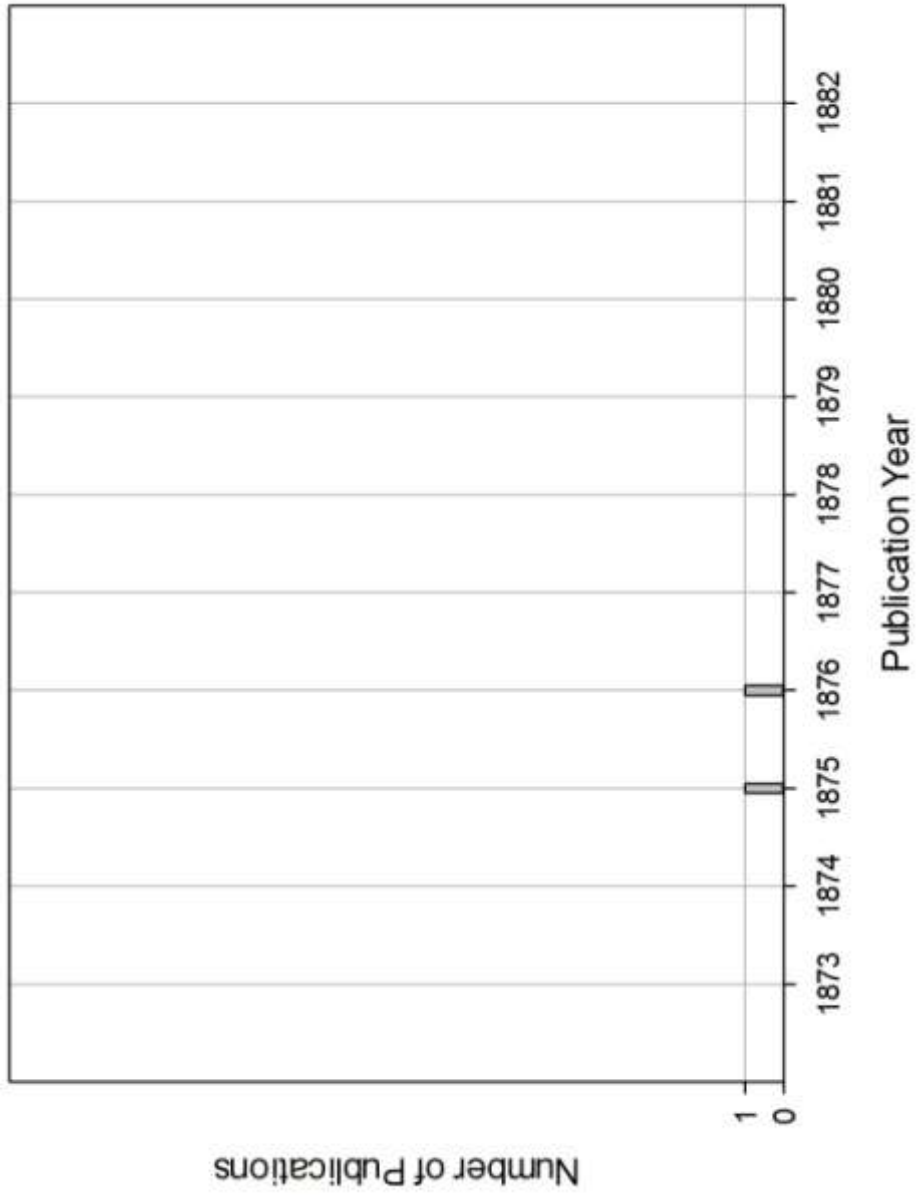


Figure 158. The graphical illustration of Mudéjar publications' distribution per year between 1873–1882.

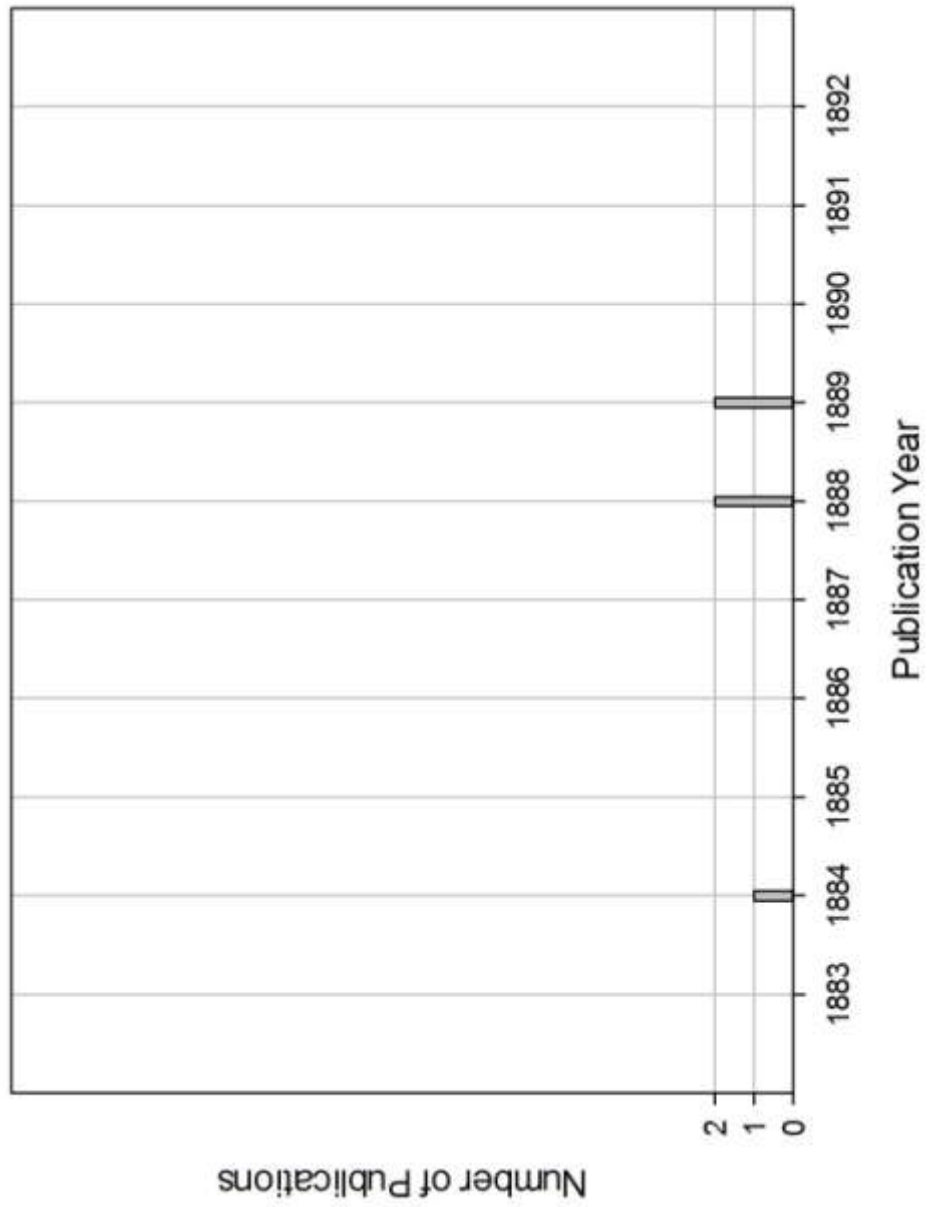


Figure 159. The graphical illustration of Mudéjar publications' distribution per year between 1883–1892.

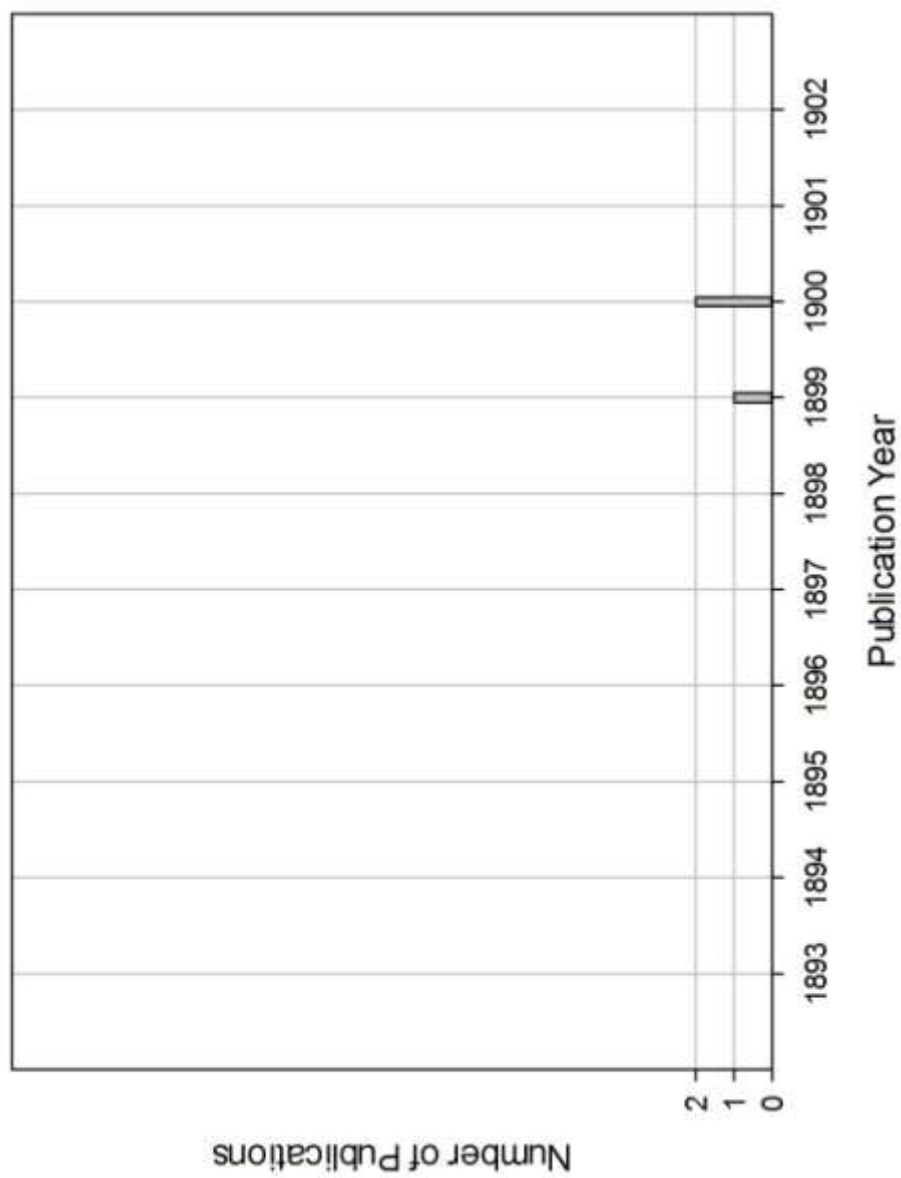


Figure 160. The graphical illustration of Mudéjar publications' distribution per year between 1893-1902.

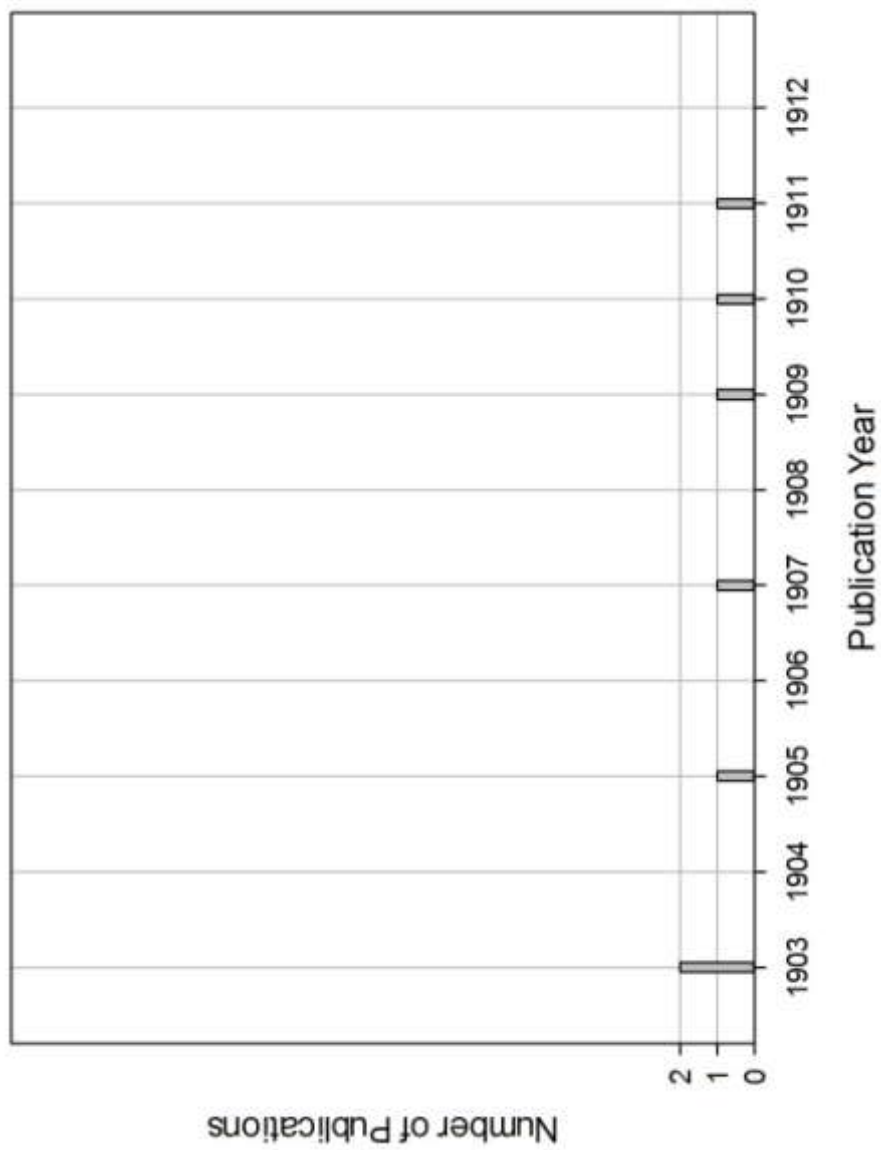


Figure 161. The graphical illustration of Mudéjar publications' distribution per year between 1903-1912.

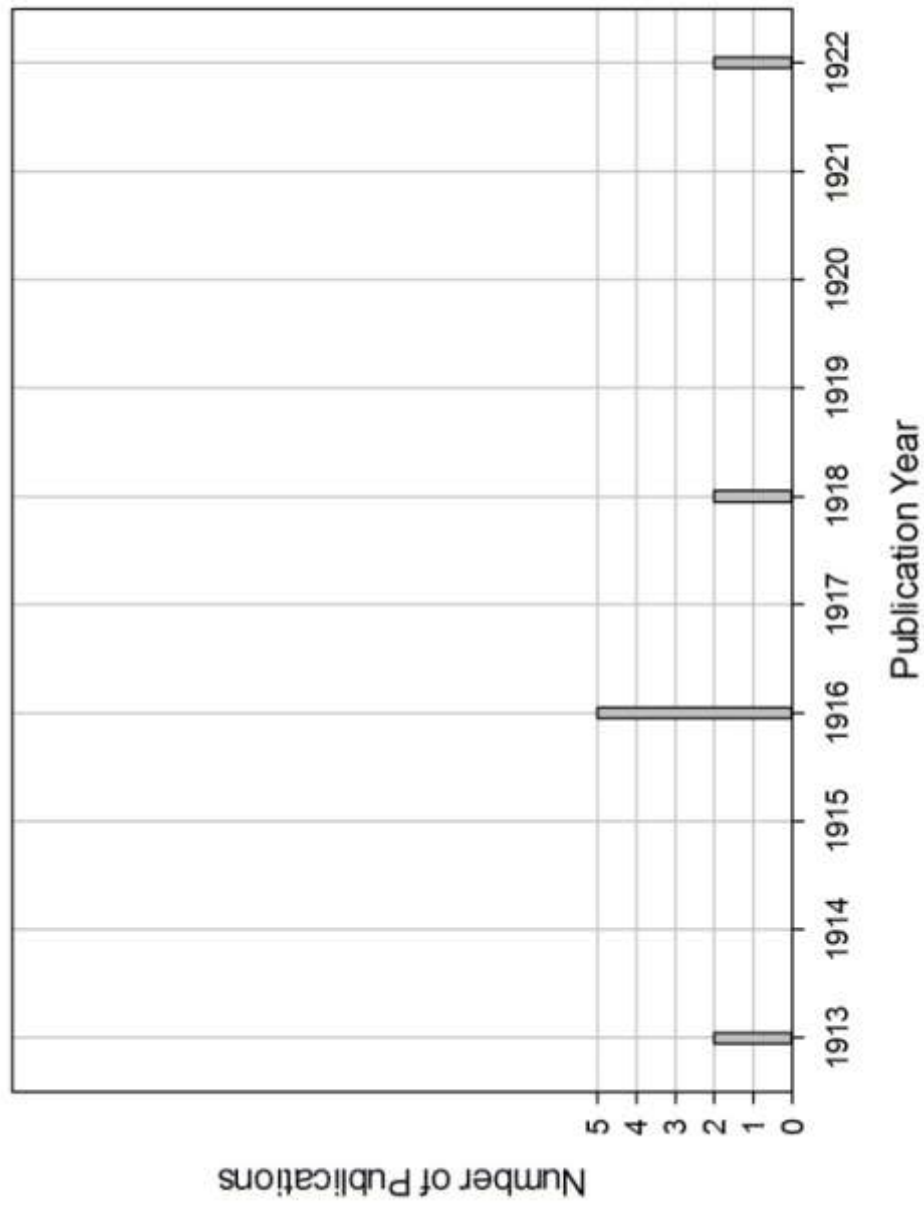


Figure 162. The graphical illustration of Mudéjar publications' distribution per year between 1913–1922.

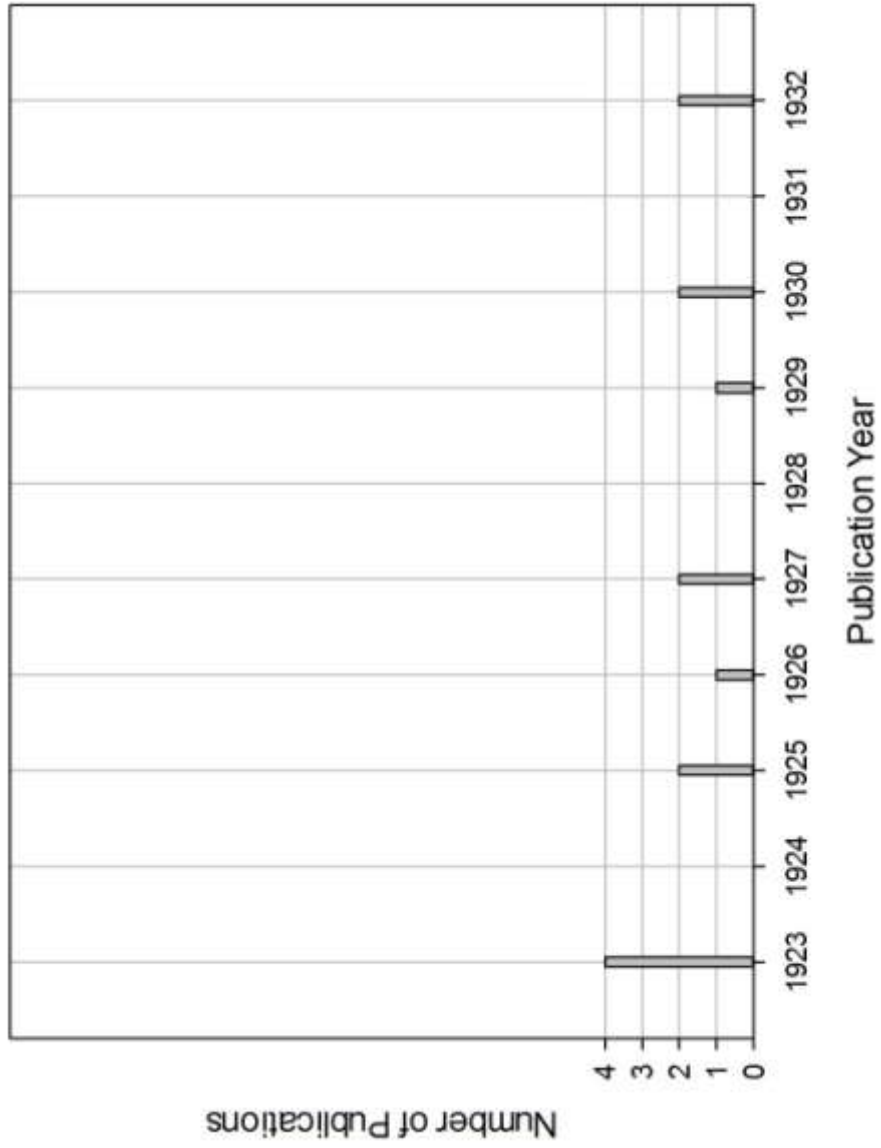


Figure 163. The graphical illustration of Mudéjar publications' distribution per year between 1923-1932.

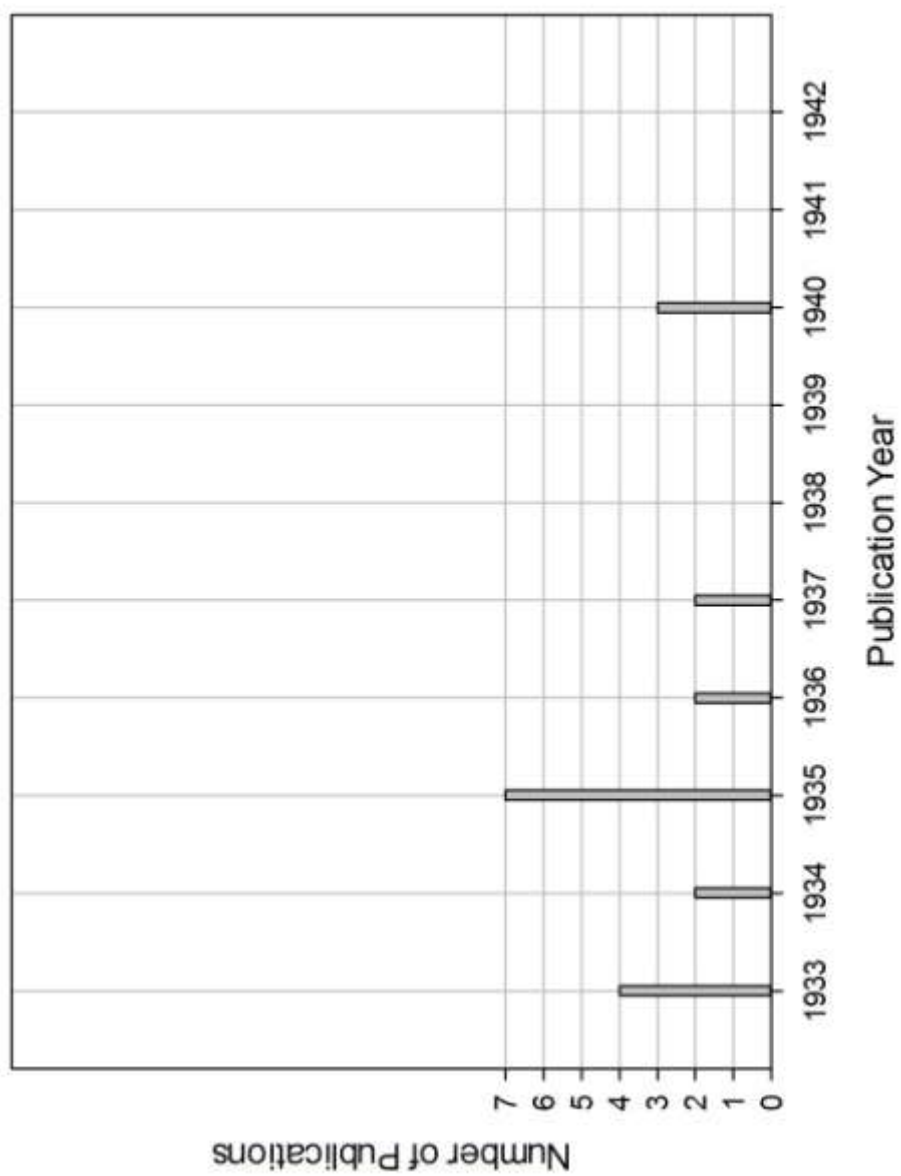


Figure 164. The graphical illustration of Mudéjar publications' distribution per year between 1933-1942.

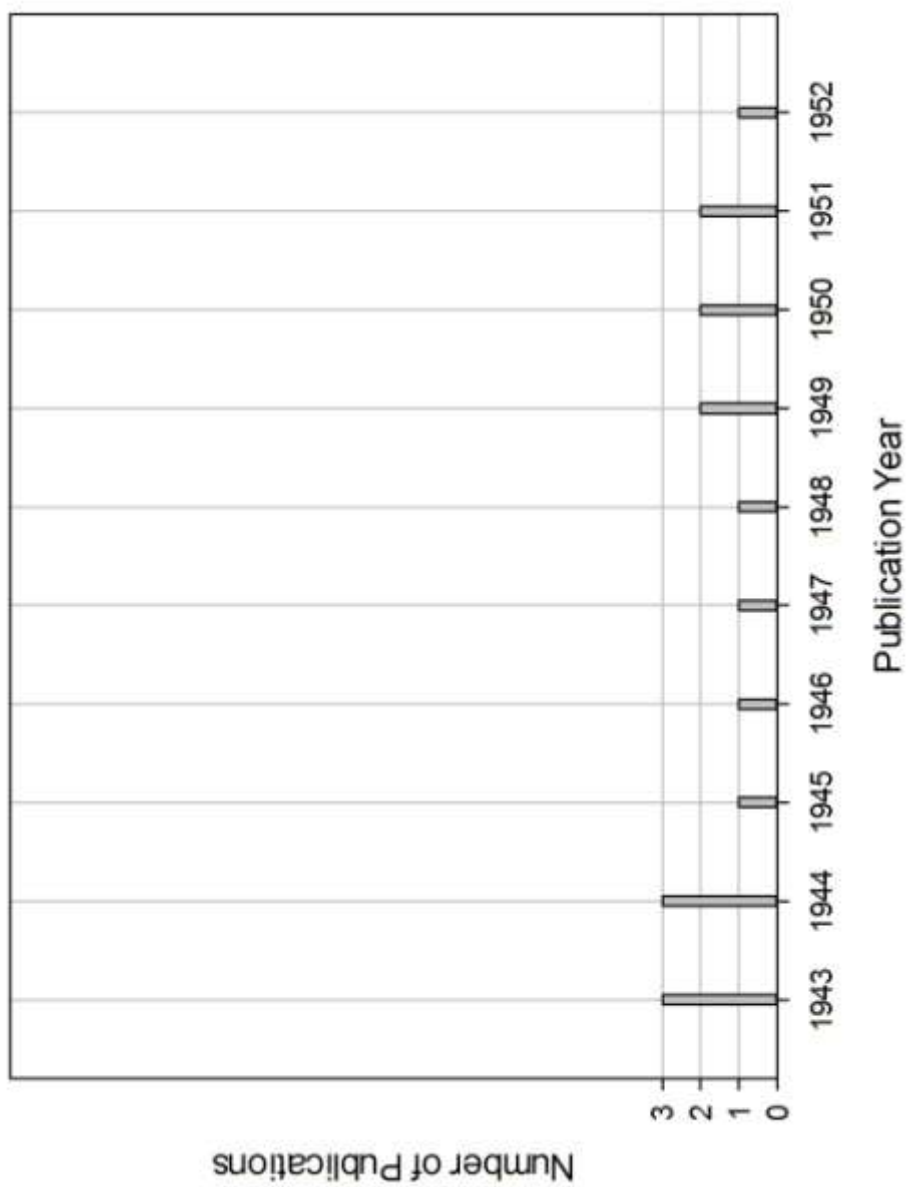


Figure 165. The graphical illustration of Mudéjar publications' distribution per year between 1943-1952.

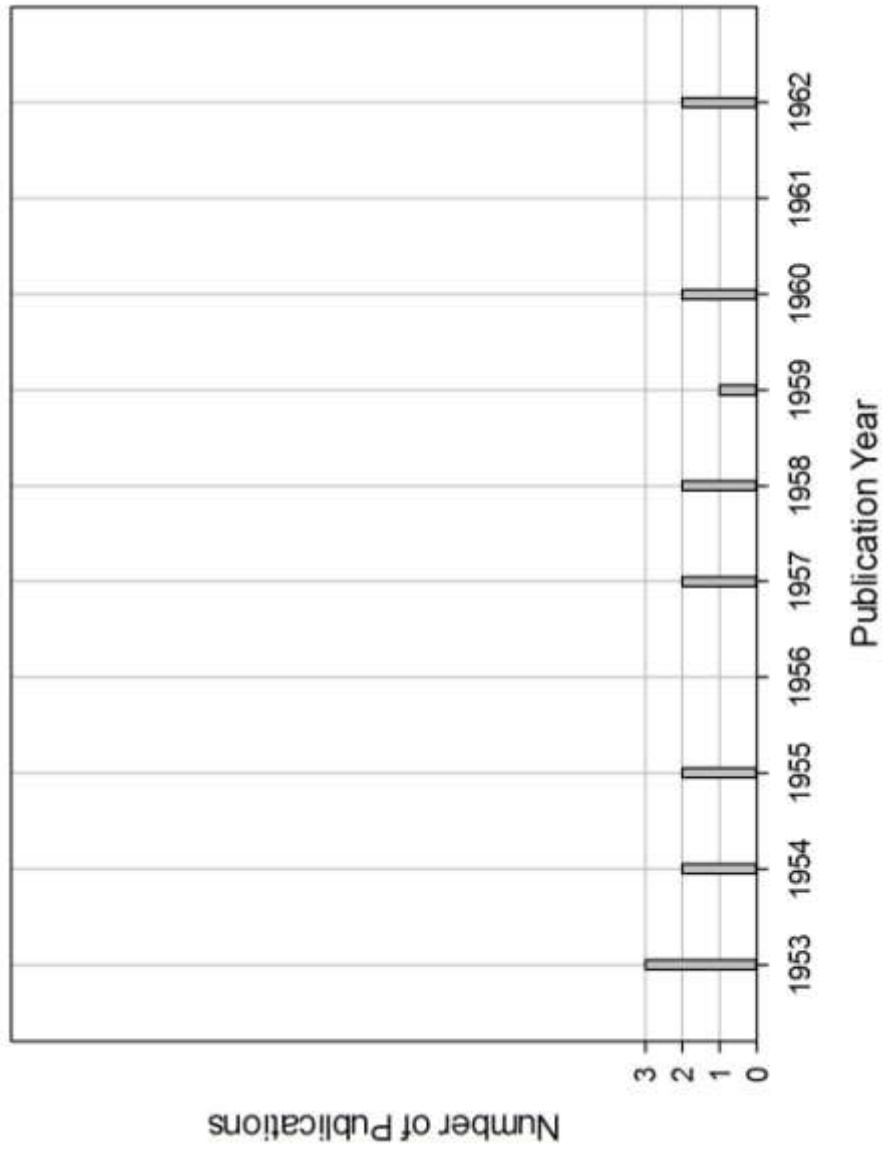


Figure 166. The graphical illustration of Mudéjar publications' distribution per year between 1953-1962.

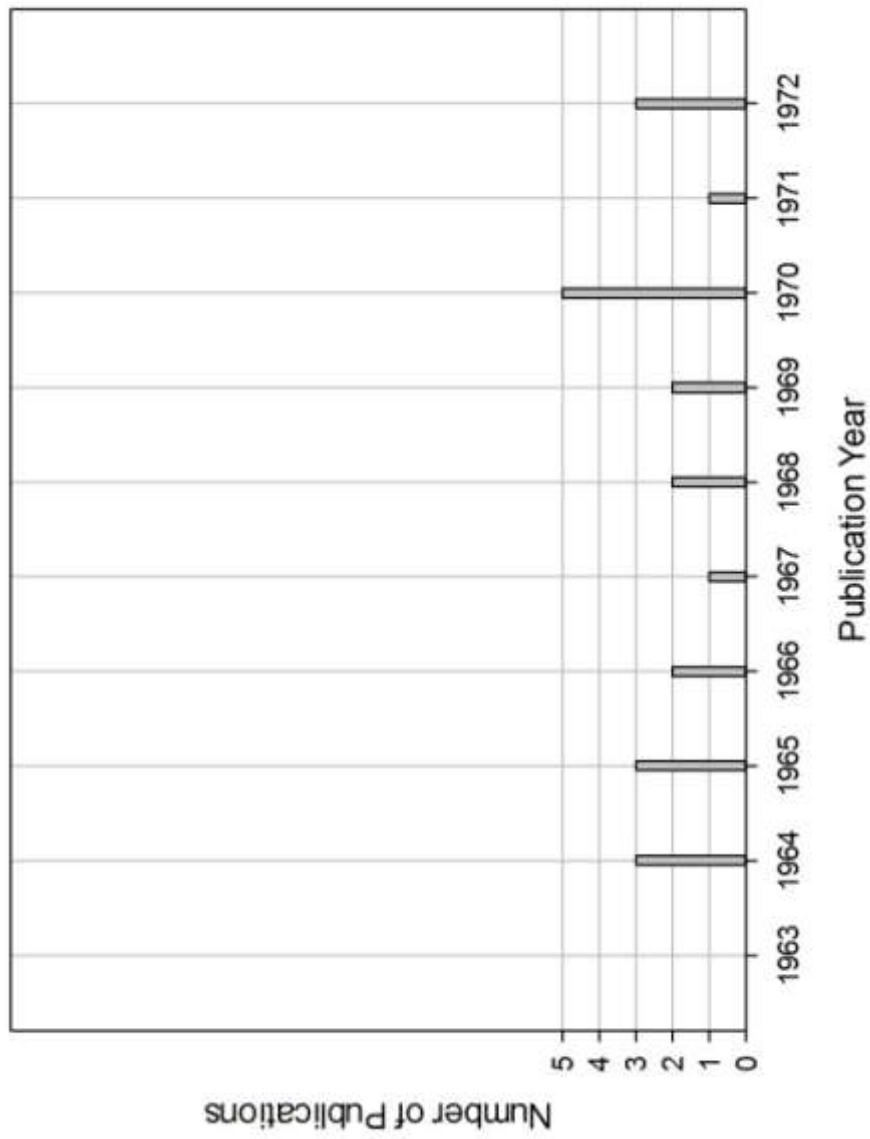


Figure 167. The graphical illustration of Mudéjar publications' distribution per year between 1963–1972.

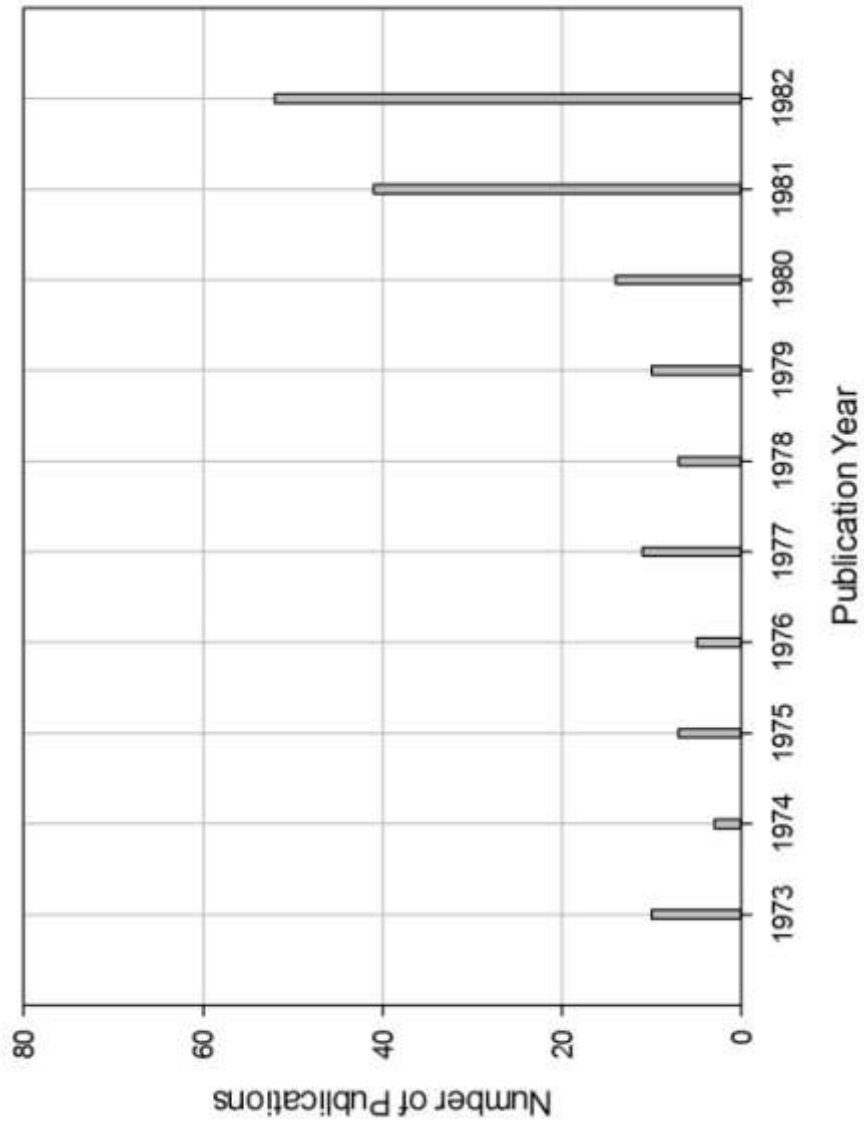


Figure 168. The graphical illustration of Mudéjar publications' distribution per year between 1973-1982.

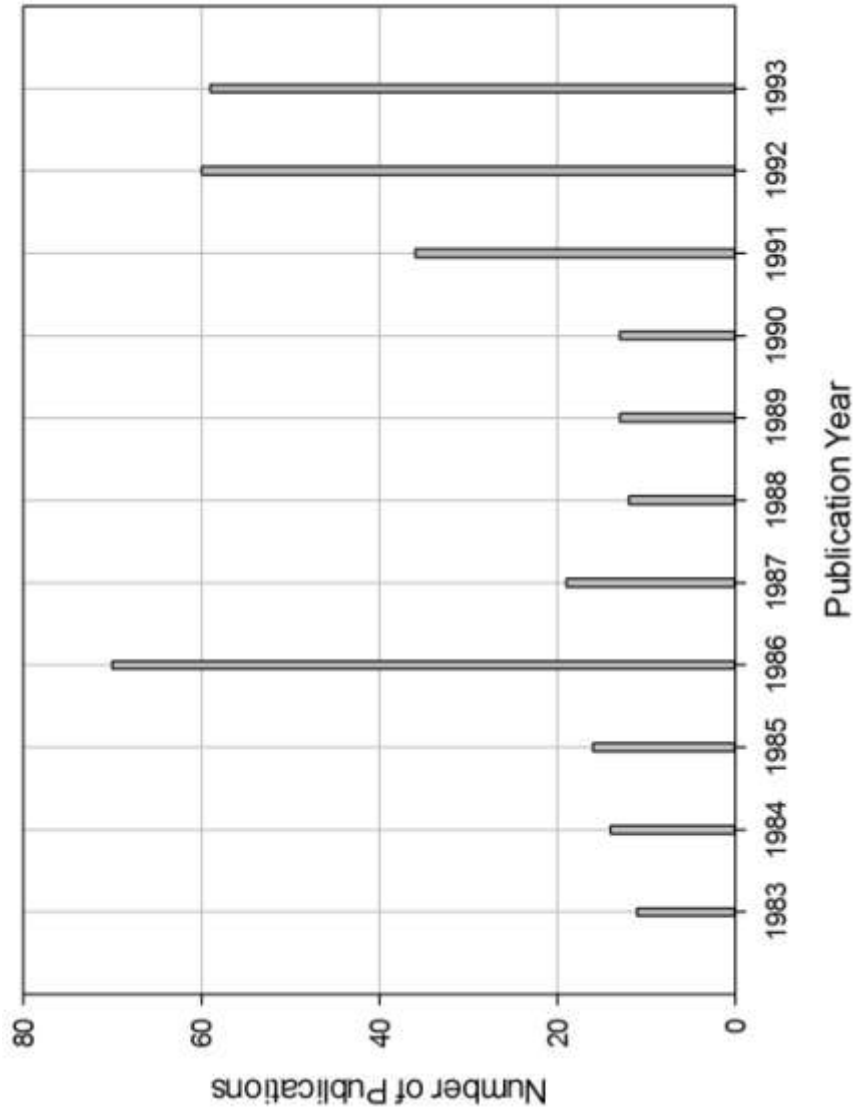


Figure 169. The graphical illustration of Mudéjar publications' distribution per year between 1983–1993.

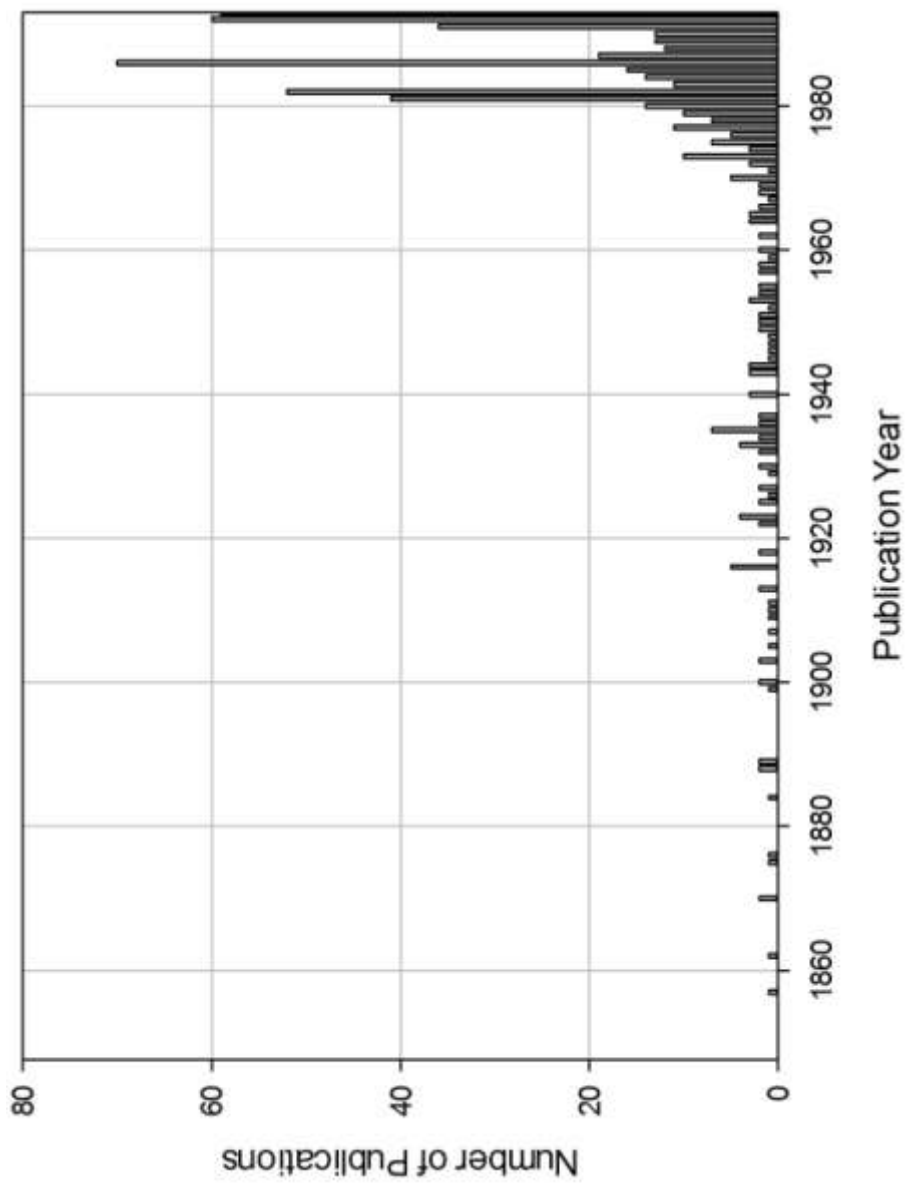


Figure 170. The graphical illustration of Mudéjar publications' distribution per year between 1860-1993.

4.2.2 Analysis of the Survey Books

Georg G. Iggers, in his work *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge*, discusses the history and its subjectivity. According to him, history is more connected with the literature than science and it can be read in innumerable ways.³⁵⁶ Similarly, survey books reflect the subjective conditions of each editor and author whose construct over cultural identities function to shape history at the same time. Survey books illustrate general themes in the field widely; therefore, they have become inalienable reference sources; additionally, these books can reveal the writing problems of architectural history discipline. In these books, different the approaches of the scholars to the history of architecture can be followed; thus, investigating survey books easily divulges constructed narratives in the field. As Dr. Pyla suggests, the survey books inform the initiation of a border about history³⁵⁷. While writing, authors select and present their own constructed realities to the readers as a result of having obtained knowledge through their lifetime.

Popular NLP (Nero linguistic programming) formulations also aim to demonstrate how a person maps and models the world according to *Nero linguistic maps* formed by cultural conditions. Though NLP aims to solve behavioural problems, it is the Nero-linguistic theory that might be used in explaining the subjective conditions of authors as there is a connection found between *Nero linguistic maps* and history writing mechanism of survey books. The writers' perceptive mechanism for each reality has been determined by certain cultural conditions that orient the authors how to behave and give those conditions a

³⁵⁶ Georg G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge* (Hanover-London: Wesleyan University Press, 1997), 9.

³⁵⁷ Panayiota Pyla, "Historicizing Pedagogy: A Critique of Kostof's *A History of Architecture*," *Journal of Architectural Education* 52/4 (1999), 216-225.

meaning. As we might expect, it becomes apparent that those writings sometimes do not directly make reference to reality, where subjectivity holds a primary role. Therefore, it can be said that authors' social and psychological conditions are nourished from their *Nero linguistic maps* that both determine the evaluation process of each historical case and its writing atmosphere.

A survey signifies the "gathering of information about the characteristics, actions, or opinions of a large group of people/population". Accumulated information subjected to evaluation process requires special historical methods³⁵⁸. In the art and architectural history field, surveys are achieved by survey books which bring a variety of information together. They can be accepted as reference publications and the first hand reached sources about the subjects. Therefore, survey books reflect a general historical line and the standing of any society. Not surprisingly, these groups of publications hold special place in architectural writing history. As the survey books gather information related to the field; in a sense, they help to determine the historical line, choose the subjects and give them to the reader from the author's perspective; thus, these books occupy a special position when determining the history³⁵⁹. In the case of Spain, art and architectural survey books similarly give important clues about the constructed narratives of each scholar about Spanish history.

³⁵⁸ Alain Pinsonneault and Kenneth L. Kraemer, *Survey Research Methodology in Management Information Systems* (Working Paper, Queen's-HEC workshop, 1991) cited from Judith M. Tanur, "Advances in Methods for large-scale Surveys and Experiments," in Behavioral and Social Science Research: A National Resource, eds. R. Mcadams, N.J. Smelser, & D.J.Treiman, Part II (Washington, D.C: National Academy Press, 1982). <http://staf.cs.ui.ac.id>.

³⁵⁹ Marvin Trachtenberg, "Some Observations on Recent Architectural History," *The Art Bulletin* June LXX Number 2 (1988). Pyla, "Historicizing Pedagogy," Bozdoğan, "Architectural History,"

The thesis aims to investigate Mudéjar's condition in art and architectural survey books. The standing of Mudéjar was very much related with the author's position while evaluating the history. From the analysis of the survey books, it was understood that some Spanish survey books do not even give any place to Mudéjar architecture in their contents. If any place is given, Mudéjar architecture usually encounters another problematical case, which is the classification method. Generally, Mudéjar is formulated as a hybrid condition; additionally, Mudéjar's stylistic features are usually overseen. Without doubt, investigating the Spanish survey books would bring productive outcomes to the field to understand the standing of Mudéjar architecture in the architectural historiography of Spain.

One of the earliest publications, *Historia Del Arte Hispánico/Hispanic Art History*, was published in 1931 and 1934, by Juan de Contreras (Marques de Lozoya) in two volumes. This survey book aims to give general information to the readers about art and architecture of Spain. At first glimpse, the usage of Hispanic terminology reveals the fact that the main ideology of the book took its strength from the Hispanidad notion. Juan de Contreras gives place to Mudéjar architecture in the second volume, in the final chapters (Chapter XIII-XIV). Mudéjar comes after topics on 13th and 14th century sculpture and painting. Thus, Mudéjar is separated from the historical chronology of Spain and obtains a place which appears to be a distinct process; furthermore, this approach creates an anachronism. Notably, for the first time, the writer uses 'Mudejarismo' terminology³⁶⁰. In the chapters, where he mentions Mudéjar it gives place to synagogue architecture; thus, he does not oversee the Jewish reality of the theme either. The way he evaluates Mudéjar architecture stresses ornamental characteristic of the style, which seems pejorative. (Figure 171) (Table 2)

³⁶⁰ Juan de Contreras, *Historia Del Arte Hispánico* (Barcelona: Salvat Editores, 1934),43.

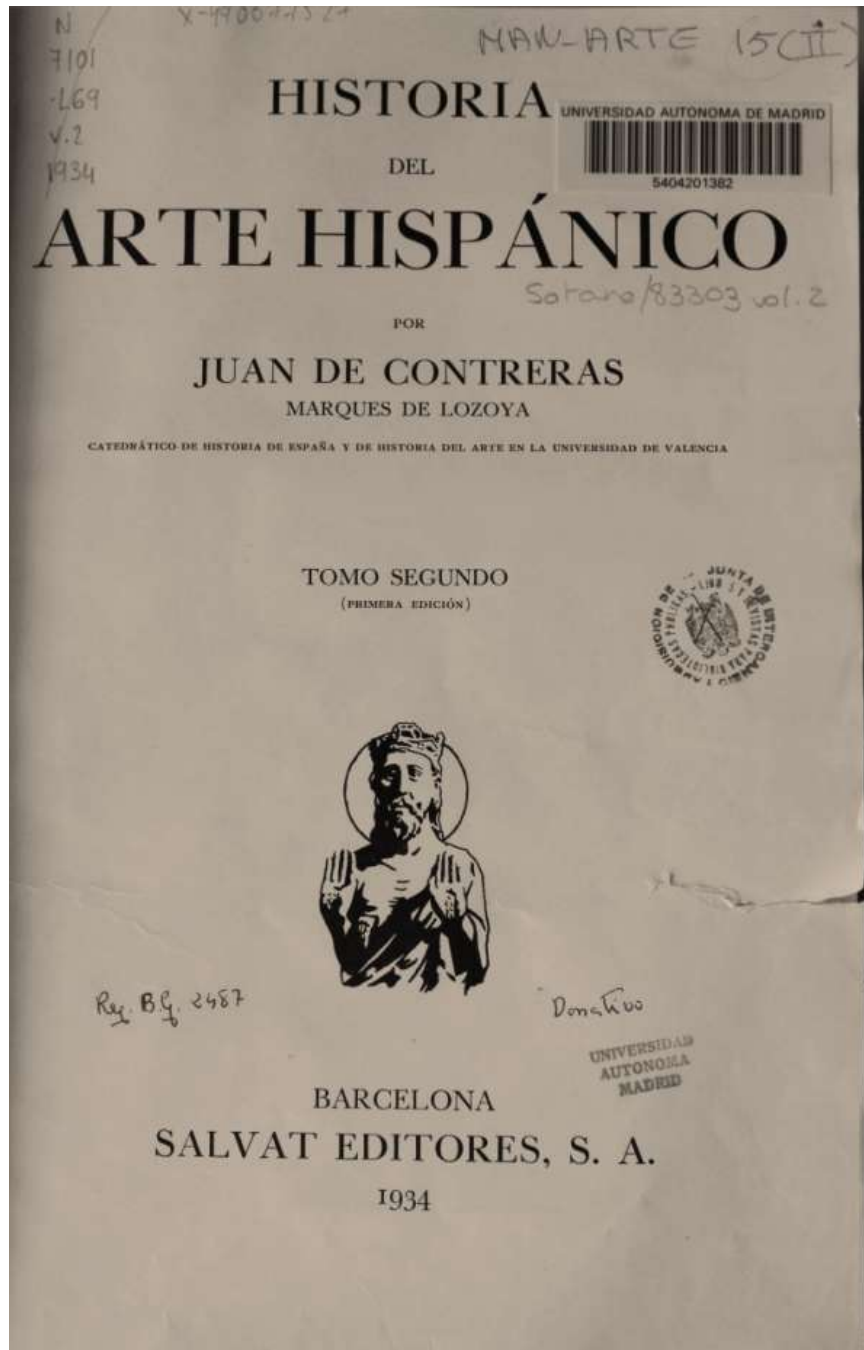


Figure 171. Cover page of *Historia del Arte Hispánico*.

Table 2. Contents of *Historia del Arte Hispánico*.

<p style="text-align: center;">TOMO SEGUNDO INDICE DE CAPITULOS CAPITULO PRIMERO LA TRANSICIÓN DEL ROMÁNICO AL GÓTICO EN LA PENÍNSULA CAPITULO II LA PRIMERA ARQUITECTURA MORISCA CAPITULO III PRIMERA ARQUITECTURA GÓTICA EN EL OCCIDENTE DE LA PENÍNSULA CAPITULO IV ARQUITECTURA RELIGIOSA CATALANA EN EL PRIMER PERÍODO GÓTICO CAPITULO V LA EXPANSIÓN DEL GÓTICO CATALÁN. LA ARQUITECTURA GÓTICA EN ARAGÓN Y NAVARRA CAPITULO VI LA ESCULTURA MONUMENTAL DURANTE LOS SIGLOS XIII Y XIV CAPITULO VII LA ESCULTURA PENINSULAR EN LOS SIGLOS XIII Y XIV CAPITULO VIII LA PINTURA HISPÁNICA EN LOS SIGLOS XIII Y XIV CAPITULO IX LA PINTURA DE INFLUENCIA TOSCANA EN EL LEVANTE DE ESPAÑA CAPITULO X LA PINTURA DE INFLUENCIA TOSCANA EN LOS ESTADOS OCCIDENTALES DE LA PENINSULA CAPITULO XI LA ARQUITECTURA GRANADINA CAPITULO XII LA ARQUITECTURA MUDÉJAR DE CARÁCTER RELIGIOSO CAPITULO XIII LA ARQUITECTURA MUDÉJAR DE CARÁCTER RELIGIOSO CAPITULO XIV EL FINAL DEL GÓTICO EN LA PENÍNSULA CAPITULO XV EL GÓTICO OCEÁNICO</p>
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Vicente Lampérez y Romea, in his work *Historia de la Arquitectura Cristiana/ Christian Architectural History* published in 1934, aims to introduce 'Oriental and Occidental works

of Christian religion'. Chapter III.- *Arquitectura occidental* mentions the architectural history of Christian Europe as well as Christian architecture of Spain; however, his evaluation lacks an evaluation of Mudéjar reality within the theme. Though Mudéjar strongly influenced the church architecture, the author pretends not to be aware of this fact. In his work, he explains a church tower, without any inclination to the Mudéjar style³⁶¹. As it is known, churches in Spain have mainly been influenced by their church tower arrangement. Minaret-like separately located tower bodies and their construction technique and decoration logic reflect Muslim ancestries. It is also not possible to encounter any Islamic origin in architectural forms. Islamic borrowings, such as *artesonados/wooden ceilings*, also do not find a place in his special glossary that was created to explain the architectural terminologies of Christian architecture. (Figure 172) (Table 3)



Figure 172. Cover page of *Historia de la Arquitectura Cristiana*

³⁶¹ Lamperez, *Arquitectura Cristiana*, 147-148.

Table 3. Contents of *Historia de la Arquitectura Cristiana*

ÍNDICE

- A) ARQUITECTURA CRISTIANA PROPIAMENTE DICHA (SIGLOS IV AL XV)
 - I.- Arquitectura latina primitiva
 - a) En Occidente (siglo IV)
 - b) En Oriente (Siglo IV)
 - II.- Arquitectura oriental
 - c) Prebizantina, siria, copta, armenia (siglos IV y V)
 - d) Bizantina (siglos VI al XV)
 - III.- Arquitectura occidental
 - e) Latina, latinobizantina, lombarda, etcétera, etc. (siglos V al XI)
 - f) Románica (siglos XI y XII)
 - g) Ojival (siglos XIII al XV)
- B) ARQUITECTURA PSEUDO-CRISTIANA (SIGLOS XV AL XIX)
 - IV.- Arquitectura del Renacimiento (siglos XV al XVIII)
 - V.- Arquitectura moderna (siglo XIX)

One of the most permanent series written on Spanish Art History is *Ars Hispaniae. historia universal del arte hispánico/Art of Hispania. Universal History of Hispanic Art*. It was published in 22 volumes in 1948³⁶². Each chapter of the volumes is very well-illustrated. Analysis of the book shows that the main idea of the book is nourished from the Romantic Period's determined terminologies when Mozarabic, Muslim and Mudéjar terminologies and their architectural information for the first time emerged in the art historical field. This survey book series do not evaluate Mudéjar under a western style but separate it from the western styles. (Figure 173) (Table 7)

³⁶² Leopoldo Torres Balbás, *Ars Hispaniae. Historia Universal Del Arte Hispánico*, Volumen Cuarto (Madrid: Editorial Plus Ultra, 1948).

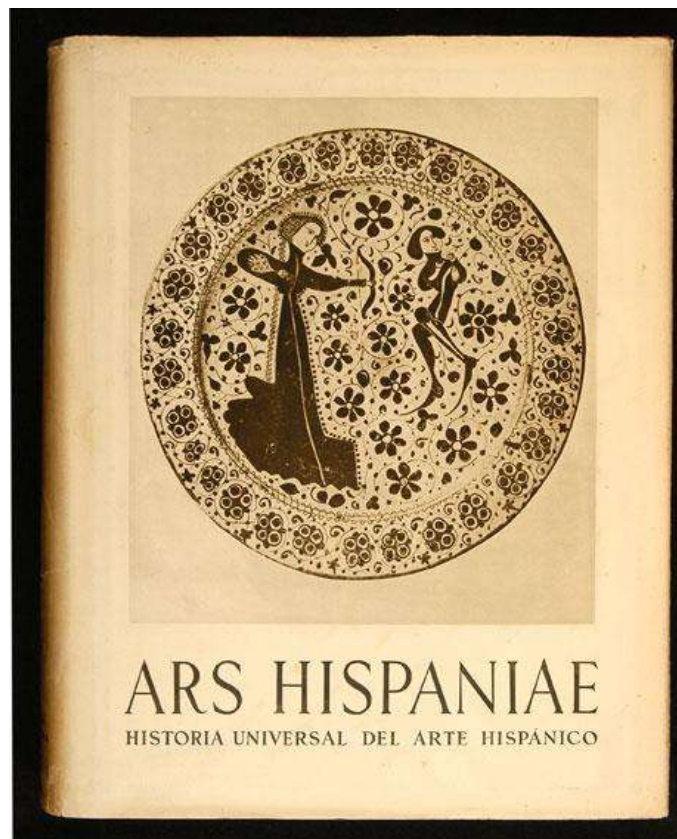


Figure 173. Cover page of *Ars Hispaniae/Art of Hispania*

Table 4. Contents of *Ars Hispaniae*.

<p>ARS HISPANIAE Arte Prehistórico Colonizaciones Púnica y Griega. El Arte Ibérico. El Arte de las Tribus Célticas Arte Romano. Arte Paleocristiano. Arte Visigodo. Arte Asturiano El Arte Árabe Español hasta los Almohades. Arte Mozárabe Arte Almohade. Arte Nazari. Arte Mudéjar Arquitectura y Escultura Románicas Pintura e Imaginería Románicas Arquitectura Gótica Escultura Gótica Pintura Gótica </p>
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Consistent with that in the fourth volume, *Arte Almohade*, *Arte Nazarí* and *Arte Mudéjar* were written by Leopoldo Torres Balbás, who was one of the well-known restorers of the Alhambra Palace. As Spanishness was the key question to answer in the late 19th and the early 20th century, this book brings out the mosaic of the past. In this regard, Muslim Spain was not excluded from the analysis and became a part of the assessments of the Spanish past. Therefore, the volume could be expected to be one of the very well demonstrated parts of Spanish studies on Muslim and Mudéjar architecture in Iberia. Balbás gives detailed observations about Almohad Art, Nasirid Art and Mudéjar Art particularly about architecture, decoration and industrial works extensively. However, Balbás could not escape from the Mudéjars' deficient writing because it can be grasped that mainly the ornamental features were attributed to Mudéjar Art from his formulation. In addition, here *Arte Almohade*, *Arte Nazarí* and *Arte Mudéjar* are given with separate titles overseeing the Emirate, Caliphal, Taifa Periods of the style.

Bernard Bevan's book *Historia de la Arquitectura Española* was published in 1950. It is important to note that the author is not Spanish; therefore, his way of observation is important to make comparison between natives and foreign scholar attitudes while evaluating the topic. The book starts with a cover page, which depicts the Giralda Tower in Spain; thus, he gives a signal about his optimistic approach to the Islamic past of Spain³⁶³. As the author expresses in the prologue, the book aims to be read by not only Spanish people, but also by everyone. His arrangement of content differentiates his book from the other publications. He starts with the Roman, Visigothic and Asturias examples, after which he mentions the Muslim architectures of the Emirate and the Caliphal period. Then, he

³⁶³ Bernard Bevan, *Historia de la Arquitectura Española* (Barcelona: Joventud Editorial, 1950).

passes to Mozarabic architecture, followed by Romanico Abadías cistercienses, Gothic process, the last phase of Muslim architecture of Andalucía and Mudéjar architecture.

His approach towards Islamic architecture shows that the author is cautious about the *Emirate* and *Caliphal* periods of the Islamic dynasties, but periods like the Taifa, the Almoravids, and particularly the Almohads, whose minarets left their fingerprint on Spanish architecture could not find a place in the content. (Figure 174) (Table 5) Though Mudéjar architecture finds its place in the content, the author accepts it as a work of two cultures but while at the same time he thinks that there is a huge gap between Islam and Christianity. He says, "La arquitectura española es el producto de dos civilizaciones, la cristiana y la islámica, dos mentalidades que fueron diametralmente opuestas". According to him, Spanish architecture is the product of two civilizations: Christian and Islam but the two mentalities were completely opposite³⁶⁴.

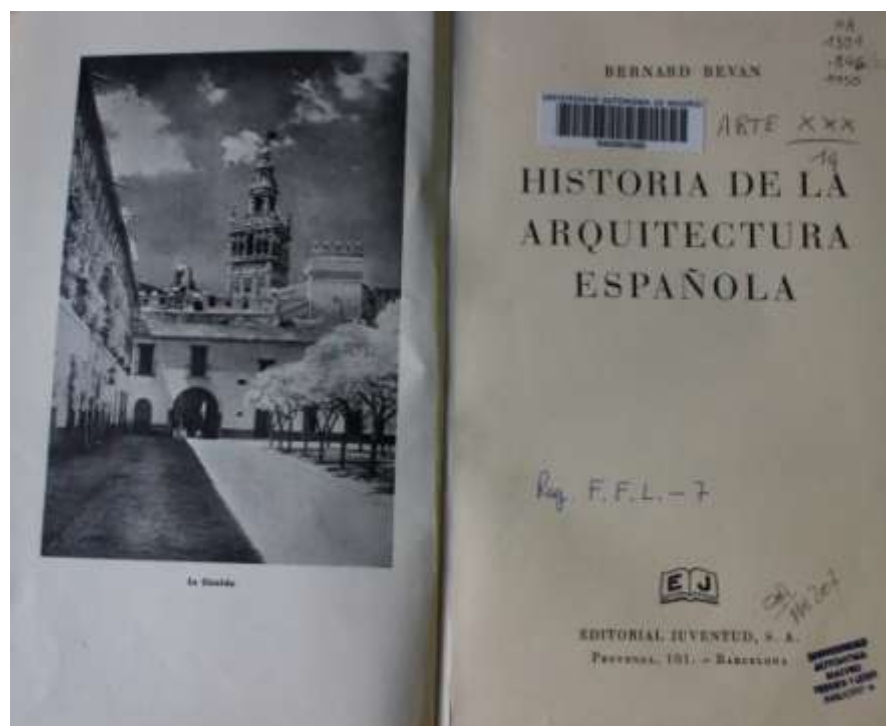


Figure 174. Cover page of *Historia de la Arquitectura Española*

³⁶⁴ Bevan, *Arquitectura Española*, 2.

Table 5. Contents of *Historia de la Arquitectura Española*

CONTENIDO	
I.	LA ARQUITECTURA ROMANA EN ESPAÑA
II.	LA ARQUITECTURA VISIGÓTICA
III.	LAS IGLESIAS ASTURIANAS DEL SIGLO IX
IV.	LA ARQUITECTURA MUSULMANA EN LA ÉPOCA DE LOS EMIRES Y CALIFAS DE CÓRDOBA
V.	LA ARQUITECTURA MOZÁRABE
VI.	EL ROMÁNICO EN CATALUÑA
VII.	EL ROMÁNICO EN CASTILLA
VIII.	ABADÍAS CISTERCIENSES
IX.	EL GÓTICO FRANCÉS EN CASTILLA
X.	EL GÓTICO CATALÁN
XI.	LA ÚLTIMA ARQUITECTURA MUSULMANA EN ANDALUCÍA
XII.	EL MUDÉJAR
XIII.	CASTILLOS ESPAÑOLES
XIV.	LAS ÚLTIMAS CATEDRALES GÓTICAS
XV.	ISABELINO Y GÓTICO PLATERESCO
XVI.	RENACIMIENTO PLATERESCO
XVII.	EL ALTO RENACIMIENTO Y HERRERA

Historia del Arte Hispánico/ Art History of Hispania was published in several volumes. Volume II, which mentions Mudéjar architecture, was published in 1980, and it was written by Joaquín Yarza Luaces, whose major study area was Medieval Art³⁶⁵. This volume of the book is named as *La Edad Media/ The Middle Age*. When the book is analyzed, it can be seen that the book starts with the Antique crisis and Muslim beginnings in the Iberian Peninsula. The second theme of the book is the recuperation of the West. The author uses the re-conquest language with this title, and according to him, the West was trying to expunge the Muslim invasion. The following part is named as the *Gothic period* under which Mudéjar architecture and Jewish architectural examples are studied. With this arrangement Dr. Yarza contributed to Gothic Mudéjar arguments where Mudéjar architecture is evaluated as a subdivision of the Gothic period. (Figure 175)(Table 6)

³⁶⁵ Yarza, *La Edad Media*.

Historia del Arte Hispánico

II. LA EDAD MEDIA

J. Yarza

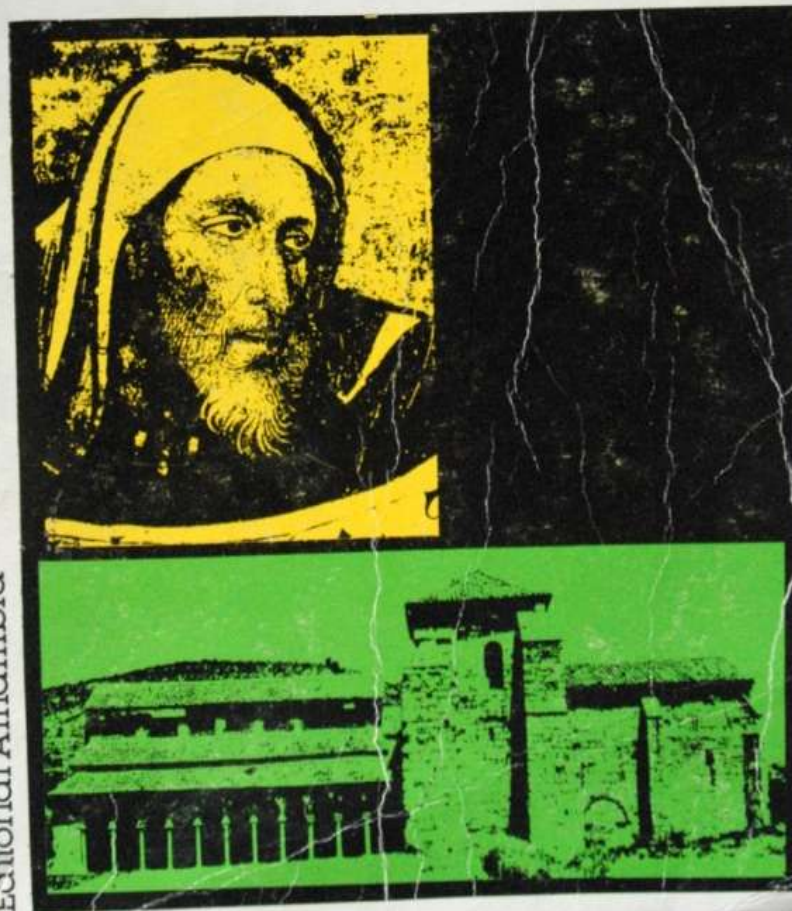


Figure 175. Cover page of *La Edad Media*.

Table 6. Contents of *La Edad Media*

<p>1. Crisis de la Antigüedad y predominio musulmán (siglos VIII-X) Arte de la España visigoda El Islam en Occidente (siglos VIII-IX) Asturias y la Marca Hispánica (siglo IX) El Califato (siglo X) Mozárabes y repoblación (del siglo X a la integración en Europa)</p> <p>2. La recuperación de Occidente (siglos XI-XII) Las taifas (siglos XI) Tendencias del primer románico (de finales del siglo X al tercer cuarto del siglo XI) Francia y el románico (1075-1150) Persistencia de lo andalusí en el arte tras las invasiones Transformaciones del románico (de 1150 a principios del siglo XIII) Los cistercienses</p> <p>3. Los siglos del gótico Apogeo y expansión Lo Mudéjar El arte de los judíos en España Crisis del siglo XIV y actividad levantina El Reino nazarí de Granada (siglos XIV-XV) El Siglo XV</p>
--

Furthermore, the main title of the book, which is *Historia del Arte Hispánico* alone gives a clue about the narration of the book which is derived from the antique formulations of the past based mainly on the Roman era. Additionally, the title of contents makes references to the Western styles and culture, but Islamic themes could only be encountered under the western titles of the content as subtitles.

Another architectural history survey book, examining Spanish History is *Historia de la Arquitectura Española/ Spanish Architectural History*, published in 1985. This book is a colossal work in the field and brought an accumulation of different essays of scholars. Among them, Geneviève Barbe-Coquelin de Lisle mentions about Mudéjar architecture.

Although the book gives a place to Mudéjar architecture, it is interesting to notice that Mudéjar comes after *Arquitectura romanica/ Romanic Architecture* and *Arquitectura gotica/ Gothic Architecture*. In addition, the Muslim art of Spain, which is called as ‘Arquitectura hispanomusulmana/Hispanic Muslim Architecture’ comes after the Mudéjar chapter. Therefore, one of the biggest challenges of the book is the chronology because Islamic Iberian architecture is chronologically earlier than the Mudéjar architecture; therefore, in the book the organization of the contents present an anachronism. Within this organization is nourished the idea that the Islamic Iberian process cut the lineage of the Romanic, Gothic process of Spanish history, so in order to not disturb the true historical succession, Islamic Iberian history found its place after the Mudéjar part. The detailed organization of the book is given in the chart below (Table 7).

Table 7. Contents of *Historia de la Arquitectura Española*

<p><i>Plan General de la Obra y Autores</i></p> <p>Tomo I</p> <p>Introducción</p> <p>Arquitectura preromana y romana</p> <p>Arquitectura prerománica</p> <p>Arquitectura románica</p> <p>Tomo II</p> <p>Arquitectura gótica</p> <p>Arquitectura mudéjar</p> <p>Arquitectura hispanomusulmana</p> <p>Tomo III</p> <p>Arquitectura renacentista</p> <p>...</p>
--

One of the striking survey books in Spanish scholarly field was written by J. A. Gaya Nuño in 1963³⁶⁶. With the book, *Historia del Arte Español*, the author asserts that ‘la historia para todos’/ ‘the history for all of us’. With the sentence, he expresses that the book aims to

³⁶⁶ J. A. Gaya Nuño, *Historia del Arte Español* (Madrid: Editorial Plus, Ultra, 1963).

address everyone who ever wants to know about the Spanish past in terms of art history. Additionally, in the prologue the author writes that “Hacer una Historia del arte Español para todos; he aqui nuestro propósito”. “To make history of Spanish Art for everybody, here is our duty”. From these sentences, it can be sensed that here what the author assumes is not to evaluate or write history but to claim to make it. Consistent with that he gives constructed version of history to the reader. Notably, the book cover accompanies *La Dama de Elche* / *Lady of Elche* which is a statuary image belonging to the early beginnings of the Peninsula, the early pre-Hispanic periods.. In addition, the Islamic periods were sometimes used under the title of Morisco, which introduces pejorative terminological usages to the readers. (Figure 176) (table 8)

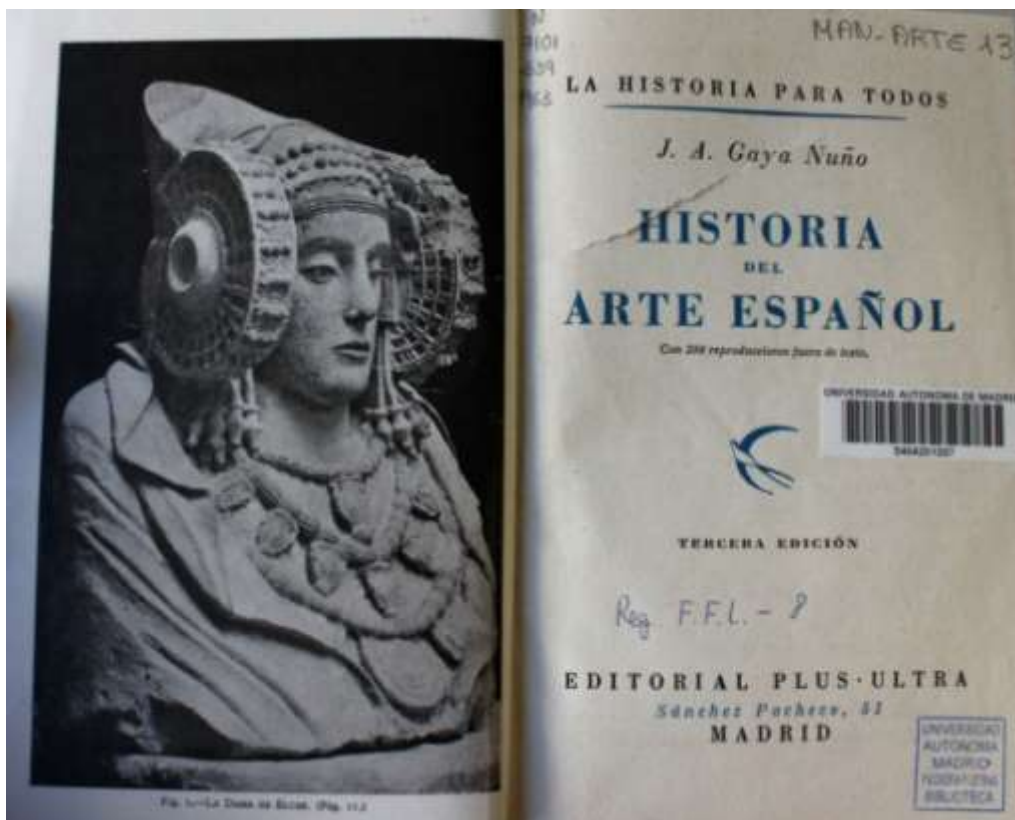


Figure 176. Cover page of *Historia del Arte Español*

Table 8. Content of *Historia del Arte Español*

<p style="text-align: center;">INDICE DE MATERIAS</p> <p style="text-align: center;">I.- FORMACIÓN DE LA CONCIENCIA ESTÉTICA</p> <p style="text-align: center;">II.-BALBUCEOS CRISTIANOS Y PLENTITUD ISLÁMICA</p> <p style="text-align: center;">III.- SEGUNDA ETAPA MUSULMANA</p> <p style="text-align: center;">IV.-EL ARTE ROMANO (NÍCO)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">V.- PARÉNTESIS ENTRE ROMÁNICO Y GÓTICO</p> <p style="text-align: center;">VI.-ARQUITECTURA GÓTICA ESPAÑOLA</p> <p style="text-align: center;">VII.- LA ESCULTURA GÓTICA ESPAÑOLA</p> <p style="text-align: center;">.....</p> <p style="text-align: center;">.....</p>
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Fernando Chueca Goitia, whose wide range of publications helps to map the history of Spanish architecture, is one of the prominent researchers in the field. Additionally, Chueca Goitia was an important restorer and architect of the 20th century; his studies concerning Aragón hold a variety of Mudéjar examples. His colossal work on Spanish architectural history, *Historia de la Arquitectura Española. Edad Antigua y Edad Media* was published in 1965³⁶⁷. When Goitia included Mudéjar in his book, he did so only in terms of using a quasi-stylistic designation. The reason for the fact finds its answer within the author's opinions about Mudéjar, where only dispersed, peculiar and spontaneous features are attributed to it. The author gives Mudéjar a liberated character, which prevents a comprehensive stylistic designation. In the book, two chapters are reserved for Mudéjar while the first one deals with social and historical aspects of the theme where regional studies are also made by the author; the second chapter only deals with popular and military architecture of the topic. (Figure 177) (Table 9)

³⁶⁷ Fernando Chueca Goitia, *Historia de la arquitectura Española. Edad antigua y edad media* (Madrid: Editorial Dossat, 1965).

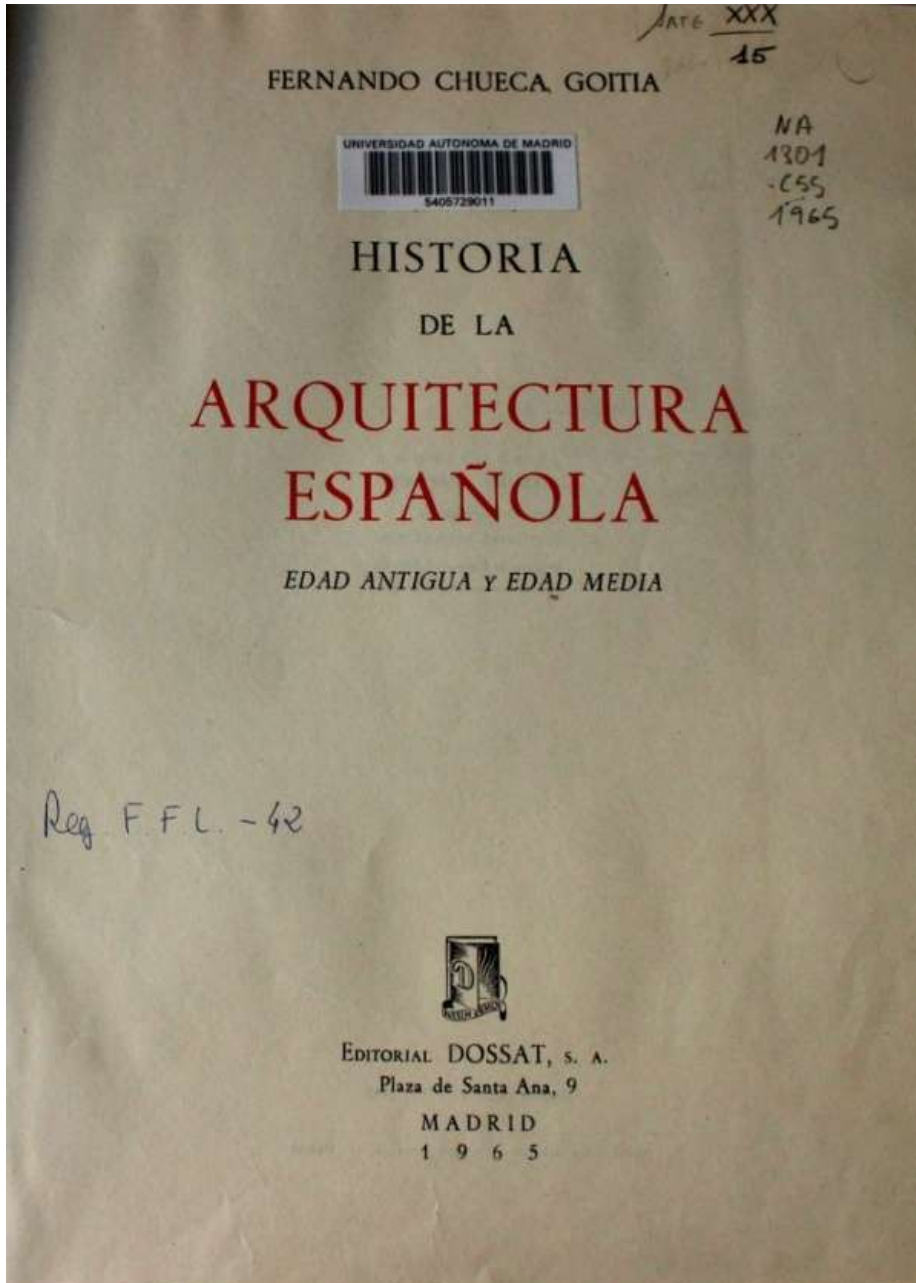


Figure 177. Cover page of *Historia de la arquitectura Española. Edad antigua y edad media*.

Table 9. Contents of *Historia de la arquitectura Española. Edad antigua y edad media*.

<p>INDICE GENERAL</p> <p>CAPÍTULO I.-ARQUITECTURA PREHISTORICA</p> <p>CAPITULO II.-ARQUITECTURA ROMANA</p> <p>CAPITULO III.-LA ARQUITECTURA DE LOS PRIMEROS TIEMPOS CRISTIANOS</p> <p>CAPITULO IV.-LA ARQUITECTURA BAJO EL GOBIERNO DE LOS OMEYAS Y DURANTE LOS REINOS DE TAIFAS</p> <p>CAPITULO V.- ARQUITECTURA MOZARABE</p> <p>CAPITULO VI.-EL ROMANICO CATALAN</p> <p>CAPÍTULO VII.-EL ROMANICO EN ARAGON Y CASTILLA DURANTE EL SIGLO XI</p> <p>CAPÍTULO VIII.-EL ROMANICO DEL SIGLO XII</p> <p>CAPITULO IX.-LA ARQUITECTURA HISPANO-MUSULMANA BAJO LOS ALMORAVIDES Y ALMOHADES</p> <p>CAPÍTULO X.- LOS COMIENZOS DEL GOTICO Y LOS MONASTERIOS CISTERCIENSES</p> <p>CAPÍTULO XI.-GOTICO FARNCES EN CASTILLA Y NAVARRA</p> <p>CAPITULO XII.- LA ARQUITECTURA GOTICA EN LECANTE DURANTE LOS SIGLOS XIV Y XV</p> <p>CAPITULO XIII.- ARQUITECTURA NAZARÍ</p> <p>CAPÍTULO XIV.- MUDÉJAR</p> <p>CAPÍTULO XV.- ARQUITECTURA MUDEJAR CIVIL Y MILITAR</p> <p>CAPITULO XVI.- LA ARQUITECTURA DEL GOTICO TARDIO</p> <p>.....</p>
--

Joaquín Yarza when he wrote his book, *Arte Arquitectura en España*, limited his theme between the 6th century and the 13th century³⁶⁸. His work does not oversee Mudéjar reality but he puts forward the actual problem differently. According to the author of the book the problem is not talking about the existence of Mudéjars and their works, but the actual problem is to decide if it is a style or not. Geographical diversity and abundance and district chronologies according to him do not let Mudéjar locate itself as stylistic category. He charges a changeful character to Mudéjar, which prevents the author to make stylistic formulations for Mudéjar, as follows; (Table 10)

³⁶⁸ Joaquín Yarza, *Arte y Arquitectura en España 500-1250* (España: Cetedra, 1981).

Table 10. Contents of Arte Arquitectura en España

ÍNDICE

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7. EL SIGLO X: MOZÁRABES Y REPOBLACIÓN
6. CRISIS DEL CALIFATO Y REINOS DE TAIFAS
7. EN TORNO AL PRIMER ROMÁNICO DEL AÑO 1000 A 1075
8. EL PLENO ROMÁNICO (1075-1150)
9. ARTE HISPANO-MUSULMÁN E INVASIONES
AFRICANAS: ALMORÁVIDES Y ALMOHADES
10. HACIA LA DISOLUCIÓN DEL ROMÁNICO
11. MUDÉJARES Y ROMÁNICO
12. EL CÍSTER

"Resulta evidente que lo mudéjar en arte no puede calificarse de estilo. Vale tal vez la calificación de 'actitud mudéjar' con carácter de 'invariante' o de constante artística, indicando con ello la presencia en el arte medieval hispano de los alarifes musulmanes, con la carga de tradiciones constructivas, decorativas, de estructura, anclados en el pasado o vivificados por el contacto con las comunidades aún independientes nazaríes³⁶⁹."

"It is clear that the Mudéjar art cannot be qualified within a style. It is okay if it is evaluated as 'Mudéjar attitude' with character 'invariant' or 'constant artistically form', indicating that presence of the Muslim alarifes, with the burden of constructive, decorative, structural traditions that anchored in the past or vivified with the contact with the communities still independent nazaríes".

Historia del Arte Español | Spanish Art History was published by A. Calvo Castellon, within *Temas de Cultura Española / Spanish Cultural Themes* to the reader who is unfamiliar with the topic as it stated in the prologue by the author³⁷⁰. His content arrangement includes

³⁶⁹ Yarza, *Arte y Arquitectura*, 312.

Mudéjar art to its context; however, he replaces Mudéjar architecture just behind the Arte nazari. Mudéjar comes following pre-romanic, Austrian and pre-romanic , mozarab, romanic and gothic periods. The main problem of the book is anachronism because Mudéjar art is located before Mozarabic architecture and the other western styles of Romanic and Gothic. The second problem with the book is the organization, which creates a disconnection between themes; however, we know that Mudéjar was very much integrated with the Romanic and Gothic periods and occurred at the same time and together with the western styles. Therefore, with this book Mudéjar's location continues to produce anachronism and ambiguity in the Spanish scholarly field. (Figure 178) (Table 11)

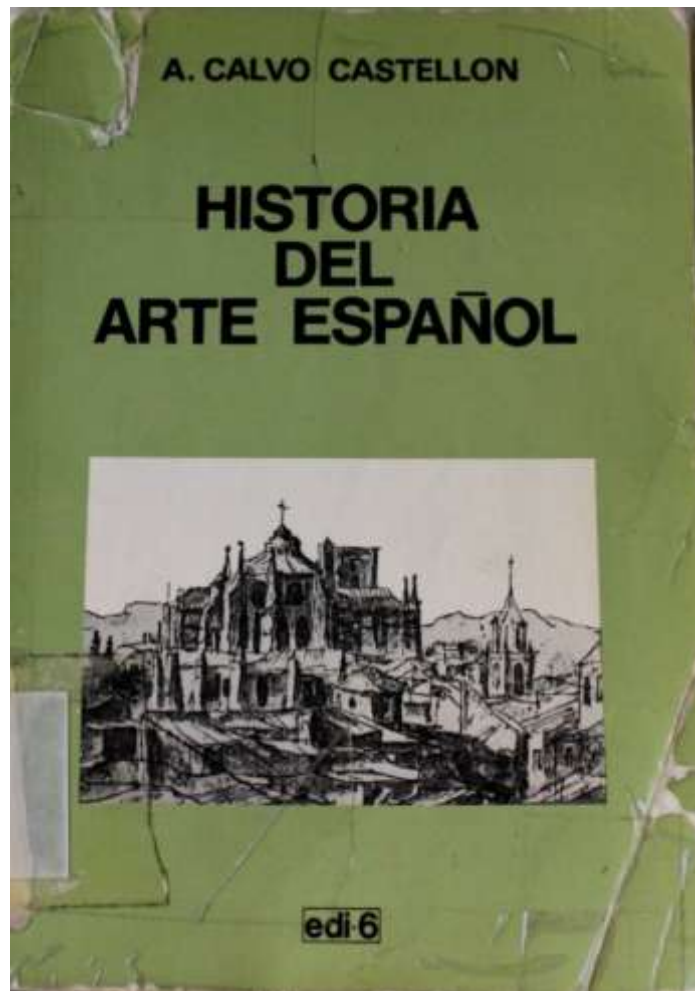


Figure 178. Cover page of *Historia del Arte Español*.

³⁷⁰ A. Calvo Castellon, *Historia del Arte Español* (Madrid: Edi-6, 1987).

Table 11. Contents of *Historia del Arte Español*.

INDICE
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.....
4. Arte visigodo
5. Primer arte musulmán: el califal
6. Arte de los reinos taifas
7. Arte de la dinastía africana de los almorávides
8. Arte de la dinastía almohade
9. Arte nazari
10. Arte mudéjar
11. Arte prerománico: asturiano
12. Arte prerománico: mozárabe
13. Arte románico
14. Arte gótico
.....
.....

J. J. Martín González's work that was published in 1982 with the title *Historia del Arte*. The book aims to create a general reading for history of art therefore he divides his chapters according to geographical and chronological aspects of cultures³⁷¹. Though he tries to produce a general art history book, his methodology is not clear. He makes a classification of the periods according to typologies of materials of cultures such as architecture, sculpture, painting and so on. Geographical centres and their art works are introduced under the titles. In this organization the problem appears once more as chronology, which gives place to the Mudéjar theme after Muslim art. However, Mudéjar appears before Romanic and Gothic art. The author's tendency reveals the fact that the lineage of Romanic and Gothic should not be disturbed; therefore, anachronism becomes the inevitable result of this work. (Figure 179) (Table 12)

³⁷¹ J. J. Martín González, *Historia del Arte* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1982), 7.



Figure 179. Cover page of *Historia del Arte*

Table 12. Content of *Historia del Arte*

<p>ÍNDICE GENERAL DEL TOMO I</p> <p>.....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>El arte bizantino</p> <p>El arte occidental en la época de las invasiones bárbaras</p> <p>El arte prerrománico</p> <p>El arte musulmán</p> <p>El arte hispano-musulmán</p> <p>El arte mudéjar</p> <p>El arte románico</p> <p>El arte gótico</p> <p>.....</p>

Within the Mudéjar title, the author assumes the existence of Románico Mudéjar and Gótico Mudéjar, and thus gives Mudéjar a secondary role in the construction of buildings. His opinion could be traced from sentences such as follows; “No existe en realidad una arquitectura constructivamente mudéjar, que las obras de tal estilo no son sino modelos de la arquitectura musulmana u occidental acusando las modalidades del arte hispanoárabe: almorávide, almohade y granadino. No se trata por la comun, sino de un estilo decorativo, ya que las estructuras son ordinariamente las del arte cristiano. Constituye el Mudéjar una de las mayores novedades del arte español, y ello respode a algo lógico: del mismo modo que aceptabamos el gótico no podíamos rechazar el arte musulmán, símbolo de una gran cultura medieval, el cual, además, se adaptaba soberanamente a las condiciones del suelo y al sentir del español.³⁷²”.

"Actually there is no structurally Mudéjar building existing so the works of such a style are not models of the Moslem or western architecture that disapproving the forms of the art Hispanoárabe: from Almoravid, Almohad and Granada. Mudéjar is not a common, but a decorative style since the structures belong to Christian art. It is the Mudéjar which is one of the major novelties of Spanish art, and this art replies something logical. Similarly, we admit that the Gothic could not reject Muslim art, the symbol of the great medieval culture, which also synchronized tremendously with the space conditions and sensed the Spanish. "

The twentieth century publication, *Historia del Arte Español* was written by two authors: Jesús Espino Nuño and Miguel Morán. As a survey book, it contributes to anachronistic observation of Spanish art and architectural history scholarly field³⁷³. Though it does not

³⁷² González, *Historia del Arte*, 411.

³⁷³ Jesús Espino Nuño and Miguel Morán , *Historia del Arte español* (Spain: Sgel, 1996).

give a place to Mudéjar in the content, the term appears in the glossary. After the title of 15th century, the author produces anachronism and mentions the 9th and 10th centuries. Thus, once more, the Muslim History of the Iberian Peninsula is excluded from the historical lineage. The chapter *La España Musulmana/ Muslim Spain* consists of the period of Islam that dominated the Peninsula, and it was given after the Romantic and Gothic periods. (Figure 180) (Table 13)



Figure 180. Cover page of *Historia del Arte español*

Table 13. Content of *Historia del Arte Español*

<p style="text-align: center;">ÍNDICE</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ARTE ANTIGUO</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Los albores el Arte español</p> <p style="text-align: center;">LA España preromana</p> <p style="text-align: center;">La civilización romana</p> <p style="text-align: center;">La España visigoda</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ARTE MEDIEVAL</p> <p style="text-align: center;">La España cristiana</p> <p style="text-align: center;">El siglo X</p> <p style="text-align: center;">La época románica</p> <p style="text-align: center;">El tránsito hacia una nueva época</p> <p style="text-align: center;">La plenitud del Gótico</p> <p style="text-align: center;">El siglo XV</p> <p style="text-align: center;">La España musulmana</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ARTE MODERNO</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Entre el Gótico y el Renacimiento</p> <p style="text-align: center;">La implantación del Renacimiento pleno</p> <p style="text-align: center;">.....</p>

The current survey book *Art and Architecture of Spain*, which was published in 1998, is a translated version of the Spanish book, *Historia del Arte de España*³⁷⁴. The English translation was my made by Dominic Currin. The book, which is originally edited by Xavier Barral i Altet, does not give any place to Mudéjar architecture in its contents. When a deeper analysis is made in order to encounter Mudéjar terminology within the body of the texts, the terminology cannot be encountered. Furthermore, the Islamic Art chapter that encloses 711-1492 –before the Mudéjar- was given separately from the other chapters, before the Christian conquest, after the pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Art and the Gothic Art. The Presence of Islam and Islamic Art also does not provide any Mudéjar

³⁷⁴ Xavier Barral i Altet, *Art and Architecture of Spain* (Boston, Newyork, Tronto, London: Little, Brown &Company, 1998).

reading since the period only enclosed Islamic Spain in the past. Finally, it can be said that this survey books is organized to annihilate the Mudéjar terminology and its cultural outcomes; therefore, the table of the contents does not give any clue about the existence of Mudéjar art and architecture in the Iberian Peninsula. (Figure 181) (Table 14)

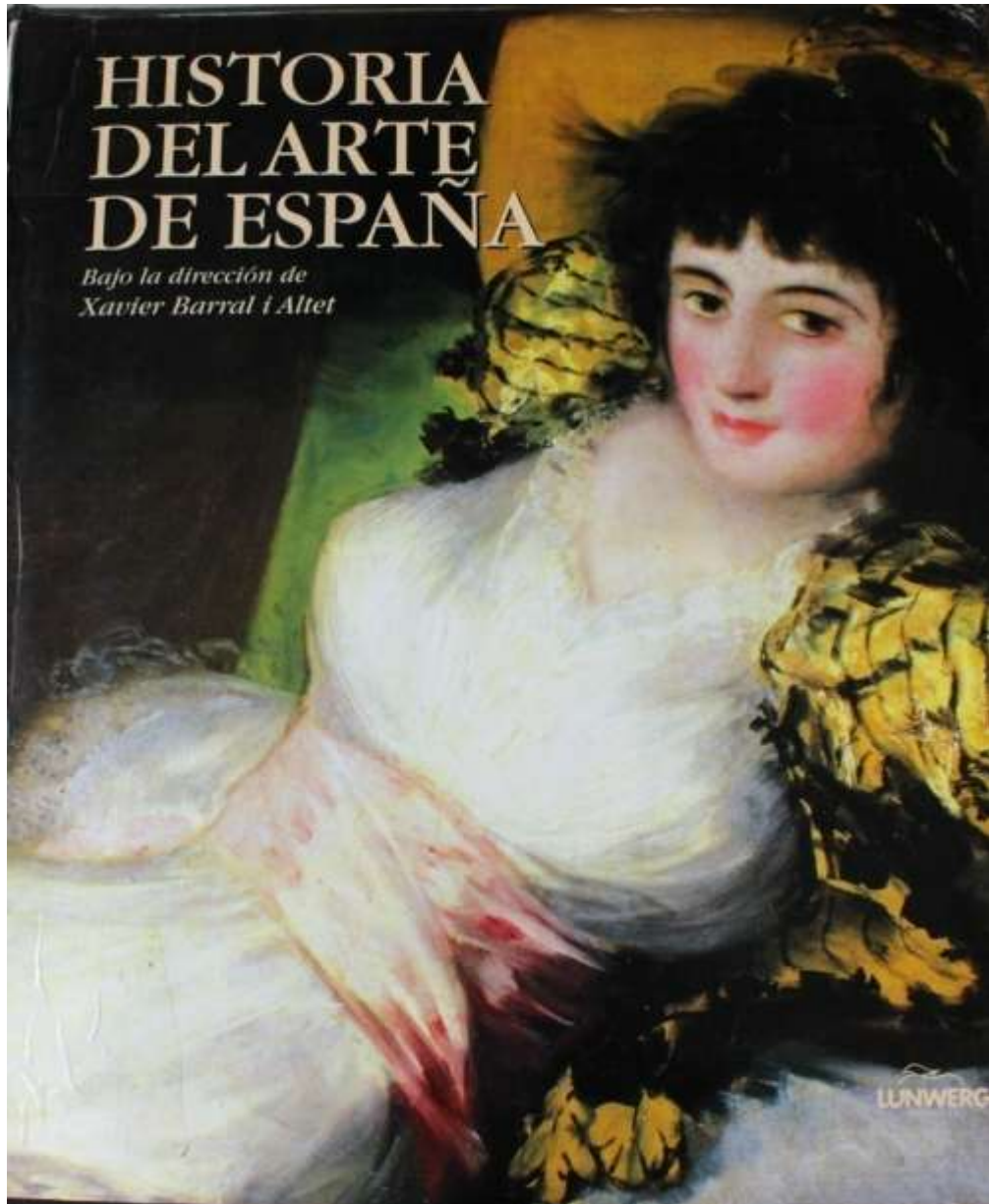


Figure 181. Cover page of *Historia del Arte de España*.

Table 14. Contents of *Historia del Arte de España*

<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Table of Contents</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Introduction</p> <p style="text-align: center;">PreHistory and First Contacts</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Roman Art and Architecture in Spain</p> <p style="text-align: center;">From Antiquity to the Middle Ages, Christianity and the Visigothic World</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Art</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Gothic Spain</p> <p style="text-align: center;">The Presence of Islam and Islamic Art</p> <p style="text-align: center;">The Art of Renaissance</p> <p style="text-align: center;">.....</p>

Furthermore, the book fall into the anachronism trap. The earlier periods, such as the Islamic period of Iberian Peninsula, were given after Romanesque and Gothic periods because the author constructed its narrative over the re-conquest and Hispanidad ideologies. Consistently, the past was contrived to show a sequence of Christian existence. Therefore, the Muslim art is given separately after Romanic and Gothic themes that reveal the alienated condition of Mudéjar Architecture. Within the study, an anachronistic approach and conscious annihilation of Mudéjar have created an idiosyncratic narrative.

Histora del Arte was published in 2002. The authors of the book, Jose María de Azcárate Ristori and his colleagues prefer to locate Byzantine and Islamic art under the same chapter. It possibly results from his consideration that the authors assume the two arts as belonging to an eastern source. In this book is attached a version of Mudéjar with the other styles that followed it. Accordingly, Gothic art shares the title with Mudéjar; “El Gótico Mudéjar” which examines both Romanic and Gothic Mudéjar as subtitles. On the other hand, in the previous chapter, Romanic art does not have Mudéjar as a subtitle. The authors believe that Mudéjar uses cheap building materials, and its richness comes from

ceramic applications³⁷⁵. Thus, the authors reduce Mudéjar's materialistic value. However, as we learned in the previous chapters, at the time of construction brick was not so cheap as later imagined; in some places it was hard to obtain. (Figure 182) (Table 15)

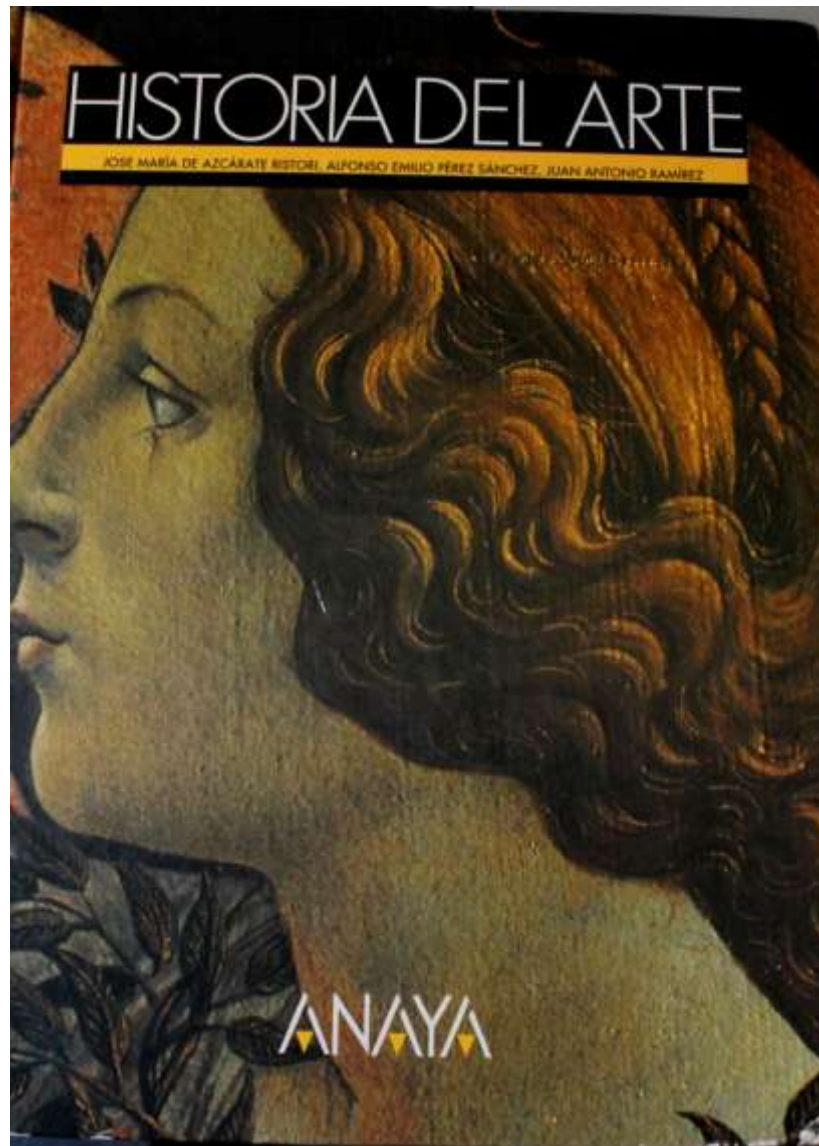


Figure 182. Cover page of *Historia del Arte*

³⁷⁵ Jose María de Azcárate Ristori, Alfonso Emilio Pérez Sánchez, Juan Antonio Ramírez, *Historia del Arte* (España: Anaya, 2002), 198.

Table 15. Contents of *Historia del Arte*

ÍNDICE
1. Teoría función del arte
2. El arte de las Civilizaciones Mediterráneas antiguas
3. El arte clásico: Grecia y Roma
4. Arte prerrománico
5. Arte Bizantino. Arte islámico en España
6. El Románico
7. El Gótico Mudéjar
.....
.....

Manuel de Arte Español, published in 2003, is a collaborative work, edited by Ángela Gutiérrez and Ramiro Domínguez³⁷⁶. Each chapter in the book is written by different promising scholars in their fields. At first glimpse, it can easily be grasped that in the composition of the book, the chapter on Islam is given distinctly from the other chapters. One of the reasons can be given to the publication method and process of the book, which was composed by a large number of scholars. Usually, specialization in the fields occurs according to certain time periods of any culture instead of particular chronology, such as the 15th or 16th centuries. Notably, in Islamic section, Islamic dynasties were mainly given under a subtitle, where we encounter Mudéjar as well. In this regards, it stands as an Islamic formulation rather than both the Muslim and the Christian contribution to art and architecture. The book's arrangement reveals the fact that an ideal Spanish art historical chronology wanted not to be interrupted by foreign influences. (Table 16)

³⁷⁶ Ángela Gutiérrez and Ramiro Domínguez, *Manuel de Arte Español* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 2003).

Table 16. Content of *Manuel de Arte Español*

<p style="text-align: center;">CONTENIDO</p> <p style="text-align: center;">LA ANTIGÜEDAD. De la prehistoria a los visigodos</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ALTA EDAD MEDIA. La tradición Hispanogada al románico</p> <p style="text-align: center;">EL ISLAM. De Córdoba al mudéjar</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> Arte cordobés</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> Arte de taifas</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> Arte almorávide</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> Arte almohade</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> Arte nazarí</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> Arte mudéjar</p> <p style="text-align: center;">BAJA EDAD MEDIA. Los siglos del gótico</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> EL SIGLO XVI. Gótico y Renacimiento</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> EL SIGLO XVII. Clasicismo y barroco</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> EL SIGLO XVIII. Entre tradición y academia</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> EL SIGLO XIX. Bajo el signo del romanticismo</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> EL SIGLO XX. Presencias y rupturas</p>

21st century publication, *Arte Español para Extranjeros*, was published in 2004, and its fifth publication was made in 2012³⁷⁷. It has become one of the most popular Spanish art history books in the field. The book was written for foreign readers more than the natives. The readers encounter the Mudéjar architecture title in a separate section. Thus, peculiar features were attributed to Mudéjar architecture. According to the authors, Mudéjar comes

³⁷⁷ Ricardo Abrantes, Araceli Fernández, Santiago Manzarbeitia, *Arte Español para Extranjeros* (Madrid: Editorial Nerea, 2004).

after the Romanic and Gothic architecture; hence, Gothic Mudéjar and Romanic Mudéjar formulations are discarded with this set of themes. However, the author could not escape from the anachronism while putting Mudéjar Art after Romanic and Gothic Arts. I think that as the book aims to appeal to extraneous concerns, an exotic image of Mudéjar is taken into account while forming the book. (Table 17)

Table 17. Contents of *Arte Español para Extranjeros*.

<p>ÍNDICE</p> <p>PERESENTACIÓN</p> <p>LA PREHISTORIA</p> <p>Arte de la Edad de Piedra y de los Metales</p> <p>LA EDAD ANTIGUA</p> <p>Arte de las colonizaciones</p> <p>Arte de la Hispania Romana</p> <p>LA EDAD MEDIA</p> <p>Arte hispano-visigodo</p> <p>Arte hispano-musulmán</p> <p>Arte asturiano</p> <p>Arte mozárabe y de repoblación</p> <p>Arte románico</p> <p>Arte gótico</p> <p>Arte mudéjar</p> <p>LA EDAD MODERNA</p> <p>Arte renacentista</p> <p>Arte barroco</p> <p>.....</p>
--

Among the striking survey books *Architecture of Spain* is written by Alejandro Lapunzina in 2005³⁷⁸. The book is composed to give a reference guide to the national architecture of Spain. The content of the study is arranged according to popular historic buildings of the country. However, these buildings are not systemized according to their historical lineage;

³⁷⁸Alejandro Lapunzina, *Architecture of Spain* (United States: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2005).

instead, alphabetical orders were favoured. The study firstly demonstrates an encyclopaedic formation where it is hard to find detailed information about the each building example due to the organization of short introductory explanations. The second problem of the study is the preference for alphabetical order; the chronology is lost, and thus, it is hard to follow the historical debate. In this arrangement, starting with Pre-historic architecture and ending with contemporary architecture, all historical linkage is as given. Among the historical styles, Mudéjar is represented by only two structures: Santa Maria Blanca and Cathedral of Teruel, which is less than the styles of the other periods. The introduction of the study gives the idea about the stylistic progression of Spain with subtitles. Consistent with these subtitles, Mudéjar is presented with gothic architecture. (Figure 183) (Table 18).

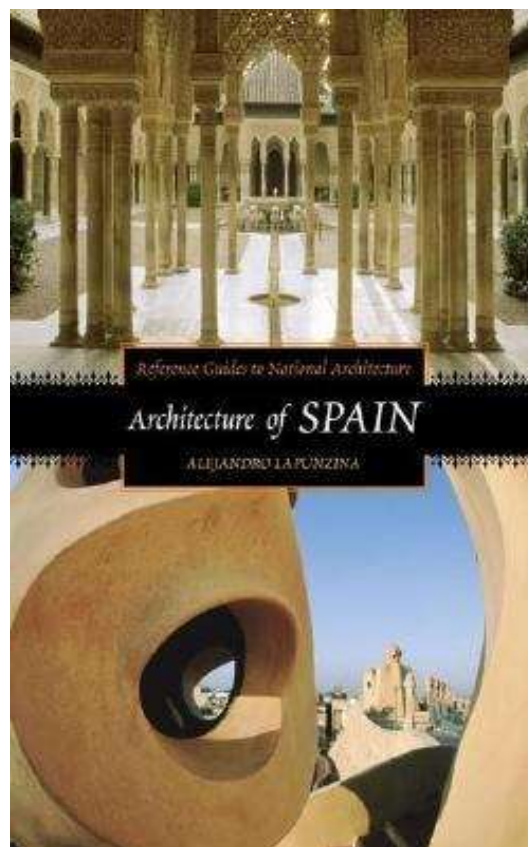


Figure.183 Cover page of *Architecture of Spain*.

Table 18. Contents of *Architecture of Spain*.

<p style="text-align: center;">ARCHITECTURE OF SPAIN <i>Subtitles of Introduction</i> The Roman Period Early Christian and Visigothic Architecture Islamic Architecture in Spain Asturian-Visigothic and Mozarabic Architecture Romanesque Architecture Mudéjar and Gothic Architecture The Transition to Renaissance: Isabelline and Plateresque The Period of Spanish Renaissance and Baroque Architecture Neoclassical and Nineteenth Century Architecture Modernism and the work of Antonio Gaudi Modern Architecture in Spain Contemporary Architecture</p>

4.2.3 Analysis of the “Mudejarismo. *Symposias y Actas*”

One of the most remarkable features of Mudéjar architecture is its popularity in usage adapted by politics, elites and publics through the centuries in most part of the Iberian Peninsula. Each location and building displays a distinct Mudéjar formulation due to the interpretation process where aesthetical and functional needs of the societies were diversified from each other. As previously mentioned the Mudéjar architecture came into being as a result of Muslim existence; the Re-conquest ideology tried to eliminate Muslim power from the Peninsula; however, it ironically continued to use Islamic formulations in their solid material culture, such as architecture. This Re-conquest process gradually developed its geographical borders through the south of the Peninsula that lasted until the 15th century; thus, the Mudéjar condition reached distinct results by the effect of the progression of the re-conquest. In this process, while Aragon’s ceramic decorated towers

obtained colourful high aesthetic values, on the other hand, Andalusian examples with elegant formation demonstrated more elegant approaches.

The previous graphic illustrations demonstrated that both the 19th century nationalistic and unsteady political agenda and the Franco regime weakened the publications of Mudéjar studies until the totalitarian regime lost its power. After the Franco regime, there were new terminologies re-born or introduced to the field such as the Mudejarismo in 1975. It is also interesting to note that 1975 was the time when Franco died. Though it was first used by Vicente Lamperez, this terminology became popular by *Mudejarismo. Symposias and Actas/Mudéjarism. Symposium and Acts*, whose publications have created fascination and interest towards the Mudéjar phenomenon in Spain. When the series of *Mudejarismo. Symposias and Actas* is analyzed graphically, it simply demonstrates that there are huge differences and various approaches to the Mudéjar issue.

Mudejarismo. Symposias y Actas have demonstrated that there is a wide range of panorama existing towards Mudéjar in the Iberian Peninsula. One of the most significant contributions of the studies might be that they completed catalogue research and revealed unknown examples and material of evidences. These assemblies of information helped the identification and characterization process of the Mudéjar phenomenon³⁷⁹. The first symposium was made in 1975, which was mainly concentrated on the designation of the topic. Some of the following series are used to focus on the specific topic as well, such as *De Mudejares a Moriscos. Una Conversion Forzada/ From Mudejares to Moriscos. A Forced Conversion*. Here, forcefully converted societies are investigated. In Volume IX and XI, *Mudéjares y Moriscos. Cambios sociales y culturales / Mudajares and Moriscos*, social and

³⁷⁹Gonzalo M. Borrás Gualis, "Los Materiales, Las Técnicas Artísticas y el Sistema de Trabajo, como Criterios para la Definición del Arte Mudéjar," *Actas del III Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo* (1984) (Teruel, IET, 1986), 317.

cultural change is studied. In this part of the series, special focus is given to social problems and transformation process of Mudéjar and Morisco ethnicities. Analysis of the proceeding books shows that among other estates Aragon is the most studied area. The Anadaluia region was the second most frequently investigated region. (Figures 184-194).

In order to show the regional aspects of Mudéjar studies, I preferred to use graphic analysis for *Mudejarismo: Symposias y Actas*. Thus, the standing of Mudéjar studies in the field would be revealed more clearly. How they are advanced in the writing of Mudéjar regionally will be shown by graphics that will help to make comparison between the regions visually.³⁸⁰ Among these studies, not all of them have a regional character; some of the studies bear general themes, such as material and other aspects of the theme; however,

³⁸⁰ *Actas del I Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo: Economía*, Teruel, 17-19 de septiembre de 1975, Actas Volumen I (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudejares, 1981).

Actas del II Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo, Teruel, 19-21 de noviembre de 1982, Actas Volumen I (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudejares, 1982).

Actas del III Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo, Teruel, 20-22 de septiembre de 1984, Actas Volumen I (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudejares, 1986).

Actas del IV Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo: Economía, Teruel, 17-19 de septiembre de 1987, Actas Volumen I, (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudejares, 1992).

Actas del V Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo, Teruel, 13-15 de septiembre de 1990, Actas (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudejares, 1991).

Actas del VI Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo: De Mudejares a Moriscos: Una Conversion Forzada, Teruel, 16-18 de septiembre de 1993, Actas Volumen I (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudejares, 1993).

Actas del VII Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo, Teruel, 19-21 de septiembre de 1996, Actas (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudejares, 1999).

Actas del VIII Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo: De Mudejares a Moriscos: Una Conversion Forzada, Teruel, 15-17 de septiembre de 1999, Actas Volumen I (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudejares, 2002).

Actas del IX Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo: Mudéjares y moriscos. Cambios sociales y culturales (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudejares, 2004).

Actas del X Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo: 30 años de Mudejarismo, memoria y future, 1975-2005 (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudejares, 2007).

Actas del IX Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo: Mudéjares y moriscos. Cambios sociales y culturales (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudejares, 2009).

their number is limited. Therefore, this kind of general theme including material, and artist are classified and represented by a different column in the graphics.

Symposias y Actas: Mudejarismo, Mudéjar studies organization, opened its doors not only to Mudéjar studies in Spain, but also to other places; Portugal, Latin America, North Africa, Canary and Balearic Islands are included to Mudéjar surveys and detailed investigations. It can be said that Symposias y Actas: Mudejarismo reflects Mudéjar distribution in the world in general. Column organization is made according to alphabetical order; however, priority is given to Spain, which occupies the main interest of the thesis. On the other hand, island and other Mudéjar cases followed alphabetical order of Spain. (Figures 195–206)

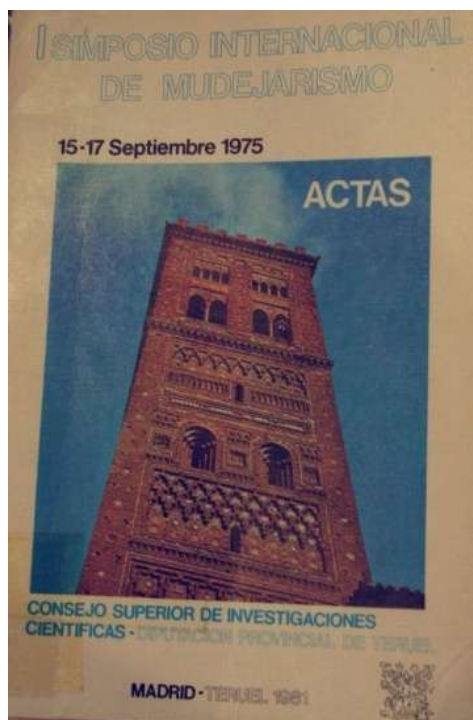


Figure 184. SIM I, Book cover

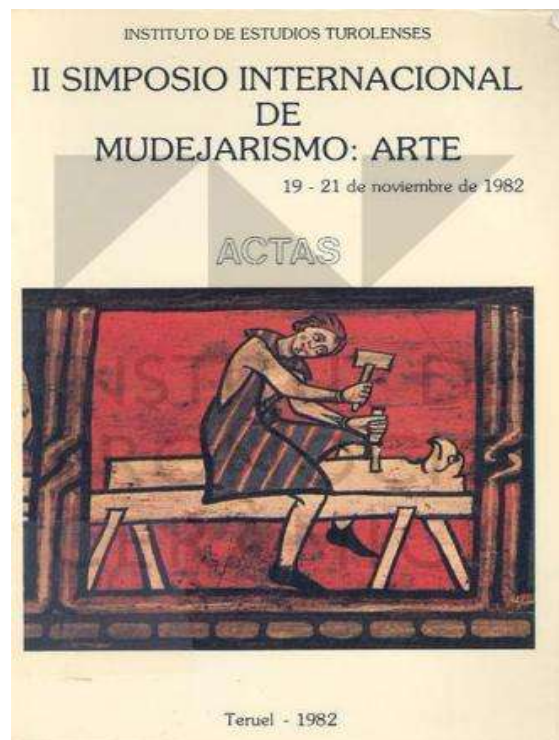


Figure 185. SIM II, Book cover



Figure 186. SIM III, Book cover

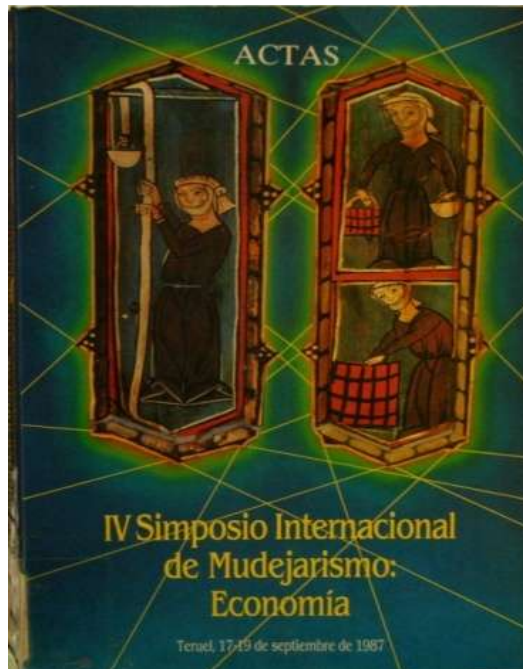


Figure 187. SIM IV, Book cover

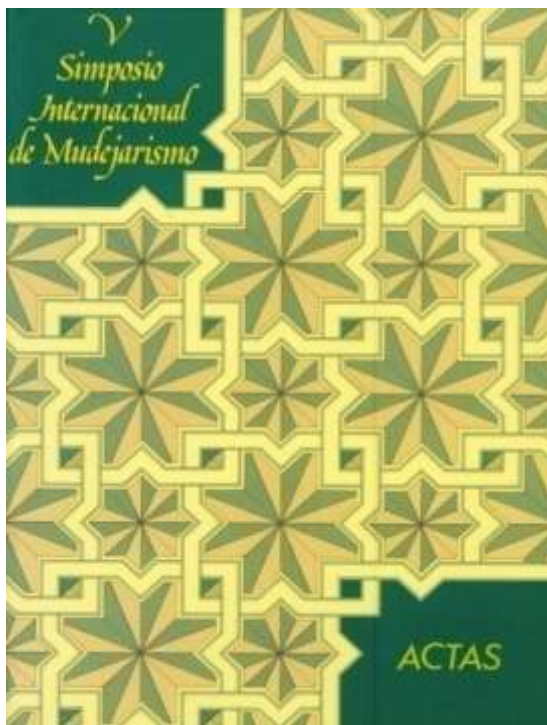


Figure 188. SIM V, Book cover

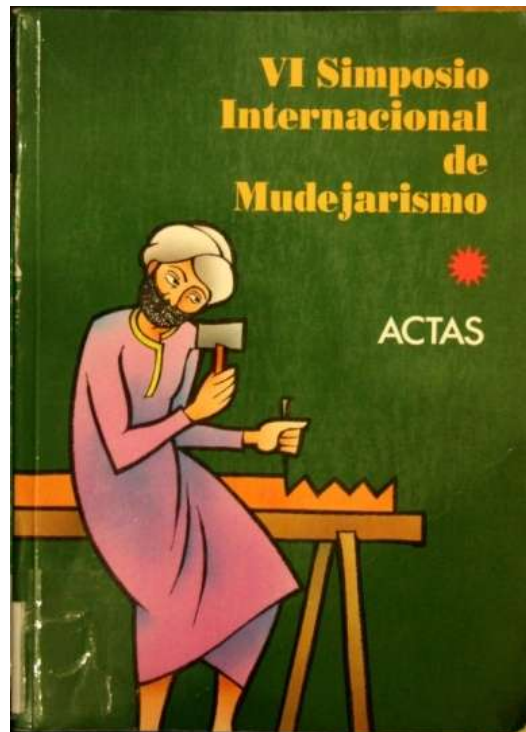


Figure 189. SIM VI, Book cover

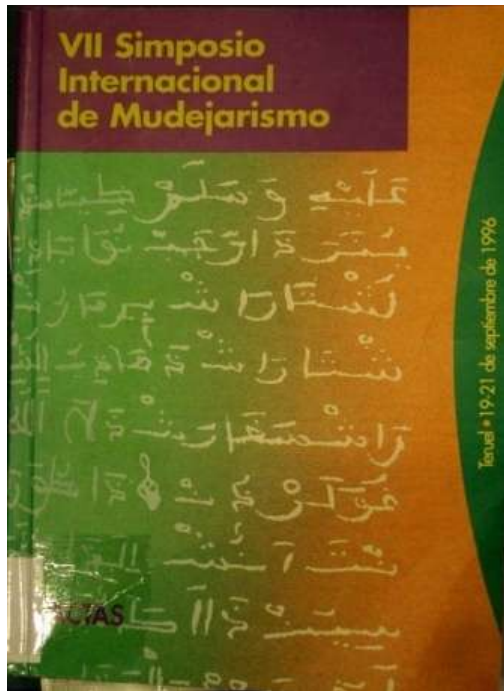


Figure 190. SIM VII, Book cover

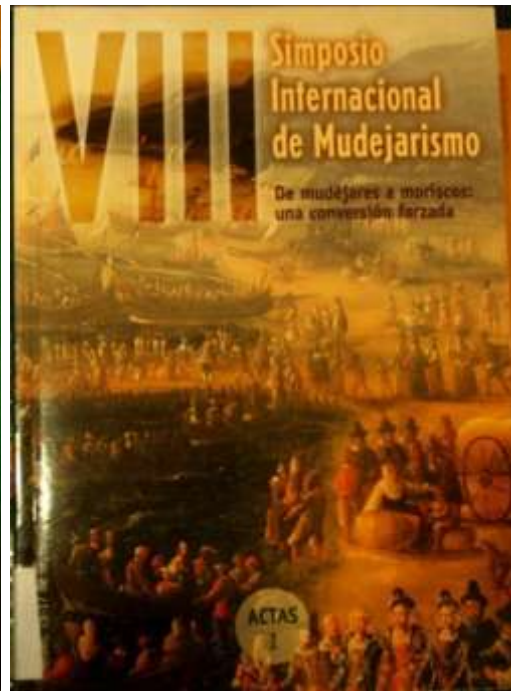


Figure 191. SIM VIII, Book cover

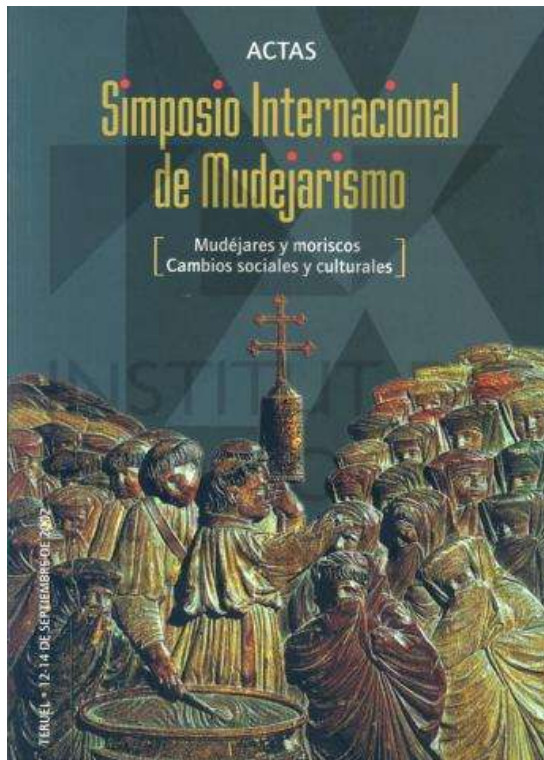


Figure 192 . SIM IX, Book cover

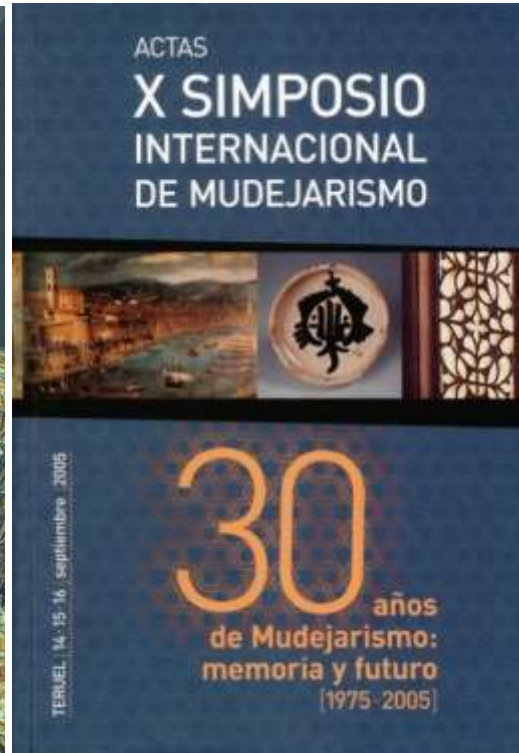


Figure. 193. SIM X, Book cover

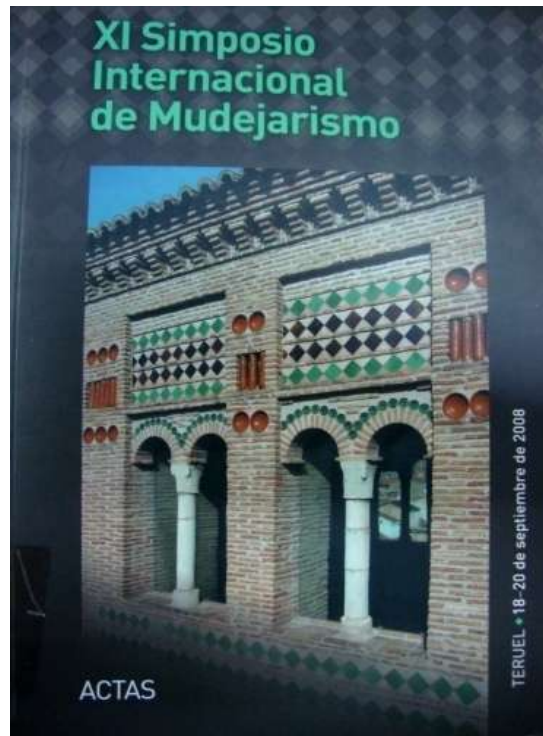


Figure 194, SIM XI, Book cover

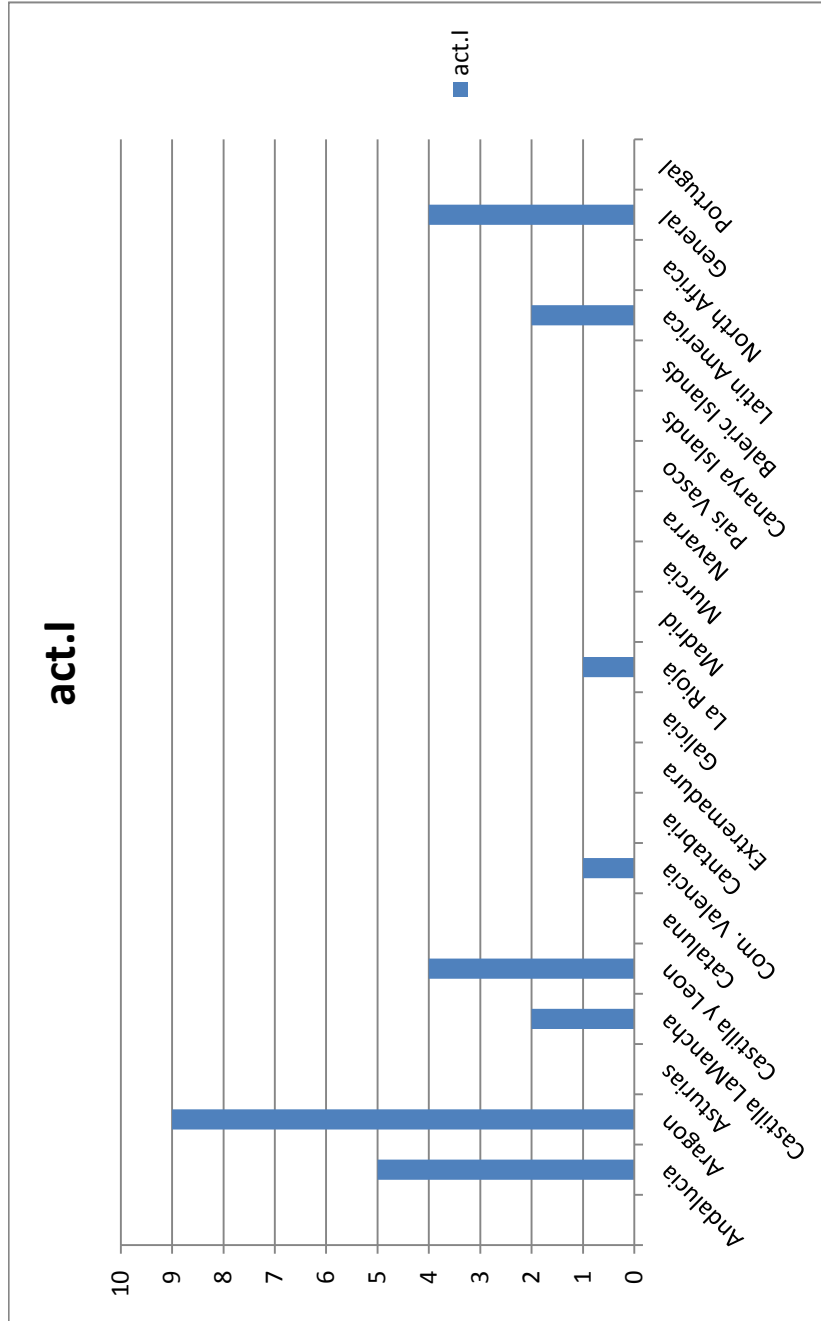


Figure 195. Graphic Demonstration of Mudejarismo. Symposias and Actas I, 1975.

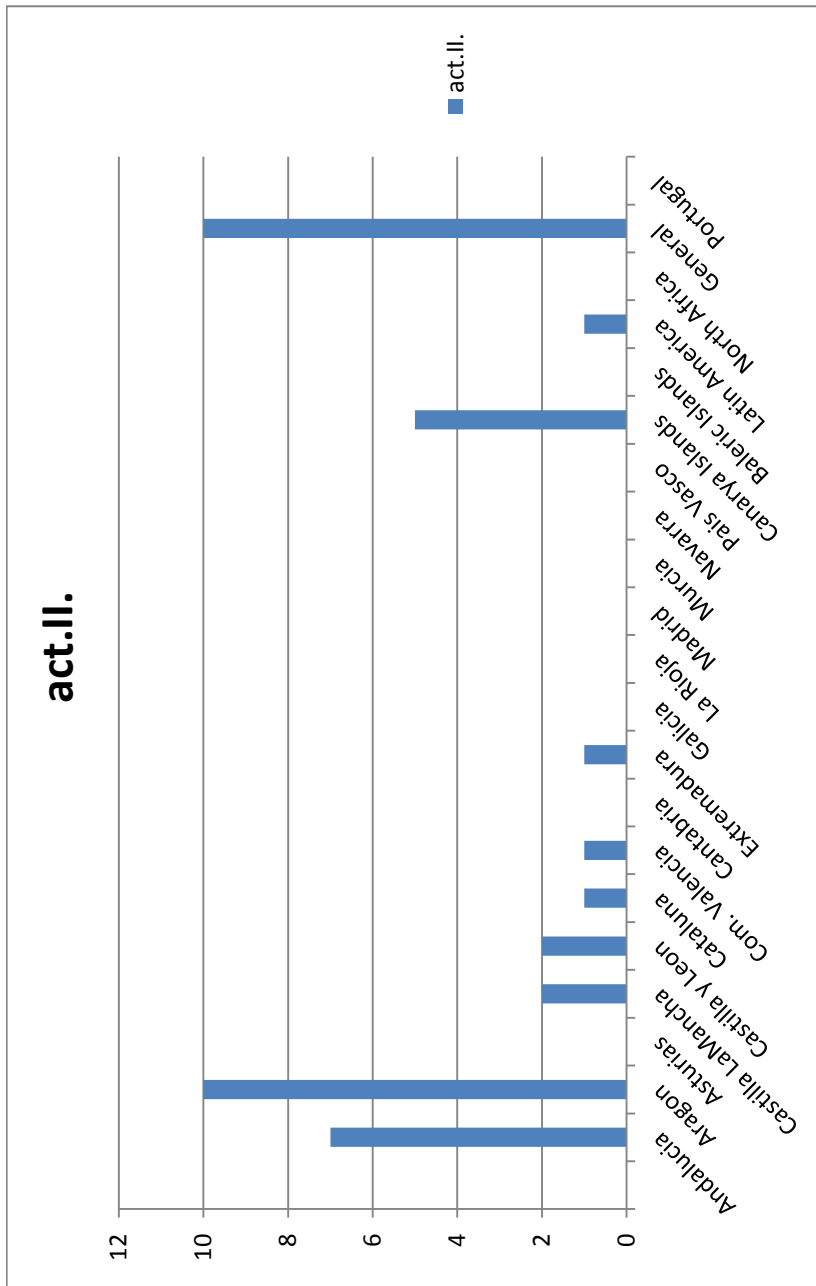


Figure 196. Graphic Demonstration of Mudejarismo. Symposias and Actas II, 1981.

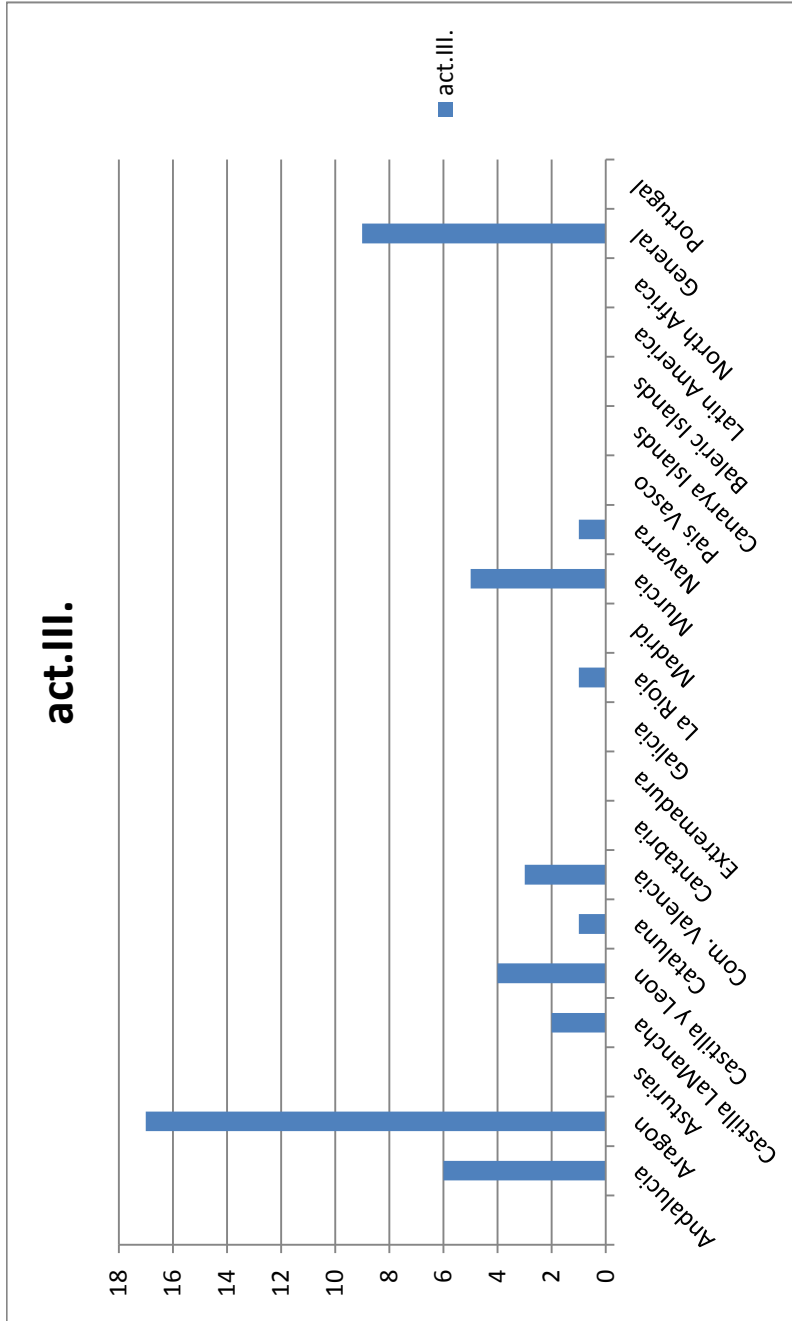


Figure 197. Graphic Demonstration of Mudejarismo: Symposias and Actas III, 1984.

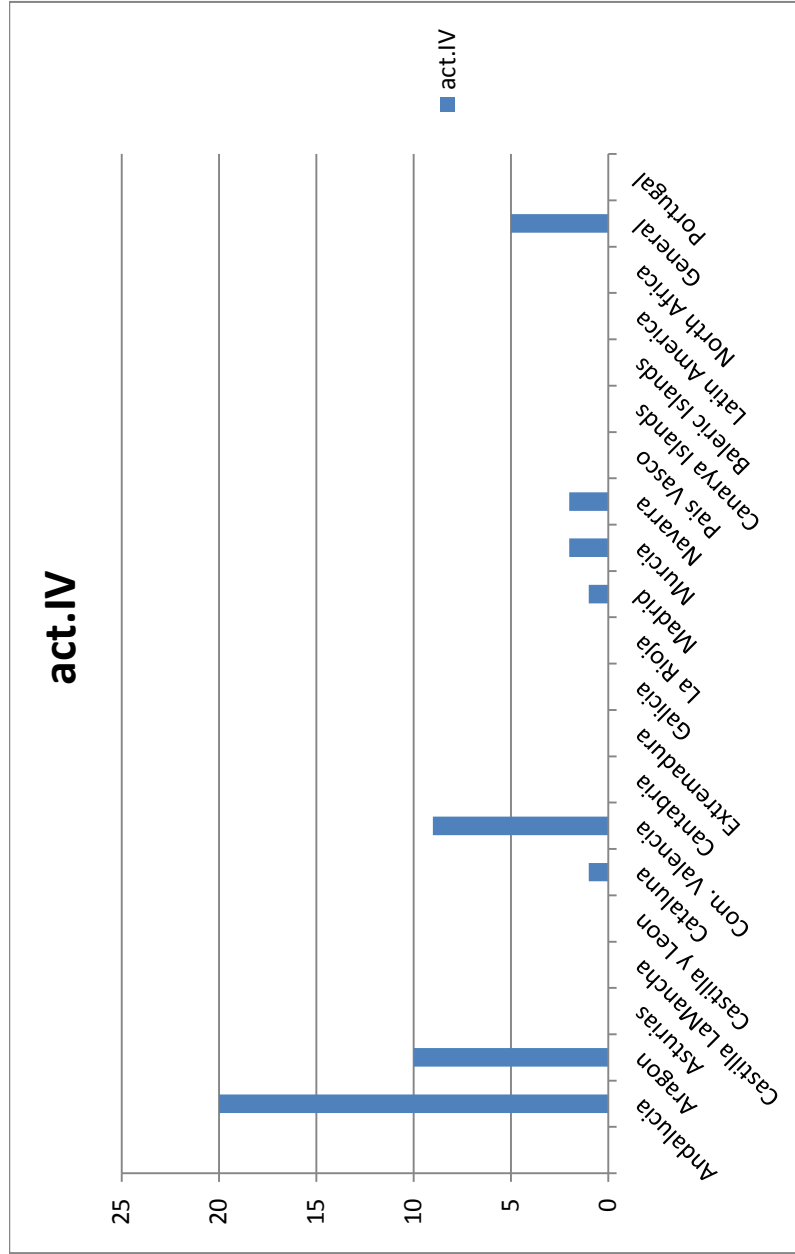


Figure 198. Graphic Demonstration of Mudejarismo. Symposias and Actas IV, 1987.

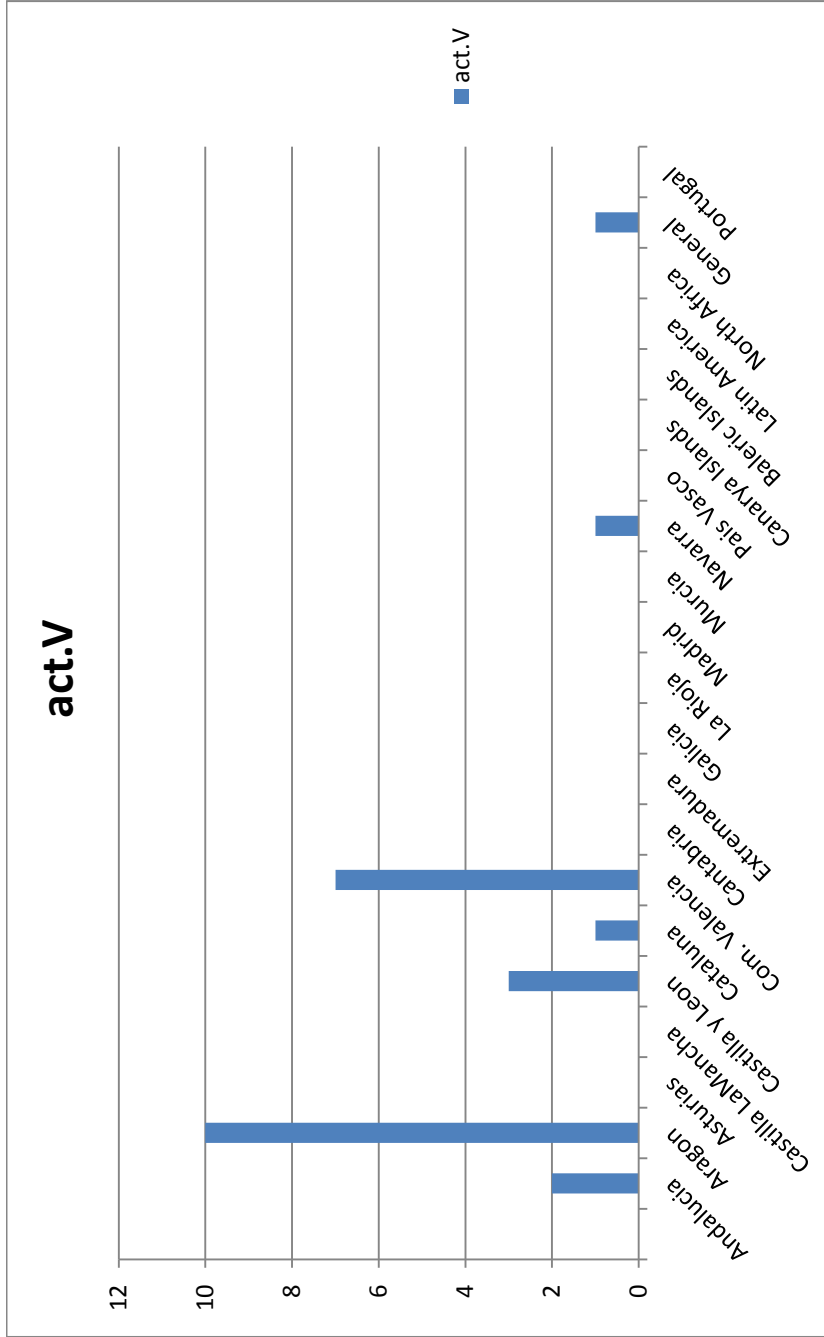


Figure 199. Graphic Demonstration of Mudejarismo. Symposias and Actas V, 1990.

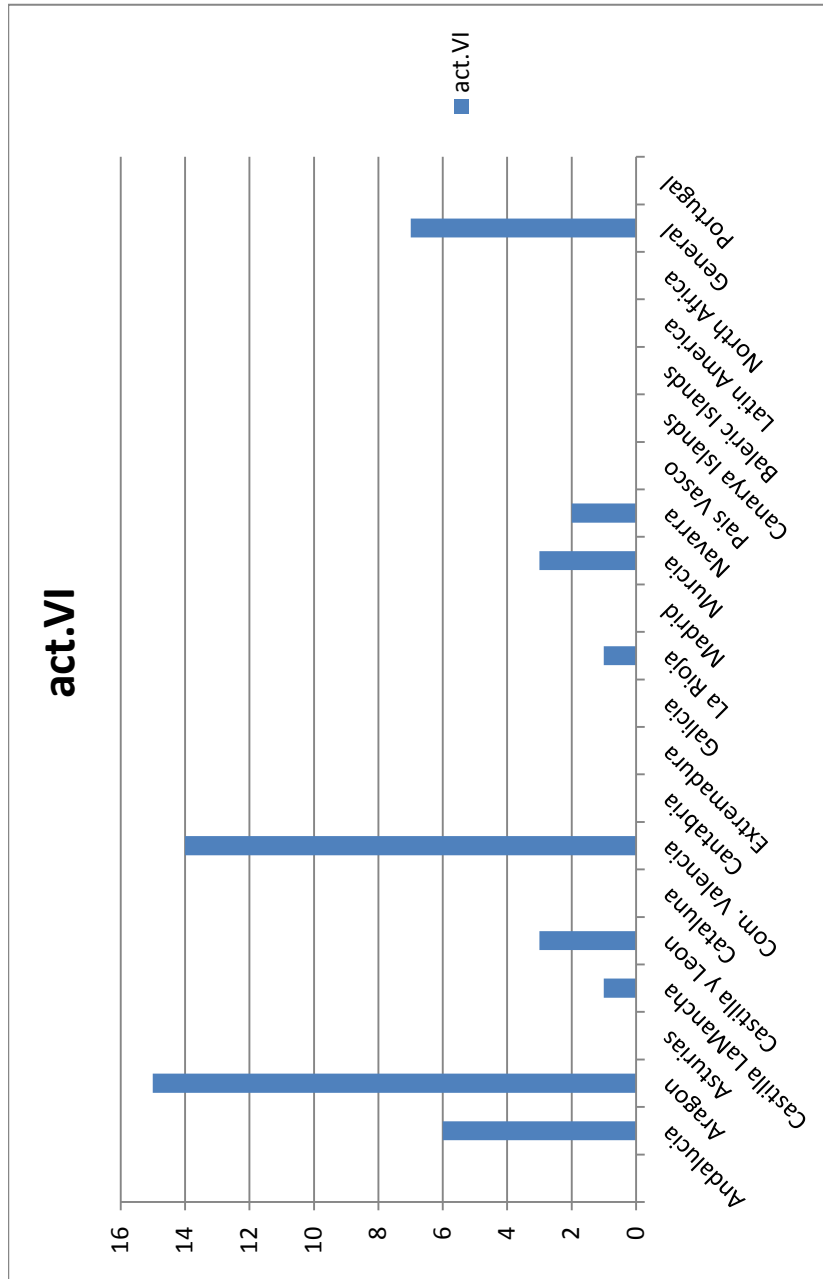


Figure 200. Graphic Demonstration of Mudejarismo. Symposias and Actas VI, 1993.

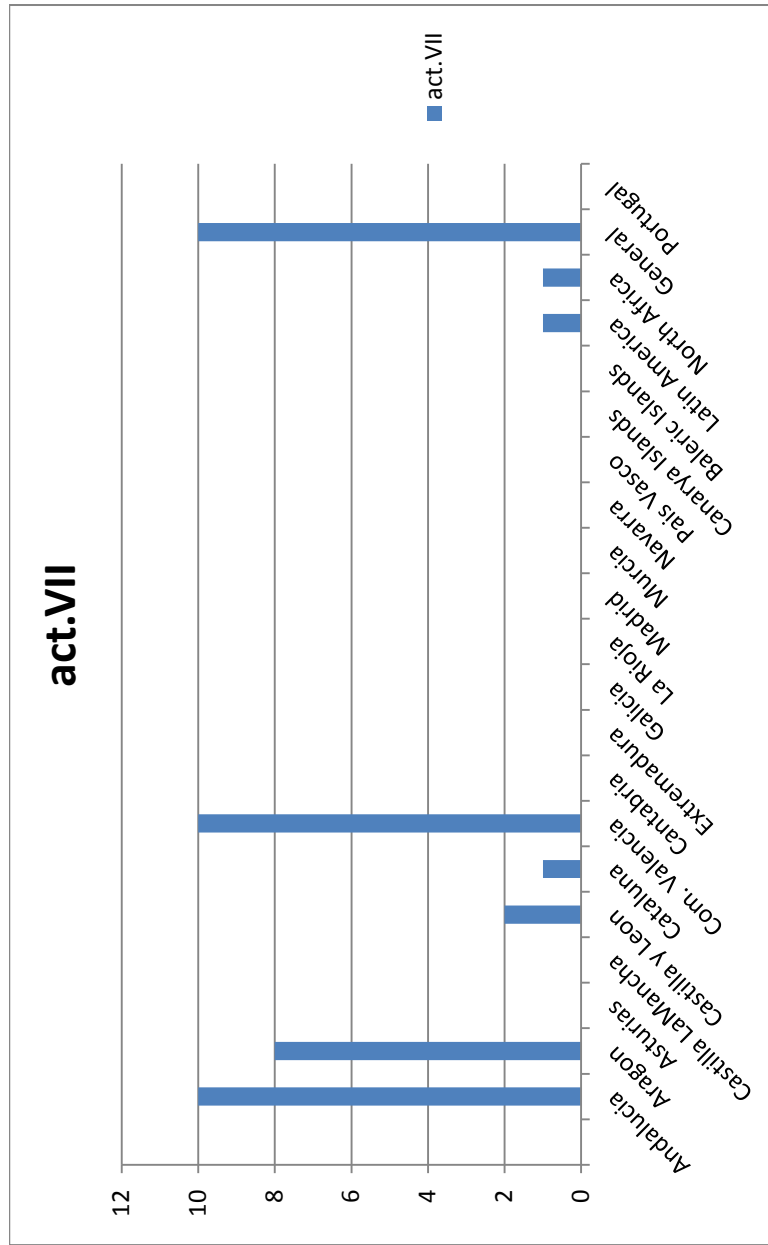


Figure 201. Graphic Demonstration of Mudejarismo: Symposias and Actas VII, 1999,

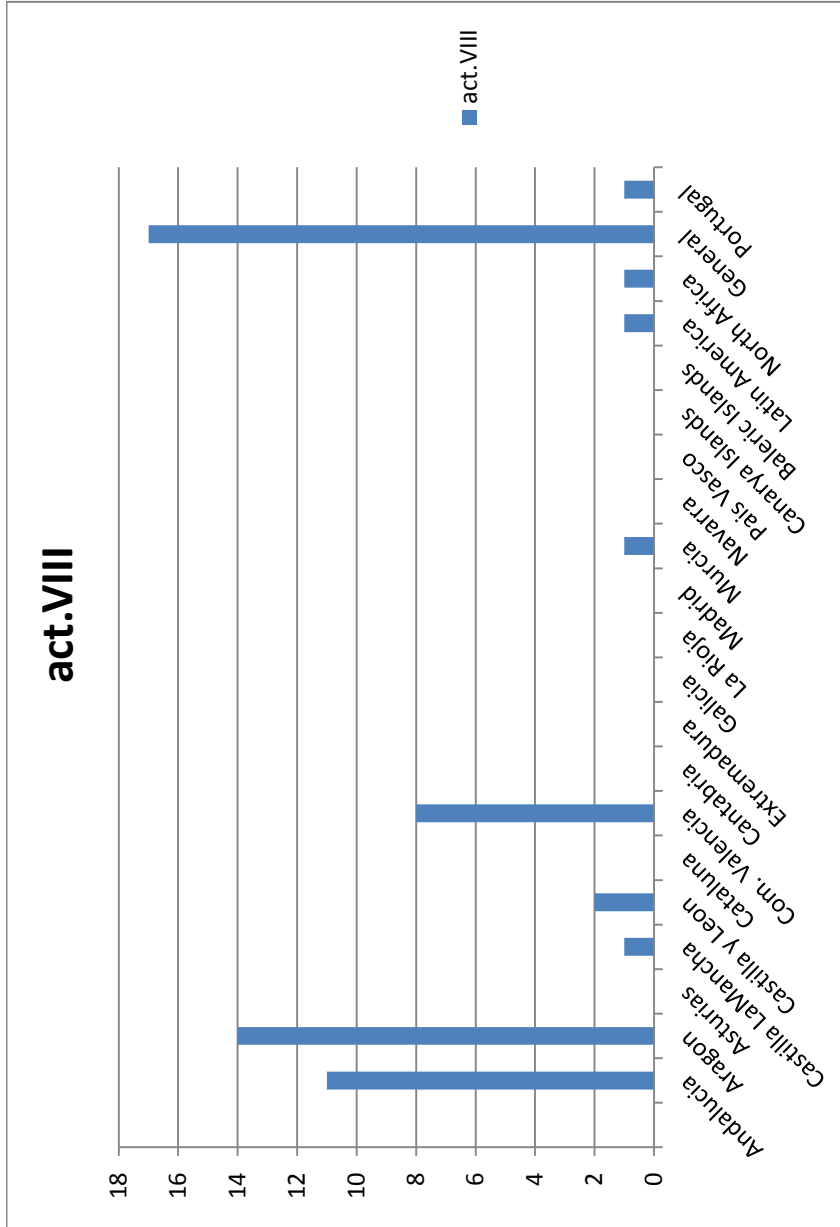


Figure 202. Graphic Demonstration of Mudejarismo: Symposias and Actas VIII, 2002.

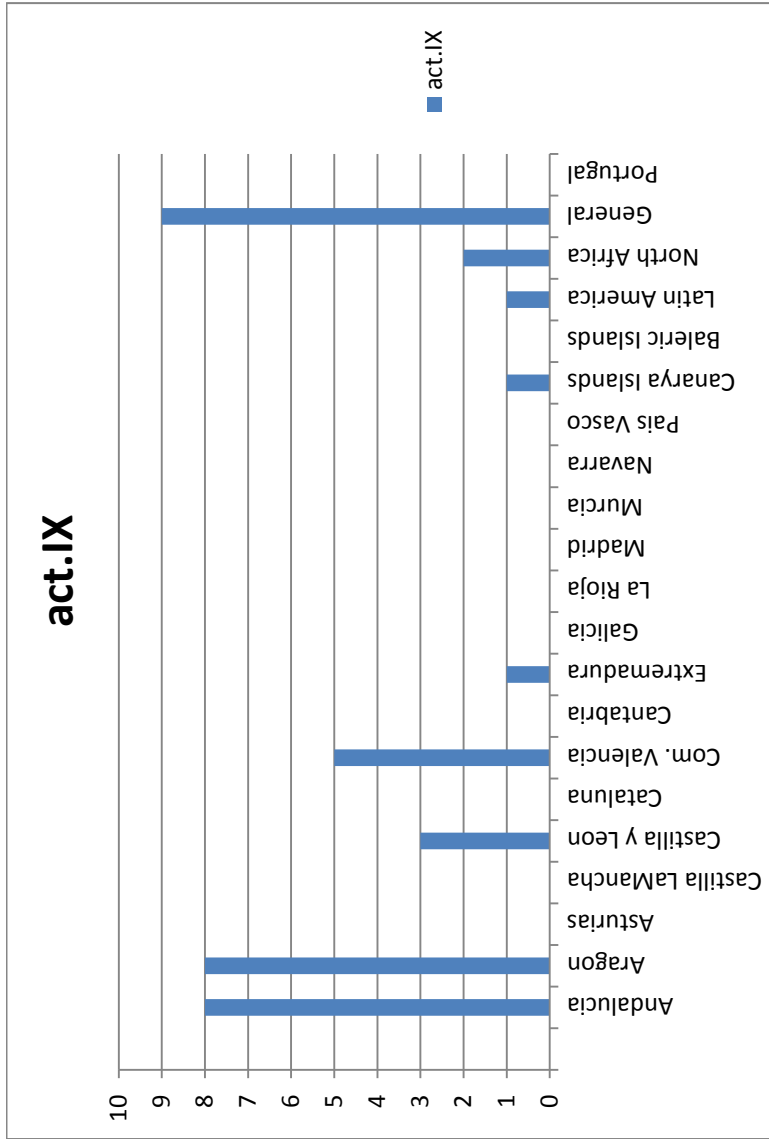


Figure 203. Graphic Demonstration of Mudejarismo. Symposias and Actas IX, 2004.

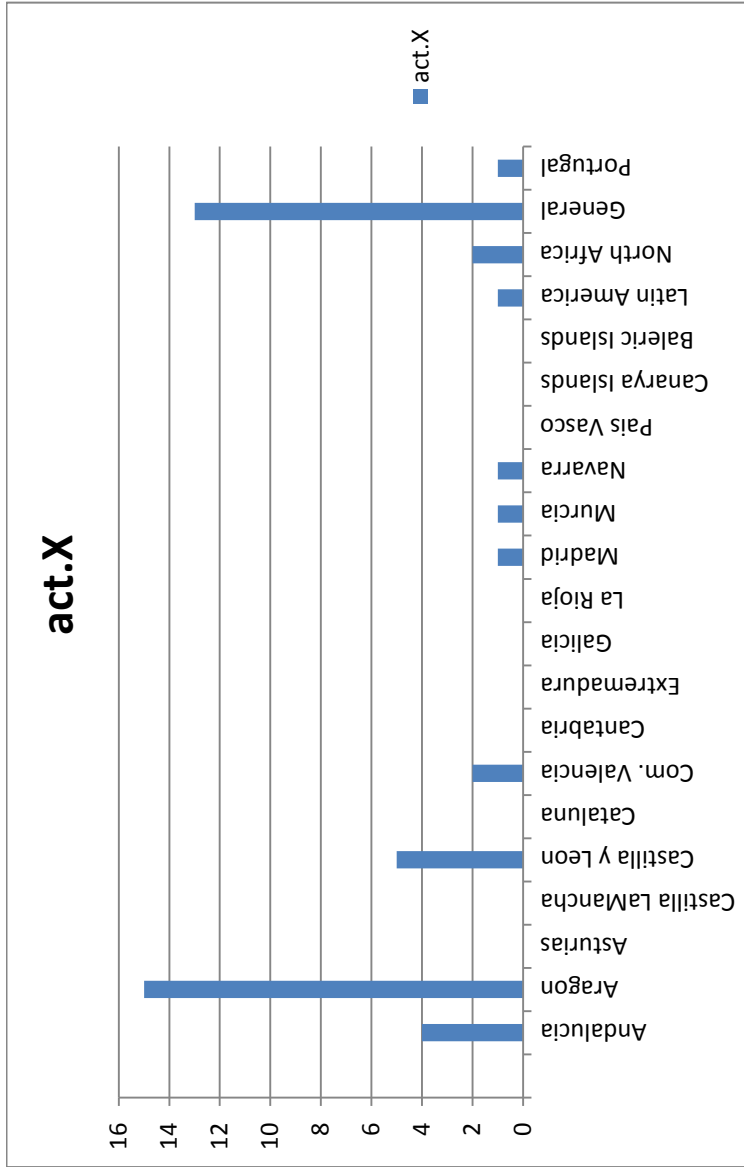


Figure 204. Graphic Demonstration of Mudejarismo: Symposias and Actas X, 2007.

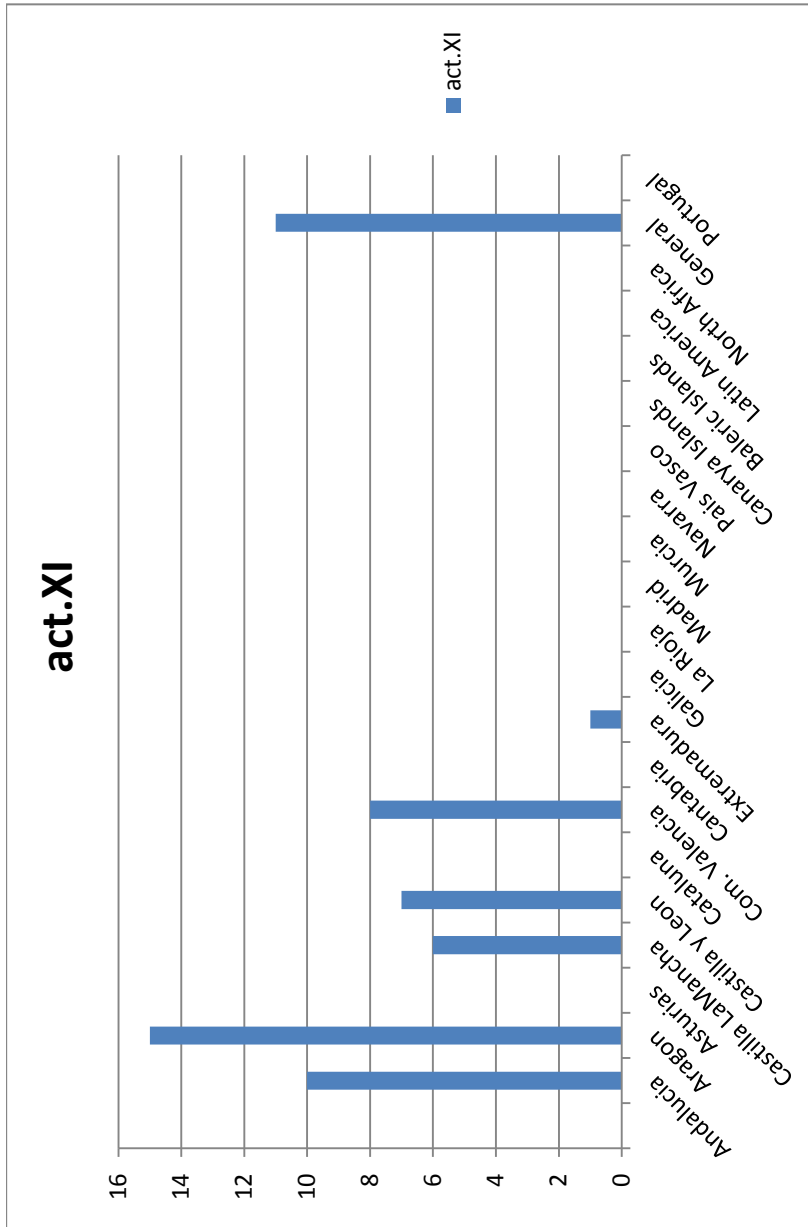


Figure 205. Graphic Demonstration of Mudejarismo: Symposias and Actas XI, 2009.

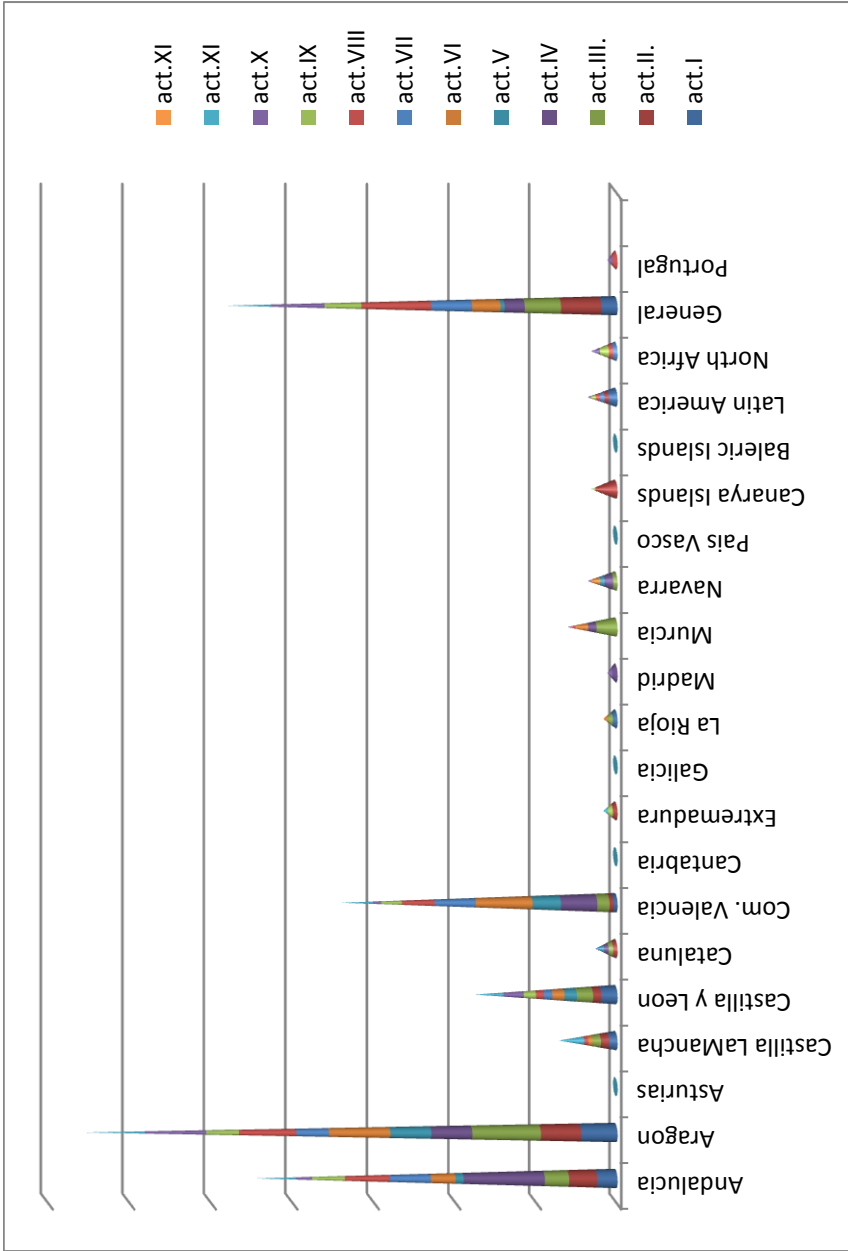


Figure 206. Total Graphic Demonstration of Mudejarismo, Symposias and Actas I-XI.

CONCLUSIONS

Mudéjar architecture was not only determined by the aesthetic and practical demands of the Christian Kingdoms but its formation also has relation with spatial and social aspects of life. These solid and abstract components of culture in the name of architecture contoured the building environment, while revealing acculturation process among the societies. The Iberian Peninsula case, starting from its early times, demonstrates a collective stipulation process in architecture. A decisive shift had taken place in the balance of powers throughout its long lasting history. The pre-Islamic formulas were filtered by varied Muslim dynasties who ruled the Peninsula starting from the 8th century until the 15th century. They also transported the refined cultural knowledge of the Middle Eastern, Mediterranean and North African regions to the Peninsula, where inevitably collective memories produced a refined architectural expression.

Some cultural encounters occurred in the same historical line; but sometimes cultural memories were transmitted to other cultures even after their politic collapse, and gained new interpretative features as it can be seen in the example of Mudéjar architecture of Spain. In this regard, Mudéjar existence could be accepted as an interpreted and transmitted version of the history. The transmitting processes of cultural memories firstly started with the Spaniards' dominancy on the Iberian geography. The *Re-conquest* and repopulation process of the Christian kings created proper condition for this interaction. The Spaniards used Islamic forms in architecture, which would be effective in the birth of Mudéjar style that formulated the Christian and Islamic features within the same building. Actually, it was not only a simple process of admiration but also practical deeds of the Christian Monarchs to let the material culture survive. Finally, it can be said that the financial reasons, political aims and personal feelings combined within the patronage mechanism; all shaped the emergence process of each Mudéjar case to be particular.

The cultural encounter process in the Iberian Peninsula frequently is experienced as a *cultural cross section*. While the existence of Mudéjar buildings demonstrate a collective memory and transformative stage of the culture, both reveal the re-conquest irony and autonomous status of material culture which sometimes get disconnected from current political deeds. These cultural encounters, shifts and transformations have created special terminologies in the Peninsula as there are several interpretation modes that have developed in the Spanish scholarly field. In fact, Mudéjar reality could be accepted as Iberia's sub conscience; therefore, in this thesis it is asserted that the architectural historiography of Mudéjar reflects the sub conscience of Iberian history, which underlines complex cultural periods experienced as a *cultural cross section*.

This thesis is constructed on the questions of evaluation of Mudéjar architecture and its writing atmosphere in the Spanish scholarly field. Consistent with that, there are important inquiries and a line of arguments that have occurred for Mudéjar architecture's reading and writing mechanism. In order to bring a complete understanding to the subject and its constructed narratives, I wanted to find an answer to history, terminology and their relation with Mudéjar architecture's writing mechanism in Spain.

Mudéjar studies in Spain show that Mudéjar is usually evaluated outside of the stylistic context due to its hybrid formation. My suggestion in this dissertation is to include Mudéjar as a stylistic category because Mudéjar architecture reflects the period's society and it turns out to be a visible sign of a cultural condition of the era. Though Mudéjar can be classified as a style, it etymologically refers to only Muslims who stayed in the Christian dominated territories; however, its artistic meaning passes beyond its etymology as Mudéjar architecture signifies art works produced by the Christian, Muslim and Jewish craftsmen. It

seems that mistaken terminological formulations were applied due to earlier studies' lack of evidence material and detailed investigations in the 19th century. De-construction of Mudéjar terminology is something that necessarily comes as one of the conclusions of this study.

The dissertation mainly aims to shed light over the architectural historiography of Mudéjar in Spain until the end of the 20th century. From the investigation of the survey books on Spanish art and architectural history, it is understood that the Mudéjar concept, not all the time, finds its place in these reference studies where a constructed idiosyncratic narratives replaces the history. Approaches of scholars show a little discrepancy because the common approach is to see Muslim history in Spain as something of an interrupted version of the history. Whenever, Mudéjar finds its place in these readings, it is usually located under a western style or a title. Another problem most encountered in these survey books is about the chronology where in order not to interrupt the assumed Spanish historical lineage, anachronism usually became an inevitable result of these studies. Therefore, it can be said that true assessment of the Mudéjar is not achieved in the survey books. Accordingly, though there are variant opinions appearing in the Spanish scholarly field, the general attitude is prone to oversee the Muslim past and its actual role in the Mudéjar history of Spain.

In order to determine the standing of the publications more analytically, two graphic methods have been used. Special importance is given to analyze the chronology, and symposium series of "Mudéjarismo: *Symposias y Actas*". The first graphic is searched for the publication years and numbers of Mudéjar studies produced in Spain until the 20st century. Consistent with these analysis, it was understood that at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, there were a few number of publications made

in Spain, which is an issue that can be connected to the period's political agenda. The publications made in the 19th century were the results of the movement of recovery of the past in Spanish history. Whole remnants including Mudéjar buildings were stamped as a symbol of a unique Spanish past. Though Mudéjar studies started with the effect of romantic national feelings, the unstable policy, which finally produced the Franco regime to Spain in the beginning of the 20th century, effectively ceased the number of the publications until the totalitarian regime lost its power.

After the Franco regime, there were new meanings charged to the terminologies as it can be seen in the example of Mudéjarismo which re-produced in 1975 by the symposium series of *Mudejarismo: Simposias and Actas*. These publications have created fascinating interest in the Mudéjar phenomenon, and publication numbers consequently increased. The second graphic analysis is obtained from this particular symposium series.

With the help of all evidence materials, it can be said that general features of Mudéjar architectural historiography are;

1. Mudéjar studies have been strongly affected by the politic agenda
2. Mudéjar studies have been achieved mostly by Spanish scholars
3. Mudéjar studies have mainly a regional character
4. Hispanidad, Convivencia, Iberiannes and Spanishness phenomena have been produced in these studies

Accordingly, the 1st argument that "Mudéjar studies have strongly been affected by the politic agenda" is supported by a general chronological analysis of Mudéjar studies in Spain. The 2nd argument "Mudéjar studies have been achieved mostly by Spanish scholars" is supported by general chronological analysis of studies and specific analysis of Symposium series: 'Mudéjarismo: Simposias y Actas'. The 3rd argument "Studies have

mainly a regional character” is shown by graphic analysis of the symposium series of “Mudéjarismo: Simposias y Actas’ and chronological analysis. The 4th argument “Iberiannes and Spanishness phenomena have been produced in these studies” can be supported by the analysis of Symposium Series of ‘Mudéjarismo: Simposias y Actas’, chronological analysis and investigation of survey books.

Consequently, the analysis of Mudéjar architectural history demonstrates that there is a range of expressions: *Hispanidad*, *Spanishness*, *Iberiannes* and *Convivencia* which have been produced in the scholarly field. In survey books, the Islamic past is generally perceived as an interrupted version of Spanish history; on the other hand, sometimes it is perceived as combined with *Convivencia*, which is also supported at a governmental level. Certainly, the perception of Mudéjar buildings as a demonstration of *Convivencia* provides valuable ground for the country’s tourism income since it creates a positive image for Spain. Though earlier usage of *Hispanidad* has recently been replaced with *Convivencia*, *Iberiannes* and *Spanishness* formulations, all these notions still continue to become key words in Spanish Art and Architectural history fields. Each of them finds its own supporters, who willingly select and use these theories in their works consistent with their social, politic and personal academic agendas.

I am conscious of my debt to previous scholars who dealt with the topic; each of them helped to reveal Mudéjar art and architecture in their studies. However, the dissertation mainly aimed to unearth the standing of architectural historiography on Mudéjar architecture in Spain until the 20st century. From this analysis it is obvious that idiosyncratic narratives have been produced by Spanish scholars within their Mudéjar formulations where *Hispanidad*, *Spanishness*, *Convivencia*, and *Iberiannes* have become the headstones of these studies.

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Appendix B: Glossary*

Arco de Herradura: Horseshoe Arch.

Al-Andalus: Iberian Peninsula dominated by Islam between the eighth and fifteenth centuries.

Alarifes: Master builders.

Alfiz: Spandrel of arch.

Alminar: Minaret.

Almohad: Followers of Ibn Tumart who was a Muslim leader who guided the western tribes of Africa. Almohads founded a new empire on the ruins of the Almoravids.

Almoravid: They founded a vast empire in West Africa and went so far as to dominate the whole Arab Spain from 1093 until 1148.

Armadura de par y nudillo: Collar-beam.

Artesonado: Coffered ceiling, (Its technique resembles to 'kunderkari')

Ataurique: Arabesque. It consists geometric shapes and extravagant patterns based on zoomorphic and plant forms.

Azulejo: Glazed tile.

Bovadilla: Vault.

Carpintería de blanco: Millwork.

* This glossary is created from the following sources; Iciar Alcalá Prats, Ana María Revilla Hernando, Beatriz Rodrigo Garza, *Guía Del Arte Mudéjar en Aragón* (Zaragoza, 2005) ; Guzman, *Arquitectura mudéjar*. Gualis, "Los Materiales Las Técnicas", *Mudéjarismo: Simposios y Actas III*, (Teruel: IET, 1986) 317-325; Basilio Pavon Maldonado, "Hacia un Tratado Arquitectura de Ladrillo Árabe y Mudéjar" *Mudéjarismo: Simposios y Actas III*, (Teruel: IET, 1986) 329-364. *The Multilingual Dictionary of Architecture and Building Terms* (London and New York: Bovis, 1988). <http://documentosmudejares.blogspot.com>, Chris Grech,

Convivencia: Coexistence mainly of Islam, Judaism, and Christianity.

Cúpula: Dome.

Esquinilla: Bricks placed diagonally forming angles inbound and outbound.

Jácena: Large, horizontal beam.

Lacería: Jointed bows that create specific ornamentation.

Ladrillo: Brick. Labin in Arabic.

Ladrillo vidriado: Glazed brick.

Lazo: Geometric design.

Machon: Butress.

Muro de Ladrillo y Yeso: Brick and stucco wall.

Rejola: Brick is known as rejola in Aragon.

Sebka /redes de rombos: A grid of rhombuses.

Sebka de ladrillo: Grid like decoration made with brick.

Suelos de Azulejos: Tile floor.

Tapial. Rammed earth: Tabiyya in Arabic.

Techumbres de Madera: Wooden Roofs.

Yeso: Stucco.

Yesería: Ornamental technique of stucco.

Appendix C: Tez Fotokopisi İzin Formu

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü

Enformatik Enstitüsü

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Özkan Altınöz

Adı : Meltem

Bölümü : Mimarlık Tarihi

TEZİN ADI (ingilizce) : IDIOSYNCRATIC NARRATIVES: MUDÉJAR ARCHITECTURE AND ITS HISTORIOGRAPHY IN SPAIN

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans

Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ:

Appendix D. Curriculum Vitae

Meltem Özkan Altınöz

meltemozkan@gmail.com

tel.5337405948

Current Position

Full time instructor in the Architecture Department of the Faculty of Fethi Toker Fine Arts and Design at Karabük University

Education

M.A. in Architectural History, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, 2006

Thesis: "Zócalo: Transformation of an Aztec Religious Center into a Colonial Town Square in México City". Thesis Advisor: Prof.Dr. Ali Uzay Peker.

B.A. in Art History, Ankara University, Ankara, 2001

Awards and Honors

Middle East Technical University Erasmus Doctorate Exchange Student to Madrid University /Universidad Autonoma de Madrid-UAM, Art History Department Ph.D. Program, Spain, 2011 spring (5 months)

Obtained the first grade in photograph competition of Architectural History Department of Middle East Technical University, 2010

Research Fellowship of Scientific Research Foundation of Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Universidad Nacional Autonoma De Mexico-UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Esteticas /Aesthetic Research Center, Mexico, 2005 (4 months)

Research Languages

Turkish, English, Spanish

Study Areas

Iberian Studies, Latin American Studies, 19th Century Ottoman Architecture, Republican Period Architecture, Photography

Academic Activities and Publications

Conference, Symposium and other Publications

Altınöz Özkan, M., (2012) "Madrid Prado Müzesi'nden İki Kültürel Karşılaşma Örneği. İnebahtı Deniz Savaşı ve İspanya Kralı II. Felipe'in Zafer Algısı", *Cultural Encounters in the Ottoman World and Their Artistic Reflection Symposium* held in Honour of Professor Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, November 14-16 2012, Ankara (*in publication process*)

Çabuk, Suat, Altınöz Özkan, M., (2012) "Shifting Ideologies in Spaces and Times, A Case Study from Karabük", *International Conference Architecture and Ideology*, September 28-29, 2012, Belgrade, Serbia (*published in CD*)

Altınöz Özkan, M., (2012) "Jewish Congregations of Ottoman Empire and their Contribution to Galata's Urban Formation in the 19th century", *Jews and Jewish Districts in Europe, 18th to 21st Centuries-11th International Conference on Urban History Cities and Societies in Comparative Perspective*, August 29 to September 1, Prague. (*published in CD*)

Altınöz Özkan, M., (2012) "Review on Vernacular Architecture of Safranbolu Houses and Their Social and Spatial Reflection over the 20th Century Architectural Culture, Turkey", *Surveys on Vernacular Architecture their Significance in 20th Century Architectural Culture*, Porto, ESAP, 17-19 May, Portugal. (*published in CD*)

Özkan, M. (2011) Modernism and Change: Architectural Display of Ottomans and Republican Turkey, Arnaldo Araujo Research Center, Escuela Superior Artístico de Porto, May 26, Portugal (*oral presentation*).

Özkan, M.(2011) "A number of Relevant Themes on Islamic Iberia and its Cultural Linkage to the Extent Geographies", *Art and Architecture around 1400:Global and Regional Perspectives, International Colloquium Under the Auspices of the International Committee of the History of Art (CIHA)*, The University of Maribor Slovenia, 10 – 14 May, Slovenia. (*published in a book*)

Özkan, M. (2010) "Yüzevler", *DOCOMOMO Türkiye Ulusal Çalışma Grubu Poster Sunuşları*, (Poster Presentation of Yüzevler for Docomomo National Working Group)Türkiye Mimarlığında Modernizmin Yerel Açılımları VI, Eskişehir Anadolu University, 2-4 December, Eskişehir. (*published in a book*)

Özkan, M. (2010) "İki şehrin Dilemması: Geleneksel Osmanlı Şehri Safranbolu ve Cumhuriyet'in Endüstri Projesi Karabük Kent Örneği", (Dilemma of the Cities: Examples

from Traditional Ottoman City Safranbolu and Republican Period's Industrial Project Karabük)1. Türkiye Mimarlık Tarihi Kongresi,20-22 Ekim, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Mimarlık Tarihi Anabilim Dalı, ODTÜ Kültür Kongre Merkezi, Ankara. (*in publication process*)

Özkan, M., Çabuk, S. (2010) "Karabük Demir Çelik Fabrikası İşçi Konutları Sorununun ve Çözüm Sürecinin İncelenmesi", (Analyzing Problems of Workers Settlement Policy and its Solution Process in Karabük Iron-Steel Factories) Kuruluşundan Bugüne Karabük ve Demir-Çelik Sempozyumu, Karabük University, April 1-3,pp. 357-376, Karabük. (*published in a book*)

Özkan, M. (2010) "Karabük'te Modern Mimari Oluşumda Yüksek Mimar Münici Tangör ve Yapıları", (Role of Münici Tangör as an Architect in Creation of Modern Architecture in Karabük)'Kuruluşundan Bugüne Karabük ve Demir-Çelik Sempozyumu, Karabük University, April 1-3, pp. 367-377, Karabük. (*published in a book*)

Özkan, M. (2009) "State Economic Enterprises (KİT'ler) and Their Role for Creation of Modern City Dwelling in Karabük" Space Times Peoples: Patronage and Architectural History, METU Graduate Program in Architectural History Doctorate Research Symposium. Ankara. (*in publication process*)

Özkan, M. (2009)"Yenişehir Sineması ", (Poster Presentation of Yenişehir Movie Theater for Docomomo National Working Group) DOCOMOMO Türkiye Ulusal Çalışma Grubu Poster Sunuşları, Türkiye Mimarlığında Modernizmin Yerel Açılımları V, Diyarbakır Dicle University.

Özkan, M. (2008) "Zòcalo: Meksiko City'de Bir Aztek Dini Merkezinin Koloni Kent Meydanına Dönüşümü", (Zòcalo: Transformation of an Aztec Religious Center into a Colonial Town Square in Mexico City), Sanat Tarihinde Gençler Semineri, Istanbul Technical University, January, İstanbul. (*oral presentation*).

Özkan, M. (2007) "Transformation of the National Square (Plaza De La Constitucìon) into Public Center (Zòcalo) in Mexico City", Crossing the Boundaries XV: Time, Space and Movement, Art History Department, State University of New York at Binghamton, April 2007 (*oral presentation*).

Özkan, M. (2006) "Metalin Tarihsel Yolculugundan Dogan Hareketi: Kuzgun Acar", (Movement of Metal that Coming from its Historical Journey: Kuzgun Acar) Genç Sanat Dergisi, No. 137, pp.20-23, March.

Özkan,M.(2005)“Fotoğraf Sanatı’nda Işığın Önemi”,(Importance of Light in Photography)Faculty of Fethi Toker Fine Arts and Design, Safranbolu (*oral presentation*).

Özkan, M. (2005) “Gelenekten Çağdasa Geçiş: Meksika Modern Sanat Müzesi”, (From Tradition to Modern: Mexico Modern Art Museum) Türkiye’de Sanat Dergisi, No. 70, pp.46-51, October.

Özkan, M. (2005) “Sophie Calle–Kurgu ve Gerçeğin Sınırında: Double Game”, (Sophie Calle and Double Game) Genç Sanat Dergisi, No.29,pp.22-27, June.

Courses Offered

Undergraduate

ARCH 121 Introduction to Art History (must)

ARCH 311 History of Architecture III (must)

ARCH 331 Modern Architecture (must)

ARCH 429 Late Period Ottoman Architecture (elective)

ARCH 333 Mythology (elective)

ARCH 316 Photography (elective)

Additional Academic Activities

Spanish Language Training, Escuela Ola, Madrid, Spain 2011

Spanish Language Training, Educational First (EF), Malaga, Spain 2008

English Language Training, Tarrant County College, Texas, U.S. 2001-2002

Photograph Courses and Seminars of Ankara Photograph Artist Association, Ankara 2004-2005

Photograph Exhibitions Attended

Group exhibition, “Space Times Peoples: Architectural History Photograph Exhibition”, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, 2010 December

Personal exhibition, “Beyond of the Light and Shadow”, Faculty of Fethi Toker Fine Arts and Design, Safranbolu, 2006 May

Group exhibition, “Exhibition of Ankara Photograph Artist Association”, Ankara Modern Center, Ankara, 2005 June

Group exhibition, "Condition of the Contrast", Exhibition of ÖYP, Selçuk University, Konya,
2005 May

Group exhibition, "3rd Course Exhibition of Ankara Photograph Artist Association",
Ankara, 2005 March

Field Work Travel

Mexico: Mexico City, Guanajuato, San Luis Potosi, Hidalgo

Portugal: Porto

Spain: Malaga, Cordoba, Granada, Toledo, Valladolid, Madrid, Zaragoza, Teruel, Barcelona.

Appendix E. Turkish Summary

İberya Yarımadası'nda yer alan İspanya'nın taşıdığı bölgesel ve kültürel farklılıklar ilk aşamada ülkenin sahip olduğu iklimsel ve coğrafi değişkenlerle açıklanabilir. Söz konusu durum zamanla kültürel alanlara sirayet ederek birbirine benzemez Kuzey ve Güney olarak özetlenebilecek iki kültürel yapıyı besler. Kuzey bölgeler coğrafi güçlüklerin etkisiyle yalıtılmış bir kültürel yapıya sahip olurken, Güney bölgeler iletişimin ve siyasi hareketliliğin yoğun olduğu, bunun sonucunda değişimin daha sık gerçekleştiği yerler olarak gelişirler.

İberya yarımadasında kurulan uygarlıklar söz konusu iklimsel ve coğrafi değişkenlerden bağımsız irdelenemezler. Çok sayıda önemli uygarlığa ev sahipliği yapmış olan İberya'da Fenikeliler, Yunanlılar, Kartacalılar, Romalılar, Vizgotlar, Emevi ve Kuzey Afrika çıkışlı çeşitli Arap ve Berber yapıları hüküm sürer. Bu uygarlıklar arasından Fenikeliler Orta Doğu'nun metal ihtiyacını karşılamak için İberya Yarımadası'nda aktif bir ticaret ağı başlatırken, daha sonra Romalılar Kartacalılarla yaptıkları mücadeleler sonucunda İberya Yarımadası'nı ele geçirirler ve bölgede etkin bir yönetim ağı oluştururlar. Romalılar İberya Yarımadası'na dönemin uygarlaşmasının ön koşulu niteliğindeki kurumsal yapıları tanıtırırlar. Romalılaşıma olarak tanımlayacağımız bu teknolojik ve sosyal yapılanma kendisinden sonra bölgenin siyasi gücü olan Vizgotlar tarafından benimsenerek devam ettirilir.

Vizgotlar bölge İslamiyet egemenliğine geçmeden önce İberya'da hüküm süren Katolik bir krallık olmakla birlikte Vizgotların kökleri Barbar kavimlerine dayanır. Diğer Barbar gruplar gibi İberya Yarımadası'na gelen Vizgotlar ilk başlarda Romalıların hizmetinde çalışırlar. Ancak daha sonra zayıflayan Roma imparatorluğu'nun İberya Yarımadası'ndaki

hakimiyetini sonlandırıp yarımada da etkin olurlar. Hıristiyanlığın Arian kolundan olan Vizgotlar, yerli halkla yaşanan din temelli sorunları aşmak için mezheplerini değiştirerek Katolikliği seçerler. Böylelikle bölgede siyasi istikrar sağlanır. Ancak aristokratik alanda yaşanan gerginlikler, taht kavgaları, sosyal düzende çarpıklıklar Vizgotların zayıflamasına ve Kuzey Afrika kaynaklı saldırılara açık hale gelmesine yol açar. Sonuç olarak Tariq ibn Ziyad 711'de daha sonradan Cebelitarık olarak adlandırılan boğazı geçerek karşı kıyıya ulaşır ve Vizgot egemenliğini başkent Toledo'yu alarak sonlandırır. Bu fetih hareketi ile bölgede yeni bir siyasi-kültürel egemenliğin kapıları aralanmış olur.

İberya Yarımadası'ndaki İslam egemenliği incelendiğinde yeni politik gücü Kuzey bölgelere nüfuz edemediği görülmektedir. Bu durumun coğrafi ve iklimsel şartların elverişsizliği neticesinde kuzeye yapılan fetih önünün kesilmesi ile açıklanabilmekle birlikte farklı bir değerlendirme olarak konu İslam fetihçilerinin alışık olmadıkları coğrafi ve iklimsel şartlardan uzak durmayı yeğlemiş olmaları ile ilişkilendirilebilir. Son olarak, Kuzey fetihlerindeki başarısızlıkların ve isteksizliklerin nedeni 711 fethini takip eden erken dönemlerde İslami gruplar arasında yaşanan bir takım siyasi çekişmelerde aranabilir.

İlk büyük çekişme İberya'daki Arap kavimler arasında yaşanırken, ikinci büyük çekişme Arap ve Berber gruplar arasında yaşanır. Aslında Berber gruplar erken dönemlerden itibaren yarımada nın fethinde büyük rol oynarlar, Tariq ibn Ziyad'ın denetimindeki askerler Berber kökenlidir. Ancak Araplar İslamiyet'in ilk inananları olarak kendilerine daha yüksek bir paye biçmekte, kendilerini birinci sınıf Müslüman olarak görürlerken, Berberleri sonradan Müslüman olan gruplar altında sınıflamaktadırlar. Bu durum nedeniyle onları hor görmekte ve aşağılamaktadırlar. Yönetim soylu Arapların elindedir.

İberya Yarımadası'nda 711'de kurulan İslami valilikte etnik ve kültürel temelli sorunlar yaşanırken, I. Abdurrahman Abbasiler'in Emevi kıyılarından kurtulan tek Emevi prensi olarak annesinin memleketi Kuzey Afrika'ya gider ve buradan da İberya yarımadasına geçmek ister. Kayslı ve Yemenli olarak bilinen farklı Arap grupları arasındaki çekişmelerden faydalanarak, bir gruba karşı diğerini destekleme politikasıyla İberya yarımadasında Endülüs Emevileri olarak anılacak olan Emirliği 756'da ilan eder. Her ne kadar I. Abdurrahman coğrafyada huzurlu bir ortam yaratmış olsa da, çok geçmeden bu barış atmosferi değişerek yerini bölgede bir çok isyana, Berber kökenli grupların Kuzey Afrika'dan gelerek Endülüs Emevi Emirliği'ne son vermesine yol açacak olan olaylar dizisine bırakır. Bölgede sırasıyla, Mülûk'ut-Tavaif (Küçük Sultanlıklar/Beylikler) Dönemi, Murâbıtlar Dönemi (11-12.yy): Muvahhidler Dönemi (12-13.yy), Gırnata Benî Ahmer Emirliği (Nasiriler) Dönemi (13-15.yy) yaşanır.

İslamiyetin hakimiyetiyle birlikte bölgede yan yana yaşayan Müslüman, Hıristiyan ve Yahudi unsurlar İspanyolcada *convivencia* olarak tanımlanan mozaik bir örüntünün parçaları gibi yaşarlar. Öyleki sanatsal anlamda bu yapılar ortak bir hafızanın dışavurumunu yansıtır. Bu bağlamda Mozarabik terminoloji İslam kültürü etkisinde kalan Hıristiyan grupları tanımlamak için kullanılır. Bu gruplar hem gündelik hayatlarında hem de mimari gibi kültürün somut alanlarında İslam kültürünün izlerini taşırlar. Ancak Emirlik döneminde görülen bu barışçıl atmosfer Kuzey Afrika'dan gelen Berber kökenli Murâbıtlar'ın İslamiyet'in kurallarının katı uygulayıcıları olarak sahneye çıkmalarıyla değişmeye başlar. Akademi dünyasında genel kanı Murâbıtlar'ın Emirlik döneminin hoşgörü ortamından uzak baskıcı davranışlarının yeniden fetih (re-conquest) hareketlerine hız kazandırdığı çerçevesinde birleşmektedir.

Huzursuz ortamda yaşayan Hıristiyan ve Yahudi unsurlar, Müslümanların elinden İberya Yarımadası'nın tüm topraklarını almayı amaç edinen ve kuzeyde güçlenen fanatik Katolik savunucuları tarafından ikna edilerek, *re-populacion* olarak tanımlanan yeniden yerleştirme politikasına dahil edilirler. Bu politikayla birlikte Hıristiyan ve Yahudi toplumların kuzeyde tampon bölgeler oluşturmaları desteklenir. Yeniden fetih hareketinin bir sonraki aşaması oluşturulan bu tampon bölgelerin kolaylıkla ele geçirilmesini öngörür. Yeniden yerleşim politikasına ek niteliğinde Katolik krallıklar İberya Yarımadası'nda etnik ve kültürel tabanlı çatışmalarla bozulan politik İslami yapıdan faydalanırlar. Farklı Müslüman gruplarından birini diğerine karşı destekleyerek İslami emirliklerin güçlerin zayıflamasına ön ayak olurlar sırasıyla zayıflayanları ortadan kaldırırlar.

Stratejik atılan politik adımlar neticesinde 1492'de son İslami krallık olan Ben-i Ahmer Devleti ortadan kaldırılır. İberya yarımadasında tek girişim İslam hakimiyetinin sonlandırılması olmaz, aynı zamanda yarım adanın çok kültürlü yapısı tek kültürlü bir çatı altında toplanmaya çalışılır. Bu amaçla yüzyıllardır yarım adada yaşayan Yahudi unsurların dinleri değiştirilmeye çalışılır, daha sonra Hıristiyanlıklarına güvenilmeyerek yarım adadan bu gruplar sürülür. Sefarad adı verilen bu grupların bir kısmı Portekiz'e gider ancak orda da baş gösteren Yahudi karşıtı davranışlar neticesinde Sefarad göçünün yönü Osmanlı'nın hakimiyetinde bulunan topraklara çevrilir.

Zorla din değiştirme uygulamaları ve yarım adadan kovulma süreci Müslüman nüfusun Yahudilerden sonra onlarla yaşayacağı ortak bir kader olur. Her ne kadar Yahudilerin dinleri fetihten hemen sonra değiştirilmek istenmişse de, Müslümanlar için durum daha iyimserdir. Müslümanların yarım adada kalmalarına izin verildikleri kısa süre zarfında Mudéjar/Müdeccen terminolojisi doğar. Kelime anlamı ile, evcilleştirilmiş/ kalmasına izin verilen işaret etmekle birlikte bu terminoloji Müslüman gruplar zorla dinleri değiştirilince

yerini başka bir tanımlamaya, Morisco/Morisko terminolojisine bırakır. Bu tanım İslamiyet dininden Hıristiyan dinine geçmiş grupları tanımlamak için kullanılır. Her iki terminolojinin ortak noktası küçümseyici bir tavrın sonucu yine küçümseyici anlamlar taşıyan bir yapıya oturmalarıdır.

İspanya’da sanat ve mimarlık alanında ortaya çıkan Mudéjar (Müdeccen) adı verilen üslubun oluşum tarihi, on birinci yüzyılda İspanyollar tarafından re-conquista olarak adlandırılan yeniden fetih hareketine kadar geri gider. Vizgotların elinden alınan topraklara yerleşen Arab ve Berber gruplar bu coğrafyada yeşerecek zengin bir kültürün mimarları olur. Ancak yaşanan kabile içi çekişmeler ve Arab-Berber çatışmaları bölgede siyasi bir çıkmaza yol açar. Zayıflayan Endülüs Emevileri'nin yerini on altıncı yüzyıla kadar hüküm sürecektir olan yeni İslam emirlikleri alır. Diğer taraftan yaşanan bu iç çekişmeler ve bölünmeler Hıristiyan unsurların yeniden güçlenmesine yardımcı olur. Nitekim on birinci yüzyılda başlayan yeniden fetih hareketleri Katolik krallıkların İberya Yarımadası’ndaki Müslümanları yarımadadan atma hedefiyle başlar. Bir dönüm noktası olan 1492 tarihi ile bölgede politik anlamda kökten bir değişimden bahsedilebilirse de, kültürün sanat ve mimari gibi somut alanlarında bu durum daha çok bir dönüşüm başlatır. Müslümanların elinden alınan topraklarda önceki yüzyıllarda yaşamış olan farklı inanç geleneklere sahip toplumlar, özellikle İslami geleneklerden beslenen ortak bir sanat ve mimarlık zevkini paylaşır. Bir arada yaşamın sonucu olarak sekizinci yüzyıldan itibaren İslami, Hıristiyan ve Yahudi sanat gelenekleri Mudéjar mimari üslubunun oluşumuna katkıda bulunur.

Mudéjar/Müdeccen Arapça’daki “Mudajjan” kelimesinin İspanyolca’ya “Mudayyan” olarak geçmesi ile oluşur. Mudéjar Hıristiyan grupların gerçekleştirdiği fetih hareketleri sonrası yarım adada kalmasına izin verilen Müslüman gruplara atıf yaptığı için konuyla ilgili birincil mesele bu noktada doğar, elinizdeki çalışma söz konusu Mudéjarın etimolojisi ve

sanat tarihindeki farklı kullanım sahasına eğilmektedir. Bir diğer önemli mesele sanat tarihi çalışmalarında Mudéjarın kimliğinin tanımlamasında karşılaşılan çok yönlü anlatılardır. Bu anlatılar mercek altına alınmakta Mudéjarın çevresindeki muğlak atmosferin irdelenmesi çalışmanın bir diğer önemli basamağını teşkil etmektedir.

Mudéjar mimarisi Doğu ve Batı sanat geleneklerinin bir araya gelmesi neticesinde yeniden fetih ideolojisinin 'ironisi' olarak İberya yarımadasında olgunlaşır. Mudéjar'ın, biçimsel olarak, kaynağını İslamiyet'in malzeme, strüktür, biçim ve süsleme bileşenlerinden almakla birlikte, ilgili sanatın Hıristiyan sanatının yaratıcı ve kullanıcılarının kültürlenme (acculturation) aracılığıyla elde ettiği çok kültürlülüğün bir ürünü olduğu düşünülebilir. Her ne kadar Mudéjar kelime anlamı itibariyle Hıristiyan yönetiminde kalmasına izin verilen Müslümanlara atıf yapsa da, etimolojik karşılığında farklı olarak sanat ve mimarlık alanlarında etnik kimliği birbirinden farklılıklar taşıyan Müslüman, Yahudi ve Hıristiyan ustalar tarafından gerçekleştirilen yapılara ve sanat eserlerine işaret eder. İnşa edilen bu yapıların -istisnai bazı Yahudi yapıları dışında- banileri genellikle Hıristiyan'dır.

Mudéjar mimarisi teknik ve üslupsal açıdan incelendiğinde bu üslubun İslami kaynaktan beslenen üç önemli yapı malzemesinin kullandığı görülür. Bunlardan ilki İspanyolca'da *ladrillo* olarak geçen tuğla kullanımudur. İspanyol akademisyenler tuğla geleneğini İran kaynaklarına dayandırmaktadırlar. Tuğla önemli bir strüktürel malzeme olarak kullanımı dışında, bu malzemenin değişik yerleştirmeleri ile elde edilen kompozisyonlar İslami süsleme anlayışının İspanya'da nasıl devam ettiğini somut bir biçimde ortaya koyar. O nedenle İberya Yarımadası'nda tuğla kullanımının hem strüktürel hem de dekoratif amaçları olduğu söylenebilir.

Mudéjar mimarisinde ikinci önemli malzeme olan alçı, yapılarda daha çok süslemeye sunduğu katkı ile ön plana çıkar. İspanyolca'da *yaso* olarak bilinen alçının en güzel ve etkileyici örnekleri henüz coğrafya Hıristiyan egemenliğine geçmeden önce İspanya'da kurulan Kuzey Afrika-Berber kökenli İslam devletlerinde ve Ben-i Ahmer Devleti'nin sanat eseri olan Alhambra sarayında görülür. Alçı özellikle yapılması, işlenmesi, şekil verilmesi kolay olan bir malzeme olması nedeniyle bölge Katolik gücün eline geçtikten sonra yeni siyasi güç tarafından sıkça başvurulan malzeme olur. Alçı ile yapılan süslemelerde çoğunlukla arabesk formlar uygulanır.

Bir diğer önemli inşa malzemesi ve süsleme elemanı olan ahşap İberya yarımadasında bolca görülür. Bu uygulamalardan en akılda kalanı ve yaygın olanı çatı uygulamalarıdır. Çatılar farklı formlardadır. Düz çatı örnekleri yanında çeşitli kırma çatı uygulamaları mevcuttur. Ahşap çatı formları İspanyolca'da *artesonado* denilen, Kündekari benzeri bu teknikte, ahşap parçaların İslami formlardan beslenerek birbirine geçirilmesiyle elde edilir. *Artesonado*lu çatı formları volümlü iç mekanların oluşmasında önemli rol üstlenirler.

Keramik Mudéjar işçiliğinde bir diğer önemli kullanılan malzemelerdendir. Yalnızca dini mimaride değil aynı zamanda sivil mimaride de yaygın bir kullanım ağı bulur. *Azulejos* adı verilen bu keramik parçalar yapıların yüzeylerinde süsleme amaçlı kullanılır. Günümüzde İspanya'dan başka özellikle Portekiz sivil mimari örneklerinde yüzeylerin keramikle kaplandığı yapılara rastlanır. Keramikin uygulama alanları sivil mimaride dış cepheler, dini mimaride ise genellikle kule ve binanın dış cephe yüzeyleridir. Beyaz, mavi, sarı, yeşil renkler sevilerek uygulanan renkler arasındadır.

Mudéjar mimarisi kendisine İberya yarımadasında yaygın bir kullanım ağı bulmakla birlikte, bu üslup yarım adanın her bölgesinde birebir aynı özellikleri sergilemez. Kendi

içinde bir takım üslupsal farklılıklar taşır. Bu üslupsal farklılıklar coğrafi gerekçelere bağlanabileceği gibi aynı zamanda gezici usta kavramı ve sanat patronlarının-kollayıcılarının beğenileri ile de açıklanabilirler. İspanya özerk bölgelerden ve bu bölgelere bağlı özerk şehirlerden oluşur. Bunlardan özerk bölge ve şehirleri sıralaması şöyledir;

Andalusia /Andalucía: Huelva, Sevilla, Cordoba, Juan, Granada, Almeria, Málaga, Cadiz.

Aragon /Aragón: Zaragoza, Huesca, Teruel.

Asturias: Asturias.

Basque Country /País Vasco: País Vasco

Cantabria: Cantabria

Castile-La Mancha/ Castilla-La Mancha: Toledo, Guadalajara, Cuenca, Ciudad Real, Albacete

Castile and Leon/ Castilla y León: León, Zamora, Palencia, Burgos, Soria, Segovia, Avila, Salamanca, Valladolid

Catalonia/ Cataluña : Lleida, Girona, Barcelona, Tarragona

Extremadura: Cáceres, Badajoz

Galicia La Coruña, Lugo, Ourense, Pontevedra

La Rioja: La Rioja

Madrid: Madrid

Murcia: Murcia

Navarre /Navarra: Navarra

Valencia /Comunidad Valenciana: Castellon, Valencia, Alicante

Bölgesel farklılıklar Mudéjar mimarisinde birincil sıradadır. İspanya'nın Aragon bölgesi kendine özgü geliştirdiği mimari dili ile diğer bölgelerden ayrılır. Bu bölgede üretilmiş olan Mudéjar yapılar yaygın bir keramik kullanımına sahipken durum Castilla bölgesinde farklılık arz eder. Aragon bölgesinde keramik uygulamaları özellikle Mudéjar mimarisinin en bilindik özelliklerinden olan kule oluşumlarında karşımıza çıkar. Genellikle kare plana oturan bu kulelerin, diğer bölgelerden farklı olarak Aragon bölgesinde kimi kez poligonal bir yapıya oturdukları görülür. Ayrıca Aragon bölgesi daha çok Gotik ve İslami unsurların karışımı ile oluşmuş bir Mudéjar üslubunu yansıtırken, bir diğer merkez olan Castilla bölgesi daha çok Romanik özellikleri sergiler. Söz konusu bu farklılıklar gotik-mudéjar , romanik-mudéjar gibi bir takım sınıflandırılmaların oluşturulmasına neden olur.

İslami kaynaktan beslenen yapı malzemeleri ve formlar dışında, Hıristiyan kaynaktan beslenen malzemeler Mudéjar yapılarının çarpıcı özelliklerini yansıtır. Bunlardan bir tanesi taşın kullanımudur. İspanyol akademisyenleri Mudéjar yapıların ortaya çıkmasını çoğunlukla taş malzemenin pahalılığına ve tuğla malzemenin ucuz aynı zamanda işçiliğinin kolay olmasına bağlarlar. Ancak bu durumun her coğrafya için doğru olmadığı tez metninde kaleme alınmıştır. Taşın kullanıldığı yapılar incelendiğinde kimi yapılarda temellerin ve giriş kapılarının taştan yapılıp binanın geri kalan kısımlarının tuğladan inşa edildiği görülür. Böylesi bir inşa süreci doğal olarak kimi yapılarda, dikkatli bakıldığında yamalık benzeri bir görüntünün oluşmasına yol açar. Bu durum yukarıda bahsedilen ekonomik ve pratik gerekçelerle açıklanmaktadır. Bu yapılarda Hıristiyan ikonografisi ve İslami formlar birbirine eşlik edebilmektedir. İslami bir geometrik motifin içerisinde son derece natüralist olan bir çiçek formu karşımıza çıkabilmekte, İslami ritim anlayışına yine ritmik bir biçimde eşlik edebilmektedir.

Mudéjar İberya Yarımadası ile sınırlı kalmayarak İspanyolların politik emelleri ile doğru orantılı olarak Amerika kıtasına kadar ulaşır. Kolonizasyon hareketleri olarak bilinen 16.yy'ın başlarında ortaya çıkan bu İspanyol girişimi, Aztek sanat, mimarisi ve toplumu hakkında bir dönüm noktası niteliğindedir. Aztek İmparatorluğu o tarihten sonra Batı literatüründe Yeni İspanya olarak adlandırılmış, bölgede İspanyollar tarafından farklı bir tarihsel süreç başlatılır. İspanyolların kolonizasyonu ile mevcut şehir skalası ve mimari, çarpıcı bir biçimde dönüşüme uğrar. Bu noktada Mudéjar sanat zevkinin Amerika kıtasına İspanyollar tarafından taşındığı söylenebilir zira o dönemlerde *Morisco* olarak tanımlanan, dinleri zorla değiştirilmiş unsurların Amerika kıtasına seyahatleri yasaklanır. Özellikle İslami motiflerden beslenmiş *artesonado* örnekleri Amerika kıtasında kolonileştirilmiş toplumların kiliselerinde büyük bir beğeni ile uygulanırlar. Zaman zaman İslam zevklerinin yerli halkın gelenekleri ile harmanlandığı görülür.

Mudéjar sanatının uygulaması yalnızca 11-17.yy arasında görülmez, bu ilginin 19.yy'da tekrar canlandığı söylenebilir. 19.yy'da genel olarak dünyada romantik rüzgarlar ve oryantal tavrılar nedeni ile Doğulu toplumlara ve ülkelerin kendi geçmişlerine uyanan bir ilgi olur. Bu ilginin göstergelerinden bir tanesi Owen Jones'a ait Doğulu toplumların sanatlarını ilustrasyonlarla gösterdiği *The Grammar of Ornament/ Süslemenin Grameri* isimli eserdir. Bu çalışma Doğulu toplumlara karşı oluşan söz konusu ilgiyi perçinleyen çalışmalardan biri olur. 19.yy'ın romantik ve oryantal rüzgarları İspanya'yı da sarmalar ve Mudéjar geçmişi bir kez daha canlanır. Dünya fuarlarında İspanya kendisini Doğulu geçmişiyle yansıtır. Bu bağlamda yarımadada mimarlar bir çok yapıya imza atarlar. Madrid ve Zaragoza bu üslubun doğup geliştiği şehirlerdir. Neo-mudéjar yapıların Madrid'de inşa edilen bazı örnekleri ve mimarları şunlardır; Plazas de Toros de Madrid (1874) Emilio Rodríguez Ayuso; Iglesia de la Paloma (1896-1912), Lorenzo Álvarez Capra; San Frmín de los Navarros Kilisesi (1891), Carlos Velasco ve Eugenio Jiménez Corera; San Vicente de Paúl (1904) Juan Bautista Lázaro; Parroquia de Santa Cristina Kilisesi (1906), Enrique Repullés and Vargas tarafından tasarlanır. Zaragoza'da ise, aynı üslup Regino Borobio, Vicente Rodriguez, Antonio Parellades, Antonio Rubio ve Miguel Angel Navarro gibi mimarlar tarafından canlandırılır.

Tezde ele alınan konulardan bir diğeri 19.yy'ın ve 20.yy'ın İspanya politik yaşantısı Mudéjar mimarlık tarihi yazımında büyük önem taşıdığıdır. O nedenle bu dönemlerin incelenmesi Mudéjar mimarisi yazım sürecinin algılanması açısından kaçınılmazdır. Her ne kadar 19.yy oryantalist duyguların etkisiyle Mudéjar geçmişini hatırlatmış olsa dahi diğer taraftan 19.yy'ın Romantik tavrı, İspanya'nın Yahudi ve Müslüman grupları yarım adadan attığı, kolonileştirme hareketlerine başladığı 16.yy'a özlem duymaktadır. Bu bağlamda siyasi bir ikilemin Modernleşme çabasındaki bir grup ile Katolik kimliğinin baskın bir biçimde devamlılığını isteyen Kraliyetçi gruplar arasında doğduğu görülür. Bu

ikilem İspanya'ya 20.yy'ın ilk yarısında, sivil savaş sonucu olarak Franko tarafından uzun yıllar uygulanacak olan diktatörlük rejimin önünü açar. Mussolini ve Hitler ile bağlantıları olan Franko'nun ülke yönetimindeki ilk yılları İspanya için karanlık yıllar olarak adlandırılmakta, 1960'tan ölümü olan 1975 tarihine kadar süren süreç ise totaliter sonrası, sultanlık sistemine yakın bir sistem olarak sınıflanmaktadır. Franko rejiminde, Katolik olan tek bir ulus yaratma uğrunda çaba gösterir. Bu bağlamda İspanyol kimliğini Katoliklik ile birleştirir. Diktatörlüğü kaçınılmaz bir biçimde bir çok yasağı beraberinde getirir, basın yasağı ve entelektüellerin düşündüklerini istedikleri gibi yansıtamamaları bu yasaklardan yalnızca konumuza ilgili olanlarıdır. Böylesi bir yasakçı ortamda, Katolik unsurların vurgulandığı, Altın çağ'ın canlandırılmaya çalışıldığı bir süreçte Mudéjar konusuna ilginin kısıtlı kalması ve yayınların ancak Franko'nun ölümünden sonra görülecek olması tesadüf değildir.

Mudejar'ın İspanyol mimarlık tarihindeki yazını çoğunlukla İspanyol akademisyenler tarafından gerçekleştirilmiştir. Akademisyenler arasında Mudéjar'ın İspanyol sanatındaki varlığına dair değişik yaklaşımlar bulunmaktadır. Bu yaklaşımlarda yer yer Mudéjar'ın İslami köklerinden bahsedilirken, kimi kez Mudéjar sanatının Hıristiyan özellikleri vurgulanır. Ancak yakın dönemde yapılan çalışmalar, Mudéjar sanatının coğrafi ve kültürel yönlerden irdelenmesi gerekliliğini ortaya koymaktadır. Mudéjarın sanat açısından melez bir yapı üzerine oturması akademisyenler arasında Mudéjar'ın sanat olup olmadığı veya bir üslup değeri taşıyıp taşımadığı konusunda değişik argümanların öne sürülmesine yol açmaktadır. Diğer taraftan, Mudéjar tanımının genel kullanımının sahip olduğu etnik ve kültürel bağlamlarla Mudéjar üslubunun içerdiği biçim ve anlam dünyasının farklılığından kaynaklanan çelişkilerin uyumsuzluğu, 'Mudéjar' teriminin sanat ve mimari alanında kullanımının bu çalışmada eleştirilmesine götürmüştür.

Bu tez kapsamında İspanyol mimarlık tarihi yazımı üzerine bir takım analizler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu analizlerden en önemlileri kronolojik yapının deşifresine yönelik olarak yapılmış olan analizlerdir. Analizler çeşitli kütüphanelerde gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu kütüphaneler; Valladolid Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, Madrid Özerk Üniversitesi (UAM/ Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Madrid), Sevilla Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, İspanya Milli Kütüphanesi, Madrid'deki Complutense Üniversitesi, Meksika Milli Özerk Üniversitesi (UNAM/Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)'dir. Bu kütüphanelerde elde edilen verilerde tezin amacı ile doğru orantılı olarak konuyla doğrudan ilgisi bulunan, Mudéjar'ı başlığına taşıyan veya Mudéjar'ı çalışma konusu haline getiren yayınlar ele alınmış ve bu yayınların incelenmesi grafik analizlerle gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Diğer analizler referans kaynakların incelenmesinden elde edilmiştir. Referans kaynaklar konu ile ilgili ilk ve genel bilgileri vermesi açısından incelenmeye değer yayınlardır. Başvuru kaynakları olmaları nedeniyle ilgili mimarlık tarihi konularına ait sınırların bu çalışmalarla atıldığı düşünülebilir. Referans kitapların yazılması kadar yazıldıkları dönem ve yazarın tutumu büyük önem arz etmektedir. Her bir referans yayın yazarın bilgi, düşünce ve anlam dünyasının şekillenmiş formları olarak karşımıza çıkarlar. O nedenle Mudéjar mimarisinin tarih yazımının en iyi referans kaynaklardan takip edilebileceği kanısındayım. Bu bağlamda aşağıda adı geçen yayınlar incelenmiş ve bu yayınların incelenmesinden İspanyol akademisyenlerin konuya bakış açıları ve durdukları nokta belirlenmeye çalışmıştır. Söz konusu kaynaklar aşağıda sıralanmıştır;

Juan de Contreras, *Historia Del Arte Hispánico*, (Barcelona, Salvat Editores, 1934), Vicente Lampérez y Romea, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española en la edad media según el estudio de los elementos y los monumentos* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1930), Leopoldo Torres Balbas, *Ars Hispaniae. Historia Universal Del Arte Hispánico*, Volumen Cuarto (Madrid:

Editorial Plus Ultra, 1948), Bernard Bevan, *Historia de la Arquitectura Española*, (Barcelona: Joventud Editorial,1950), Joaquín Yarza, *Arte y Arquitectura en España 500-1250*, (España: Cetedra, 1981), J. A. Gaya Nuño, *Historia del Arte Español*, (Madrid: Editorial Plus, Ultra, 1963), Fernando Chueca Goitia, *Historia de la arquitectura Española: Edad antigua y edad media*, (Madrid: Editorial Dossat, 1965), Joaquín Yarza Luaces, *Historia del arte Hispánico: Arte Medieval II*, Volume II, (Madrid: Alhambra Editorial, 1996), A. Calvo Castellon, *Historia del Arte Español*, (Madrid: Edi-6, 1987), J. J. Martín González, *Historia del Arte*, (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1982), Jesús Espino Nuño and Miguel Morán , *Historia del Arte español* (Spain: Sgel, 1996), Xavier Barral i Altet, *Art and Architecture of Spain* (Boston, Newyork, Tronto, London: Little, Brown &Company, 1998), Jose María de Azcárate Ristori, Alfonso Emilio Pérez Sánchez, Juan Antonio Ramírez, *Historia del Arte* (España: Anaya, 2002), Ángela Gutiérrez and Ramiro Dominguez, *Manuel de Arte Español* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 2003), Ricardo Abrantes, Araceli Fernández, Santiago Manzarbeitia, *Arte Español para Extranjeros*, (Madrid: Editorial Nerea, 2004), Alejandro Lapunzina, *Architecture of Spain* (United States: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2005). Bu kaynakların incelemesi Mudéjar algısını ortaya koymaktadır. Bu algıya göre İspanya tarihinin İslam hakimiyeti ile kesintiye uğradığını ele veren düşünceler konuya yaklaşırken kullanılan metodolojilerde kendisini el vermektedir. Kronolojik olarak İslam sanatını ve Mudéjar'ı nereye koyacağını bilmez durum anakronizm gerçeğini ortaya çıkartmaktadır.

1975'ten başlayarak düzenli aralıklarla Mudéjar üzerine yapılan sempozyum serileri konunun politik gündemle olan ilişkisini ve İspanyol Akademisyenlerin konuya bakış açılarını yansıtmaları açısından büyük önem taşımaktadır. Mudéjar tarih yazımının politik gündemle olan ilişkisi Franco'nun hayata gözlerini yumduğu yıl olan 1975'de bu sempozyum serilerinin yapılmaya başlaması ile ortaya çıkmaktadır. Katılımın yüksek düzeyde olduğu bu sempozyum serileri günümüzde yapılmaya devam etmekte,

akademisyenlerin zaman içinden değişen yaklaşımlarını ortaya koymaktadırlar. Bu amaçla incelenen sempozyum serileri şunlardır; Actas del I Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo: Economía, Teruel, 17-19 de septiembre de 1975, Actas Volumen I (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudejares, 1981), Actas del II Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo, Teruel, 19-21 de noviembre de 1982, Actas Volumen I (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudejares, 1982), Actas del III Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo, Teruel, 20-22 de septiembre de 1984, Actas Volumen I (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudejares, 1986), Actas del IV Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo: Economía, Teruel, 17-19 de septiembre de 1987, Actas Volumen I, (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudejares, 1992), Actas del V Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo, Teruel, 13-15 de septiembre de 1990, Actas (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudejares, 1991). Actas del VI Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo: De Mudejares a Moriscos: Una Conversion Forzada, Teruel, 16-18 de septiembre de 1993, Actas Volumen I (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudejares, 1993), Actas del VII Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo, Teruel, 19-21 de septiembre de 1996, Actas (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudejares, 1999), Actas del VIII Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo: De Mudejares a Moriscos: Una Conversion Forzada, Teruel, 15-17 de septiembre de 1999, Actas Volumen I (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudejares, 2002), Actas del IX Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo: Mudéjares y moriscos. Cambios sociales y culturales (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudejares, 2004), Actas del X Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo: 30 años de Mudejarismo, memoria y future, 1975-2005 (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudejares, 2007), Actas del IX Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo: Mudéjares y moriscos. Cambios sociales y culturales (Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudejares, 2009).

Kronolojik çalışmalar ve Mudéjar ile ilgili sempozyum serilerinin incelenmesinden Mudéjar çalışmaların çoğunlukla bölgesel nitelikte olduğu ortaya çıkmaktadır. Konuyla ilgili olarak oluşturulan grafik analizler İspanya özelinde hangi bölgelerin sıklıkla

çalışıldığını göstermesi açısından önem arz etmektedir. Bu analizlerde sırasıyla en çok Aragon, Andalucia, Cominidad Valencia, Casttilla ve Mancha, Castilla ve Leon bölgelerinin çalışıldığı görülmektedir. Bu durumun gerekçesi söz konusu bölgelerin yoğun bir mudéjar mirasına sahip olmasının yanısıra, ilgili bölgeler üzerine yapılan yayınların varlığı ile ilişkilendirilebilir. Örneğin, Extremadura bir diğer önemli Mudéjar nüfusunun bulunduğu ve Hıristiyan patronların iş verdikleri bölge iken, sempozyum serilerinin incelenmesinde Extremadura'nın çalışılan bölgelerden en azı olduğu görülmektedir. Sanıyorum ki gelecekte akademisyenlerin bu bölgelere yönelik ilgilerinin projeler ve destekler yolu ile artırılması Extremadura'nın Mudéjar mimarlık tarihini gün ışığına çıkartacak ve bölgeyi daha ilgi çekici hale getirecektir.

Özetlemek gerekirse Mudéjar'ın İspanyol sanat ve mimarlık tarihinde algısı değişkenlikler göstermekle birlikte genel kanı Mudéjarın üslup olmaktan ziyade kültürel bir form olduğu çerçevesinde birleşmektedir. Mudejarismo (Yaşamın her alanında görülen Müslüman etkisi) sürecinin uzantısı olması ve Mudéjar sanatsal açıdan melez bir yapıya oturması bu sanatın üslupsal değerlendirmesinde sorunları beraberinde getirmektedir. Elinizdeki bu tezin amacı ise Mudéjarın yalnızca biçimsel yaklaşımlarla değerlendirilemeyeceği aynı zamanda kültürel etki alanlarının hesaplanarak biçimci bakış açısından sıyrılmış kültürel bir okumayı geçerli kılarak Mudéjar için üslup değerlendirilmesinin yapılmasını sağlamaktır. Tezde kullanmış olduğum bu yaklaşım Dr. Schapiro'nun üslup tanımından beslenmektedir. Schapiro'ya göre üslup bir toplumu bir kültürü yansıtan durumlarda kullanılabilen, uygulanabilen bir özelliğe sahiptir. Her ne kadar Mudéjar mimarisinde Doğu ve Batı gelenekleri çoğunlukla aynı mimari unsurda bütünleşmiş dahi olsa (bazı durumlarda saf İslami dokunuşlar mevcuttur/ Toledo sinagoglarında görüldüğü gibi), Mudéjar mimarisi değişen bir toplumun ve yaşam geleneğinin dışı vurumunu yansıttığı için üslup kategorisinde değerlendirilmelidir. Ayrıca Mudéjar mimarisinde uygulanan

teknik ve süsleme repertuarı aynı ortak havuzdan beslenmekte bu nedenle benzerlikler taşımaktadır.

Bu tez ana eksenini oluşturması itibari ile İspanyol mimarlık tarihi yazımı üzerine odaklanmakta ve Mudéjarın yapılan yayınlardaki yerini sorgulamaktadır. Çalışma İspanyol mimarlık tarihi yazımının Mudéjar tavrını muğlak bırakan veya zaman zaman yok sayan bir yaklaşım geliştirdiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Yayınların incelemesinden elde edilen grafik illüstrasyonlar ve referans kaynaklarının değerlendirilmesi Mudéjar çalışmalarının bölgesel bir karakter taşıdığını ve büyük oranda İspanyol akademisyenler tarafından sürdürüldüğünü göstermektedir. Bu çalışmalar çoğunlukla baskın ‘İspanyalılık’ (İspanyol) ve ‘Hispanikliğin’ ‘yeniden inşası’nı merkeze alır. Böyle bir ideolojik yönelim İspanyol sanat ve mimarlık tarihi yazımının bir kısmında anakronik yaklaşımlar doğurur. Ayrıca ilgili yayınlar, İspanyol sanat ve mimarlık tarihine yön veren etnisite, coğrafya ve kültür kökenli söylemleri dışı vurmakta, Mudéjar formülasyonlarının çoğunlukla İspanyol kimliğinin oluşmasında karakteristik (idiyosenkritik) bir anlatının parçaları olarak ortaya çıktığını göstermektedir.