

“THAT ROMANTIC FORTRESS”: BRITISH DEPICTIONS  
OF THE ALHAMBRA, 1815-1837

by

JENNA ROSE ROELLE

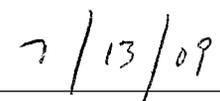
A THESIS

Presented to the Department of Art History  
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“That Romantic Fortress’: British Depictions of the Alhambra, 1815-1837,” a thesis prepared by Jenna Rose Roelle in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in the Department of Art History. This thesis has been approved and accepted by:

 \_\_\_\_\_  
Dr. Andrew Schulz, Chair of the Examining Committee

 \_\_\_\_\_  
Date

Committee in Charge:      Dr. Andrew Schulz, Chair  
   Dr. Kate Mondloch  
   Dr. Elizabeth Bohls

Accepted by:

\_\_\_\_\_  
Dean of the Graduate School

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## An Abstract of the Thesis of

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Title: "THAT ROMANTIC FORTRESS": BRITISH DEPICTIONS OF THE  
 ALHAMBRA, 1815-1837

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Dr. Andrew Schulz

Beginning in the early decades of the nineteenth century, British artists became increasingly fascinated by the Alhambra palace complex in Granada, Spain. This thesis examines the prints of three such artists who traveled to Granada, James Cavanah Murphy (1760-1814), John Frederick Lewis (1805-1876) and David Roberts (1796-1864), in order to shed light on their shifting attitudes and approaches to the Alhambra. A comparison of Murphy's publication of 1815 and the works of Lewis and Roberts, published in the 1830s, will reveal a shift from an attempt to accurately and methodically record Granada's palace complex, to an increasingly subjective and emotionally-based approach. The social and cultural context of Britain and Spain in the early nineteenth century, and the role played by the accompanying text in these publications will also be considered.

## CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Jenna Rose Roelle

PLACE OF BIRTH: Fort Collins, Colorado

## GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon  
Colorado State University, Fort Collins, Colorado

## DEGREES AWARDED:

Master of Arts, Art History, 2009, University of Oregon  
Bachelor of Arts, English, 2000, Colorado State University

## PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Graduate Teaching Fellow, Department of Art History, University of Oregon,  
2007-2009

Collections Intern, Jordan Schnitzer Museum of Art, University of Oregon,  
2008-2009

Visual Resources Assistant, Visual Resources Collection, University of Oregon  
Libraries, 2006-2008

## GRANTS, AWARDS AND HONORS:

Marian Donnelly Graduate Student Research Travel Grant, Department of Art  
History, University of Oregon, 2008

Marian Donnelly Graduate Award in Art History, Department of Art History,  
University of Oregon, 2008

Graduate Teaching Fellowship, Department of Art History, University of  
Oregon, 2007-2009

*Cum Laude*, Colorado State University, 2000

Colorado Opportunity Scholarship, Colorado State University, 1996-1997

PUBLICATIONS:

*Giuseppe Vasi's Rome: Lasting Impressions from the Golden Age of the Grand Tour*. Contributing author. Forthcoming, 2010.

“Images of Women in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art and Literature.” Featured student research in Mike Palmquist, *The Bedford Researcher*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's Press, 2003. (Credited as Jenna Alberter.)

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This thesis is dedicated to my parents, who gave me a love of learning and taught me, through their own example, to pursue my dreams.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. THE IMAGE OF SPAIN IN 18 <sup>TH</sup> AND 19 <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY BRITAIN.....	1
II. BIOGRAPHY AND PUBLICATIONS: THE SHAPING OF ARTISTS .....	29
III. FROM ENLIGHTENMENT TO ROMANTICISM: JAMES CAVANAH MURPHY'S <i>ARABIAN ANTIQUITIES OF SPAIN</i> .....	44
IV. THE "ROMANTIC FORTRESS" IN THE IMAGES OF DAVID ROBERTS AND JOHN FREDERICK LEWIS .....	70
APPENDIX: FIGURES .....	89
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	122

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Henry Swinburne, <i>View of the Alhambra</i> .....	89
2. Richard Twiss, <i>View of the Alhambra</i> .....	89
3. Henry Swinburne, <i>Court of the Lions</i> .....	90
4. Sir David Wilkie, <i>Sancho Panza in the Days of His Youth</i> .....	90
5. James Cavanah Murphy, <i>Section of the Church of Batalha</i> .....	91
6. James Cavanah Murphy, Frontispiece to <i>Plans...of the Church of Batalha</i> .....	92
7. James Cavanah Murphy, Frontispiece to <i>The Arabian Antiquities of Spain</i> .....	92
8. James Cavanah Murphy, <i>Side Elevation of Lion's Court and Fountain</i> .....	93
9. <i>Patio of the Lions</i> , from <i>Antigüedades árabes de España</i> .....	93
10. James Cavanah Murphy, <i>Elevation of the Fountain of Lions</i> .....	94
11. James Cavanah Murphy, <i>Plan of Bason of the Fountain of Lions</i> .....	94
12. <i>Plan of Fountain of Lions</i> , from <i>Antigüedades árabes de España</i> .....	95
13. <i>Plan of the Alhambra</i> , from <i>Antigüedades árabes de España</i> .....	96
14. <i>View of the Alhambra</i> , from <i>Antigüedades árabes de España</i> .....	96
15. James Cavanah Murphy, <i>Royal Palace and Fortress of the Alhambra</i> .....	97
16. James Cavanah Murphy, <i>Plan of the Fortress of the Alhambra</i> .....	97
17. James Cavanah Murphy, <i>Ground Plan of the Alhambra</i> .....	98
18. <i>Plan of the Palaces of the Alhambra</i> , from <i>Antigüedades árabes de España</i> .....	98

Figure	Page
19. <i>Court of the Myrtles and Palace of Charles V, from Antigüedades árabes de España</i> .....	99
20. Frontispiece from <i>Antigüedades árabes de España</i> .....	99
21. James Cavanah Murphy, <i>Principal Entrance to the Alhambra</i> .....	100
22. James Cavanah Murphy, <i>The Gate of Judgment</i> .....	100
23. Gate of Justice, Alhambra.....	101
24. James Cavanah Murphy, <i>The Court and Fountain of Lions</i> .....	101
25. Court and Fountain of the Lions, Alhambra.....	102
26. James Cavanah Murphy, <i>Interior View of the Church of Batalha</i> .....	103
27. James Cavanah Murphy, <i>Hall of the Two Sisters</i> .....	104
28. James Cavanah Murphy, <i>Hall of the Abencerrages</i> .....	105
29. James Cavanah Murphy, <i>Hall of the Ambassadors</i> .....	105
30. James Cavanah Murphy, <i>The Queen's Bath</i> .....	106
31. Ceiling Vaults, Hall of Kings, Alhambra.....	107
32. James Cavanah Murphy, <i>A Moorish Battle Piece</i> .....	108
33. James Cavanah Murphy, <i>An Arabian Council</i> .....	108
34. James Cavanah Murphy, <i>View of the Pateo del Agua</i> .....	109
35. David Roberts, <i>Hall of the Abencerrages</i> .....	110
36. David Roberts, <i>Court of the Lions</i> .....	111
37. David Roberts, <i>Hall of Justice</i> .....	111
38. David Roberts, <i>Gate of Justice</i> .....	112

Figure	Page
39. David Roberts, <i>The Alhambra from the Albaycín</i> .....	113
40. David Roberts, <i>Court of the Myrtles</i> .....	113
41. David Roberts, <i>Remains of a Moorish Bridge on the River Darro</i> .....	114
42. David Roberts, <i>Casa del Carbón</i> .....	114
43. David Roberts, <i>Casa del Carbón</i> .....	115
44. David Roberts, <i>Moorish Gateway Leading to the Viva Rambla</i> .....	116
45. David Roberts, <i>Moorish Gateway Leading to the Viva Rambla</i> .....	117
46. John Frederick Lewis, <i>Part of the Alhambra from the Alameda del Darro</i> .....	118
47. John Frederick Lewis, <i>Hall of the Two Sisters</i> .....	118
48. John Frederick Lewis, <i>Court of the Mosque</i> .....	119
49. John Frederick Lewis, <i>Gate of Justice</i> .....	120
50. Owen Jones, <i>Divan from the Court of the Alberca</i> .....	120
51. The Alhambra Court at the Crystal Palace at Sydenham.....	121

CHAPTER I  
THE IMAGE OF SPAIN IN 18<sup>TH</sup> AND 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY BRITAIN

In 1828, the Scottish painter David Wilkie famously called Spain the artistic “wild unpoached game reserve of Europe,” referring to the exotic and romantic world of artistic inspiration he found in his travels there.<sup>1</sup> Having thoroughly explored the artistic offerings of France and Italy, and spurred by a desire for novel and exotic subject matter, in the early nineteenth century British artists and writers began traveling to Madrid, Córdoba, Seville and Granada, and bringing back with them images and stories of a strange and sun-drenched land dotted with reminders of its Islamic past. Perhaps no Moorish monument in Spain captured the imaginations of artists and writers more than the palace complex of the Alhambra in Granada, which was the frequent subject of paintings, prints, travel accounts, novels, poems and plays.<sup>2</sup> Such representations were rarely documentary in nature and were often based more on their creator’s imagination than any existing reality. This tendency was markedly different from the rational and scientific approach of the Enlightenment in the previous century, with its penchant for classification and documentation. This thesis examines the Granadan depictions of three

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Francina Irwin, “The Scots Discover Spain,” *Apollo* XCIX, no. 147 (May 1974), 353.

<sup>2</sup> Built over two centuries beginning in the 1240s, the Alhambra served as the seat of the Muslim kings of Granada until their expulsion in 1492. Over the next century the Christian conquerors substantially altered the site, destroying portions of the Muslim palaces to make room for the Palace of Charles V and converting the main mosque into a church.

British artists, James Cavanah Murphy (1716-1814), John Frederick Lewis (1805-1876) and David Roberts (1796-1864), in an effort to explore the shift from Enlightenment rationality to a Romantic focus on emotion and subjective experience, along with a related and concurrent movement away from classical ideals and toward an emphasis on picturesque exoticism.

The subject of nineteenth-century British interest in Spain and the Alhambra in particular has received a fair amount scholarly attention.<sup>3</sup> However, the work of James Cavanah Murphy has been largely ignored by current scholarship, or else has been dismissed as emblematic of the “emotional and unscientific responses” to the Alhambra during the Romantic period.<sup>4</sup> However, a close examination of Murphy’s major publication, *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain* (1815), will show that instead it is a transitional work, representing the shift from Enlightenment to Romanticism and containing elements of both modes of representation. Murphy’s work represents an important link between the earlier publication of Spain’s Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando, *Antigüedades árabes de España* (first part 1787, second part 1804), and later publications of the 1830s, such as those by David Roberts and John Frederick Lewis examined here.

Similarly, recent scholars have largely disregarded David Roberts’ images stemming from his time in Spain, choosing instead to focus mainly on his later travels to

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<sup>3</sup> See, for example, David Howarth, *The Invention of Spain: Cultural Relations Between Britain and Spain, 1770-1870* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2007); *Spain, Espagne, Spanien. Foreign Artists Discover Spain 1800-1900* (New York: The Equitable Gallery, 1993); and Thomas F. McGann, *Portrait of Spain: British and American Accounts of Spain in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New York: Knopf, 1963).

<sup>4</sup> Michael Jacobs, *Alhambra* (New York: Rizzoli, 2000), 159.

and depictions of Egypt and the Near East. The literature that does address Roberts' Spanish works tends to characterize it as part of a transitional period in the artist's career, important only for its relation to his later Orientalist pieces.<sup>5</sup> Critical scholarly analysis of John Frederick Lewis' depictions of Spain is likewise rather sparse, again tending to focus on his Orientalist works based on his travels to Turkey, Egypt and the Near East in the 1840s.<sup>6</sup> An exploration and comparison of the Spanish works of these artists will seek to fill in the gaps in the current scholarship, as well as elucidate the changing goals and interests of British artist-travelers in Spain during this period.

The current chapter examines the cultural context in which these artists were working, including the British interest in and travel to Spain in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. An exploration of travel accounts of the period reveals a shift in motivation and attitude on the part of travelers that is similar to that in contemporaneous visual representations of Spain, from the instructive mode of travel represented by the Grand Tour to Romantic travel focused on individual, subjective

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<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Michael Pidgley, "Travel, Topography and Prints," in *David Roberts*, ed. Helen Guiterman and Briony Llewellyn (London: Phaidon Press and Barbican Art Gallery, 1986), 46-67, and *David Roberts Artist Adventurer 1796-1864*. Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council, 1981. Katharine Sim's *David Roberts R.A. 1796-1864* (London: Quartet Books, 1984) is valuable primarily for biographical detail but offers little in the way of critical analysis of Roberts' oeuvre. One study that does examine Roberts' Spanish works in detail is Antonio Giménez Cruz, *La España Pintoresca de David Roberts: El viaje y los grabados del pintor* (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 2002).

<sup>6</sup> The primary source for information on John Frederick Lewis' biography and body of work is Michael Lewis, *John Frederick Lewis, R.A. 1805-1876*. Leigh-on-Sea (England: F. Lewis Publishers, 1978). Recent studies on Lewis' Orientalist works include Ruth Bernard Yeazell, *Harems of the Mind: Passages of Western Art and Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Mary Roberts, *Intimate Outsiders: the harem in Ottoman and Orientalist art and travel literature* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); and Nicholas Tromans and Rana Kabbani, *The Lure of the East: British Orientalist Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

experience and emotion. The literary history surrounding Granada and the Alhambra in particular is also considered, including the influential writings of Washington Irving.

Chapter Two focuses on the biographies of Murphy, Roberts and Lewis, and their publications, including the purposes and circumstances of their creation. This study centers on images published in print form because of their inherently wider audience and intriguing connection to travel writing and other literature of the period. I also consider the differences in audience and artistic intention suggested by Murphy's large-scale folio of engravings compared with Roberts' and Lewis' series of lithographs, as well as Roberts' small-scale engravings that illustrated *Jennings' Landscape Annual* (1835).

Chapter Three examines in detail the visual and stylistic qualities of the images in Murphy's *Arabian Antiquities of Spain*. Special attention is given to this publication's connection to *Antigüedades árabes de España*, as well as the ways in which the images anticipate later works by Roberts and Lewis in their use of visual exaggeration and picturesque distortions. This chapter also examines the attitudes revealed by the text accompanying Murphy's depictions, written by Thomas Hartwell Horne. Finally, Chapter Four considers the visual elements of images published by Roberts and Lewis in the 1830s, focusing especially on Roberts' engravings in *Jennings' Landscape Annual* and Lewis' lithographic series, *Sketches and Drawings of the Alhambra* (1834). I investigate the ways in which these artists were influenced by and also depart from Murphy, as well as the connection between Roberts' images and the text of the *Landscape Annual*, written by Thomas Roscoe.

### British Travel to Spain in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century

In order to understand the respective motivations and goals of Murphy, Roberts and Lewis—both the purposes they had in common and those in which they differed—it is important to consider the larger context of British interest in and travel to Spain in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The increased interest in Spain both on the part of artists and the general British public was likely due to a number of cultural and political factors, and it is to these issues that I would now like to turn.

For much of the eighteenth century, British travel to the continent had been largely characterized by the educational voyage made by young men of the upper classes known as the Grand Tour. As Ana Hontanilla explains, “the Tour was a social ritual intended to prepare these young men to assume the leadership positions already assigned to them at home,” and it generally commenced at the conclusion of their formal education and lasted anywhere from one to five years.<sup>7</sup> Travelers would immerse themselves in the “treasured artifacts” of the classical tradition offered by Italy and Greece, often including France in their itineraries as well. Spain, however, was generally not visited as part of the Grand Tour, due in part to its relative inaccessibility and to the “inconveniences and discomfort that were part of travel in the country at the beginning of the eighteenth century.”<sup>8</sup> However, political and religious rivalries between the two nations were also

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<sup>7</sup> Ana Hontanilla, “Images of Barbaric Spain in Eighteenth-Century British Travel Writing,” *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture* 37 (2008), 122.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

likely a factor. As John Lynch points out, during this period “informal war or real war...rather than peace was the normal condition of Anglo-Spanish relations.”<sup>9</sup> In addition, Spain did not fit with the goals of an enlightened traveler to complete his education, “to learn and perfect himself and, if possible, share the knowledge obtained with his fellow citizens.”<sup>10</sup> Ana Clara Guerrero summarizes Spain’s lack in this regard as follows:

With this utilitarian concept of travelling [*sic*], what could Spain provide for the enlightened traveller? It had made few or no scientific and technical advances. It had no universities or academies where new fields of study were being opened up and nothing new in the form of government. No famous personalities worth visiting were living in the peninsula. All this contributed to making Spain somewhat unattractive in the eyes of the eighteenth-century man...<sup>11</sup>

The French philosopher Voltaire summed up this attitude with characteristic brevity in 1776 when he wrote, “[Spain] is not worth the trouble of being known.”<sup>12</sup>

It is somewhat surprising, then, that there exist a significant number of eighteenth-century accounts by British travelers to Spain, often written by visitors with entirely different reasons for traveling to the peninsula. Rather than young aristocratic tourists, these travelers were merchants, diplomats and military men, many of whom, upon their

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<sup>9</sup> John Lynch, *Bourbon Spain 1700-1808* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 131-32.

<sup>10</sup> Ana Clara Guerrero, “British travellers in eighteenth-century Spain,” *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 305 (1992), 1632.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 1632-33. As will be discussed later in this chapter, Guerrero goes on to note it was precisely these characteristics that later made Spain “an obligatory visiting place for the Romantics.”

<sup>12</sup> Quoted in Diego Saglia, “Imag(in)ing Iberia: *Landscape Annuals* and Multimedia Narratives of the Spanish Journey in British Romanticism,” *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* 12, Nos. 1-2 (August/December, 2006), 123.

return, capitalized on the popularity of travel accounts in England by publishing descriptions of their journeys.<sup>13</sup> As Diego Saglia has noted, travel writing was one of the best-selling genres of literature in England during this period, and “the British public seemed not to tire of the endless output of exotic accounts, narratives, and observations.”<sup>14</sup> The majority of these early travel accounts are characterized by a negative if not outright hostile attitude toward Spain as an intellectually and politically backward nation of decadence and ignorance. One example among many is the anonymous *Polite Traveler*, who characterized Spain’s lack of appeal for the foreign tourist in this way:

Nothing but necessity can induce a man to travel to Spain: he must be an idiot, if he make the tour of this country from mere curiosity, unless he has a design to publish memoirs of the extravagancies of human nature. In that case, he cannot do better, for he will everywhere find pride, baseness, poverty, ignorance, bigotry, superstition, and ridiculous ceremonies. This is a faithful abstract of the character of the Spaniards.<sup>15</sup>

This attitude would continue to some extent well into the nineteenth century, even as Spain gained popularity as a destination for Romantic travelers.

These professional visitors of the late 1700s were joined by others who might be called true “tourists,” such as the writers William Beckford, Richard Twiss and Henry

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<sup>13</sup> See, for example, Edward Clarke, *Letters Concerning the Spanish Nation: Written at Madrid during the Years 1760 and 1761* (1763); William Dalrymple, *Travels Through Spain and Portugal, in 1774* (1777); anonymous, *The Polite Traveler: Being a Modern View of Part of Italy, Spain, Portugal and Africa* (1783); Alexander Jardine, *Letters from Barbary, France, Spain, Portugal, etc. By an English Officer* (1788).

<sup>14</sup> Saglia, “Imag(in)ing Iberia,” 124.

<sup>15</sup> *The Polite Traveler: Being a Modern View of Part of Italy, Spain, Portugal and Africa* (London, 1783), 92. Quoted in Hontanilla, “Images of Barbaric Spain,” 123.

Swinburne, and the poet Robert Southey.<sup>16</sup> The travel accounts of these writers tend to be more positive, though they are certainly not without their criticism of Spanish culture and politics. This is perhaps because their authors voluntarily chose to travel to the Peninsula, rather than being stationed there on a military or diplomatic assignment. As the eighteenth century drew to a close, these travel accounts were complemented more and more frequently by visual elements such as maps and views of landscape and architecture (Fig. 1).

Richard Twiss' *Travels through Portugal and Spain in 1772 and 1773* is representative of these early travel accounts in the methodical way in which the author details his journey. The text takes the form of a journal, meticulously describing each day's travel and social activities, often mentioning entertainments, visits to the theater, parties, and the like. His treatment of the architecture and monuments of Spain is somewhat superficial compared to later, more thorough studies, though he does take great pains to list in detail the paintings that decorate churches and palaces. Twiss shows his awareness of the growing interest on the part of the public for authenticity, insisting that "the strictest truth has been inviolably adhered to throughout the whole work."<sup>17</sup> He is also clearly concerned with novelty and descriptions, both verbal and visual, "made on the spot." He includes illustrations of "such subjects as have never before been published."<sup>18</sup> He also frequently provides his reader with the dimensions of various

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<sup>16</sup> Saglia, "Imag(in)ing Iberia," 124. Also see Guerrero, 1633, for a description of several of the key travel accounts.

<sup>17</sup> Richard Twiss, *Travels through Portugal and Spain in 1772 and 1773* (London: Robinson, Becket and Robson, 1775), ii.

<sup>18</sup> Twiss, ii.

monuments, including the palace of Charles V at the Alhambra, “which I measured myself.”<sup>19</sup>

Compared with earlier travel accounts that document the often outright hostile attitude toward Spaniards, Twiss’ text displays an attempt on the author’s part to maintain an element of objectivity, or at the very least tolerance, in his descriptions, especially regarding Catholicism. “In regard to the few levities upon the subject of superstition,” he writes in the preface, “I have not endeavoured to ridicule the persons believing, but the objects of their belief; for we cannot with reason condemn mankind for differing their opinions: we all seek for truth, but only God knows who has found it.”<sup>20</sup> More than once he also reassures his reader that the power of the Inquisition had by that time waned, commenting during the Portuguese leg of his journey, “I am happy in informing my readers that the power of this infernal tribunal is very much diminished, and that no person has suffered death on a religious account during these last fourteen years.”<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, his disapproval underlies his description of imagery of the tools of the Inquisition to be found in the Escorial:

Gridirons are met with in every part of this building; there are sculptured gridirons, painted gridirons, marble gridirons, wooden gridirons, and stucco gridirons; there are gridirons over the doors, gridirons in the yards, gridirons in the windows, gridirons in the galleries. Never was an instrument of martyrdom so multiplied, so honored, so celebrated... I never see a broiled beefstake [*sic*] without thinking of the Escorial.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Twiss, 240.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, ii.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.

Arriving finally in Granada, Twiss makes no attempt to disguise his dislike for the Renaissance cathedral there, writing that “the whole is executed in so wretched and despicable a manner, that it only inspires contempt for the ignorance of the architects, sculptors, and masons who were employed in it.”<sup>23</sup> He goes on to describe the Alhambra in some detail, refraining for the most part from editorializing, other than to declare the complex to be “one of the most entire, as well as the most magnificent of any of the edifices which the Moors erected in Spain.”<sup>24</sup> Somewhat paradoxically, given that statement, his description centers almost entirely on the Renaissance palace of Charles V, rather than the earlier palaces of the Moorish kings.

Twiss’ text is supplemented by seven engravings, made from his drawings, including one of the first relatively accurate depictions of the Alhambra to be published in an English work (Fig. 2). The author describes the work being undertaken by Diego Sánchez Sarabia, who was employed at the time in taking plans, elevations and views of the palace to be published by Spain’s Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando. Twiss was permitted to see some of the completed engravings, and persuaded Sarabia “with much difficulty” to allow him to copy the general view of the palace, which likely explains the degree of accuracy in Twiss’ illustration. He also notes that the Spaniard’s drawings were intended to be published in a volume “which will be an *unique* in its kind, as there is in no other part of Europe such a noble and well preserved specimen of the

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<sup>23</sup> Twiss, 234-5.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 240.

Moorish architecture.”<sup>25</sup> This project, which was begun by the Academy in 1756 and expanded over the next two decades, resulted in the publication in 1787 of *Antigüedades árabes de España*, a folio of thirty-one large-scale prints after Sarabia’s drawings.<sup>26</sup> Reprinted in a second, more complete edition in 1804, *Antigüedades árabes de España* would prove to be especially influential on James Cavanah Murphy, who modeled many of his own images after the Spanish prints. This connection will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3 herein.

Henry Swinburne’s *Travels through Spain in the Years 1775 and 1776* is significant among late-eighteenth century travel accounts because, as Saglia has noted, it was “the first ‘picturesque journey’ concerning Spain that also competently dealt with its long-neglected antiquities.”<sup>27</sup> The subtitle demonstrates this interest: *In which several monuments of Roman and Moorish architecture are illustrated by accurate drawings taken on the spot*. It was published just four years after Twiss’ volume and takes the form of correspondence from Swinburne to various family members and friends during his travels. The author insists on his “steady adherence to veracity, as far as I was able to discern truth from falsehood,” and claims the published letters are nearly exact copies of

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<sup>25</sup> Twiss, 245-6.

<sup>26</sup> For a discussion of the Academy’s commission and the publication, see Delfín Rodríguez Ruiz, *La Memoria frágil: José de Hermosilla y las antigüedades árabes de España* (Madrid: Fundación Cultural COAM, 1992). See also Andrew Schulz, “‘The Porcelain of the Moors’: The Alhambra Vases in Enlightenment Spain,” *Hispanic Research Journal* 9, No. 5 (Dec. 2008): 389-415. Schulz notes the nationalistic reasons for the Academy’s commission, stemming from a desire to document the monuments of Spanish heritage (which interestingly included Moorish buildings), especially those that it was feared would soon disappear if no steps were taken to preserve them.

<sup>27</sup> Saglia, “Imag(in)ing Iberia,” 123.

the originals, with unnecessary details removed and with some additions.<sup>28</sup> The historical, commercial and literary details he has added are “drawn from the most esteemed Spanish authors, from some manuscripts, and from books in the public libraries.”<sup>29</sup> He quotes at length, for example, from *The History of Granada*, an Arabic text from 1378 in the library of the Escorial. This passage describes the city and its environs, as well as commerce, agriculture and the character of the Granadan people. Swinburne then turns to the present-day city, lamenting that “the glories of Granada have passed away with its old inhabitants” and commenting on the dirt, deterioration and loss of trade in the city.<sup>30</sup> The belief that the once glorious kingdom of the Moors had been allowed to sink into disrepair and neglect under the Spanish was commonly found among writers of the period, and would continue well into the next century.

In comparison to Twiss, Swinburne’s text is both more detailed and contains more of the author’s opinions. He describes the cathedral of Granada as “an assemblage of three churches,” referring to the royal chapel, the main church, and a “clumsy parish-church” attached to it. The royal chapel, he writes, was erected

at that unfortunate era of the arts, when all the lightness and beautiful caprice of the Saracenic taste was laid aside, to make room for an unwieldy, preposterous mode of building, and a few years before the magnificence, elegance, and purity of Grecian architecture came again to be understood, relished and copied. Both within and without, this chapel is incumbered [*sic*] with the weight of its own ill-proportioned ornaments.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Henry Swinburne, *Travels through Spain in the Years 1775 and 1776* (London, 1779), v.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, vi.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 168.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 193.

The main church, he continues, has the advantage of receiving abundant light in the interior, but he complains that the orders of architecture employed have been combined in so “confused a manner, that they produce none of that grand effect which results from the well-proportioned parts of one *whole*, when placed in perfect harmony with each other.”<sup>32</sup> Overall, with respect to the churches of Granada, he laments that their architects seem not “to have comprehended or admired the principles upon which Verruguete proceeded in building the new palace [of Charles V] in the Alhambra.”<sup>33</sup> This opinion stands in contrast to later writers of the Romantic period who will argue that the palace of Charles V is out of place and even offensive among the Moorish palaces.

The language of Swinburne’s lengthy description of the Alhambra, in which he contrasts the relatively plain exterior of the Moorish palaces with the elaborate interior spaces, would often be repeated by later writers. He describes the exterior as “a huge heap of as ugly buildings as can well be seen, all huddled together...The walls are entirely unornamented, all gravel and pebbles, daubed over with plaister [*sic*] by a very coarse hand.”<sup>34</sup> However, upon entering the interior, his tone changes dramatically: “I was struck with amazement, as I stept [*sic*] over the threshold, to find myself on a sudden

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<sup>32</sup> Swinburne, 194.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 195. In other passages he refers to Charles V’s palace as “superb” and “deserving of admiration.” He continues: “The magnificence...[of the palace] quite transported me with pleasure, on the first view, and I have ever since found my admiration encrease [*sic*] in proportion to the number of my visits.” *Ibid.*, 175-6.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 176.

transported into a species of fairy-land.”<sup>35</sup> The association of the Moorish palaces with dream-like lands of fantasy and romance already had a long history in literature, and it would continue in travel accounts from this point forward.

Swinburne includes nineteen illustrations in his volume, which he refers to in the subtitle as “accurate drawings taken on the spot.” Unlike Twiss, he includes a ground plan of the palace of Charles V and the Nasrid palaces. It is not known whether Swinburne too came into contact with Diego Sánchez Sarabia and might have seen his plan of the Alhambra. However, it is interesting to note that both artists orient their plan not on a north-south axis, but instead around the palace of Charles V, which is placed at right angles in the plan, a choice that Murphy would later eschew in his own depiction.

Swinburne insists on the accuracy of the illustrations as well: “I can answer for the exactness of the drawings; as I never took the liberty of adding or retrenching a single object, for the sake of improving the beauty or harmony of the landscape.”<sup>36</sup> However, in his depiction of the Court of the Lions, he shows a tendency toward exaggeration that likely influenced later artists including Murphy, Roberts and Lewis (Fig. 4). Though his text provides roughly accurate dimensions for the oblong court, he seems to have shifted the dimensions so that the east and west sides are longer and the north and south sides shorter. He has also exaggerated the overall dimensions of the court, making what is in reality a very intimate space seem much grander. Swinburne regularizes the space somewhat, changing the often complex Moorish patterns of columns, piers and arches

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<sup>35</sup> Swinburne, 176.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, vi.

into something more symmetrical and perhaps more amenable to the Western eye. At the same time, he draws attention to and exaggerates certain typically Moorish elements of the courtyard, such as the horseshoe arches, thereby increasing the sense of exoticism for a European viewer. Perhaps most tellingly, however, he has omitted the Palace of Charles V, which would be visible over the walls of the court, preferring instead to focus his representation solely on the Moorish palaces, a choice that can also be seen in Murphy's depiction.

### The Shift to Romantic Travel in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

Spurred on by publications such as by Swinburne and Twiss, the British public's interest in Spanish culture and politics continued to intensify in the early years of the nineteenth century. The Napoleonic War fought in Spain between French and British troops from 1808 to 1812, the accompanying uprising against the French by the Spanish, and the arrival of Spanish exiles in England all served to bring Spanish political affairs to the forefront of the British consciousness.<sup>37</sup> As David Howarth has noted, during this period "there was a massive emotional investment in [Spain] because of the common cause against Bonapartism – a kind of mutual respect and sentimental belief that united the Briton and the Spaniard."<sup>38</sup> Catering to this interest, writers and artists continued to

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<sup>37</sup> Xanthe Brooke, "British Artists Encounter Spain: 1820-1900," in *Spain, Espagne, Spanien. Foreign Artists Discover Spain 1800-1900* (New York: The Equitable Gallery, 1993), 34.

<sup>38</sup> David Howarth, *The Invention of Spain: Cultural Relations between Britain and Spain 1770-1870* (Manchester, UK and New York: Manchester University Press, 2007), ix. Howarth argues, however, that for all the intellectual and artistic interest in Spain on the part of the British, these writers and artists fail to fully understand the Peninsula on its own terms or for the sake of knowledge itself. Instead, these figures used historical and contemporary Spain as a lens through which to view British values and politics, and as a means for either promoting or opposing political, cultural and artistic values. Because of this, they

produce what Diego Saglia has termed “travel transcription”—a wide array of creative endeavors “ranging from poetry and the poetic travelogue...to literary and visual ‘sketches,’ pictorial representations, or the vogue for exoticism in music and national airs and melodies.”<sup>39</sup> However, these representations of Spain began to take on a different character as the motivations for and modes of travel began to shift away from the Grand Tour. As Pamela Phillips has noted,

The ‘pleasurable instruction’ that had characterized travel since the late sixteenth century was replaced by a new mode of movement grounded in the tenets of European Romanticism. From now on, cultural difference, immersion in local color, and individual expression would shape the traveler’s itinerary... A new generation of travel writers ventured towards southern Europe and beyond in search of spaces unmarked by industrialism and bourgeois advances. In this way, the same poor travel conditions, urban uncleanness, religious fanaticism, and political tensions that had persuaded many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Grand Tourists to bypass Spain came to be celebrated by Romantic travelers who considered the country one of the last reserves of independence and authenticity in Europe.<sup>40</sup>

Travel began to be seen as an antidote to the dullness and utilitarian nature of modern life, characterized as it was by industrialization and capitalist expansion.

Travelers to Spain sought, in the words of Hispanicist Richard Ford (1796-1858), “all that has been lost and forgotten elsewhere.” The nineteenth-century traveler, he continues, “crosses the Pyrenees, too weary of the bore, commonplace, and the

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approached Spain with preconceived notions and confirmed their own beliefs: “The invention of Spain was a confirmation of prejudice, never a broadening of the mind.” Howarth, 226.

<sup>39</sup> Saglia, “Imag(in)ing Iberia,” 125.

<sup>40</sup> Pamela Phillips, “Street Scenes: Foreign Travelers in Madrid (1825-1850),” *Hispanic Review* 72, No. 3 (Summer 2004), 423-4. The term “pleasurable instruction” is adapted from Charles Batten, *Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).

uniformity of ultra-civilization, in order to see something new and unEuropean.”<sup>41</sup> Along with this change in motivation came a shift in the way Spain was represented in the travel accounts of the period. Pere Gifra-Adroher describes this shift as “a transition from an enlightened to a romantic representation of Spain,” which begins “to be portrayed as an hedonistic retreat for individual romantic travelers abroad.”<sup>42</sup> Authors strove to create narratives of their personal travel experiences that would resonate with readers at home as both authentic and novel, and to this end they employed various textual conventions that at the same time “work to redefine the visited place.”<sup>43</sup> James Buzard has identified several of these strategies, including stillness, the dreamlike, saturation and the picturesque.<sup>44</sup> Although an in-depth investigation of these conventions is not possible here, I will briefly describe each of them as they were used by writer-travelers of this period.

The motif of stillness provides the author a means of conveying his experience of “a place’s powerful or stimulating beauty or sublimity.”<sup>45</sup> It consists in “a profoundly satisfying lack of interruption or distraction in the traveler’s contact with scenes bearing a

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<sup>41</sup> Richard Ford, *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain* (1845. Reprint, London: Centaur Press, 1966), 1103.

<sup>42</sup> Pere Gifra-Adroher, *Between History and Romance: Travel Writing on Spain in the Early Nineteenth Century United States* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2000), 18.

<sup>43</sup> Phillips, “Travelers in Madrid,” 425.

<sup>44</sup> James Buzard, “A Continent of Pictures: Reflections on the “Europe” of Nineteenth-Century Tourists,” *PMLA* 108, No. 1 (Jan., 1993), 33. See also James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

<sup>45</sup> Phillips, “Travelers in Madrid,” 425.

particular historical or emotional charge.”<sup>46</sup> Richard Ford, whose *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* was published in 1845, traveled throughout Spain for three years beginning in 1831. He makes use of the convention of stillness in his description of the royal burial vault at the Escorial. Ford recommends that the traveler visit the tomb alone,

when the tempest howls outside, and the passages are chilling as death, when the reverberating slam of doors, the distant organ-peal and chaunt, and the melancholy water trickle is heard between the thunder-claps, when the silent monk shrinks closer into his cowl, and his flickering taper scarcely renders the darkness visible; then, as the gaudy gilding fades away, the true sentiment swells up, until the heart runs over.<sup>47</sup>

This passage exemplifies the way in which the textual strategies delineated by Buzard are often overlapping and interrelated. The notion of saturation is apparent here as well, as Ford strives to reconstruct for the reader the sights, sounds and tangible feeling of the royal tomb, creating an entire multi-sensory experience. Saturation refers to “the quality some sites appear to possess of being so drenched in significance that ‘every step’ is full of meaning and power.”<sup>48</sup> Philips describes the motif in the following terms: “...early nineteenth-century travel was oriented towards settings or moments literally drenched or *saturated* with cultural and emotional significance.”<sup>49</sup> Authors intertwined these techniques in an attempt to enrich their writings with the feeling of authenticity.

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<sup>46</sup> Buzard, “A Continent of Pictures,” 33.

<sup>47</sup> Richard Ford, *Handbook*, 1212.

<sup>48</sup> Buzard, “A Continent of Pictures,” 33.

<sup>49</sup> Philips, “Travelers in Madrid,” 428.

For many writers, including the American Washington Irving, perhaps no other place fit the description of a place saturated with significance so well as the Alhambra. Irving's *The Alhambra* (sometimes also referred to as *Tales of the Alhambra*), first published in 1832 and popular in both the U.S. and Great Britain, is filled with romantic descriptions of the palace that utilize the techniques of stillness and saturation, such as his sketch of "The Court of Lions":

The peculiar charm of this old dreamy palace, is its power of calling up vague reveries and picturings of the past, and thus clothing naked realities with the illusions of memory and the imagination. [In the Court of Lions] the hand of time has fallen the lightest, and traces of Moorish elegance and splendor exist in almost their original brilliancy...and all the fairy fretwork of these domes...exist after the lapse of centuries, almost as fresh as if from the hand of the Moslem artist.<sup>50</sup>

This passage embodies an element of stillness defined by Buzard as a sort of timelessness, the experience of a "place kept still, as if out of history."<sup>51</sup> For Irving this sense of temporal stillness is so strong that he believes he sees "a turbaned Moor quietly seated near the fountain" of the Court of Lions. This figure turns out to be "an ordinary mortal," a native of Barbary who Irving befriends. Irving's description of the famous Lion Court also provides an example of the associationism that is so typical of romantic travel writing of this period, a preference on the part of authors for places and experiences that call up in the mind other, deep-seated and almost primal emotions and

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<sup>50</sup> Washington Irving, *The Alhambra*, 1832, reprint, William T. Lenehan and Andrew B. Myers, eds. (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1983), 79. This was, of course, not Irving's only Spanish-themed publication. In addition to miscellaneous contributions to periodicals, he also published *Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (1828), *A Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada* (1829), *Voyages and Discoveries of the Companions of Columbus* (1831), *Legends of the Conquest of Spain* (1835), *Wolfert's Roost* (1855), and the posthumous *Spanish Papers and Other Miscellanies* (1866).

<sup>51</sup> James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 179.

reactions. These associations are described even more powerfully in a passage about the Hall of the Two Sisters:

It is impossible to contemplate this scene so perfectly Oriental without feeling the early associations of Arabian romance, and almost expecting to see the white arm of some mysterious princess beckoning from the gallery... The abode of beauty is here, as if it had been inhabited but yesterday.<sup>52</sup>

The primal or universal nature of these associations is evident in Irving's language: it would be *impossible* to view the scene in any other way; any person would have the same reaction.

The textual motif of the dreamlike, "which refers to situations felt to be so extremely foreign to modern quotidian life that they seem unreal," is also abundant in Irving's writings.<sup>53</sup> Images of the dreamlike can be seen not only in *The Alhambra*, but also in letters written during his time in Granada. He wrote of his experience to friends back in England: "I am nestled in one of the most remarkable, romantic and delicious spots in the world... It absolutely appears to me like a dream, or as if I am spell-bound in some fairy palace."<sup>54</sup> He also referred to his time on the Peninsula as "having passed two or three months in a kind of oriental dream."<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Irving, *The Alhambra*, 32-3.

<sup>53</sup> Buzard, "A Continent of Pictures," 33.

<sup>54</sup> G. S. Hellman, ed., *Letters of Washington Irving to Henry Brevoort* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1918), 425-6. Quoted in Irving, *The Alhambra*, xx-xxi. The similarity to Swinburne's description of the Alhambra as a "fairy-land" (see page 11 herein) is interesting to note, especially since Irving is known to have read Swinburne's *Travels Through Spain* before his journey. See Gifra-Adroher, *Between History and Romance*, 126.

<sup>55</sup> Quoted in Jacobs, *Alhambra*, 163.

For Buzard, chief among the motifs employed to create authenticity in travel writing, and often combined with or embracing the others, is the picturesque. He distinguishes it, or at the very least broadens its definition, from its eighteenth-century origins in William Gilpin's writings on scenic landscape tours.<sup>56</sup> Instead, by the early decades of the nineteenth century, Philips explains, "the picturesque had recovered its broad applicability to 'paintable' scenes that released all the senses." The interrelated motifs of stillness and saturation "work to intensify the picturesque mode of perception and in turn the authentic tourist experience by identifying symbols that contain the essence of the whole."<sup>57</sup> The concept of the unified whole is key for Buzard, who argues, "The authenticity effect occurs in the epiphanic moment when the unified aesthetic essence of the place shines forth."<sup>58</sup> This motif is apparent, for example, in Irving's description of the view of the alameda (or public walk) from a window in the Hall of Ambassadors:

Besides the magnificent prospect which it commanded of mountain, valley and vega, there was a little busy scene of human life laid open to inspection immediately below. At the foot of the hill was an alameda, which...boasted a varied and picturesque concourse. Hither resorted the small gentry of the suburbs, together with priests and friars...; majos and majas, the beaux and belles of the lower classes, in their Andalusian dresses; swaggering contrabandistas, and sometimes half-muffled and mysterious loungers of the higher ranks, on some secret assignation. It was a moving picture of Spanish life and character, which I delighted to study.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Buzard, "A Continent of Pictures," 33.

<sup>57</sup> Philips, "Travelers in Madrid," 425-6.

<sup>58</sup> Buzard, "A Continent of Pictures," 33.

<sup>59</sup> Irving, *The Alhambra*, 71.

This passage paints a picturesque image for the reader in which a specific scene in Granada stands in and represents the very essence of Spain itself, with every element of Spanish society on display for the author to view. It also points to another common trope in romantic travel writing: “the tendency [of writers] to position themselves on the sidelines, thereby transforming the visited place into a stage for their and their readers’ private viewing.”<sup>60</sup> In this case the author’s removal from the scene is quite literal; Irving (and by extension, his reader) is positioned above the scene, able to study the figures, who are unaware of being observed.

#### The Literary and Visual Alhambra

Irving’s *Alhambra* is just one part (albeit arguably the most notable part) of a rich literary history that has surrounded the palace complex beginning almost immediately after the Reconquest in 1492 and continuing through the nineteenth century. The monument has been the subject of myriad novels, poems, ballets, operas and plays by Spanish, British, French and German authors, many of which were translated into other languages. These narratives often focused on the romantic and mythical recent history of the Alhambra, and especially on Granada under Muslim rule and the collapse of the last Moorish dynasty. As early as 1508, writer Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo published *Amadis de Gaula*, “an epic filled with giants, magicians and dragons,” claiming that it was inspired by “the ‘chivalric deeds’ of the Reconquest of Granada.”<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Philips, “Travelers in Madrid,” 430.

<sup>61</sup> Jacobs, *Alhambra*, 156.

As Gerhart Hoffmeister has noted, two works of the sixteenth century “use the frontier war between Moors and Christians...as historical background for their inauguration of the Sentimental Moor as a literary convention”—a convention that Romantic writers, including Irving, revived in the nineteenth century.<sup>62</sup> These works were the anonymous novel *La historia del Abencerraje y de la hermosa Jarifa* (*The Story of the Abencerrage and the Beautiful Jarifa*) (1561) and Gines Pérez de Hita’s *Las guerras civiles de Granada* (*Civil Wars of Granada*) (1595). The former concerns the story of a romance between a Moorish knight and the daughter of the Christian mayor of an Andalusian town. Hoffmeister suggests that this story was appealing chiefly because of “the Moor’s role as the last of the famous line of the Abencerrages, who had been banned from Granada under Boabdil’s rule,” a role that “turned him into a melancholy and legendary figure” and inspired a number of later authors.<sup>63</sup> The “melancholy Moor” resurfaced in Chateaubriand’s *Les aventures du dernier Abencérage* (*The Adventures of the Last Abencerrage*) (1826), and the same story is retold by an Andalusian girl in Irving’s *Alhambra*.<sup>64</sup>

The second key source for Romantic writers on the Alhambra is Pérez de Hita’s *Civil Wars of Granada*, which, aside from the names of several characters, notably does

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<sup>62</sup> Gerhart Hoffmeister, “Exoticism: Granada’s Alhambra in European Romanticism,” in *European Romanticism: Literary Cross-Currents, Modes, and Models*, ed. Gerhart Hoffmeister (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990), 114.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 115.

<sup>64</sup> Irving himself mentioned Pérez de Hita’s influence on his conception of the Alhambra, long before he ever visited the Peninsula: “From early boyhood, when, on the banks of the Hudson, I first pored over the pages of old Gines Pérez de Hyta’s [*sic*] apocryphical [*sic*] but chivalresque history of the civil wars in Granada, and the feuds of its gallant cavaliers...that city has ever been a subject of my waking dreams; and often have I trod in fancy the romantic halls of the Alhambra.” Quoted in Hoffmeister, 114.

not contain “any reference to the first and only preceding Moorish novel.”<sup>65</sup> Instead, Pérez intersperses his historical subject with a number of frontier and Moorish ballads. Both of these early Spanish novels do “share a sympathetic viewpoint toward the Moors and their descendants,” and it is this viewpoint that is picked up by Romantic writers in the nineteenth century.<sup>66</sup> Pérez de Hita’s work also proved influential on English playwright John Dryden, whose *Almanzor and Almahide, or, The Conquest of Granada* was published in 1670. As Claudia Fenske has observed, Dryden “uses the exotic setting to make the play appeal to his audience and also...to comment indirectly on contemporary political topics.”<sup>67</sup> Dryden uses the narrative of the fall of Granada, for example, to comment on the characteristics of effective rulers. Boabdil (called Boabdelin by Dryden), in contrast to later representations by Irving and others, is portrayed as “weak, hot-tempered, biased, and unjust...He is neither a powerful leader nor a dignified monarch.”<sup>68</sup> In comparison, the Spanish monarchs are shown as capable of uniting their people, and “seem to be firm in their determination and their motives.”<sup>69</sup>

The late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw a number of Pérez de Hita imitators, especially in France, but it was not until the first translation of his novel

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<sup>65</sup> María Soledad Carrasco-Urgoiti, *The Moorish Novel: “El Abencerraje” and Pérez de Hita* (Boston: Twayne, 1976), 101.

<sup>66</sup> Hoffmeister, 116.

<sup>67</sup> Claudia Fenske, “Dryden’s *The Conquest of Granada*: Facts and Fiction,” in *Literature as History/History as Literature: Fact and Fiction in Medieval to Eighteenth Century British Literature*, ed. Sonja Fielitz (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2007), 149.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 161.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 161.

appeared in England in 1803 that “Alhambraism” began to be embraced by Romantic writers. Even before Irving’s seminal Granadan works appeared, Chateaubriand published his popular *Last Abencerrage*, achieving “a completely new fictional formulation” of the theme of the Sentimental Moor by combining elements of Pérez de Hita, *The Story of the Abencerrage*, and his own personal experiences of a love affair in Granada.<sup>70</sup> Most importantly, Chateaubriand, “in anticipation of Washington Irving, succeeds in transforming the moonlit palace of the Alhambra into a temple of love, a seat of fairies, and a metaphor of lost paradise.”<sup>71</sup> These motifs influenced not only Irving and other Romantic writers, but also artists of the period who, even before venturing to the Peninsula, would be familiar with the Romantic conception of the Alhambra, and also well aware of their audiences’ desire for visual images of the palace in keeping with that conception.

As the volume of literature about Spain increased in the early nineteenth century, so did artistic interest in the country. Scottish painter David Wilkie was the first major artist from the United Kingdom to visit Spain with eye toward furthering his artistic education, arriving in August 1827.<sup>72</sup> Wilkie would become a “father figure” to the many British artists who continued to travel to Spain for the rest of the century, creating an interest in Spanish subject matter both among Scottish and English artists and the general public. He urged fellow British artists to travel to Spain, offering advice and

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<sup>70</sup> Carrasco-Urgoiti, 142.

<sup>71</sup> Hoffmeister, 119.

<sup>72</sup> Brooke, “British Artists Encounter Spain,” 33-37. Other British artists had begun traveling to Spain acting as agents for art collectors as early as 1807; however, Wilkie was the first to be motivated by a desire to study Spanish art for his own artistic growth.

encouragement to John Frederick Lewis, John Phillips and David Roberts, among others. Upon his return to Britain, Wilkie's popularity increased as his paintings of Spanish scenes were reproduced and circulated in print form, reaching a wider audience than ever before (Fig. 2). Irving dedicated *The Alhambra* to Wilkie, with whom he had traveled in Madrid, Toledo and Seville, acknowledging Wilkie's encouragement that Irving write something with "a dash of that Arabian spice which pervades everything in Spain."<sup>73</sup> A contemporary review of Irving's book compared his gift for description to popular painters including Wilkie, noting, "His books might be painted, glazed, and hung up."<sup>74</sup>

The British public also became particularly interested in topographical and architectural views of Spain and its monuments around this time, due in part to the popularity of Wilkie's paintings and prints. In addition, the aftermath of the Napoleonic War and the Carlist Wars of the 1830s continued to bring Spanish intellectual exiles into England, where they often participated in the salons of London's political circles.<sup>75</sup> People were now interested in *seeing* representations of the country they had read so much about and where some 40,000 British troops had died.<sup>76</sup> Providing additional fodder for this increasing interest in topographical views were the popular *Landscape Annuals*, first published in 1830, illustrated with drawings of picturesque locations in

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<sup>73</sup> Irving, *The Alhambra*, 325.

<sup>74</sup> *Westminster Review* (July, 1832), 132. Quoted in Irving, *The Alhambra*, xxxiv.

<sup>75</sup> Brooke, "British Artists Encounter Spain," 34-37. It is estimated that by 1827 there were over 1,000 Spanish émigrés in London alone.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

France, Italy and Switzerland.<sup>77</sup> As Francina Irwin notes, “In an age of rapid publication, novelty was becoming a factor to be reckoned with,” and it was in part this desire for novelty that spurred artists like David Roberts to travel to Spain, whose architecture had so far been largely overlooked by British artists.<sup>78</sup> Engravings of his drawings from Spain began to appear in the *Landscape Annuals* in 1835.

As discussed above, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the interests of the British public created a market for verbal and visual representations of the cities and monuments of Spain. Travelers during this period were eager to see and explore lesser-known cultures, and Spain in particular was especially appealing because of its “superbly inspiring fusion of Gothic Christianity and Arabian customs.”<sup>79</sup> The country was seen as a kind of gateway to the Orient, the least “European” of all countries on the Continent, and a stepping stone to the ever more exotic locations of North Africa and the Near East, which many British artists, including Roberts and Lewis, would later explore, sketch, and paint. Writers and artists began traveling to the Iberian Peninsula in greater numbers through the first decades of the 1800s, often focusing their creative endeavors on Granada and the Alhambra, which already had a rich literary history. Having considered the political and cultural context in which Murphy, Roberts and Lewis created and published their images of the Alhambra, I will now turn to a brief discussion

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<sup>77</sup> Michael Pidgley, “Travel, Topography and Prints,” in *David Roberts*, ed. Helen Guiterman and Briony Llewellyn (London: Phaidon Press and Barbican Art Gallery, 1986), 47.

<sup>78</sup> Irwin, “The Scots Discover Spain,” 355.

<sup>79</sup> Hoffmeister, 114.

of the artists' biographies and an examination of the details of the publications themselves.

## CHAPTER II

### BIOGRAPHY AND PUBLICATIONS: THE SHAPING OF ARTISTS

Through the early decades of the nineteenth century, artists from Great Britain traveled in greater numbers to the Iberian Peninsula, driven in part by the public's increasing interest in visual depictions of the landscape and architecture of Spain. Of course, each artist's motivations to travel and reception of the monuments of Spain varied according to his background, education and artistic goals. Therefore it is important, before turning to a close visual analysis of the images of Murphy, Roberts and Lewis, to briefly discuss each artist's biography and the details of their travels, interests and publications.

#### James Cavanah Murphy

James Cavanah Murphy was born near Cork, Ireland in 1760 and began working as a bricklayer in his teens.<sup>1</sup> However, a talent for drawing soon led him to Dublin, and by 1775 he became a student in the drawing school of the Dublin Society (later the Royal Dublin Society). He began practicing architecture in the capital city, where he was commissioned to carry out the additions to the House of Commons in 1786. During this time he met antiquarian and Royal Irish Academy treasurer William Burton Conyngham

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<sup>1</sup> For biographical information on Murphy, see the *Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford:1917-1922) and J. Lever, ed., *Catalogue of the drawings collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects: L-N* (1973).

(1733-1796), whose interest in Gothic architecture had inspired him to travel to Portugal a few years earlier and bring back with him sketches of the Dominican church and monastery of Batalha (begun 1386). Conyngham commissioned Murphy to visit and make drawings of the church in 1789 and 1790, and in 1795 Murphy published *Plans, elevations, sections, and views of the church of Batalha...to which is prefixed an introductory discourse on the principles of Gothic architecture*, as well as *Voyage in Portugal* (Fig. 5).<sup>2</sup> As John Harris noted in the catalog of the Royal Institute of British Architects drawing collection, the Batalha volume, “with its carefully measured drawings may well have had an influence on the Gothic Revival in England comparable with that which [James] Stuart and [Nicholas] Revett’s *Antiquities of Athens* had on the neo-Greek Revival.”<sup>3</sup> *Plans...of the Church of Batalha* begins with an introductory essay on Gothic architecture in which Murphy describes the “pyramidal” character of that style, in which “every little accessory ornament which enriches the whole, has a pointed or angular

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<sup>2</sup> Both works published in London by Strahan, Cadell & Davies. John Sweetman suggests that Murphy may have even visited the Alhambra around 1790, based on two examples of Moorish arches from the Granadan fortress illustrated in Plate I of *Plans...of the Church of Batalha*. See Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic Inspiration in British and American Art and Architecture 1500-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 119.

<sup>3</sup> J. Lever, ed. *Catalogue of the drawings collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects: L-N* (1973), 98. As Tonia Raquejo has noted, there was much debate in the second half of the eighteenth century as to the sources of Gothic architecture. The possible connection between Moorish and Gothic architecture was perhaps one reason British travelers began to be particularly interested in traveling to Spain in this period. She argues, “British travelers who went to Southern Spain were encouraged to seek evidence of the source of Gothic architecture in the Moorish remains. It seems probable that they went with a preconceived idea that affected their perception of Moorish architecture.” The effect of these preconceived notions can be seen in Murphy’s depictions and is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3 herein. See Tonia Raquejo, “The ‘Arab Cathedrals,’” *The Burlington Magazine* 128, no. 1001 (Aug. 1986), 555.

tendency.”<sup>4</sup> This notion of the pointed and pyramidal nature of Gothic architecture can even be seen in the frontispiece illustration to the volume, which features a large pyramid-like form inside a pointed arch (Fig. 6). This image is remarkably similar to the frontispiece of Murphy’s later volume on the Alhambra (Fig. 7). Murphy’s interest in the nature and origin of Gothic architecture would prove influential on his approach to the Alhambra, as will be discussed in Chapter Three herein.

From 1802 to 1809, Murphy held a diplomatic post in Cádiz, but spent much of his time studying Moorish architecture and working on what would become his other major publication, *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*. He died in London in 1814, having only published portions of this work on the monuments of Granada and Córdoba. The full volume was reprinted posthumously in 1815, containing ninety-eight large-scale engravings based on Murphy’s drawings. The first ten plates depict the Great Mosque and Cathedral of Córdoba. The remaining plates are devoted to the Alhambra and the Generalife, or “summer palace” of the Nasrid sultans, with the exception of the final two images that depict the Casa del Carbón, a Moorish gateway located in the center of Granada. The large size of the volume, which is approximately twenty-six inches tall, with images roughly eighteen by thirteen inches, and its resulting cost, would have limited its audience.<sup>5</sup> In addition, the detailed plans and sections would primarily have been of interest to antiquarians, architectural historians, and other architects.

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<sup>4</sup> Quoted in Raquejo, “The ‘Arab Cathedrals,’” 559. In contrast to theories positing Moorish architecture as the source of the Gothic, Raquejo notes that Murphy “appears to favour an Egyptian influence in accordance with the pyramidal similarities of the two styles.”

<sup>5</sup> In spite of the likely narrow audience of Murphy’s work compared with other publications of the period, it appears his name was still associated with the Alhambra some time after his death. John Sweetman refers to a letter dated April 24, 1850, from John Newman, who donated an album of drawings

The introduction and descriptions of the plates, though unsigned, are credited to Thomas Hartwell Horne.<sup>6</sup> Horne, a biblical scholar and bibliographer, also contributed to John Shakespear's *A History of the Mahometan Empire in Spain*, published in 1816 as an introduction to Murphy's *Arabian Antiquities*. The subtitle to this work, *A General History of the Arabs, Their Institutions, Conquests, Literature, Arts, Sciences and Manners, to the Expulsion of the Moors*, gives a sense of its ambitious scope. In addition it contains translations of many of the inscriptions and poems that adorn the walls of the Alhambra.<sup>7</sup>

Murphy traveled to Spain in 1802 with the intention of publishing a volume that would be on par with the Spanish Royal Academy's earlier publication, *Antigüedades árabes de España*, as an encyclopedic work very much in keeping with eighteenth-century trends of cataloging and classification. The Spanish volume includes site plans,

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by Murphy to the British Architectural Library, in which he mentions "James Murphy, author of the Alhambra." See Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession*, 281. In addition, Murphy's depiction of the Patio of the Lions illustrated the article on The Alhambra in *The Penny Encyclopaedia* (vol. I, 1835), one of the most popular publications of the period. See Tonia Raquejo, *El palacio encantado: la Alhambra en el arte Británico* (Madrid: Taurus Humanidades, 1989), 65.

<sup>6</sup> Sarah Anne Cheyne, ed., *Reminiscences, Personal and Bibliographical, of Thomas Hartwell Horne* (London: Longman, Green, Longman & Roberts, 1862), 201. Horne's best-known work was his *Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, first published in 1818. It is interesting to note that Cheyne mentions his contributions to Murphy's works only in the chronological list of Horne's publications, and in a reference to "several topographical and other publications" compiled by Horne between about 1814 and 1817 (29). That Horne's contributions are uncredited may have been his own preference, as he mentions refusing to list his name as an author of at least one publication while he was working on the *Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures* (17).

<sup>7</sup> John Shakespear, *The History of the Mahometan Empire in Spain* (London: Cadell & Davies, 1816). The translations are Shakespear's, based on transcriptions by Alonso del Castillo. Shakespear notes in the introduction to the Appendix that he "has taken some freedom, but merely as he judged requisite, in order to impart more clearly...the sense of the original." Shakespear is also credited with the section on the political and military history of the Mahometan Empire in Spain, as well as the description of the city of Córdoba. Horne is responsible for topographical accounts of the major Moorish-ruled regions, as well as sections on the arts and civil institutions of the Spanish Arabs, and descriptions of Sevilla, Granada and the Alhambra. Historian John Gillies also contributed to this volume.

site elevations, building elevations and building sections of both the Alhambra and the Great Mosque and Cathedral of Córdoba, as well as decontextualized elements of the buildings, including fragments of columns, capitals, relief carvings and mosaics. Horne seemed to share Murphy's admiration for this text, which he regarded as the only publication to date that gave the history and architecture of the "polished and enlightened" Muslims who once ruled Spain their due.<sup>8</sup> He felt that modern travelers had provided "interesting but imperfect descriptions" of the monuments; he (and, one can presume, Murphy) aimed to correct these mistakes and record for posterity "the very high state of excellence...which the Spanish Arabs attained in the Fine Arts, while the rest of Europe was overwhelmed with ignorance and barbarism."<sup>9</sup> Murphy's respect for the earlier Spanish publication is clear as he draws heavily on its images in certain passages. Using the *Antigüedades árabes* as a kind of guide, he set out to accurately record the monuments of Granada and Córdoba, and his text proceeds methodically through elevations, plans and sections of the Alhambra and the Great Mosque of Córdoba. However, his attempt at the objective and scientific approach so favored during the Enlightenment is not always successful, and as will be discussed in detail in the following chapter, many of his depictions betray the beginnings of a tendency toward romantic and picturesque exaggeration and modification.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> James Cavanah Murphy, *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain* (London: Cadell & Davies, 1815), Introduction (no page).

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Michael Jacobs argues that Murphy's work is in direct opposition to *Antigüedades árabes*, with the former being emblematic of the "emotional and unscientific responses" to the Alhambra during the Romantic period, and the latter representing the Enlightenment spirit of scientific inquiry. See Michael Jacobs, *Alhambra* (New York: Rizzoli, 2000), 157. Francina Irwin makes a similar claim, arguing that

David Roberts

Some of the difference in approach to the Alhambra between Murphy and later artists such as David Roberts and John Frederick Lewis can likely be attributed to the differences in their education and training. Trained as a draftsman and architect, Murphy views the monument through that lens and attempts to bring an architect's objectivity to his work. Born in Scotland in 1796, David Roberts began his career as a housepainter and later as a scenery painter for theaters in Glasgow, Edinburgh and London.<sup>11</sup> These early pursuits likely influenced his later interest in architecture, and as Xanthe Brooke has noted, his theatrical background, "required a combination of bravura handling of light and shade with an ability to portray architecture on an imposing scale but with enough detail to make the scene realistic."<sup>12</sup> While working in these fields in the 1810s and 1820s, he traveled throughout the United Kingdom creating drawings and paintings of churches and other monuments, including Melrose Abbey, St. Paul's and the Tower of London. Beginning in 1824 he traveled to France, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Germany, filling sketchbooks with drawings he would later use as the models for large-scale paintings, in addition to completing paintings as he traveled.

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"Murphy's work belongs essentially to the previous century; his drawings were aimed at the antiquarian specialist and are informative but lacking in any sense of atmosphere." See Francina Irwin, "David Roberts in Spain 1832-3," in *David Roberts Artist Adventurer 1796-1864* (Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council, 1981), 11. I argue, however, that the distinction between the two works is perhaps not so clear-cut, and that Murphy's work instead represents the transition from Enlightenment to Romanticism, containing elements of both modes of representation.

<sup>11</sup> For biographical information on Roberts, see James Ballantine, *The Life of David Roberts, R.A.* (Edinburgh, 1866); Helen Guiterman and Briony Llewellyn, eds. *David Roberts* (London: Phaidon Press and Barbican Art Gallery, 1986); and also Katharine Sim, *David Roberts R.A. 1796-1864* (London: Quartet Books, 1984).

<sup>12</sup> Xanthe Brooke, "British Artists Encounter Spain: 1820-1900," in *Spain, Espagne, Spanien. Foreign Artists Discover Spain 1800-1900* (New York: The Equitable Gallery, 1993), 37.

Beginning in the fall of 1832, Roberts spent eleven months traveling throughout Spain, again sketching and painting as he went, as well as writing letters back to Scotland and England describing his travels. He entered Spain via Irun, Vitoria and Burgos, reaching Madrid in December and staying there for three weeks. He then traveled to Córdoba and Granada, spending three weeks in each city, before traveling on to Málaga, Ronda, Gibraltar and crossing the Strait into Morocco. Returning to Spain, he visited Cádiz, Jerez and Sevilla, where he stayed for five months, his longest visit in any city, leaving only when forced to do so by an outbreak of cholera.

During his travels, Roberts found Moorish monuments especially fascinating, writing from Córdoba that “those who could have appreciated the richness of its architecture have generally gone to Italy and Greece.”<sup>13</sup> During his three-week stay at the Alhambra, he lamented that “the architecture is so peculiar and elaborate that it would take months to do it justice.”<sup>14</sup> In a letter home, he wrote, “And now I am going to smoke a cigar, and go to bed, to dream of Moors and Christians, tournaments and battles, painting and architecture.”<sup>15</sup> It is apparent from language like this in his letters that the Alhambra had cast its particular spell over Roberts, as he imagined its romantic past while he sketched and even while he slept. He seemed to understand well what was expected of him in depicting the celebrated monument—his audience, steeped in the

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<sup>13</sup> Quoted in David Irwin and Francina Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad 1700-1900* (London: Faber & Faber, 1975), 332.

<sup>14</sup> Ballantine, 49. Indeed, Roberts would likely have stayed at the Alhambra for a much longer time had the military not forced him to leave. Spanish soldiers were often suspicious of artists sketching the countryside and fortress, as French soldiers had sometimes posed as artists in order to scout out its defenses.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

stories and legends popularized by Washington Irving, would not be satisfied with a depiction that failed to live up to these romantic visions. But in case the importance of his representations was not entirely clear to him, David Wilkie's letter to him while Roberts was at the Alhambra would have made the point: "After all we have heard and read," he wrote, "it remains for your art to give us an idea of the visible appearance of that romantic fortress."<sup>16</sup>

Unlike Murphy, Roberts traveled to the Iberian Peninsula not with a particular project in mind or commission in hand, but with an aim to satisfy the increasing demand for picturesque views of exotic locales and to also to continue his own artistic education and growth. Once back in England, however, he found that his work was in great demand. Prints of his Spanish views illustrated four editions of the popular Jennings & Co. *Landscape Annuals* from 1835 to 1838, each focusing on a different geographic region. The relatively small size (approximately 7¼ by 4½ inches) and affordable price of the books would have made them accessible to a large audience. The books sold well and often quickly went into second editions.<sup>17</sup> The Granadan edition, for example, sold 5,000 copies in its first printing, and another 2,000 in the second.<sup>18</sup> Each volume contains about twenty engravings based on Roberts' drawings, which each take up a full page, plus a number of smaller wood engravings at the beginning of each chapter. Katharine Sim notes that the publisher, Robert Jennings, also "profited slyly" from the demand for

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<sup>16</sup> Ballantine, 46.

<sup>17</sup> Sim, *David Roberts*, 108.

<sup>18</sup> Raquejo, *El palacio encantado*, 65.

Roberts' work, selling his original drawings for £40, twice what he paid for them, further attesting to the popularity of such images.<sup>19</sup>

Travel author and translator Thomas Roscoe (1791-1871) wrote the text of the *Landscape Annuals*.<sup>20</sup> It ranges from colorful descriptions of the Spanish culture and people, to historically-based stories and legends, all geared toward his eager audience of "armchair travelers." In the Granadan *Landscape Annual*, for example, Roscoe provides an imaginative and romantic re-telling of the fall of Granada, describing the noble heroism of the last Moorish kings, and the chivalry of the Christian conquerors. In lengthy footnotes to each of the plates, he describes the elements of the Alhambra and Granada in effusive and flowery terms, information for which he admits he is indebted to Roberts<sup>21</sup>. He explains in the Preface the reason for the tone and style of his writing, especially as compared to earlier editions of the *Landscape Annuals*:

Had [the author] continued to preserve, throughout, the calm and even tenour of the tourist's way, as in the narratives of Italy and France, he felt that he should have justly exposed himself to the charge of tameness and want of feeling on a subject like the downfall of the Spanish Moors... The author's admiration of the noble theme on which he wrote of itself impelled him to a deeper and warmer tone, and to a more frequent use of that imagery and those epithets.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Sim, *David Roberts*, 108. Interestingly, Roberts and others were hired to "vamp up" sketches by amateur artists for other publications. As Michael Pidgley has noted, W.M. Thackeray referred in 1839 to illustrations by Thomas Bacon published in the *Oriental Annual*: "Mr. Bacon is not, we presume, artist enough to do more than sketch; so Roberts, [Clarkson] Stanfield, and others, have been employed to complete the drawings." See Michael Pidgley, "Travel, Topography and Prints," in *David Roberts*, ed. Helen Guiterman and Briony Llewellyn (London: Phaidon Press and Barbican Art Gallery, 1986), 61.

<sup>20</sup> Besides the *Landscape Annuals*, Roscoe published anthologies of German, Spanish and Italian novelists, as well as a translation of *The Life and Writings of Miguel de Cervantes* (1839).

<sup>21</sup> By some accounts, Roscoe never visited the Alhambra himself. See Jacobs, *Alhambra*, 167.

<sup>22</sup> Thomas Roscoe, *Jennings' Landscape Annual or The Tourist in Spain (Granada)* (London: Robert Jennings & Co., 1835), viii.

Roscoe acknowledges that his admiration for the Moorish themes placed him “in a position midway between history and tradition—not far enough from reality to forget the truth, but still sufficiently excited to give credence to the whispers of his own opinions and sympathies.”<sup>23</sup> He is also clearly influenced by Horne’s text in *Arabian Antiquities*, at times quoting it nearly verbatim and at others refuting the text and Murphy’s images as inaccurate or incomplete.<sup>24</sup>

In addition to the *Landscape Annuals*, in 1837 Roberts published *Picturesque Sketches in Spain taken during the years 1832 and 1833*, a series of twenty-six lithographs based on his drawings from Granada, Sevilla, Córdoba, Madrid and other cities. Apparently dissatisfied with the lithographers initially employed by the publisher, Roberts worked on most of the lithographic stones himself, as Sim has noted, “a long but exceedingly rewarding task, artistically ranking among his most beautiful works of reproductions.”<sup>25</sup> This large-scale folio, with images of approximately ten by fifteen inches, includes no text at all other than the dedication by Roberts to the Marquis of Landsdowne. *Sketches in Spain* was well received and highly successful, with 1200 copies sold in just two months, and was still in print twenty years after its initial

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<sup>23</sup> Roscoe, *The Tourist in Spain (Granada)*, vi.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. See, for example, the footnote description on pp. 72-73 of the hand and key motifs on the Gate of Justice, which is nearly identical to Horne’s discussion on p. 9 of *The Arabian Antiquities*. In contrast, in the footnote on p. 196 of *The Tourist in Spain*, Roscoe describes Murphy’s depictions of the paintings in the Hall of Kings as “very incorrect.”

<sup>25</sup> Sim, *David Roberts*, 112.

publication.<sup>26</sup> Roberts likely would have made a fortune from this publication had his publishers not cheated him out of most of the profits; however, he did gain an international reputation after his Spain tour. In addition to his popular publications, paintings based on his Spanish sketches were also very much in demand.<sup>27</sup>

Roberts' visit to Morocco in 1833, as well as the constant demand for novel subject matter, likely piqued his interest in traveling further in Northern Africa and the Near East. In August of 1838, he left London for an eleven-month journey to Egypt, Syria and Jerusalem. Upon his return to London, in addition to creating numerous paintings based on his sketches and drawings from this trip, he also published a series of 247 lithographs of his Eastern subject executed by Louis Haghe (one of the artists who had worked on *Sketches in Spain*). These were issued in monthly sets from 1842 to 1849 under the title *The Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Arabia, Egypt & Nubia*.<sup>28</sup> These prints were also widely popular, and it is perhaps because of their sheer quantity that scholars have often focused their studies on these later works, often treating Roberts' Spanish subjects in a comparatively cursory manner. However, as will be discussed in detail later, an examination of Roberts' depictions from Spain and especially the Alhambra will offer insights into the changing goals of British artist-travelers in the 1830s.

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<sup>26</sup> Fabio Bourbon, *The Life, Works and Travels of David Roberts R.A.* (New York: Rizzoli, 2000), 8.

<sup>27</sup> Irwin and Irwin, *Scottish Painters*, 333.

<sup>28</sup> Published by F.G. Moon, London.

John Frederick Lewis

Nine years Roberts' junior, John Frederick Lewis was born in London in 1805 to an artistic family.<sup>29</sup> His father, Frederick Christian Lewis, was an engraver with court appointments to George IV and William IV; George Robert Lewis, his uncle, was a landscape painter and portraitist; and his brother, also named Frederick Christian, was known as "Indian" Lewis for the time he spent painting in India. John Frederick developed his talents in this environment, painting mostly animal subjects, some domestic scenes and portraits of his family. He reached a turning point in 1827, when he began to turn to a broader range of subjects and also began to use mainly watercolors, which would be his medium of choice for the rest of his career. This was also the year he first traveled to the European continent, visiting Belgium, Switzerland and Italy over a period of seven months. After traveling extensively among the British Isles from 1829 to 1831, Lewis embarked on a trip to Spain, where he lived and traveled for almost two years from 1832 to 1834; the trip "brought about his artistic maturity and direction."<sup>30</sup> This trip began a sustained twenty-year "exploration of the picturesque and exotic" in Europe and the Near East, with only short return visits to England.<sup>31</sup> Although Lewis and Roberts were in Spain at the same time, they never met in that country, but did exchange letters, often lamenting their thwarted attempts to meet. After copying Old Master

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<sup>29</sup> For biographical information on Lewis, see Michael Lewis, *John Frederick Lewis R.A. 1805-1976* (Leigh-on-Sea, England: F. Lewis Publishers, 1978).

<sup>30</sup> Caroline Williams, "John Frederick Lewis: 'Reflections of Reality,'" *Muqarnas* 18 (2001), 227.

<sup>31</sup> Michael Lewis, *John Frederick Lewis*, 14.

paintings at the Prado in Madrid,<sup>32</sup> Lewis traveled south to Sevilla, Córdoba and Granada, where he made the acquaintance of writer, amateur artist and Hispanicist Richard Ford. Lewis lived with the Ford family at Casa Sánchez (now known as the Torre de las Damas or Infantas) at the Alhambra and made frequent artistic and hunting expeditions with Ford.<sup>33</sup> His time at the Alhambra was his first contact with the remains of an Islamic culture, an experience that would profoundly influence the rest of his career. As Michael Lewis, his biographer and great-grand-nephew, has noted, “Lewis was captivated by it all: the elegance of this palace made for indolent enjoyment; the traceries of its peristyles; the latticed jalousies through which some dark-eyed princess might observe unseen; the cool halls and the tinkle of water everywhere.”<sup>34</sup> Like Roberts, Lewis also traveled across the Strait of Gibraltar into Morocco, a trip that would similarly whet his appetite for further travel in North Africa and the Near East.

Unlike Roberts, Lewis set out on his Spanish tour with commissions from publishers in hand. As described by Richard Ford in a letter of introduction written on behalf of Lewis, he planned to make a “picturesque tour...having orders from young ladies’ albums and from divers booksellers, who are illustrating Lord Byron.”<sup>35</sup> As

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<sup>32</sup> For Lewis’ copies of works by Velazquez and others while in Spain, see John Sweetman, “John Frederick Lewis and the Royal Scottish Academy I: the Spanish connection,” *The Burlington Magazine* CXLVII (May 2005): 310-315.

<sup>33</sup> Michael Lewis, *John Frederick Lewis*, 17-19. The Torre de las Damas still stands, though altered considerably from Lewis’ time, as part of the complex known as the Partal, after the Arabic term for the open portico overlooking a walkway and pool.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>35</sup> Quoted in Denys Sutton, “Don Ricardo: A Witty Hispanophile,” in Brinsley Ford, *Richard Ford in Spain* (London: Wildenstein & Co., 1974), 17.

Xanthe Brooke has noted, the British romantic poet's travelogue poem *Childe Harold* (1812) and prose poem *Don Juan* (1818-20) had "stimulated great interest in all things romantically and piquantly Spanish" and "done much to arouse publishers' interest in any Spanish material for use as illustrations."<sup>36</sup> Catering to this interest, Lewis focused on depictions of picturesque figures, developing colorful types—monks, nuns, bullfighters and *contrabandistas*—with which he peopled his architectural settings.

In addition to providing illustrations for various literary publications, Lewis also published two series of lithographs of Spanish views. *Sketches and Drawings of the Alhambra* appeared in 1835, two years before Roberts, with whom Lewis shared a spirit of friendly competition, published his own series of lithographs.<sup>37</sup> In 1836, *Lewis' Sketches of Spain and Spanish Character* appeared in print. These publications and his intense focus on Spain during this decade earned him the nickname of "Spanish" Lewis. Like Roberts' volume of lithographs, these large-format works contain twenty-six prints each and include no text, other than the dedications to the Duke of Wellington and David Wilkie, respectively. Lewis' images are approximately eleven by fifteen inches and tend to focus more on figures than details of the architecture, as in Roberts' work, though this is truer for his *Sketches of Spain* than for his images of the Alhambra. Perhaps moved by the unique character of the palaces' architecture, Lewis tends to zoom out his focus somewhat in the Alhambra volume, providing his viewer with a greater sense of the

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<sup>36</sup> Brooke, "British Artists Encounter Spain," 38-39.

<sup>37</sup> It is interesting to note that Roberts' *Picturesque Sketches in Spain* contains an advertisement for Lewis' *Sketches of Spain and Spanish Character*, recently published by Hodgson & Graves. Audiences would likely have been aware of both artists, though their works might have filled slightly different niches, since Roberts tended to focus on architecture and Lewis on figural representations.

larger context occupied by his figures, as well as devoting more of his energy to the architectural detail.

Lewis returned to England in 1834, but stayed only for a few short years before departing in 1837 on a journey that would take him to France, Italy, Greece, Turkey and Egypt. He would not return to England for fourteen years, settling and living in Cairo for much of that time; as Caroline Williams has noted, he was “the first, and for a long time the only, European artist to live there for such an extended period.”<sup>38</sup> He returned to England in 1851, a year after he caused a stir in the London art world by sending his watercolor *The Hhareem* for display at the Old Water Colour Society Exhibition. He brought back with him over six hundred sketches, which would become the base for his artistic output for the next twenty-five years.

Critical scholarly attention to Lewis’ work is sparse in general, and what exists tends, as with Roberts, to focus on his Near Eastern subjects. Although artistically speaking his time in Spain may represent a transitional period, a study of his treatment of Spanish monuments and especially the Alhambra is crucial to understanding the motivations of artist-travelers of this period. Having examined the biographies of Murphy, Roberts and Lewis, and the details of their respective publications, the following chapter will turn to a close visual analysis of Murphy’s *Arabian Antiquities of Spain*.

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<sup>38</sup> Williams, “Reflections of Reality,” 227.

## CHAPTER III

## FROM ENLIGHTENMENT TO ROMANTICISM:

JAMES CAVANAH MURPHY'S *ARABIAN ANTIQUITIES OF SPAIN*

This chapter will examine James Cavanah Murphy's major publication, *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain* (1815), in an effort to understand his approach to the Alhambra and to situate this work within the context of depictions of the monument created before and after it. I will first examine the relationship between Murphy's work and the earlier Spanish publication, *Antigüedades árabes de España*, in order to understand the ways in which Murphy used it as a model, and also how he diverged from its example. I will then discuss the visual exaggerations and distortions that are apparent in Murphy's depictions in relation to aesthetic notions of the period, including the Sublime and the picturesque. Finally, I will explore Murphy's use of figures in his images, and what they reveal about Murphy's approach to the palace complex, as well as the larger context of British attitudes toward Spanish culture and especially Catholicism.

Visual Convention in *Antigüedades árabes de España*

It is clear that Murphy is influenced by the earlier publication he so admired, *Antigüedades árabes de España*, as he references many of its images and at times nearly quotes them directly. Even the title of Murphy's volume is clearly inspired by the Spanish text. It is interesting to note that both titles, in their use of the word "antiquities,"

call to mind the art and architecture of the much older civilizations of ancient Greece and Rome, rather than a complex built beginning in the thirteenth century. This is likely a conscious decision by both authors, who would want to evoke such recent archeological discoveries as the ancient cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum and associated publications, such as James Stuart and Nicholas Revett's *The Antiquities of Athens* (1762)<sup>1</sup>. Murphy's interest in accurately recording the buildings of the Alhambra, as *Antigüedades árabes* did, and his adherence to visual conventions of the depiction of architecture, can be seen in the methodical way he proceeds through the complex, including plans, elevations, cross-sections and details of its architectural and decorative elements. However, Murphy's work also significantly differs from this text, and these differences help to situate him as a transitional figure between late eighteenth-century travelers and the artists of the 1830s to be discussed in the following chapter.

Murphy's use of *Antigüedades árabes* as a model can be seen in several of his depictions. For example, the side elevation and cross-section of the Court and Fountain of the Lions (Plate XXXVI; Fig. 8) is remarkably similar to that in the earlier work (Plate VIII; Fig. 9), down to the rather unusual manner of bisecting the fountain and showing it in section as well.<sup>2</sup> Although the earlier depiction is zoomed out slightly to include cross-sections of the Halls of the Abencerrages and the Two Sisters, the connection between the two images is apparent. Similarly, Murphy's elevation and plan of the Fountain of the Lions (Plates XXXIV and XXXV; Figs. 10 and 11) are clearly influenced by

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<sup>1</sup> Andrew Schulz, "Antigüedades árabes de España: Al-Andalus in the Age of Enlightenment" (lecture, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, CA, March, 2009).

<sup>2</sup> Plate numbers refer to those used in *Arabian Antiquities* and *Antigüedades árabes*.

*Antigüedades árabes* (Plate IX; Fig. 12). While there are differences—Murphy only shows the basin in plan and not the lions, and includes the portico behind the fountain in the elevation—the somewhat odd technique of providing a plan of the basin at all seems to attest to Murphy’s reliance on the earlier volume. In addition, he seems to draw on *Antigüedades árabes* in his depictions of decontextualized architectural details of the palaces, including columns, capitals, mosaics and inscriptions. His elevations of the Gate of Justice and the Wine Gate also appear to borrow from the earlier illustration of the principal gate of the Alhambra.

However, even more telling are the areas in which Murphy’s work diverges from the *Antigüedades árabes*. Perhaps the most significant is Murphy’s nearly complete disregard of the Renaissance palace and fountain of Charles V, compared to the prominent place they hold in the Spanish volume. The palace is included in *Antigüedades árabes* in the form of a ground plan, elevation, cross-section, and details of the façade and of the relief sculptures. A plan and elevation of the fountain are included as well. Further, the overall ground plan of the Alhambra hill is oriented around the palace of Charles V, which is placed at the exact center of the plan and at right angles, rather than on a more conventional north-south axis (Plate II; Fig. 13).<sup>3</sup> This arrangement emphasizes the palace and gives the viewer the impression that it is the central focus of the complex. Similarly, one of the two included views of the Alhambra is shown from the southeast, with the result that Charles V’s palace is once again prominently at the center of the print (Plate IV; Fig. 14).

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<sup>3</sup> Andrew Schulz, “*Antigüedades árabes*.”

In contrast to this focus on the Renaissance additions to the Alhambra complex, Murphy's depictions all but ignore the palace of Charles V, often excluding it from views in which it would be seen in reality. For example, his general view of the complex is taken from the north, and is thus dominated by the Tower of Comares, which is the highest point of the building and is just left of center in the print (Plate X; Fig. 15). Charles V's palace is omitted entirely. In actuality, however, even from this viewpoint, the palace would still be visible behind the Comares Tower. Murphy's omission is indicative of his attitude toward the later additions to the Alhambra by the Spanish monarchs, which he found to be vastly inferior to the Muslim palaces. This attitude is mirrored in the text accompanying the prints, in which Thomas Hartwell Horne argues that "in any other situation but this, [the palace of Charles V] would justly excite admiration: but here it is misplaced, and produces only disgust."<sup>4</sup> He goes on to note that the situation is even more deplorable because the funds used to build the palace were taken from "unhappy Moors" under false pretense.

Murphy's clear preference for the Muslim palaces is shown in other elevations and plans as well. His ground plan of the entire fortress complex differs from the *Antigüedades árabes* in that it is oriented on nearly a north-south axis, rather than around the palace of Charles V (Plate XI; Fig. 16). This alteration changes the focus of the plan so that the viewer's eye is no longer drawn immediately to the square form of the palace, but instead takes in the complex as an organic whole. Moreover, in Murphy's plan focusing solely on the palaces of the complex, Charles V's addition is nearly omitted

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<sup>4</sup> Murphy, *Arabian Antiquities*, 8.

entirely, indicated only by a thin diagonal line in the lower left corner showing part of its footprint (Plate VII; Fig. 17). This plan is oriented, again in contrast to the *Antigüedades árabes*, on the north-south axis shared by the Muslim palaces, making them the clear focus of the plan. On the other hand, the palace plan in the Spanish volume prominently includes Charles V's palace and is once again oriented around it (Plate VI; Fig. 18). In this case, however, the Muslim and Christian portions of the palace complex seem to share the focus of the print and are given equal priority in the plan. This treatment is typical of the *Antigüedades árabes*, which tends to integrate the Moorish and Spanish elements of the complex, rather than separating them or eliminating the Spanish additions altogether, as in Murphy's depictions.<sup>5</sup>

This integration is also apparent in the cross-section of the Court of the Myrtles and the palace of Charles V, which are shown together in a single plate in the *Antigüedades árabes* (Plate VII; Fig. 19). Here the artist jogs the ground lines of the two structures in order to combine them into a single visual representation. Murphy attempts no such integration, and in fact only includes the Christian additions to the complex when they cannot be avoided, such as in the overall ground plan of the Alhambra hill. The *Antigüedades árabes* shows an interest in the historical and architectural layering of the site, even providing a reconstructed plan of how the Muslim palaces likely appeared during the period of Muslim rule and indicating the changes made with the construction of Charles V's palace. While Murphy is clearly interested in the original appearance of

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<sup>5</sup> Schulz, "*Antigüedades árabes*."

the Muslim palaces, he chooses instead to simply strip away the later additions to the complex whenever possible and depict only the original Moorish buildings.

Differences between these two works in the depictions of the one-time main entrance to the Alhambra offer further insight into Murphy's shifting approach to the monument. A drawing of the entrance, known as the Tower and Gate of Seven Floors, serves as the frontispiece to *Antigüedades árabes*, and it is perhaps the one depiction in the volume that does not faithfully represent the reality of the building (Fig. 20)<sup>6</sup>. As compared with Murphy's depiction (Plate XIII; Fig. 21), the vastly different proportions of the buildings are immediately apparent. Although he exaggerates the verticality of the tower and levels out the slope of the hill, Murphy's work is a reasonably accurate representation of the appearance of the entrance. More notable is the difference in the relationship between the architecture and the surrounding natural landscape. The *Antigüedades árabes* image is one of controlled nature, contained and separated from the palace by a heavily fortified wall. The landscape appears rather barren, with little vegetation. The foliage that is included has been altered by man, chopped down in the case of the tree trunk, or seems to be growing out of man-made slab of stone. This sense of order imposed on nature seems typical of a late eighteenth-century, methodical approach to depicting the landscape. In Murphy's depiction, however, not only is the landscape given a much more prominent place in the image, but it is integrated with the architecture in a more natural way. Far from being contained or controlled by the

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<sup>6</sup> Plate II of *Antigüedades árabes* is an elevation of this gate. The tower was badly damaged by Napoleon's troops in 1812, when they blew up parts of the fortress on their withdrawal. It has since been restored to what is believed to be its original appearance.

architecture, the vegetation is instead just beginning to envelop it, as seen along the base of the curved wall in the right foreground. Although it is subtle in Murphy's image, the artists of the 1830s will carry even further the idea of nature nearly overtaking the constructions of man.

### The Gothic, the Sublime, and the Picturesque

Murphy also departs from the approach of *Antigüedades árabes* by including a number of views of individual rooms and courtyard spaces within the Muslim palaces, and it is in these depictions that his tendency toward architectural exaggeration and distortion can be seen most strongly. His depiction of the Gate of Justice (Plate XIV; Fig. 22) is relatively accurate, especially in contrast to the distortions seen in his representations of the interior courts and halls. However, some visual modifications are apparent here which will be seen to a greater extent in later plates. Murphy has increased the verticality of the tower slightly, and has also depicted the exterior and interior arches as more pointed than they are in reality (Fig. 23). This tendency to increase the vertical proportions of structures and transform fairly rounded arches into pointed arches is likely due to the interest during the period in the origins of Gothic architecture, and the theory that Gothic architecture was derived directly from Moorish styles. Many artists, especially those from the United Kingdom, likely had this proposed link in mind as they traveled through Spain, and as a result depictions of Moorish architecture are often distorted, as Tonia Raquejo has noted, "in favor of a gothic point of view."<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Tonia Raquejo, "The 'Arab Cathedrals': Moorish Architecture as Seen by British Travellers," *The Burlington Magazine* 128, no. 1001 (Aug. 1986), 555-59. Raquejo provides a good summary of this

The beginnings of another romanticizing tendency can be seen in the slightly ruined condition of the gate, as well as in the lush vegetation. The notion of the picturesque, advocated most strongly in the late eighteenth century by William Gilpin, Uvedale Price and Richard Payne Knight, entailed ideas of roughness and irregularity, as well as ruins or fragments surrounded by nature, encroaching ever further onto objects made by the hand of man.<sup>8</sup> The concept of the picturesque was essentially begun by Gilpin, who developed it as a method of considering the English landscape in the hopes of creating a third aesthetic category applicable to those objects not encompassed by Edmund Burke's notions of the Sublime and the Beautiful. Picked up by Price and Knight, however, the term quickly extended beyond the boundaries of "domestic tours" of England and landscape design to include notions of those elements that are desirable in a painting or print. "The main desideratum of the picturesque," writes Nicola Trott, "is contrast (as against the smoothness of the beautiful or the vastness of the sublime), whether by irregularity or roughness, variety or novelty."<sup>9</sup> However, as Sidney Robinson has observed, Price maintained that the picturesque relies not only on these qualities, "but on their mixture into a composition that lacks them."<sup>10</sup> If the picturesque was a response to compositions thought to be too smooth and even, then Price was not "simply

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theory. Horne notes that the Saracenic theory of the origin of Gothic architecture "is certainly the *most probable*." (Italics are Horne's.) See Shakespear, 288.

<sup>8</sup> Nicola Trott, "The Picturesque, the Beautiful and the Sublime," in *A Companion to Romanticism*, ed. Duncan Wu (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 75.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Sidney K. Robinson, *Inquiry into the Picturesque* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 5.

advocating the replacement of one extreme by another... Continuous roughness is not better than continuous smoothness.”<sup>11</sup> Knight took this idea even further, arguing that the picturesque should be composed not just of the “opposite qualities” of roughness and sudden variation or irregularity, but of “opposite extremes of the same kind.”<sup>12</sup> Knight’s language suggests not just mixture, “not just compromise, but inherent conflict.”<sup>13</sup>

In addition to these notions of roughness and irregularity, the picturesque is also concerned with the passage of time, and “in particular, with the processes of decay, loss and ruination.”<sup>14</sup> Ronald Paulson argues “that the picturesque is a function...of time, of nature itself—of organic change, decay and collapse.”<sup>15</sup> This sense of the picturesque qualities of decay and ruin can be seen in many of Murphy’s images, including the Gate of Justice.

Although the natural elements surrounding the gate are still controlled and are not yet completely overgrown, they are beginning to creep into the space dominated by the gate and to obscure the spectator’s view of the building. The ruinous condition of the gate is relatively subtle but still quite apparent; bits of plaster have chipped off the surface, revealing the brick underneath, and several of the crenellations are missing from the top

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<sup>11</sup> Robinson, 6.

<sup>12</sup> Richard Payne Knight, *An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste* (London, 1805) 152.

<sup>13</sup> John Whale, “Romantics, explorers and Picturesque travelers,” in *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, landscape and aesthetics since 1770*, ed. Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 189.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. For discussions of the picturesque’s concern with time, see Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition 1740-1860* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), 69; and Anne Janowitz, *England’s Ruins: Poetic Purpose and National Landscape* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 57.

<sup>15</sup> Ronald Paulson, *Representations of Revolution 1789-1820* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 177.

of the tower. This seems to be the very picture of what Knight advocated as “Walls, mellow’d into harmony by time.”<sup>16</sup> This is in interesting contrast to the elevation of the Gate of Judgment and other monuments, which show no deterioration of the architecture and are instead restored to their undamaged state. It seems that although Murphy successfully followed the model of *Antigüedades árabes*, as well as visual conventions of architectural depictions, in his plans and elevations, when it came to illustrating views of the architecture, he allowed himself to show, and perhaps even exaggerate, the decay that was certainly present by the time he was at the Alhambra. Horne’s textual description of the plate reiterates this idea. He describes the “wild neglected walks [that] intersect the ascent [to the palace] in various directions.” He continues, “All is verdant, and most beautifully picturesque on this delicious spot.”<sup>17</sup> The combination of the visual depiction and the text provides a powerful image of the “departed splendor” of the monument.

Moving into the interior of the complex, Murphy’s depiction of the Court of the Lions offers even more dramatic examples of the Gothicising tendencies in his work (Plate XXXIII; Fig. 24). The length of the patio has been vastly extended, creating an echoing and overwhelming space that is nearly the opposite of the patio’s intimate nature in reality (Fig. 25).<sup>18</sup> The details of the fountain itself—perhaps the most celebrated and recognizable element of the Alhambra at the time—can barely be made out at the far end

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<sup>16</sup> Richard Payne Knight, *The Landscape: A Didactic Poem in Three Books* (London, 1774), *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, Gale Group, <http://0-galenet.galegroup.com.janus.uoregon.edu/servlet/ECCO>, Book II, 26.

<sup>17</sup> Murphy, *Arabian Antiquities*, 8.

<sup>18</sup> Pedro A. Galera Andreu, *La imagen romántica de la Alhambra* (Junta de Andalucía, 1992), 54.

of the lengthy patio.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps the most extraordinary distortion is the extreme increase in the height of the portico, both in the columns themselves and in the piers above the capitals so that the overall arches are much taller. The diminutive figures enhance the overall feeling of towering height. These distortions are likely tied to the Romantic notion of the Sublime, which had mainly to do with the ability of an object, experience, or view to overpower and inspire awe in its viewer. Although the theorist Edmund Burke primarily associated the Sublime with feelings of fear or terror of the unknown or incomprehensible, the overpowering nature of a Sublime experience could also be inspired by admiration or reverence (a slightly less powerful “passion” than fear, according to Burke) for the sheer vastness of an object or space,<sup>20</sup> and it seems to be this type of response which Murphy’s depiction strives to create. In addition, Burke argued that the Sublime could also be created by what he termed the “artificial infinite,” which consists in the qualities of succession and uniformity and which can create a sense of vastness in an object. The Sublime character, he states, “of the ancient heathen temples, which were generally oblong forms, with a range of uniform pillars on every side, will be easily accounted for. From the same cause may be derived the grand effect of the aisles in many of our own cathedrals.”<sup>21</sup> By increasing the length of the patio and the number and height of the columns and porticos, Murphy creates effects of succession and uniformity

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<sup>19</sup> As noted earlier, however, Murphy does include in separate plates a side elevation and section of the court and fountain, and a plan of the basin of the fountain. See Murphy, *Arabian Antiquities*, Plates XXXIV-XXXVII.

<sup>20</sup> Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (London: F.C. and J. Rivington, 1812), 126-7.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 131-4, 264-6. Other qualities capable of causing the Sublime, such as magnificence, seem also to be present in the intricate detailing of the architecture in Murphy’s depictions. *Ibid.*, 139-40.

and transforms the Court of the Lions into an awe-inspiring, overwhelming, and almost infinite, space.<sup>22</sup>

Notably, the height of the lateral galleries has not been increased significantly, but because they are lengthened along with the rest of the patio, the impression is similar to that of the central and lateral naves of a Gothic church, an image depicted by Murphy in *Plans...of the Church of Batalha* (Fig. 26).<sup>23</sup> This was no doubt an intentional choice on the artist's part, most likely to appeal to the current taste for the Gothic style and in response to current interest in the origins of Gothic architecture. Horne's description of the plate refers to the "beautiful portico, not unlike the portals of some Gothic churches," indicating that this relationship was foremost in his mind and presumably, the minds of his audience.<sup>24</sup> Interestingly, Horne provides in his accompanying text the approximately correct dimensions of the court, thereby contradicting the visual representation. This suggests a conflict between Murphy's tendency toward Gothicising exaggeration, and the ideals of objectivity and accuracy toward which he was apparently striving. This tension, too, argues for the place of Murphy's volume as a transitional work between eighteenth-century Enlightenment and nineteenth-century Romanticism.

Murphy's depictions of the two halls off the Court of the Lions, the Hall of the Two Sisters (Plate XXXVIII; Fig. 27) and the Hall of the Abencerrages (Plate XXXIX; Fig. 28), reveal several other tendencies toward architectural distortion. He transforms the

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<sup>22</sup> Tonia Raquejo, *El palacio encantado: La Alhambra en el arte británico* (Madrid: Taurus Humanidades, 1989), 56-8.

<sup>23</sup> Raquejo, "The 'Arab Cathedrals,'" 559.

<sup>24</sup> Murphy, *Arabian Antiquities*, 12.

archways that lead into these halls into framing devices, strangely devoid of decoration although in reality the arches are highly ornamented. The frame continues along the bottom edge of the image, creating an abrupt edge and cutting off the channel of water that flows between the Lion fountain and the fountain inside the hall. These framing devices seem to be a part of Murphy's effort to create an ideal view of interior spaces which are in fact very difficult to capture; to do so, he is willing to alter the reality of the architecture. This notion of an ideal viewpoint likely also stems from ideas Murphy espoused in his *Plans...of the church of Batalha*, in which he argued that the general form of a Gothic building, "if viewed from any of the principal entrances (the station from whence the character of an edifice should be taken) will be found to have a pyramidal tendency."<sup>25</sup> Since the rather small, square form of the Hall of the Abencerrages did not allow such an ideal viewpoint, Murphy created his own "principal entrance" that transformed the space into a pyramidal form made up of a central arch and two lateral galleries. His desire for an ideal view seems also to extend to excluding any sense of picturesque decay within the interior spaces, although certainly the fragile stuccowork would have exhibited signs of decay by this time. In contrast to his depiction of the Gate of Justice, here Murphy attempts to restore the architecture its ideal state.

Similarly, Murphy provides his viewer with a perspective of these two halls that is impossible to see in reality. A person standing at the point of view of the image would be unable to see most of the magnificent ceiling, the upper part of the wall, or much of the

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<sup>25</sup> James Cavanah Murphy, *Plans, elevations, sections, and views of the church of Batalha...to which is prefixed an introductory discourse on the principles of Gothic architecture* (London: Strahan, Cadell & Davies, 1795), 3. Quoted in Raquejo, "The 'Arab Cathedrals,'" 560.

side alcoves. By distorting the perspective, Murphy allows his viewer to visually take in much more of the hall than is actually possible, once again creating a more overpowering and vast space.<sup>26</sup> He has also increased the verticality of the room, again using the relatively small size of the figures to accentuate the height of the columns and ceiling. Furthermore, as Tonia Raquejo has noted, he has lengthened the *muqarnas* or honeycomb forms of the ceiling, as well as increased the pointed character of the forms, so that in the Hall of the Two Sisters, “the *muqarnas* hanging from the dome appear...as ‘stalactite’ columns forming pointed arches around the tambour.”<sup>27</sup> Perhaps even more noticeably in the Hall of the Abencerrages, the *muqarnas* appear as pointed arches, giving “the impression of a lofty dome which renders the palace more ‘spiritual’ in character.”<sup>28</sup> Murphy’s quest to create a more spiritual or awe-inspiring representation is in keeping with ideas of providing his viewers with a Sublime experience. In addition, Raquejo continues, “In this vertical movement Murphy has almost completely eradicated the original star-like shape of the dome which encourages the eye to follow a horizontally expansive direction.”<sup>29</sup> The viewer’s eye is continually drawn upward into the lofty space of the impressive dome. Each of these visual distortions serves to overwhelm the viewer with the vast and soaring character of the room, and to call to mind the Gothic spaces

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<sup>26</sup> A similar distortion of perspective is apparent in The Court of the Lions; the dome of the portico is tipped up to reveal the intricate interior decoration which would not be visible from the point of view used.

<sup>27</sup> Raquejo, “The ‘Arab Cathedrals,’” 559. Raquejo explains that the term ‘stalactite’ was frequently used to describe the *muqarnas* and was inspired by the similarities of the forms to the interior of a cave or grotto.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

with which viewers would have been very familiar. In the words of David Howarth, Murphy has transformed these halls into spaces that are “part cave dripping with stalactites, part early English cathedral chapter house.”<sup>30</sup>

The final interior view that dramatically shows Murphy’s tendency toward exaggeration and distortion is the Perspective View of the Golden Saloon, or Hall of Ambassadors, which is situated in the Comares Tower (Plate XL; Fig. 29). Although this is in fact the largest room of the Muslim palaces, Murphy has greatly exaggerated its dimensions and again provides his viewer with a much more vast and overwhelming space. It is interesting to note that the artist has especially exaggerated the length of the room, which is actually roughly square-shaped, giving the feeling that we might be looking down the long nave of a Gothic church. The viewer is again being shown an impossible view—the skewed perspective allows much more of the room to be seen than would be possible in reality. It also provides a feeling of disorientation. There is no single, logical vanishing point to help the viewer to make sense of this space.

More overpowering than the scale, however, is the sheer extent and intricacy of the decoration depicted, which, as in the previous two images, shows no signs of picturesque decay. Although the room is in reality very intricately decorated, the effect of the ornament now and in Murphy’s time is less visually overwhelming because of the monochromatic nature of the stucco. Compared to Murphy’s illustration, where areas of light and dark stand out against one another to emphasize the detail of the decoration, in reality the complex decorative motifs are more subdued. They allow the viewer’s eye to

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<sup>30</sup> David Howarth, *The Invention of Spain: Cultural Relations Between Britain and Spain 1770-1870* (Manchester, UK and New York: Manchester University Press, 2007), 193.

room from one decorative element to another, without feeling bombarded by every pattern and form all at once. This complex patterning in Murphy's image extends even to the intricately tiled floor. He has replaced what is in fact a rather sparse, undecorated floor with a multi-colored tile pattern similar to that found on walls of other parts of the palace. The overall effect of these alterations is one of dazzling and overwhelming disorientation, and although the room in reality is extremely impressive, it is much more intimate and subdued than Murphy's illustration suggests.<sup>31</sup>

#### Orientalism and Medievalism: The Royal Baths and the Hall of Kings Paintings

Again diverging from the *Antigüedades árabes*, Murphy includes several plates of elements completely ignored by the Spanish volume: the baths of the Nasrid palaces, and the ceiling paintings from the Hall of the Kings, also known as the Hall of Justice, adjacent to the Court of the Lions. Each of these elements would have been of interest to Murphy's audience for different reasons related to current interest in both the Orient and the medieval history of Europe.

Detailed illustrations and descriptions of the baths would have appealed to Murphy's audience due in part to interest in the culture of the Near East. This interest in images of the Orient is evidenced in travel literature of the period as well as in the visual arts. The popular letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762) written during her travels throughout Europe, Africa and Asia were first published in 1763 but continued to

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<sup>31</sup> Horne comments on the multitude of decoration throughout the Muslim palaces in terms that recall Burke's description of the Sublime, arguing that "their boundless number excites an artificial infinity...the line of continuity is uniformly observed in every distinct series of parts." See Shakespear, 195.

be reprinted and revised through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Montagu claimed to provide her readers with a different and more accurate description of the private homes and other female-only spaces to which previous (male) travelers were not permitted access; the title of her published letters refers to “Sources that Have Been Inaccessible to Other Travellers [*sic*].”<sup>32</sup> In her detailed account of her visit to a Turkish bath, she disparages male travelers’ descriptions of the bathhouse as a site for deviant sexual behavior, instead calling it “the women’s coffee-house, where all the news of the town is told, scandal invented, etc.”<sup>33</sup> Despite this insistence, her descriptions of nude beauties would prove inspirational to artists such as Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, who created an explicitly erotic image of the bathhouse in works such as *The Turkish Bath* (1862).

Murphy’s inclusion of the baths at the Alhambra is likely an attempt to link his work and the culture of Moorish Spain with popular art and literature focusing on the Orient. He includes eight plates focused around the baths, including perspective views, sections, ground plans and details of the ceilings with their unique star-shaped openings (Plates XX-XXVII). Both the artist and Horne are particularly interested in (and impressed with) the construction of these rooms, and the Moorish methods of “lighting and warming these luxurious apartments.”<sup>34</sup> They seem to be unaware, however, that the baths were considerably altered after the Reconquest, including the transformation of the

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<sup>32</sup> Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady Mary Wortley Montagu: written, during her travels in Europe, Asia and Africa...* 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (London, 1763) *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, Gale Group, <http://0-galenet.galegroup.com.janus.uoregon.edu/servlet/ECCO>.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 163.

<sup>34</sup> Shakespear, 196.

tubs to make them suitable for complete immersion, a practice not followed by the Muslims. Murphy depicts these tubs in his images of the King's and Queen's Baths (Fig. 30), which exhibit his characteristic exaggeration of the proportions of the space. Also notable in the Queen's Bath is the angle at which we view the tub and the female figure bathing in it. In contrast to the King's Bath, which is shown straight on, as if the viewer is standing directly before the tub, in the Queen's Bath Murphy provides his viewer with an oblique angle from which to view the space, almost as though peeking around the corner unseen. The female figure, European-looking in appearance, is unaware of being observed. In a manner similar to Ingres and other Orientalist painters, and ignoring (or unaware of) Muslim spiritual connotations associated with bathing, Murphy creates a rather titillating, voyeuristic image in keeping with notions of the Alhambra as a romantic pleasure palace.

Murphy's deviation from the model of *Antigüedades árabes* is also evident in his depiction of portions of the paintings from the Hall of Kings. Three oblong paintings, executed in tempera on sheepskin, decorate the ceiling of the Hall of the Kings, and are unique among the Moorish decoration at the Alhambra for their figural representations (Fig. 31).<sup>35</sup> The central panel depicts ten figures with swords in Arab dress, seated in a circle on pillows, believed to represent the Moorish kings of Granada. The two lateral panels depict several chivalric scenes of romantic fables. The paintings date to the late fourteenth century and are now believed to be by the hand of a Moorish artist, albeit one

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<sup>35</sup> See Jerrilynn D. Dodds, "The Paintings in the Sala de Justicia of the Alhambra: Iconography and Iconology," *Art Bulletin* LXI, No. 2 (June 1979): 186-97, for a good general discussion of the paintings. Also see Cynthia Robinson and Simone Pinet, eds., *Courting the Alhambra: Cross-disciplinary approaches to the Hall of Justice ceilings* (Boston: Brill, 2008).

familiar with Western European styles and subjects. Interestingly, although these paintings provided the impetus for the project that resulted in the publication of *Antigüedades árabes*, engravings of the panels do not appear in that volume. Murphy, on the other hand, devotes five prints to depicting portions of the paintings (Plates XLII-XLVI).

Murphy's inclusion of several of the scenes of chivalry is interesting for its connection to beliefs about the nature of the Moorish kings of Granada and the general interest in the Alhambra as a medieval monument. As noted in Chapter One herein, beginning with the earliest literature surrounding Granada and the Reconquest, much was made of the chivalric nature of the Muslim rulers and the figure of the "Sentimental Moor." Murphy's prints give visual form to these beliefs, depicting Moorish figures in chivalric, romanticized battle and hunting scenes.

Murphy's representation of a Moorish Battle Piece (Plate XLII; Fig. 32) is especially noteworthy in this regard. As Jerrilynn Dodds has noted, the portions of the lateral painting depicted here were likely based on French models representing traditional scenes from the Galahad fables.<sup>36</sup> However, various elements of these stories are juxtaposed in a manner that suggests ignorance (or at the very least disinterest) on the part of the artists and/or patrons as to their origins. Dodds instead suggests that the subjects shown reflect the patron's desire "to create a fashionable ambiance, one based on imported taste, and inspired by the wealth and power of the encroaching Christian

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<sup>36</sup> Dodds, 191-2.

empires of Europe.”<sup>37</sup> The Granadan kings also strove to make a statement about Moorish power over Christian, such as in the image copied by Murphy of a Christian jousting being defeated by his Arab foe. For Murphy’s purposes, images such as this would have been appealing for their references to the medieval traditions of Europe. He reinforces this connection further by moving the medieval castle from the original painting to the background, thereby creating an imagined romantic setting for the scene. In a manner similar to the “seeking out” of connections to Gothic architecture by British travelers, Murphy and his audience enthusiastically embraced imagery that visually connected Granada’s Moorish past to the region’s medieval history. In addition, Murphy was also motivated by a desire to emphasize for his readers the artistic capabilities of the Spanish Arabs, which he felt had been neglected by authors before him. In this regard, Murphy rejected the belief of earlier writers such as Swinburne that the paintings in the Hall of Kings were by a European artist.<sup>38</sup> In the text accompanying the plate, as well as in *The History of the Mahometan Empire*, Horne also refutes this theory, believing the paintings to be by an Arab artist.<sup>39</sup>

In his depiction of An Arabian Council (Plate XLV; Fig. 33), Murphy has again shown only a portion of the image, reducing the number of figures from ten to three. He has otherwise remained comparatively faithful to the original painting, down to the details of costume and gesture of the figures. The background is strangely blank, likely

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<sup>37</sup> Dodds, 195.

<sup>38</sup> Galera Andreu, *La imagen romántica de la Alhambra*, 59. Also see Swinburne, 182-3. Swinburne gives as his main reason the Islamic ban on the depiction of the human figure in art.

<sup>39</sup> Murphy, *Arabian Antiquities*, 15; Shakespear, 292.

because of the gold background of the original painting. It appears that neither Murphy nor Horne were aware of the true subject of the painting, referring to it only in general terms as a Divān or Council. However, by including this image alongside the other scenes of chivalry, Murphy was perhaps attempting to link the subjects together, underscoring the belief in the chivalry and virtue of the Moors of Granada. Horne's description of the Moorish kings emphasizes these qualities and even suggests that they provided the source for such virtues throughout medieval Europe:

While the Moors retained that warlike character which introduced them into Spain, and enabled them to secure their conquests, they not only did not lose the gallantry and love of chivalry for which the Arabs were distinguished; but they also improved and refined it to a degree which has justly rendered them celebrated throughout Europe, and which, it is now generally agreed, laid the foundations of that chivalrous spirit, which once prevailed universally, and some traces of which are still observable in the interior of Spain.<sup>40</sup>

#### Catholics and Moors: Murphy's Use of Figures

In addition to his inclusion of the figural Hall of Kings paintings, Murphy's approach to the Alhambra can be further understood by examining the figures that populate his architectural images. Although at first glance the primary purpose of his figures seems to be to provide a scale for the architectural space and emphasize its overpowering nature, a closer examination reveals something of Murphy's attitude toward the inhabitants of the Alhambra, both past and present. He includes not only contemporary Spanish and especially Catholic figures, but also idealized versions of how

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<sup>40</sup> Shakespear, 298-9.

he imagines Moorish kings and courtiers might have appeared.<sup>41</sup> By placing these figures side by side in the same image, Murphy once again provides his viewer with an “impossible view.” In this case it is temporally, rather than architecturally, unattainable. The sense of time becomes fluid and seems to place the Alhambra in an imagined time, one that combines its noble past with its exotic present. This is not unlike the motif of stillness found in Romantic travel writing of the period, what James Buzard describes the experience of a “place kept still, as if out of history.”<sup>42</sup> In a similar way, Murphy’s depiction removes the Alhambra from history by conflating imagery of both its Moorish and Christian periods.

One compelling example is the view of the Court of the Lions (Plate XXXIII; see Fig. 24), which includes five male figures wearing robes and turbans, alongside two figures, a woman in contemporary Spanish dress and a man in military garb. The soldiers included in this and other plates likely allude to the continued military presence in the Alhambra at this time. For the Moorish figures, Murphy seems to have taken as his inspiration the paintings in the Hall of the Kings. Borrowing the appearance and dress of these figures, Murphy has imagined them in the Court of the Lions, alongside contemporary Spanish figures.

Murphy’s depiction of the Court of the Myrtles provides another interesting example of his inclusion of Moorish figures (Plate XXXI; Fig. 34). Once again the figures in turbans bear a strong resemblance to those in the Hall of Kings paintings. Here,

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<sup>41</sup> Moorish figures appear in a total of four images, Plates XXXI, XXXIII, XXXIV and XCV.

<sup>42</sup> James Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 179. See Chapter 1 herein for a discussion of this motif.

however, Murphy has combined them not only with contemporary Spanish figures, but also with a Catholic monk, identifiable by his simple robe and the rosary and cross hanging at his side. The figures stand on opposite sides of the pool, divided by the water but occupying the same pictorial space. The image can be read as a commentary on the dual nature of the Alhambra, its former incarnation as a Muslim palace and its current life as a Christian monument. Although modern viewers may find this to be contradictory, the Romantic imagination beginning to be explored by Murphy allows a view of the Alhambra that combines seeming opposites: ideal past and picturesque present, Catholics of today and Muslims of centuries gone by.

In addition to the country's Muslim past, Spanish Catholicism was of particular interest to British artists and their predominantly Protestant audiences. Far from being mere idle curiosity, this interest had very real significance for the British, who were grappling with the question of "what exactly to do about Catholics" in their own country. As David Howarth has noted, "What a person thought about Catholicism was intimately bound up with how he saw himself as an Englishman."<sup>43</sup> Charles Lloyd, Bishop of Oxford, summed up this preoccupation in a letter to future Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel in 1827 when he wrote that the Catholic question was mixed up with "everything we eat or drink, say or think."<sup>44</sup> In the years before the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act in 1829, "a growing body of literature had served to confirm the worst prejudices of

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<sup>43</sup> Howarth, 59.

<sup>44</sup> G.I.T. Machin, *The Catholic Question in English Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1964), 1. Quoted in Howarth, 59.

reactionary Englishmen about the true nature of Catholics”<sup>45</sup> Perhaps the most vocal and influential writer of this period was the Reverend Blanco White, former royal chaplain of the Bourbon monarchy in Spain who “purveyed graphic stories about priest-ridden Spain for Regency England.”<sup>46</sup> Blanco saw the “boundless” influence of the Catholic Church as the fundamental cause of the problems in Spain, especially that of widespread poverty.

Even among such negative accounts of Spanish Catholicism, the British public remained fascinated by it, perhaps because “no institution in Europe seemed to the British observer to contain such contradictions.”<sup>47</sup> Most foreign to the British would have been the immense power wielded by the Church, greater even than that of the nobility; Wellington observed, “The real power in Spain is in the clergy.”<sup>48</sup> This element of Spanish culture seemed nearly as exotic as Islam, and as Xanthe Brooke has noted, was seen as “dominated by the people’s extreme devotion to the Virgin, by monks, and by excessive but nevertheless picturesque ritual.”<sup>49</sup> Although it will be much more apparent in the later works of Roberts and Lewis, the beginnings of this interest can be seen in Murphy’s depictions. Of his images that include figures, nearly one third of them contain images of religious figures in the form of monks, nuns and priests. Several other plates

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<sup>45</sup> Howarth, 61.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 65.

<sup>48</sup> Quoted in Raymond Carr, *Spain 1808-1939* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966), 45.

<sup>49</sup> Brooke, “British Artists Encounter Spain,” 39-40.

depict figures that are somewhat ambiguous, but may also be religious in nature.<sup>50</sup> When he includes these religious figures alongside Moorish figures, Murphy seems to be drawing a parallel for his viewer between the exotic “other” of the Moorish courtiers, and a similarly exotic “other” in the form of the Spanish Catholic. As noted earlier, the side-by-side existence of Muslim and Catholic monuments formed part of the appeal of Spain to British travelers, and here Murphy has literally personified that coexistence.

Perhaps the most telling of the Catholic images is the first plate of the Alhambra section of the volume, showing a general view of the palace and fortress (Plate X; see Fig 15). The two prominent figures in the foreground include a monk, who is gesturing toward the palace, and an artist, who is seated on the ground sketching. Notably, there is also a large cross in the foreground, nearly at dead center of the plate. By including the figure of the monk and the cross on the opening plate, Murphy immediately foregrounds the idea of Spanish Catholicism in the mind of his viewer. He also reminds the viewer from the outset of the dual histories of the monument; although his work purports to focus on the *Arabian* monuments of Spain, Murphy never allows his viewer to forget about the current Spanish Catholic presence in the Alhambra and Granada as a whole. The inclusion of the artist is interesting for several reasons as well. It could reference Murphy himself, again cementing the idea that he has taken his drawings “on the spot.” It also alludes to the increasing interest on the part of artists in the Alhambra and the monuments of Spain generally. The monk, who seems to be guiding the artist and pointing out features of the palace, may be a reference to the increasingly common

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<sup>50</sup> See Plates X, XXXI, XXXVIII, and XL. Figures in Plates XIV and XXIX are difficult to read but may be religious figures.

practice of local inhabitants of Granada and the Alhambra itself serving as “tour guides” for visiting artists and writers, providing them with the rich histories and legends of the palace.

Although Murphy’s goal of documenting the *Arabian Antiquities of Spain* by employing conventions of architectural depiction is quite clear, his images reveal an approach that is never as objective as the artist hoped. His visual exaggerations and distortions, picturesque details, selection of certain views and elements of the palaces, and inclusion of figures all point to an increasingly romantic view of the Alhambra, one that will be continued and expanded in the works of artists after him. The text accompanying Murphy’s images often confirms this point of view, allowing romanticized sentiments to seep into what alleges to be an unbiased account of the Moorish monuments of Granada and Córdoba. This is apparent in the conclusion of the text, in which Horne indicates the publication “has endeavored to draw aside the veil of Oriental secrecy, and admit the English reader into all the privacies of Arabian life.”<sup>51</sup> These romanticizing tendencies, both visual and textual, can be seen to an even greater extent in the work of David Roberts and John Frederick Lewis from the 1830s, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

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<sup>51</sup> Murphy, *Arabian Antiquities*, 21.

CHAPTER IV  
THE “ROMANTIC FORTRESS” IN THE IMAGES OF DAVID ROBERTS  
AND JOHN FREDERICK LEWIS

Several important distinctions between Murphy’s *Arabian Antiquities* and the publications of David Roberts and John Frederick Lewis twenty years later are immediately apparent. Perhaps most notably, Roberts and Lewis have eschewed the convention of including any architectural plans, elevations or sections of the monuments they depict. Although, as discussed in the previous chapter, Murphy is not always successful in his attempt to provide a scientifically accurate visual description of the Alhambra, his inclusion of such plans and elevations is at the very least indicative of his desire to do so. By the 1830s, in the work of Roberts and Lewis, such an objective approach has given way to one that is dramatically more subjective, emotionally based, and romanticized. These artists, rather than proceeding methodically through the palace complex, choose to depict views according to their picturesque qualities or their fame, while ignoring other elements entirely. This chapter will examine the extent to which Roberts and Lewis continue the trajectory begun by Murphy, taking his tendency toward architectural exaggeration and picturesque decay to an even greater extent. It will also consider the role played by figures in each artist’s depictions, especially as they relate to the interest in Spanish Catholicism and a conception of Spaniards as rather lazy or idle, as well as ignorant of the rich architectural and cultural history of their own cities.

“Time appears jealous of the monuments of princes”:

Roberts’ Picturesque Decay and Exaggeration

Architectural distortions and exaggerations similar to those in Murphy’s work can be seen in the prints based on David Roberts’ drawings from the *Jenning’s Landscape Annual* focusing on Granada (1835).<sup>1</sup> This is perhaps most apparent in Roberts’ depiction of the Hall of the Abencerrages (Fig. 35). Although Roberts includes a more realistic entryway, like Murphy, he skews the perspective so that a great deal more of the upper wall and ceiling are visible to the viewer. This increases the overall verticality of the hall, creating a more towering space. As Murphy did, Roberts has also lengthened the *muqarnas* of the ceiling, thus eliminating the horizontal effect that is actually created by the star-shaped dome. Although the figures Roberts includes are not as diminutive as Murphy’s, they do still serve to emphasize the vastness of the architecture; other effects created by Roberts’ figures will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Roberts’ depiction of the Court of the Lions (Fig. 36), while not as dramatically exaggerated as Murphy’s, also displays some architectural distortions. The overall dimensions of the courtyard have been increased, but more striking is the increase in the height of the columns, arches and portico. Once again, the artist has transformed a space that is in reality built on a very human, intimate scale, into one of lofty and overwhelming proportions. Although the vastness of the courtyard in Roberts’ depiction may not be able to be called Sublime, it seems apparent that the he is striving to provoke an emotional

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<sup>1</sup> Although it is unknown whether Roberts was familiar with Murphy’s *Arabian Antiquities*, it seems unlikely that an artist so interested in the Iberian Peninsula would not have come into contact with this work. It is clear that Thomas Roscoe, the author of the *Jennings’ Landscape Annuals*, was familiar with Murphy’s text, as he quotes from it on numerous occasions.

response in the viewer, and is willing to sacrifice an objective representation of the space. Notably, Thomas Roscoe's accompanying text provides approximately accurate dimensions for the courtyard and columns, possibly taken from Murphy's text, but as in the earlier volume, Roberts' depiction belies these specifications. For example, the columns are described as being about nine feet tall, but based on the height of the figures in the image, they would be over twice that height.<sup>2</sup>

The tendency seen in Murphy's work of emphasizing picturesque decay in the exterior architecture of the Alhambra is taken to an extreme in Roberts' images. This can be seen in the Court of the Lions, especially in the tower looming behind the courtyard, where sections of plaster have begun to crumble away. It is also visible in the rooflines of the courtyard and the tower, which are rough and irregular and look as though they have begun to sag and settle. When compared with the very straight and precise rooflines in Murphy's depiction of the courtyard, the picturesque quality of Roberts' image is strikingly apparent.

In contrast to Murphy, Roberts includes a depiction of the Hall of Kings, also known since the time of the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella as the Hall of Judgment or Justice (Fig. 37), and his architectural exaggerations are plainly evident here as well. Roberts has again transformed a relatively intimate space into a vast and nearly infinite hall, using groups of figures to accentuate the awe-inspiring architecture. He has drastically increased the verticality of the pointed arches, giving the feeling that, were it not for the stalactite forms of the *muqarnas*, the viewer could be looking down the nave

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<sup>2</sup> Thomas Roscoe, *Jennings' Landscape Annual or The Tourist in Spain (Granada)* (London: Robert Jennings & Co., 1835), 245.

of a Gothic church. This effect is enhanced by the lengthening of the distance between the arches, turning the hallway into a much longer corridor than it is in reality. In addition, although the hall is in fact intricately decorated, Roberts has increased both the amount and the visual intensity of the ornament. The dramatic light and shadow created by the medium of engraving adds to this stunning effect.

Roberts' inclusion of picturesque deterioration of the architecture is particularly evident in this image, which incorporates large fragments of columns and capitals in the foreground, along with slabs of stone and broken floor tiles. These ruins would certainly have evoked associations with ancient Greek and Roman remnants, again thereby lending legitimacy to the comparatively recent civilization of Moorish Spain being depicted by Roberts. The image of the ruined hall would also have been in keeping with the concept of Granada as a city (and more broadly, Spain as a country) that had fallen into dramatic decline since the expulsion of the Moors. Contemporary Spaniards are depicted as literally carrying on their everyday lives among the remnants of the once-glorious Muslim civilization.

Roberts' image of the Gate of Justice (Fig. 38) also continues trends first seen in Murphy's depiction, but again takes them to a greater extreme. Roberts has increased the vertical proportions of the building even more dramatically, showing it towering over the groups of figures congregating around it, as well as over the visible back side of Charles V's fountain. The very low vantage point utilized by Roberts adds to this feeling of soaring verticality. The picturesque decay of the architecture is also greatly increased here. Large portions of the plaster have crumbled away to reveal the rough brickwork

beneath. Perhaps more notably, the vegetation surrounding the gate has begun to encroach on the architecture of both the gate itself and the fountain, literally seeming to grow out of the monuments.

Roberts seems to share Murphy's attitude toward the later additions to the Alhambra by the Christian monarchs, and often chooses to omit such additions from his views. Although he includes the palace of Charles V in his overall view of the complex, he chooses a point of view roughly from the northwest, which emphasizes other portions of the complex over the Renaissance palace (Fig. 39). Again utilizing a fairly low vantage point, Roberts plays up the striking verticality of the Moorish towers, which loom dramatically over the valley and seem to almost grow out of the ground itself, extensions of the rocky landscape. Among these towers, the lower, horizontal form of Charles V's palace does not stand out, and the viewer's eye only comes to rest on it after taking in the more prominent vertical silhouettes of the towers.

Moving inside the complex, Roberts includes the palace of Charles V in his depiction of the Court of the Lions, where it peeks rather unobtrusively over the roofline of the courtyard (see Fig. 36). In his plate of the Court of the Myrtles, however, the palace has been omitted from the background, where it would actually be seen looming over the courtyard (Fig. 40). The accompanying text by Roscoe mentions the palace and its absence in the image:

The apartments at the end of this quadrangle have been much injured by an angle of the palace commenced by the emperor, obtruding upon them...In order to give due effect to that part of the building, the artist has, I think, judiciously omitted

the heavy abrupt angle which, by the side of this beautiful court, looks little better than a dead wall.<sup>3</sup>

Roscoe and Roberts seem to share Murphy's (and Thomas Hartwell Horne's) attitude of the superiority of the Muslim architecture over the Christian. They also seem to agree that in another context, the Palace of Charles V would be much admired, but in comparison to the Moorish palaces, the Renaissance addition seems out of place and even offensive. It is interesting to note, however, that Roberts does include the bell tower and cross of the small royal chapel that is a part of Charles V's palace. This is in keeping with the current interest in Spanish Catholicism generally, and specifically in the combination of Muslim and Christian architecture combined in one building or complex. In catering to the typical "armchair traveler" audiences of the *Landscape Annual*, Roberts is willing to show them images that correspond to their notions of Spain as an exotic combination of Catholic and Muslim cultures.

#### "Picturesque Ritual": Roberts' Use of Figures

As in Murphy's text, an examination of the figures and other details included in Roberts' images can provide insight into his approach to the Alhambra and Spain more generally. Although his primary interest is clearly in the architecture, every image by Roberts also includes groups of figures, who not only serve, as in Murphy, to emphasize the grand scale of the architecture, but also provide the viewer with information about aspects of the culture that the artist hoped to accentuate. As Francina Irwin has noted, his

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<sup>3</sup> Roscoe, *The Tourist in Spain (Granada)*, 85.

figure groups are like “thumbnail genre scenes” that “provide just the right note of animation to set the mood for views which might otherwise appear somewhat austere.”<sup>4</sup>

Perhaps the most obvious of these cultural aspects that Roberts focuses on is the Catholic identity of Spain. Of the twenty engravings in the *Granadan Landscape Annual*, nearly half of them include images of religious figures, usually in the form of priests or monks. In addition, many of the plates include other references to Catholicism, including crosses, churches, painted crucifixion scenes and images of the Virgin Mary. These elements are juxtaposed with Moorish remains, again reminding Roberts’ viewers of the exotic dual nature and history of Granada and the Alhambra. Roberts’ depiction of the remains of a Moorish bridge on the River Darro, just below the Alhambra hill, shows this juxtaposition very clearly (Fig. 41). The crumbling ruins of a horseshoe arch can be seen on one side of the river, and on the other, a Catholic church stands prominently, its bell tower and cross standing out against the background of the sky. This cross is echoed by a second one atop a post on the stone wall winding along the road. In contrast to this, part of the Alhambra and the palace of the Generalife, known during the nineteenth century as the summer “pleasure palace” of the Moorish kings, can be seen high up on the hillside. As Murphy did, Roberts seems to be drawing a parallel for his viewers between the exotic notions of Catholicism and Granada’s Muslim past. In a similar way, the past and the present are conflated in these images, with elements of each existing side by side.

Other direct references to Catholicism can be seen in Roberts’ depiction of the so-called Casa del Carbón, or Ancient Guardhouse of Granada (Fig. 42). Though not part of

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<sup>4</sup> Francina Irwin, “David Roberts in Spain 1832-3,” in *David Roberts Artist Adventurer 1796-1864* (Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council, 1981), 14.

the Alhambra itself, this gateway located in heart of Granada was also depicted by Murphy as an example of the façade of a private Moorish building.<sup>5</sup> Used in the time of the Muslim rulers of Granada as a post-house and resting place for travelers and their horses, by the late 1700s and early 1800s, it was used as a storage warehouse for charcoal. In his depiction Roberts again dramatically contrasts the intricate and vivid Moorish architecture of the Casa del Carbón, focusing his attention on details of the horseshoe arch, stucco work and *muqarnas*, with the prominent façade of the church behind it. Moreover, he includes in the foreground a monk in traditional robes conversing with a woman in a carriage. References to Catholicism can also be seen on the gateway itself in the cross and the paintings hung inside the porch. These allusions can be seen even more clearly in Roberts' lithograph of the same scene published in his *Sketches of Spain and Spanish Character* (1837) (Fig. 43). Here essentially the only two buildings shown are the Casa del Carbón and the church, narrowing the viewer's focus to include only this contrast. The details of the architecture are also clearer due to the larger size and medium of the print, so that the painted image of Christ carrying the cross stands out against the Moorish elements of the porch. Also shown is a monk or priest who appears to be giving money or some other form of charity to the beggars sitting in front of the gateway. This depiction is typical of several of Roberts' prints, in which the figures seem to be part of a narrative, one that shows the everyday life of the Spanish continuing quite literally in the shadow of crumbling Moorish monuments.

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<sup>5</sup> See Plates XCVI and XCVII in Murphy, *Arabian Antiquities*.

It is also interesting to note that the scene of everyday life depicted here and in several other prints could be read as one of laziness or inactivity. Although there are indications of commerce within the guardhouse—signs advertise a shoemaker (probably a nod to Roberts’ own father’s profession) and a maker of fans—there is little or no activity, and the figures are shown leaning or sitting rather idly against the building. A sign directly above the beggars refers to a cholera outbreak in Granada, perhaps indicating one reason these people are unable to work.<sup>6</sup> This sense of the idleness of the Spanish people, who seem almost to be in a perpetual state of *siesta*, can be seen to an even greater extent in Lewis’ work. It also mirrors a common theme in travel writing of the period, which Phillips has termed “the sensation of non-utility.”<sup>7</sup> Buzard refers to this theme as the impression that “the scene before one has no connection with the prosaic modern concerns of usefulness and rational organization that structure life in the home society.”<sup>8</sup> If modern life in Britain is characterized by utilitarian, capitalist activity, then the image of Spain presented here is the polar opposite: a country of ease and pleasure, its citizens strolling and loitering without concern for productive activity.

The figures are utilized more directly to reference Catholicism in Roberts’ representation of the Gate of the Viva Rambla, versions of which are included in both the *Landscape Annual* and *Sketches of Spain* (Figs. 44 and 45). In the former depiction of this central Granadan square, Roberts includes a small portico with an altar; as Roscoe

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<sup>6</sup> This could also be a reference to the cholera outbreak that cut short Roberts’ visit to Sevilla.

<sup>7</sup> Phillips, “Travelers in Madrid,” 431.

<sup>8</sup> Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 181.

notes, this is “one of those small chapels to be found at the corners of every street in a Spanish town; and it is almost constantly surrounded by a group of devotees.”<sup>9</sup> The doors of a niche are open to reveal a crucifix, and a woman is kneeling before the altar praying. A priest is standing beside her, as if offering her counsel or guidance. The words “Ave Maria” appear above the niche and a cross tops the roof of the portico. Once again, these clear Catholic references stand in contrast to the Moorish architecture of the gateway in the middle ground, and even to the small arch just to the right of the altar.

The sense of idleness seen in the print of the Casa del Carbón is also apparent here. A simple, rustic-looking plow sits in the middle of the square with no oxen yoked to it, and the farmer to whom it presumably belongs is sitting on several crates next to it. Several other small groups of people loiter around the plaza, but do not seem to be doing much. In addition, many of the shops depicted—including a chocolate maker and another shoemaker—show no signs of activity, and their awnings and doors are closed. Although this was known as one of the most bustling plazas in the city, there seems to be little true commercial activity.

Interestingly, in Roberts’ depiction of the same scene in *Sketches of Spain*, the sense of inactivity has been minimized somewhat. The ox-cart is present again, but this time it is yoked to the animals, which are in motion and are being spurred on by the whip of their master. There are still several groups of people milling around, not seeming to be busily engaged in any activity. The portico of the altar is again present, with a woman praying before it, this time joined by two monks who gesture toward her. In a manner

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<sup>9</sup> Roscoe, *The Tourist in Spain (Granada)*, 219.

similar to the Casa del Carbón, Roberts has narrowed the focus of this scene, including fewer buildings to either side of the gateway. As a result, the viewer is able to focus more clearly on the direct contrast between the Moorish gateway and the Catholic altar, once again representing Granada's past and present in a single image.

### John Frederick Lewis and the Character(s) of Granada

In John Frederick Lewis' representations of the Alhambra, figures become much more of a focal point than in the work of Murphy or Roberts. Because his early career had consisted mainly of figural and animal studies, Lewis' visit to Granada represented his first true attempt at depicting architecture to any significant extent. Although he devotes a great deal of energy and detail to the visual description of the buildings of the Alhambra, his figures occupy a more important role in his images than in Murphy or Roberts. To this end, a number of picturesque and colorful "types" are found in his work—he populates the spaces of the Alhambra with peasants, monks, nuns, Spanish ladies, and the occasional turbaned Moorish figure. The figures in his more general lithographs of Spain, published in *Sketches of Spain and Spanish Character* (1836), also include bullfighters, dancers and *contrabandistas*. In his effort to depict some of the "character" and flavor of Spain, as Michael Lewis has noted, the artist tends toward stereotypical representations of the Spanish: "His peasants are all robust and jolly types; his monks are Friar Tucks; his bull-fighters are invariably handsome and bold. There is something of the fairy tale approach. He treats ordinary folk but he tends to glamourise

them.”<sup>10</sup> No doubt these glamourising images had a significant impact on the conception of the Spanish people in the minds of Lewis’ audience.

As in Roberts’ work, Lewis’ images show a clear focus on religious figures. Nearly half of the prints in *Sketches and Drawings of the Alhambra* depict religious figures, usually priests or monks, or at the very least contain figures that are somewhat ambiguous but could be read as religious. Perhaps the most striking of these is his depiction of the Alhambra from the Alameda del Darro (Fig. 46). In this image the Alhambra becomes somewhat secondary, occupying the background and rising out of the hillside. The focal point of the image, however, is the funerary procession in the foreground, leading away from the viewer along the riverside. Several monks and priests join other mourners carrying the body of the deceased, and a tall cross can be seen at the front, leading the procession. Although the architecture is less of a focus here for Lewis, he visually combines the reminders of Spain’s Moorish past with picturesque scenes of its present-day Catholic culture—scenes that would have seemed nearly as exotic as depictions of Muslim customs to his viewers.

Another subtle but poignant inclusion of Catholic figures occurs in Lewis’ depiction of Hall of the Two Sisters (Fig. 47). He depicts the space from the narrow room between the Hall of the Two Sisters and the Mirador of the Lindaraja, looking back toward the Court of the Lions, whose fountain can be seen through the arched entrance. Two monks stand to the side of the hall, looking outward toward the courtyard. Their rather somber, still posture seems almost reverent as they gaze out toward the series of

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<sup>10</sup> Michael Lewis, *John Frederick Lewis R.A. 1805-1876* (Leigh-on-Sea, England: F. Lewis Publishers, 1978), 37.

archways. The manner in which Lewis has depicted the arches, which extend to the other side of the courtyard, creates a long, nave-like receding space that would likely have felt to his viewers like similar depictions of Gothic churches. It is interesting to note, however, that in contrast to both Roberts and Murphy, Lewis tends not to exaggerate the scale of the architecture to as great an extent, instead remaining closer to its actual, human scale. His depiction of the Hall of the Two Sisters provides a more realistic view of the room as it could be viewed from outside the archway, a view which includes the lower portion of the wall and only the slightest hint of the honeycombed ceiling. Where Murphy and Roberts were willing to distort the perspective in their images in order to create more vast, awe-inspiring views, Lewis seems reluctant to do so, perhaps recognizing the Alhambra's ability to inspire awe even in its more intimate, human-scaled spaces.

In the Shadow of Crumbling Palaces:

Decay and Idleness in Lewis' Prints

Lewis does embrace, however, the romanticizing tendency to include and even exaggerate the picturesque deterioration of the architecture. One of the most remarkable examples of this is in his representation of the Courtyard of the Mexuar, known in Lewis' time as the Court of the Mosque (Fig. 48). This image shows the badly deteriorating façade of the Comares Palace, which has since been heavily restored. Large portions of the façade have fallen away, revealing the brickwork underneath, most noticeably in the area of the two doorways, one of which has been sealed up. The dirt floor gives way in

places to half-buried fragments of columns, which abut a pile of rubble and a door that has fallen off its hinges and apparently been discarded. Lewis also focuses on the irregularity of the rooflines and balustrades, which seem to have settled and buckled over time. The use of overgrown vegetation can be seen on the awning on the right hand side of the image, where foliage is growing over the roof and down its supporting post. This sense of the decline of the once-glorious Muslim palaces is emphasized by the peasants, who seem to think nothing of leading their mules and dog into the interior, a space once occupied by caliphs and kings.

Similarly to both Murphy and Roberts, Lewis' depiction of the Gate of Justice also shows his tendency to emphasize picturesque decay (Fig. 49). The deterioration can be seen in the stucco of the tower, the back of the fountain on the left, and the wall on the right. Although the vegetation here is not as overgrown as in Roberts' image, the relative barrenness instead lends itself to a sense of neglect. It is interesting to note that Lewis has created a dramatic drop-off to the left of the tower, rather than the fairly gentle slope that actually leads up to the gate. This helps to create a strong sense of verticality in the image, in spite of the fact that he has used a horizontal format for the print and increased the proportional width of the tower. More so than in the previous two images discussed, and in keeping with Roberts' depiction, Lewis has exaggerated the height of the tower, using the small size of the figures beneath to emphasize its verticality.

This print is also one of many in Lewis' series to suggest a sense of inactivity or idleness among the Spanish people, as was seen in several of Roberts' depictions. Two figures lean against the back of the fountain, seated on the dirt. One of them is nearly

lying down and seems as though he could even be sleeping. The Gate of Justice was then, as it is now, used as one of the primary entrances to the Alhambra, and the viewer can assume that these men are beggars, asking for charity from visitors to the palace as they approach the gateway. Several other prints contain similar figures of possible beggars, leaning against walls and seated on the ground, including the General View of the Alhambra, the Wine Gate, and a view of the Sierra Nevada and part of the Alhambra. Even when Lewis includes figures of a higher class, who wear more costly clothing and do not appear to be begging, they are often idly seated in a courtyard or hall, chatting in small groups or lost in their own thoughts. The viewer is given a sense that these people, far from caring to preserve or protect the historical monuments that surround them, on the contrary, seem wholly unaware of their historical or cultural significance, and have allowed them to fall into utter neglect and disrepair.

This attitude, given such clear visual manifestation in Lewis and Roberts' work, of course did not originate with them, and can be seen in the text of Murphy's volume (and indeed, in the writings of earlier travelers such as Twiss and Swinburne).<sup>11</sup> In a memorable passage, Thomas Hartwell Horne transcribes one of the many "effusions of the muse" left by modern-day travelers on the walls of the Alhambra:

When these fam'd walls did Pagan rites admit,  
Here reign'd unrivall'd breeding, science, wit.  
Christ's standard came, the Prophet's flag assail'd,  
And fix't true worship where the false prevail'd:

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<sup>11</sup> See, for example, Swinburne, *Travels through Spain*, 168. Swinburne describes "the glories of Granada [that] have passed away with its old inhabitants," talking of the dirtiness, deterioration and loss of trade that characterizes late eighteenth-century Granada.

And, such the zeal its pious followers bore,  
Wit, science, breeding, perished with the Moor.<sup>12</sup>

Although he seems to cringe at the idea of travelers defacing the walls of the palaces, Horne nevertheless agrees with the sentiment of the passage, calling it a “severe but just censure on the furious bigotry of the Spaniards.”<sup>13</sup> The transcribed passage is notable for its combination of aversion to Islam and its simultaneous admiration for the cultural and technical achievements of the Moorish kings of Granada, as well as its contempt for the Christian conquerors, who allowed the fruits of such a culture to decay and crumble to their current state of neglect.

The later works of Lewis and Roberts, especially those published without any accompanying text, have translated this attitude into purely visual representation. What seems to be an innocuous, picturesque image of Spanish culture and Moorish architectural history soon emerges, to borrow Linda Nochlin’s term, as *architecture moralisée*. Although Nochlin is discussing later nineteenth-century Orientalist paintings, the idea she presents is equally applicable to Lewis and Roberts’ Spanish works:

Within this context of supposed Near Eastern idleness and neglect, what might at first appear to be objectively described architectural fact turns out to be *architecture moralisée*. The lesson is subtle, perhaps...these people—lazy, slothful and childlike, if colorful—have let their own cultural treasures sink into decay.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Murphy, *Arabian Antiquities*, 12.

<sup>13</sup> Murphy, *Arabian Antiquities*, 12. The inscription is dated February 7, 1790 and is attributed to one H.F. Gr—lle.

<sup>14</sup> Linda Nochlin, “The Imaginary Orient,” *Art in America* 71 (May 1983), 123. Edward W. Said’s *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978), though certainly not without its problems (many of which have been addressed by later critics, including Nochlin), remains a seminal study of the process of “Orientalizing” the East by Western artists, writers and thinkers. Though Said explicitly does not address Muslim Spain in his work, many of his ideas could be applied to the Spanish works of Roberts and Lewis.

Even as they attempt to provide their viewers with a picturesque slice of the Spanish life they each valued highly—complete with a “dash of that Arabian spice” they found so compelling—Lewis and Roberts create an image of Spain and the Spanish people that can be read as colorful and exotic, but also ignorant and apathetic.

### Epilogue

The fascination of artists and their audiences with the Alhambra did not, of course, come to an end after Roberts and Lewis. In 1834, architect Owen Jones (1809-1874) and his partner, Jules Gourey (1803-1834), arrived in Granada and began to make an exhaustive record of the buildings and especially the decoration of the Alhambra. They shared an interest in polychrome architecture, and although Gourey died of cholera in Granada in 1834, by 1837 Jones was back at the Alhambra making paper and plaster impressions of the decoration and taking scrapings of the original color used in the building. The relatively new process of chromolithography allowed Jones to publish his elaborate color illustrations in *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*, issued in twelve parts between 1836 and 1845 (Fig. 50). Jones’ methodical approach to the decoration of the Alhambra brought “the old shadowy world of Alhambra-worship into the clear light of scholarly investigation with passion and precision.”<sup>15</sup> While not the first publication to be concerned with the decoration of the palace, John Sweetman notes,

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<sup>15</sup> John Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic Inspiration in British and American Art and Architecture 1500-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 125. Sweetman’s book is an exhaustive study of the application of Islamic architectural and decorative styles to British and American design from the sixteenth through the early twentieth century.

“it does represent new departures in its unremitting attempt to faithfully represent the effect of the original color.”<sup>16</sup> As such, it also represents a departure from the slightly earlier works of Roberts and Lewis, who concerned themselves more with the atmosphere and “flavor” of the Alhambra, than with an accurate representation of its architectural or decorative details. In contrast, Jones’ work was soon put to frequent use in the fields of applied and decorative arts, along with his second publication, *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856), in which he painstakingly analyzes 454 Islamic decorative motifs.

Jones’ design for the decoration of the Joseph Paxton’s Crystal Palace for the Great Exhibition of 1851 provided him with the opportunity to apply his knowledge of color in architecture based on his Alhambra studies. Although his designs were modified from their original state, the result was highly praised, with the *Illustrated London News* hailing “the genius of Owen Jones.”<sup>17</sup> When the Crystal Palace was rebuilt at Sydenham Hill in 1854, a number of architectural courts were designed for it in various period styles. Jones created the Alhambra Court for the new building, recreating the Court of the Lions in a somewhat smaller area but with individual features built on the original scale (Fig. 51).<sup>18</sup> Architects and interior designers continued to draw on Jones’ Alhambra-inspired designs for the remainder of the nineteenth century, a popularity that Sweetman

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<sup>16</sup> Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession*, 125.

<sup>17</sup> Quoted in Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession*, 129.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 162.

ascribes to the palace's "richness as a storehouse of legible, classifiable and adaptable ornament."<sup>19</sup>

In a variety of other visual and literary forms, the Alhambra has continued to capture the imagination of artists, writers and travelers throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This thesis has focused on one narrow slice of this interest in an effort to shed light on the changing goals and approaches of artists in the years leading up to the 1830s, arguably the richest decade of artistic output surrounding the palace complex. The curiosity during these years to see new and faraway places, both on the part of artists and their audiences, increasingly led to a fascination with the foreign and the exotic. Spain offered British artists a particularly rich and novel visual experience, and also one that was relatively easy to attain. These artists, of course, did not simply record the cultural monuments they encountered. Instead, they did what all artists do: they filtered these sites through their own cultural lens. In the case of Murphy, Roberts and Lewis, that lens was one which, to varying degrees, transformed the Alhambra into a "romantic fortress" that helped to shape an exotic image of Spain, and especially its Moorish past, that continues to some extent even into our own time.

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<sup>19</sup> Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession*, 129.

## APPENDIX

## FIGURES

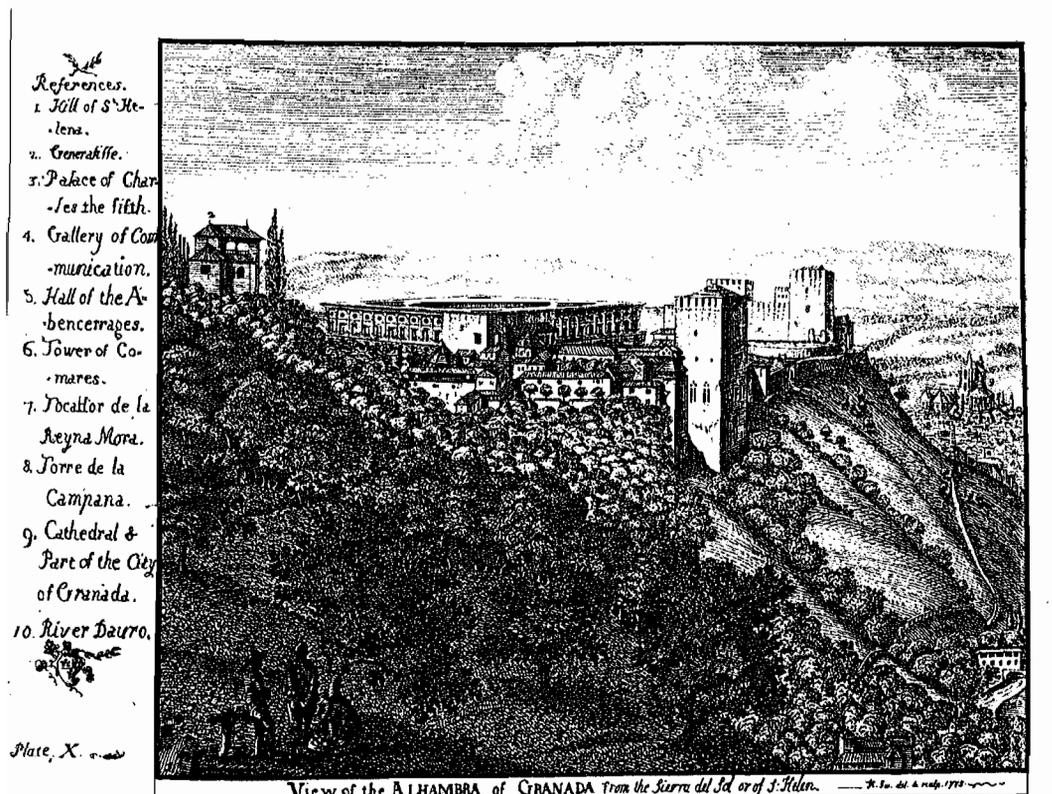
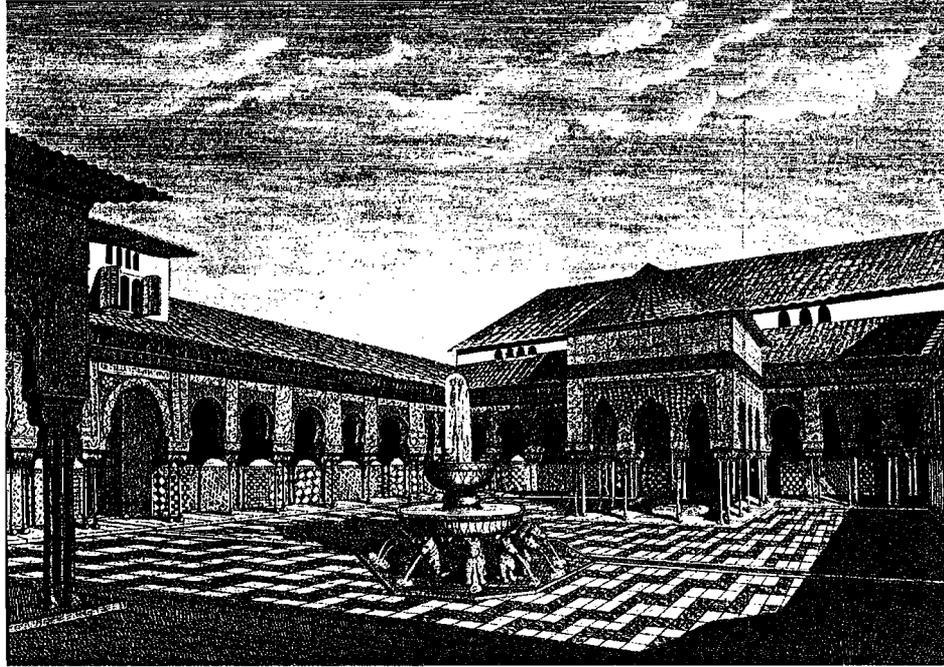


Figure 1 Henry Swinburne, *View of the Alhambra*, from *Travels through Spain...*, 1779



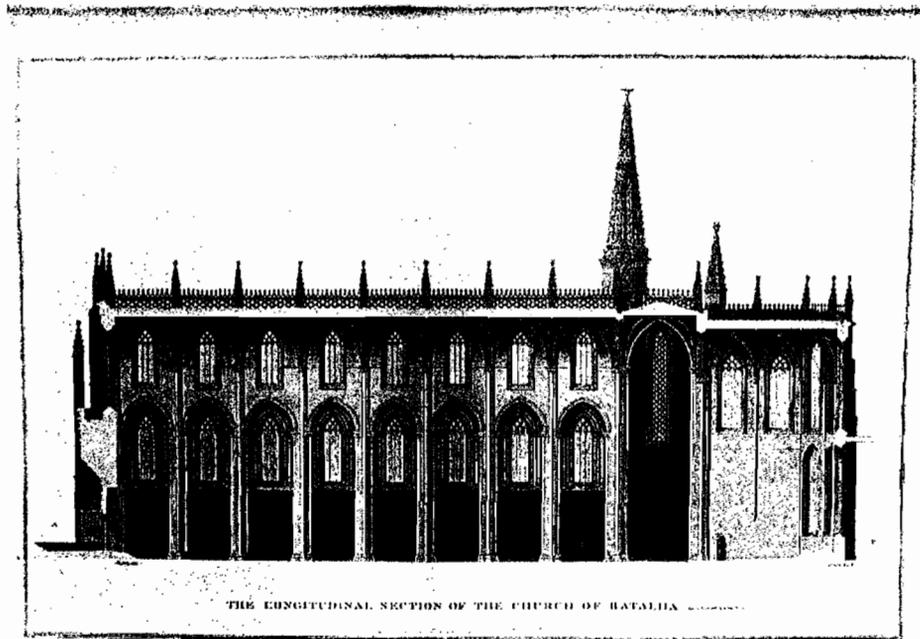
Figure 2 Richard Twiss, *View of the Alhambra*, from *Travels through Portugal and Spain...*, 1775



**Figure 3** Henry Swinburne, *Court of the Lions*, from *Travels through Spain...*, 1779



**Figure 4** Sir David Wilkie, *Sancho Panza in the Days of His Youth*, ca. 1835



**Figure 5** James Cavanah Murphy, *Section of the Church of Batalha*, from *Plans, elevations, sections, and views of the church of Batalha....*, 1795

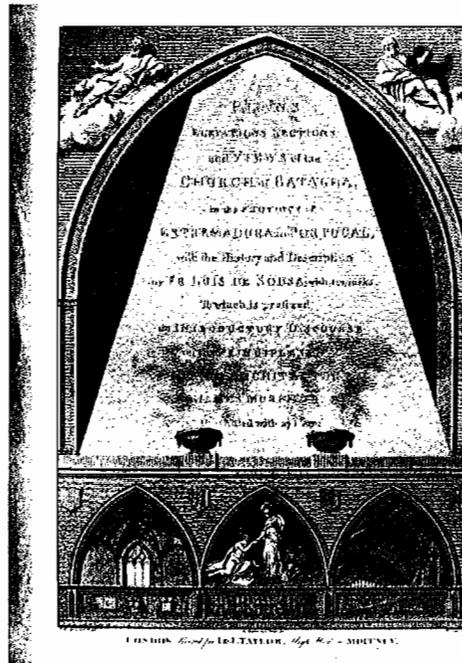


Figure 6 James Cavanah Murphy, Frontispiece to *Plans, elevations, sections, and views of the church of Batalha...*, 1795

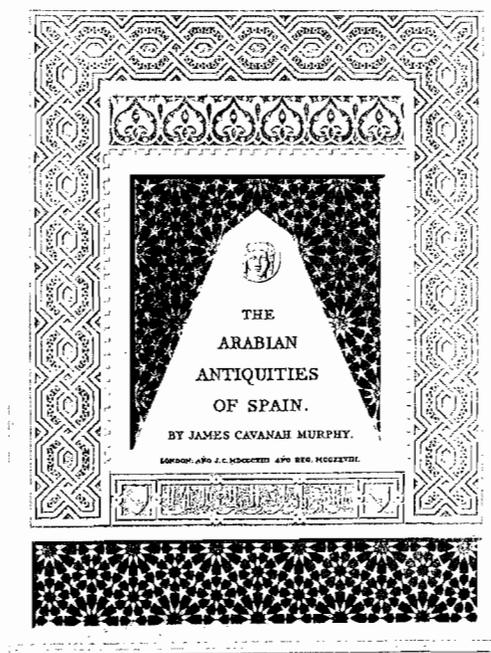
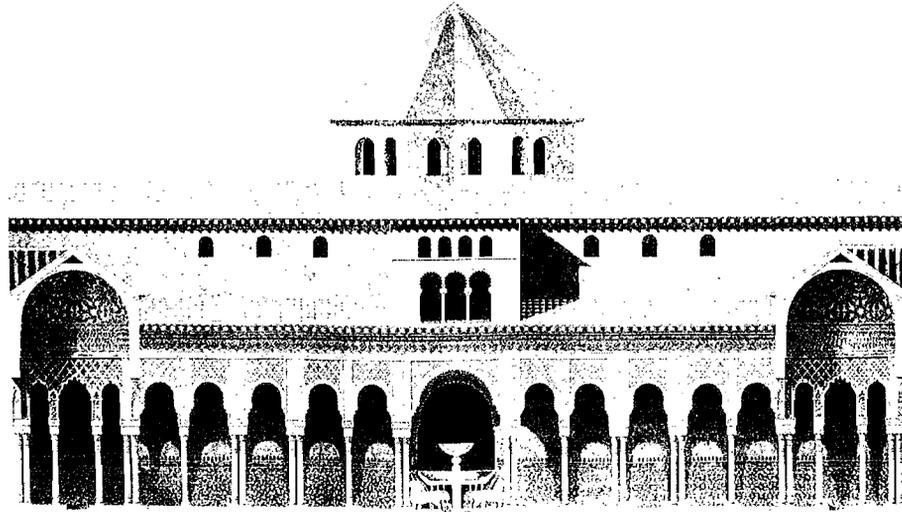
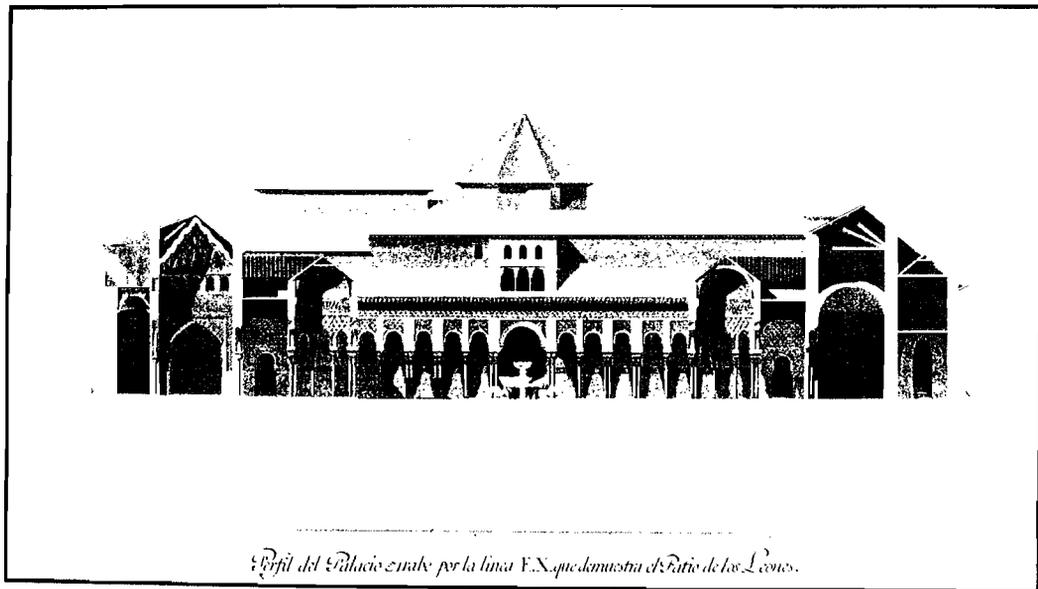


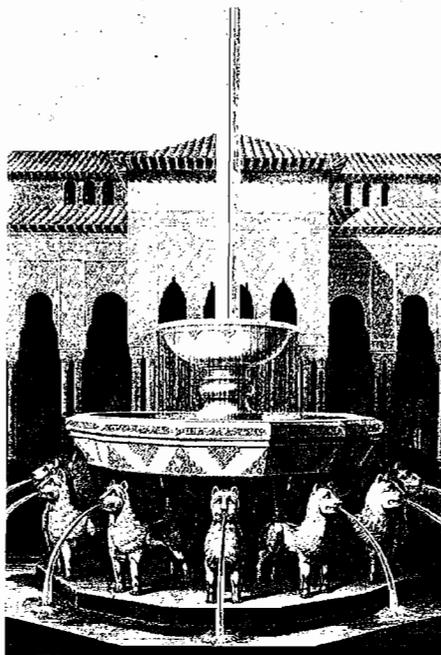
Figure 7 James Cavanah Murphy, Frontispiece to *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, 1815



**Figure 8** James Cavanah Murphy, *Side Elevation of the Lion's Court and Fountain*, from *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, 1815

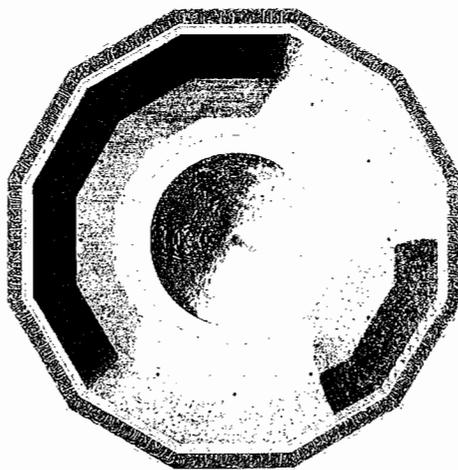


**Figure 9** *Patio of the Lions*, from *Antigüedades árabes de España*, 1787



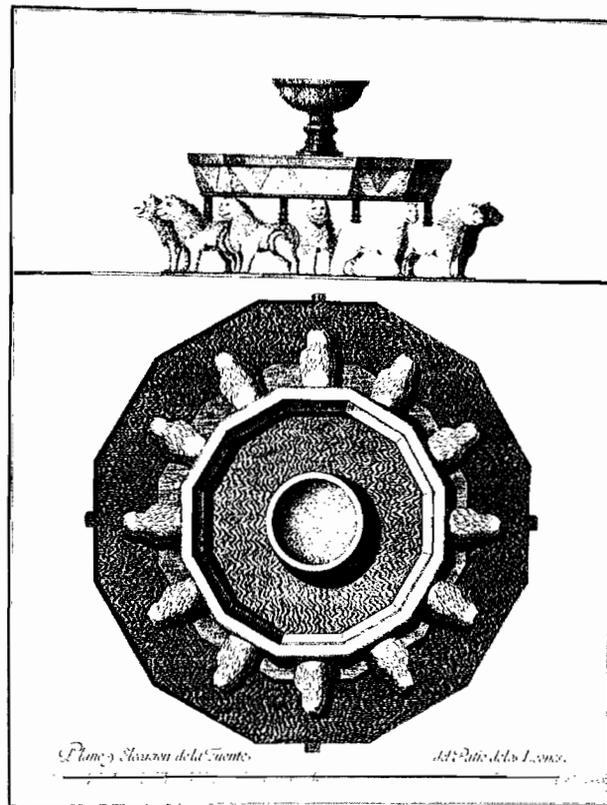
ELEVATION OF THE FOUNTAIN OF LIONS

**Figure 10** James Cavanah Murphy, *Elevation of the Fountain of Lions*, from *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, 1815



PLAN OF THE BASIN OF THE FOUNTAIN OF LIONS

**Figure 11** James Cavanah Murphy, *Plan of the Basin of the Fountain of Lions*, from *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, 1815



**Figure 12** *Plan and Elevation of the Fountain of the Lions, from Antiquidades árabes de España, 1787*

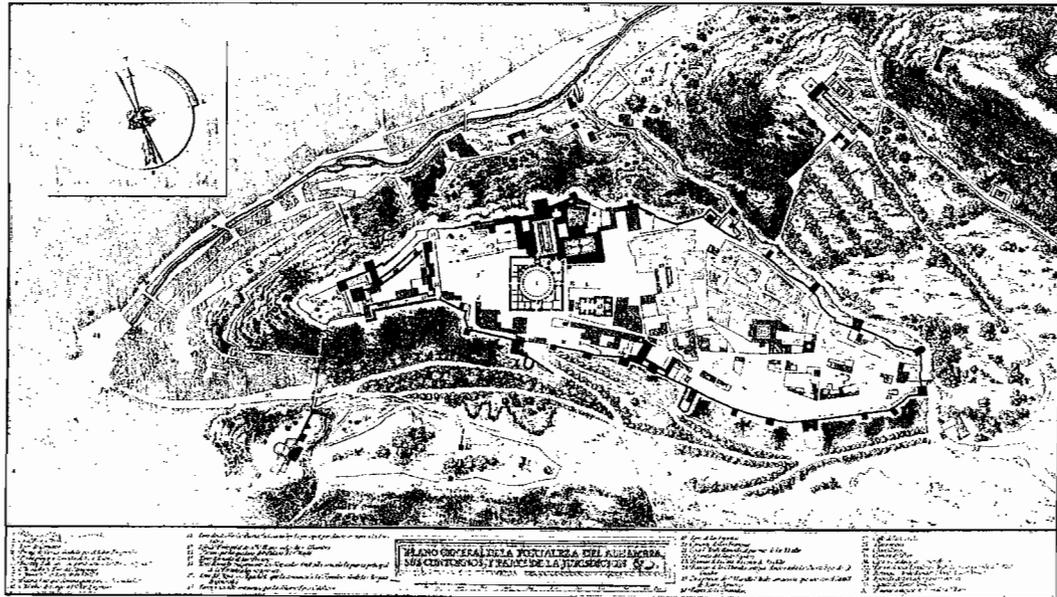


Figure 13 Plan of the Alhambra, from *Antigüedades árabes de España*, 1787



Figure 14 View of the Alhambra from the Torres Bermejas, from *Antigüedades árabes de España*, 1787



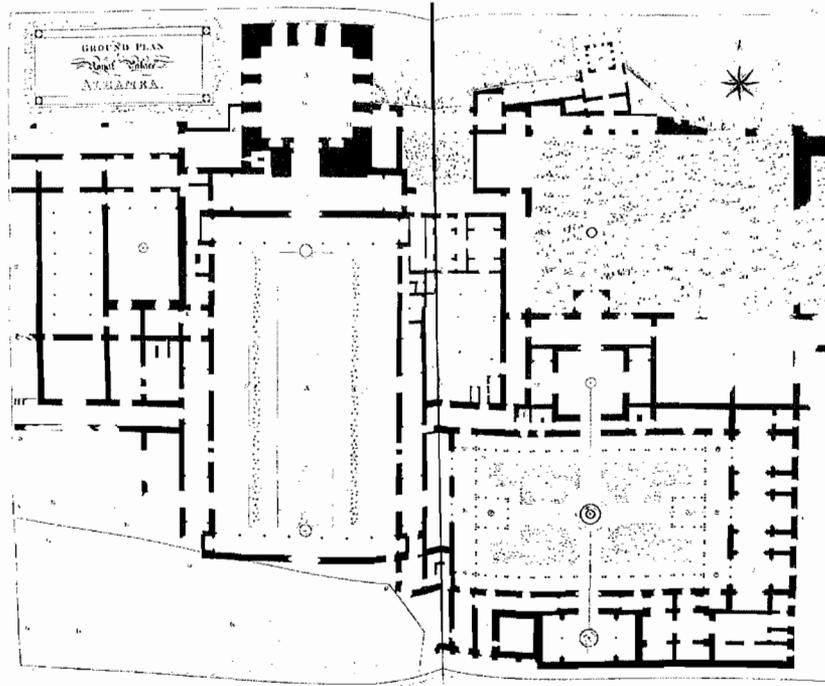


Figure 17 James Cavanah Murphy, *Ground Plan of the Alhambra*, from *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, 1815

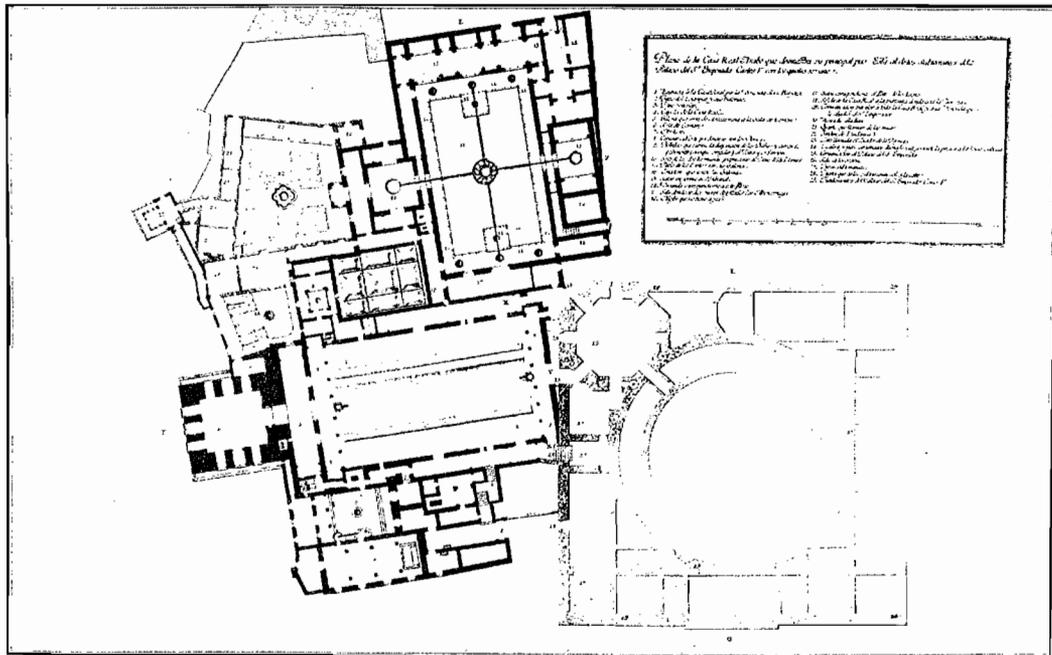


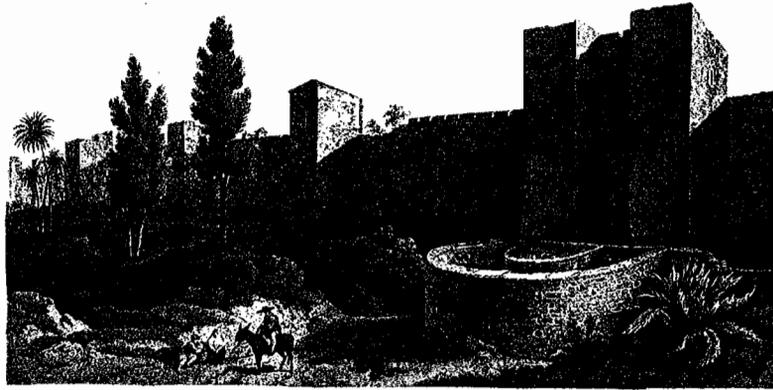
Figure 18 *Plan of the Royal Palaces of the Alhambra*, from *Antigüedades árabes de España*, 1787



Figure 19 Court of the Myrtles and Palace of Charles V, from *Antigüedades árabes de España*, 1787



Figure 20 Frontispiece from *Antigüedades árabes de España*, 1787



**Figure 21** James Cavanah Murphy, *Principal Entrance to the Alhambra*, from *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, 1815



THE GATE OF JUDGMENT.

**Figure 22** James Cavanah Murphy, *The Gate of Judgment*, from *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, 1815

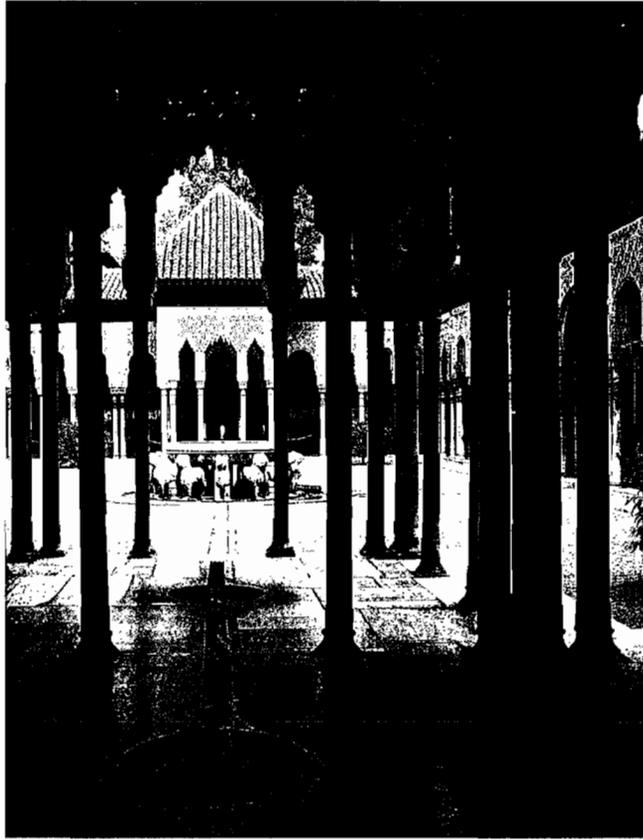


Figure 23 Gate of Justice, Alhambra

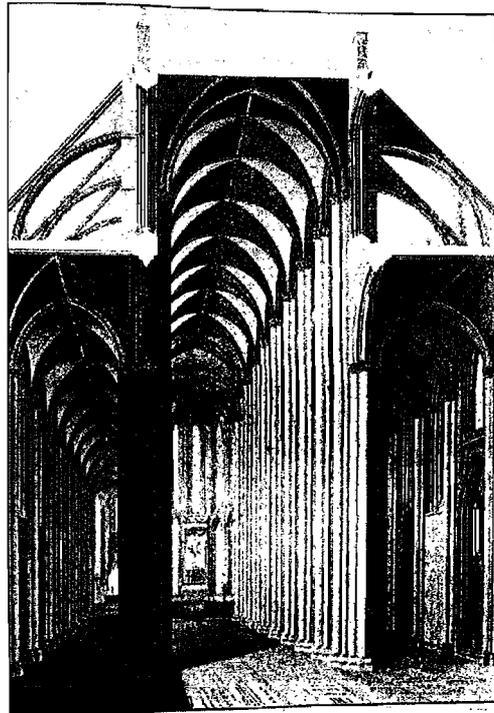


A fine detail from the top page of the book, showing the fountain.

Figure 24 James Cavanah Murphy, *The Court and Fountain of Lions*, from *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, 1815

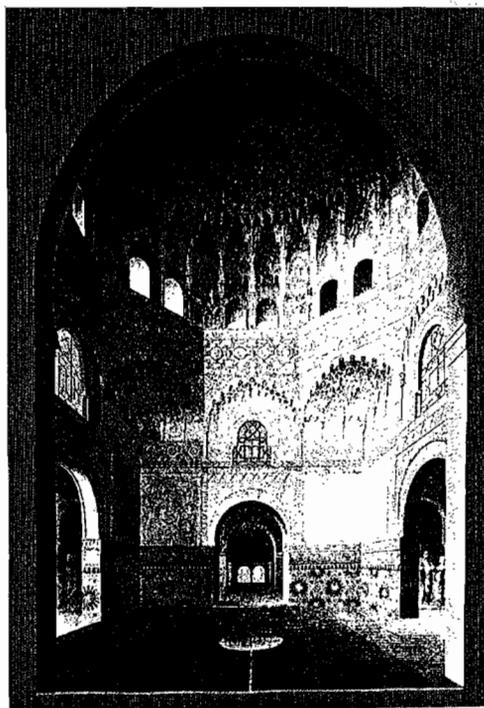


**Figure 25** Court and Fountain of the Lions, Alhambra

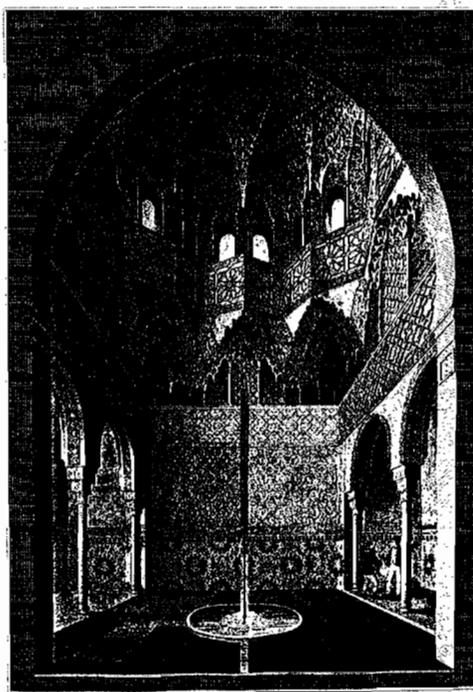


INTERIOR VIEW OF THE CHURCH OF BATALHA.

**Figure 26** James Cavanah Murphy, *Interior View of the Church of Batalha*, from *Plans, elevations, sections, and views of the church of Batalha...*, 1795

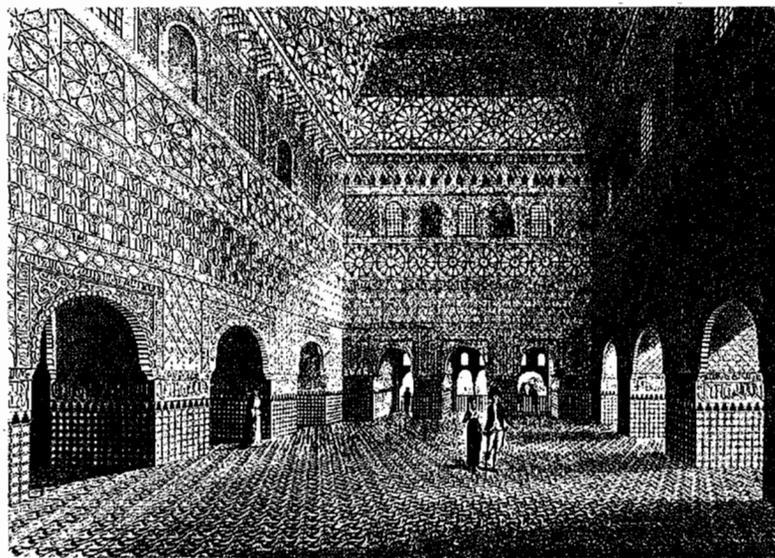


**Figure 27** James Cavanah Murphy, *Hall of the Two Sisters*, from *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, 1815



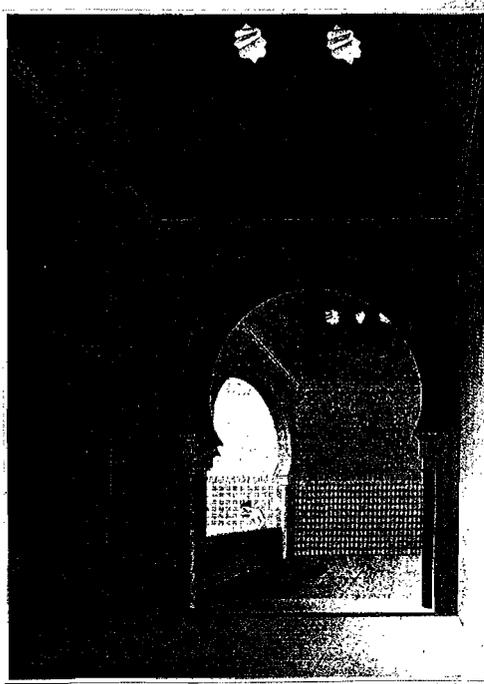
HALL OF THE ABENCERRAGES.

**Figure 28** James Cavanah Murphy, *Hall of the Abencerrages*, from *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, 1815



THE GOLDEN SALOON, OR HALL OF AMBASSADORS.

**Figure 29** James Cavanah Murphy, *The Golden Saloon, or Hall of Ambassadors*, from *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, 1815



THE QUEEN'S BATH.

**Figure 30** James Cavanah Murphy, *The Queen's Bath*, from *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, 1815



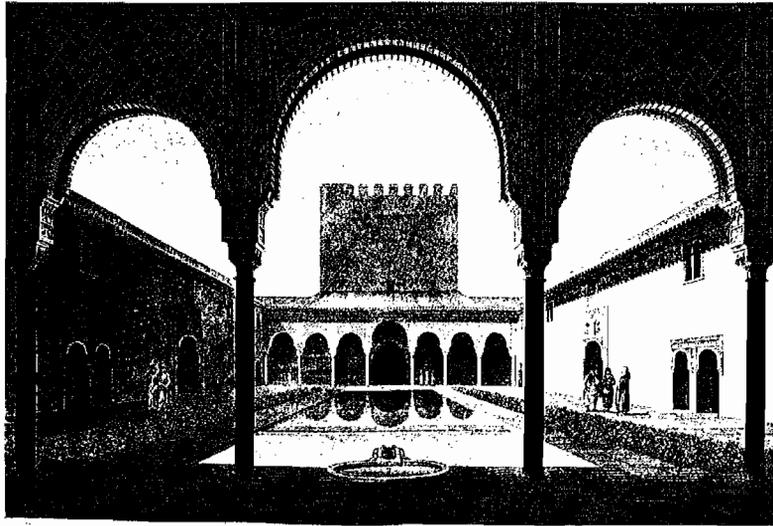
**Figure 31** Ceiling Vaults, Hall of Kings, Alhambra



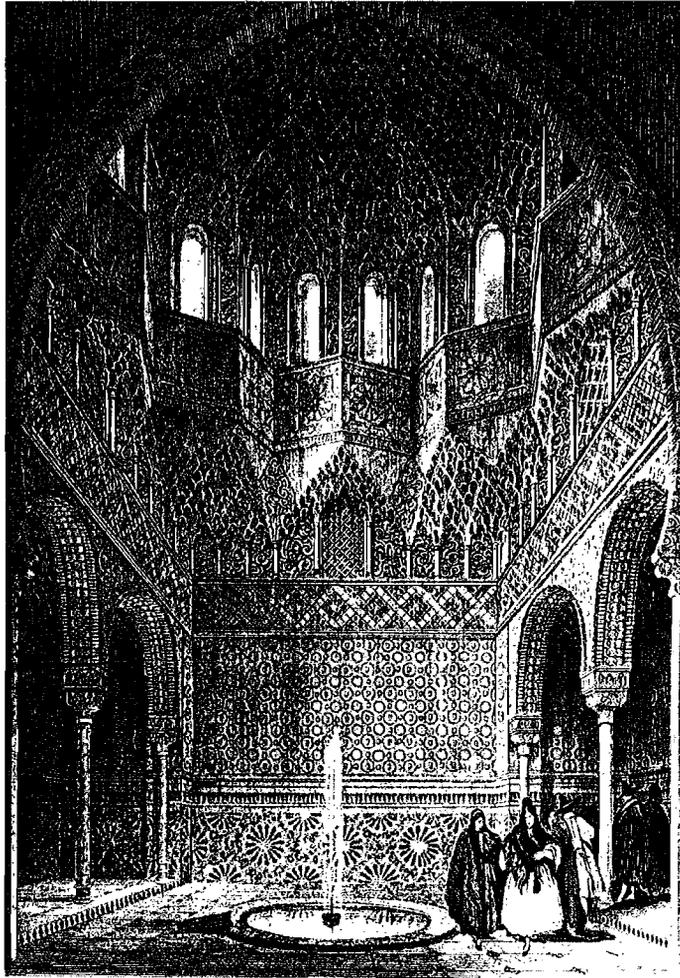
Figure 32 James Cavanah Murphy, *A Moorish Battle Piece*, from *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, 1815



Figure 33 James Cavanah Murphy, *An Arabian Council*, from *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, 1815



**Figure 34** James Cavanah Murphy, *View of the South Side of the Pateo del Agua*, from *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, 1815



**Figure 35** David Roberts, *Hall of the Abencerrages*, from *Jennings' Landscape Annual (Granada)*, 1835

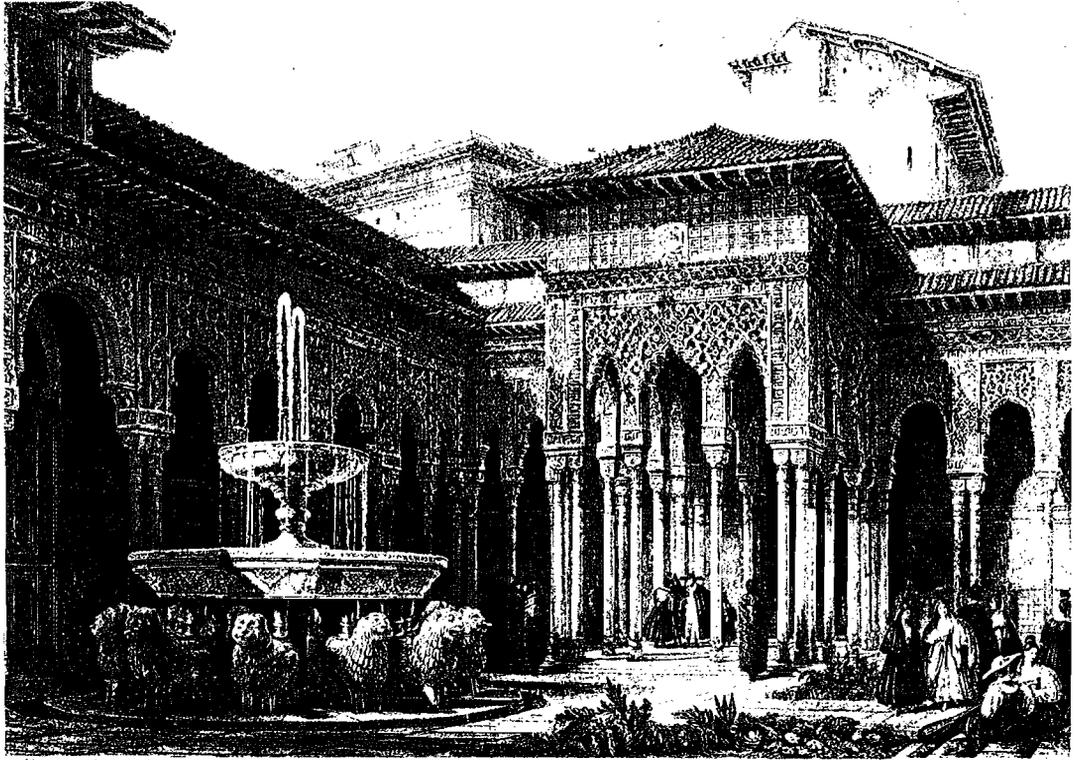


Figure 36 David Roberts, *Court of the Lions*, from *Jennings' Landscape Annual (Granada)*, 1835

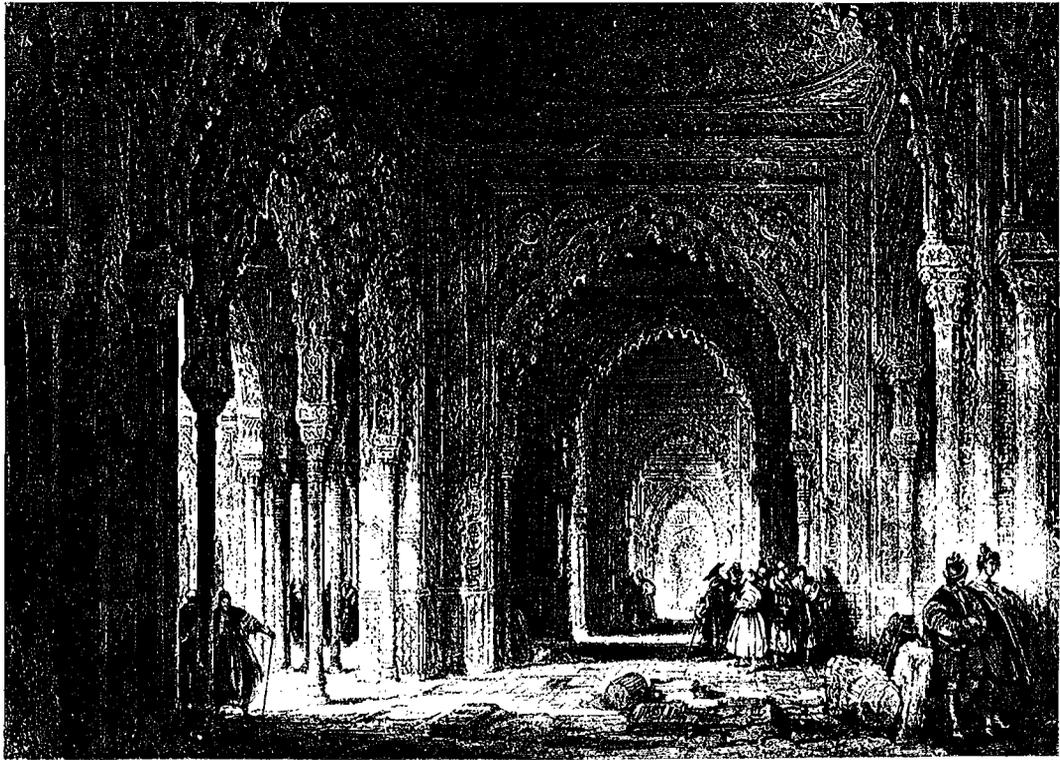
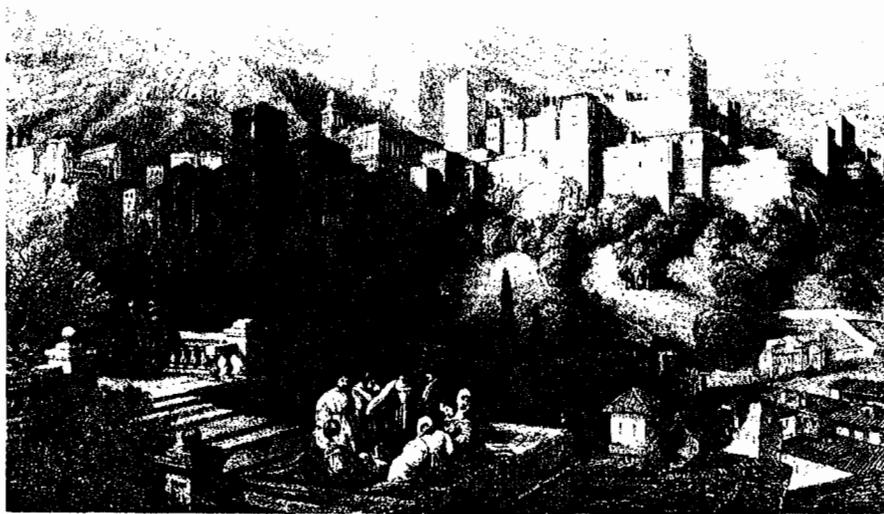


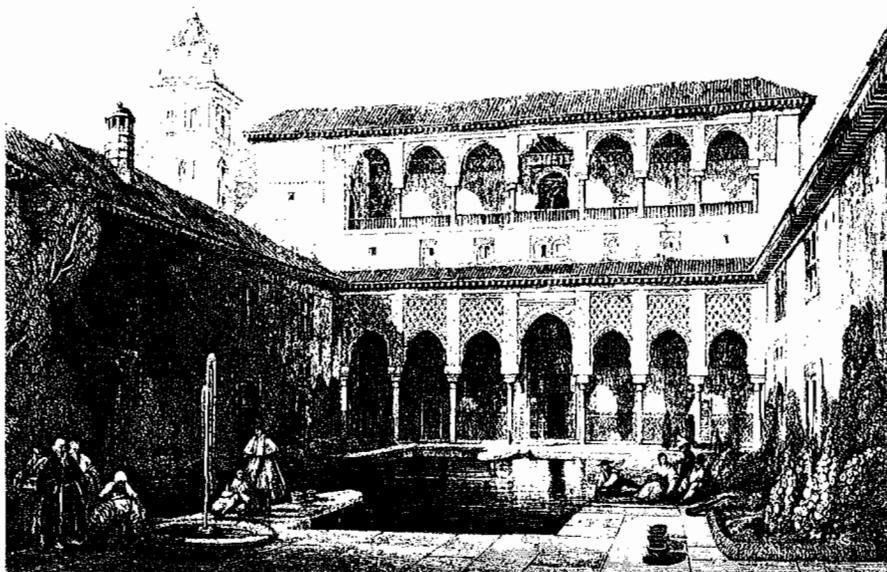
Figure 37 David Roberts, *Hall of Justice*, from *Jennings' Landscape Annual (Granada)*, 1835



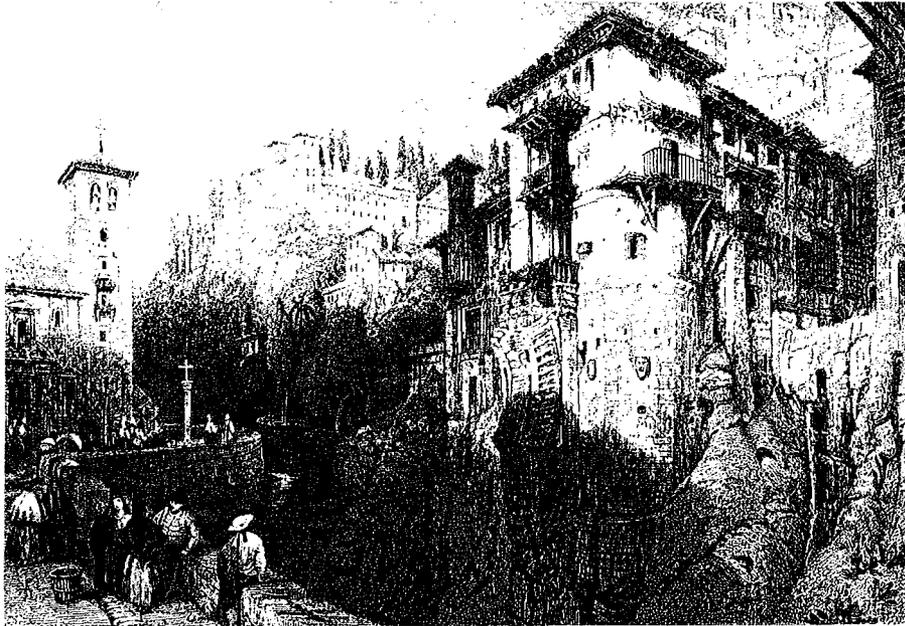
**Figure 38** David Roberts, *Gate of Justice*, from *Jennings' Landscape Annual (Granada)*, 1835



**Figure 39** David Roberts, *The Alhambra from the Albaycín*, from *Jennings' Landscape Annual (Granada)*, 1835



**Figure 40** David Roberts, *Court of the Myrtles*, from *Jennings' Landscape Annual (Granada)*, 1835



**Figure 41** David Roberts, *Remains of a Moorish Bridge on the River Darro*, from *Jennings' Landscape Annual (Granada)*, 1835



**Figure 42** David Roberts, *Casa del Carbón*, from *Jennings' Landscape Annual (Granada)*, 1835

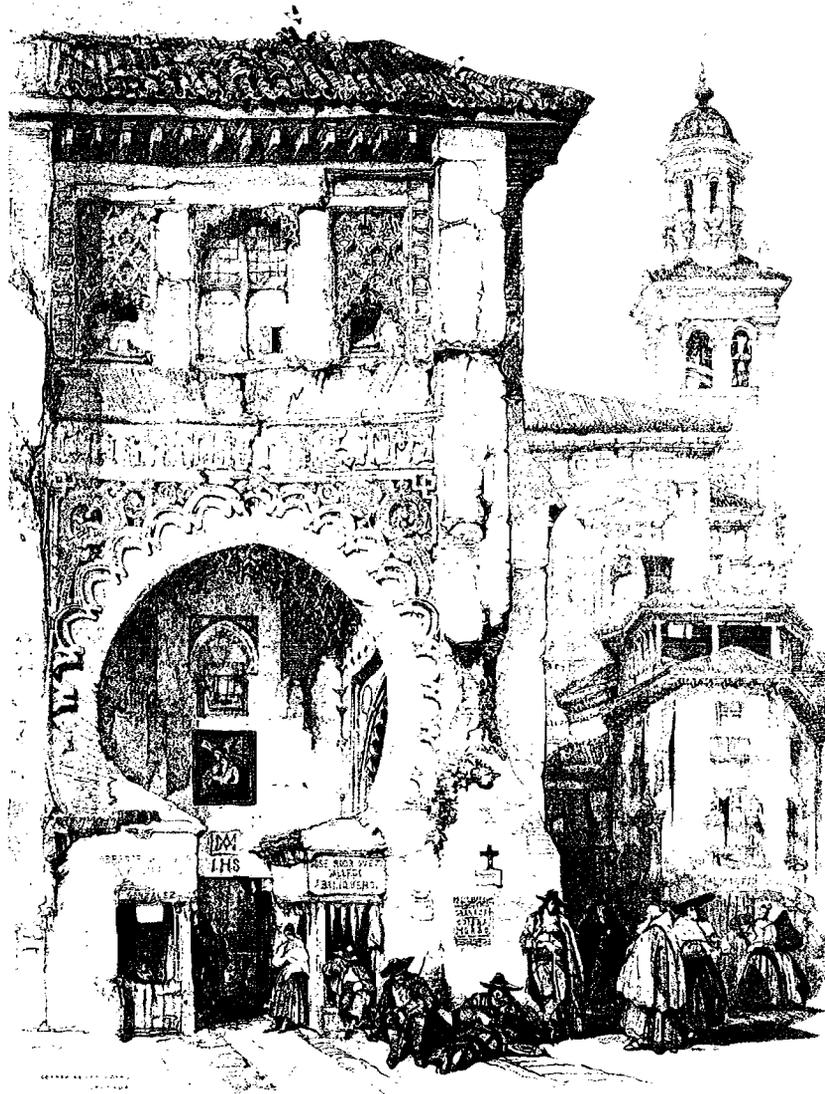


Figure 43 David Roberts, *Casa del Carbón*, from *Sketches of Spain and Spanish Character*, 1837



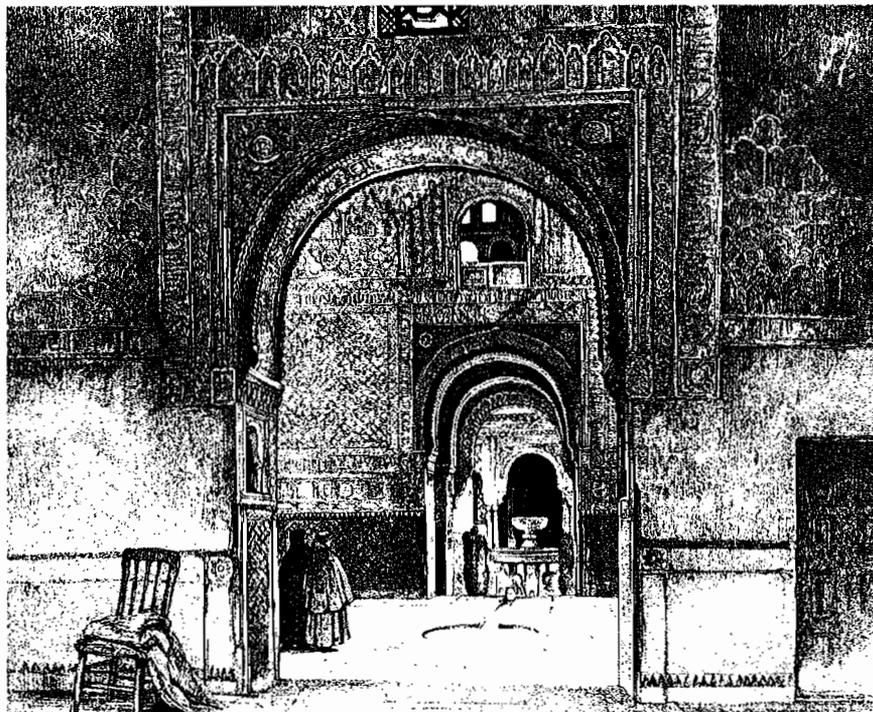
**Figure 44** David Roberts, *Moorish Gateway Leading to the Viva Rambla*, from *Jennings' Landscape Annual (Granada)*, 1835



**Figure 45** David Roberts, *Moorish Gateway Leading to the Viva Rambla*, from *Sketches of Spain and Spanish Character*, 1837



**Figure 46** John Frederick Lewis, *Part of the Alhambra from the Alameda del Darro*, from *Sketches and Drawings of the Alhambra*, 1835



**Figure 47** John Frederick Lewis, *Hall of the Two Sisters*, from *Sketches and Drawings of the Alhambra*, 1835

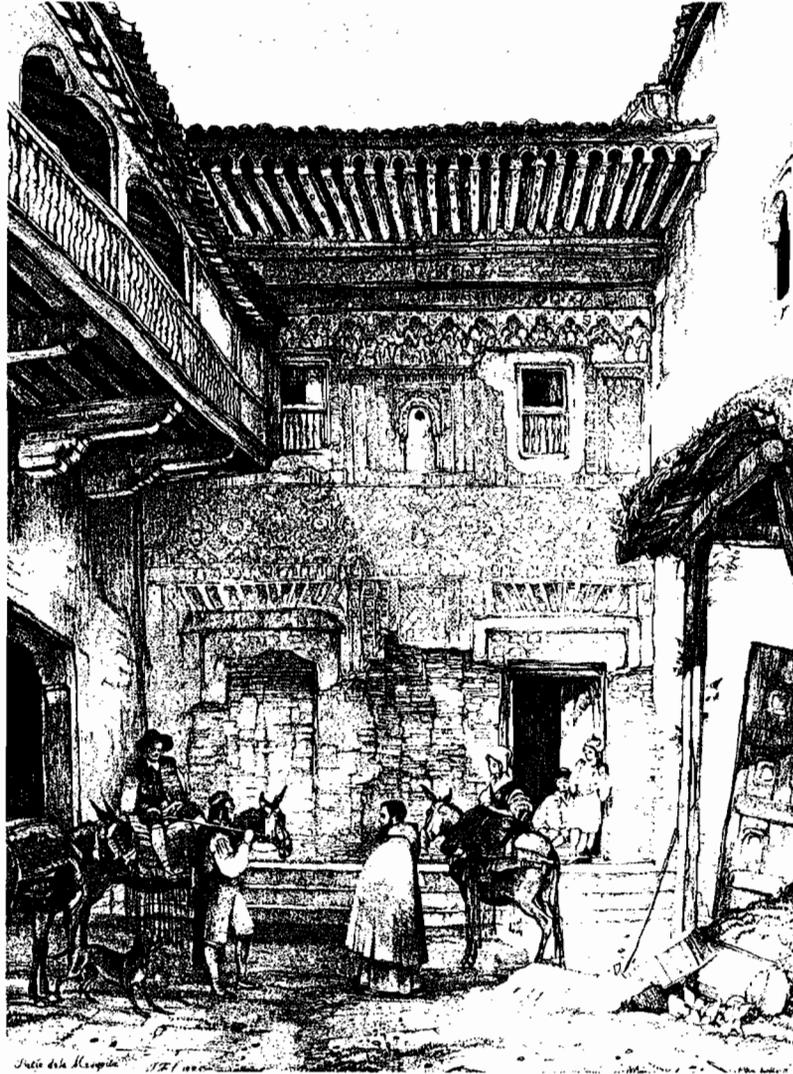
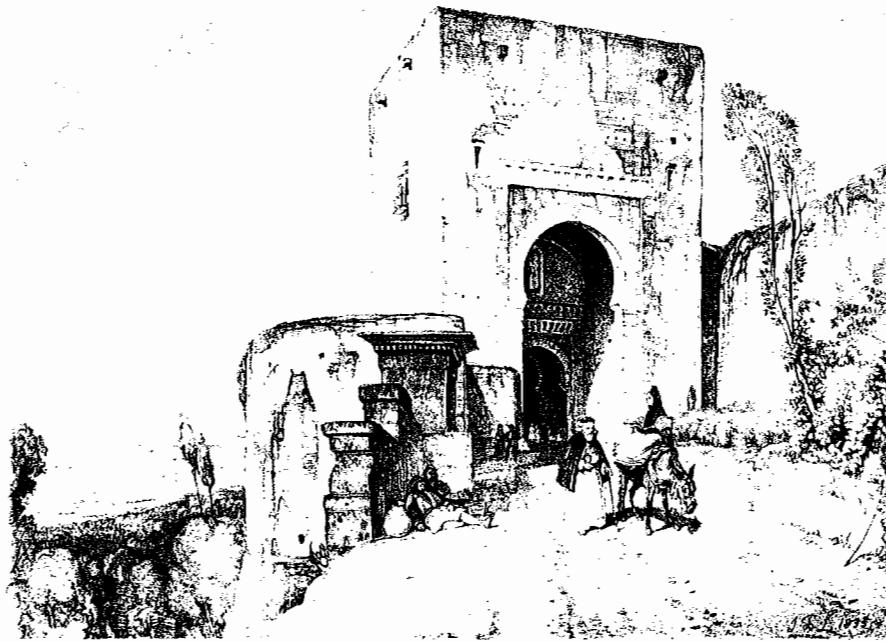
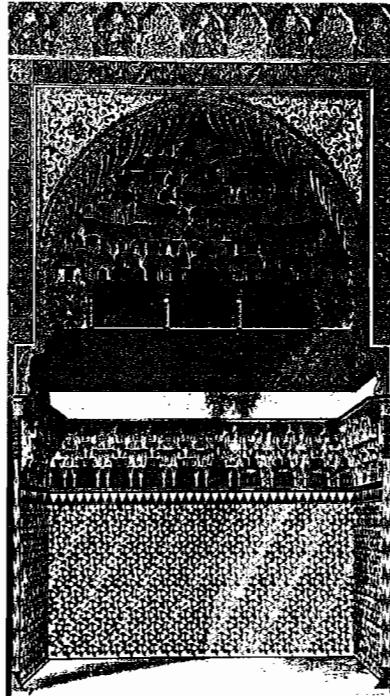


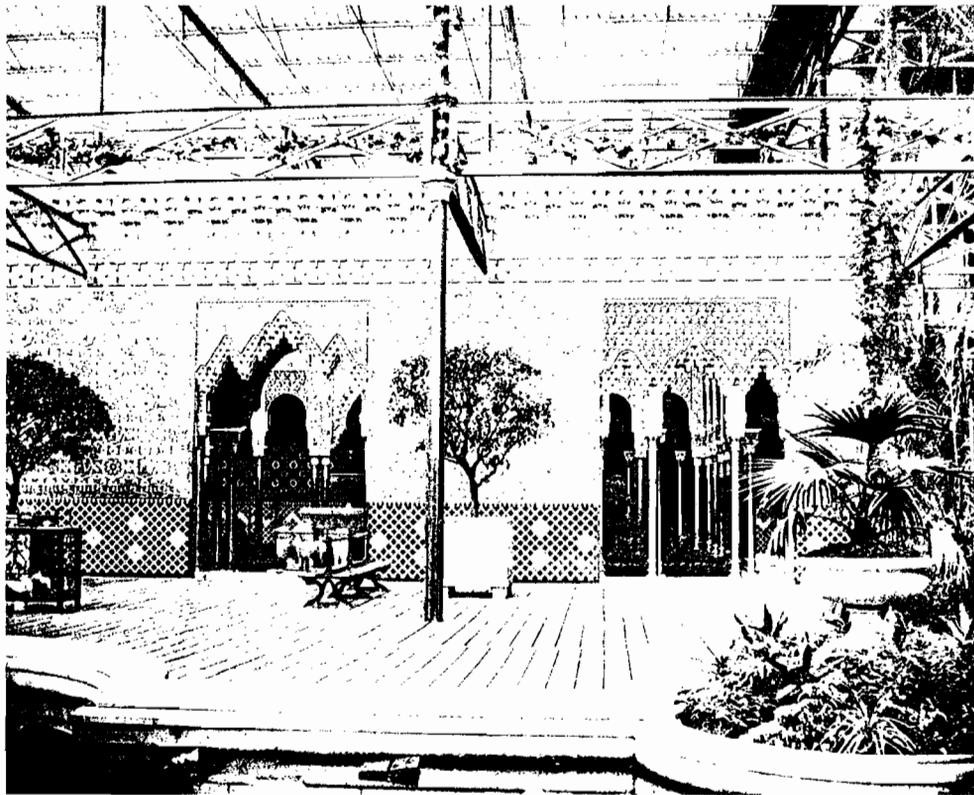
Figure 48 John Frederick Lewis, *Court of the Mosque*, from *Sketches and Drawings of the Alhambra*, 1835



**Figure 49** John Frederick Lewis, *Gate of Justice*, from *Sketches and Drawings of the Alhambra*, 1835



**Figure 50** Owen Jones, *Divan from the Court of the Alberca*, from *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*, 1836-1845



**Figure 51** The Alhambra Court at the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, 1854

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