CAMMY BROTHERS

THE RENAISSANCE RECEPTION OF THE ALHAMBRA: THE LETTERS OF ANDREA NAVAGERO AND THE PALACE OF CHARLES V

For sixteenth-century European visitors to Granada, the Alhambra presented a splendid, intact monument of a culture that was otherwise foreign. When Andrea Navagero, the Venetian ambassador to the imperial court and a humanist, poet, and expert gardener, visited the city in 1526, he found a largely Moorish population and few signs of the Christian reconquest of 1492.[1] In letters to his friend Giovanni Battista Ramusio, Navagero recorded his impressions of the palace and city prior to the transformation that Charles V began in the same year.[2] First published in 1556 as part of a collection of letters by illustrious men, and then in 1563 as a full volume, *Il viaggio fatto in Spagna e in Francia dal magnifico M. Andrea Navagiero,* the letters are often cited for their factual content, but have rarely been given the attention they deserve as the reflections of a discerning, well-educated humanist. When Ferdinand and Isabella provided for the preservation and maintenance of the Alhambra by designating it a *casa real,* or royal residence, their conquest was a living memory and the Alhambra could serve as a symbol of the triumph of Christian Spain over the Muslim empire.[3] But by the time Charles V arrived in Granada, the city was Christian and imperial in name only. He chose to build a palace adjacent to the Alhambra not only for the lovely views, lush vegetation, and abundant water supply, but also for the opportunity the site afforded to appropriate the aura of the Alhambra while inscribing it with a symbol of his domination (fig. 1).

Although the palace of Charles V at Granada has received a fair amount of scholarly attention, it has con-

Fig. 1. Granada. Palace of Charles V and the Alhambra. View from the east. (Photo: courtesy of MAS, Barcelona, Spain)

sistently been considered in the stylistic context of the Italian Renaissance, rather than the physical one of the Alhambra, Granada, and Spain. The degree to which the palace has been isolated from its immediate context by recent studies[4] is particularly unfortunate given the attention to site that characterizes Charles's architectural patronage in Spain. At Córdoba, and Seville he patronized projects which carved out imperial spaces within the fabric of medieval Umayyad and Almohad buildings, adapting local building styles to suit his functional needs. Considering why Charles chose to build his palace adjacent to the Alhambra in an Italianate style and comparing the project to others at Córdoba and Seville make possible an analysis of the palace within the context of Spain's Islamic heritage and the ideology of empire. Together, Andrea Navagero and Charles V provide the anchors for a discussion which can illuminate broader issues such as architectural exchanges between Italy and Spain and the multifaceted, historically layered relation of the Islamic to the classical.

ANDREA NAVAGERO'S DESCRIPTION OF THE ALHAMBRA

Andrea Navagero, in addition to being the author of a history of Venice, a scholar, and a diplomat, was an informed student of ancient architecture, an amateur horticulturalist, and a poet.[5] These latter occupations, as shall be seen, gave him the tools to analyze the Alhambra in an informed and perceptive way. He was friends with Fra Giocondo, the Venetian author of the first illustrated edition of Vitruvius, and while in Spain requested that Ramusio send him the book. He was also friends with Raphael, Baldassare Castiglione, and Pietro Bembo. In a letter of 3 April 1516, Bembo writes of their plan to visit Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli together; Bembo had already been there, but says that they are going to please Navagero before he leaves for Venice.[6] In Venice Navagero kept two gardens, at Murano and Selva, to which he frequently refers in his letters and which received the lavish praise of visitors.[7] His particularizing descriptions of the varieties of species of flora he encounters in Spain and his ability to name them demonstrate that he was not simply an enthusiast but an expert.[8] In addition, he was the author of *Lusus,* a volume of Latin pastoral poetry first published in Venice in 1530 and based on the imitation of Virgil's *Georgics.*[9]

Navagero's letters contain many descriptions of sites and cities, but none received the attention he lavished on the Alhambra. He saw the Alhambra in terms of ancient villas and gardens as they were described in classical literature. After making some general observations about its situation and the materials with which it was built, he begins a room-by-room elaboration of its outstanding features. Certain elements — the rich materials, the fine craftsmanship, and the elaborate water systems — attract his attention; others, for example the Islamic inscriptions which adorn almost every room, he ignores entirely. He begins:

> The Alhambra is surrounded by walls and it is like a castle separated from the rest of the city, which it almost entirely dominates. Inside there are a good number of houses but the most space is occupied by a beautiful palace that belonged to the Moorish kings; in truth it is very beautiful and extremely sumptuous in its fine marbles and in all other things. The marble, however, is not on the walls but on the floor. There is a large court, or space, in the Spanish style, very beautiful and grand, surrounded by buildings, but in one part it has a beautiful and unique tower that is called the Tor de Comarez, in which there are a few rooms and very good private rooms, with the windows made in a delicate and pleasing way, with excellent Moorish craftsmanship, both in the walls and in the ceiling of the rooms. The crafted parts are in plaster with gold and part of ivory with gold; in truth it is all very beautiful, and most of all the ceiling of the room below and all the walls. The court is tiled with extremely fine white marble, some pieces of which are very large. In the middle there is a channel full of water running from a fountain; it begins in the palace and conducts the water everywhere, ending in the rooms. Along both sides of this channel is a grove of beautiful myrtle and some orange trees.[10]

The use of large quantities of marble in building would have been familiar to Navagero from his native city of Venice, although he notes, "The marble, however, is not in the walls, but on the floor." Navagero makes other distinctions, noting the "Spanish style" court and the Moorish craftsmanship of the walls and ceilings.

The gardens of the Alhambra, lacking the particularity of materials and craftsmanship of the architecture, presented Navagero with the greatest opportunity to exercise his rhetoric and his historical imagination, as well as his horticultural expertise. His letters often begin with expressions of his longing to be in his own gardens of Murano and Selva and include instructions concerning their care, which he had entrusted to Ramusio. In a letter of 5 May 1525, he writes from Barcelona that Spain is a land "of the most beautiful gardens that I can imagine

could exist," and then goes on to suggest that Ramusio plant laurel trees and roses in his garden at Murano.[11] In another letter from Toledo on 12 September 1525, he writes, "I would very much like to have a grove planted in lines as straight as possible,"[12] a desire that might have been inspired by gardens he had seen in Spain. Of the gardens and fountains of the Generalife he writes:

> You leave this palace from a secret door in the back, outside the surrounding wall, and you enter a beautiful garden of a palace higher on the mountain; [the palace is] called the Generalife. The Generalife is not a very big palace, but it is very well built and beautiful, and the splendor of its gardens and waters makes it the most beautiful thing that I have seen in Spain: it has more spaces, all with abundant water, but one has water flowing in a channel, and is full of beautiful myrtles, and orange trees in the middle, in which there is a loggia. . . . the water flows everywhere in the palace, and also in the rooms when you want, in a few of which it would be very pleasant to stay in the summer. In a completely green place, made into a meadow (*prato*) with a few beautiful trees, the water is made to come in such a way that in a few channels in the meadow you hear the water grow under your feet, and it bathes everything. It is done without any effort, and without anyone seeing how. . . .[13]

Later in the same passage Navagero again marvels at the ingenious devices used in the water system. One stairway had water channels in which the amount of water could be controlled, so that "if they want to increase the amount of water, they increase it so much that it does not go in its place, it overflows, and floods all the levels, and bathes everyone it finds, making a thousand jokes of this sort."[14]

Of the overall effect of the palace, gardens, and flowing waters, Navagero says, "In sum, this place lacks nothing pleasing or beautiful, except someone to appreciate it, and enjoy it, living in quiet, and tranquil pursuit of studies, and pleasures appropriate to a man of worth, without desiring anything else."[15] Then he adds, "from so many ruins of delightful places, one can judge that those Moorish kings did not neglect anything that contributed to a pleasant and contented life."[16] Navagero's statement that the only thing lacking at the Alhambra is "someone to appreciate it, and enjoy it" suggests a sense of regret that the palace has been abandoned. On the other hand, he articulates a Petrarchan vision of a pastoral life of quiet study, not unlike the sort he longed for in his letters to Ramusio. For example in a letter of 1525 he wrote from Toledo, "Devote yourself to the enrichment of your villa Ramusia with many beauties and with delightful trees, so that on my arrival, after Murano and Selva, we can spend a good part of our life in that countryside with our books."[17]

Navagero's descriptions show admiration and wonder, but their style also displays the influence of the classical literary tradition. Ancient descriptions of villas and gardens, the best known of which are the letters of Pliny the Younger, helped shape the way Navagero perceives and describes the Alhambra. The scarcity of archaeological evidence regarding ancient villas led to a general fascination with these texts among Renaissance humanists, and Navagero was no exception. As the author of pastoral poetry, he would have used the topos of the *locus amoenus*.[18] Though conventional in nature, classical descriptions would have prepared Navagero for the scale and richness of the Alhambra and for the lavishness of its gardens in a way that his experiences in Italy could not have. In particular, Pliny's description of his villa at Laurentinum provides a parallel to Navagero's. Both follow the same sequence, beginning with a description of the landscape and site, proceeding to an account of the interior and the views, and concluding with the gardens; and both comment on the tranquillity and pleasure afforded by the place. Wrote Pliny of his garden apartment:

> Crowning the terrace, portico, and garden, stands a detached building, which I call my favourite: and in truth I am extremely fond of it, as I erected it myself. It contains a very warm winter-room, one side of which looks upon the terrace, the other has a view of the sea, and both lie exposed to the sun. . . . As you lie upon this couch, from the feet you have a prospect of the sea; if you look behind, you see the neighbouring villas; and from the head you have a view of the woods. . . . This profound tranquility is occasioned by a passage, which divides the wall of this chamber from that of the garden. . . . When I retire to this garden-apartment, I fancy myself a hundred miles from my own house. . . .
>
> Among the pleasures and conveniences of this situation, there is one disadvantage, and that is, the want of a running stream.[19]

Navagero's account of the Alhambra is by no means a deliberate copy of this passage; on the one hand, it is accurate, and on the other, there are a limited number of ways in which a garden can be described. Nonetheless, Pliny's model forms a background for both the structure and points of focus of Navagero's description. The terms Pliny employs are general enough to encompass all of the major features of Islamic gardens, so that Navagero's description of the Alhambra could be detailed and accurate without compromising or even challenging the classical literary paradigm.

Pliny's Tuscan villa does include fountains, and it too had its playful uses of water. He writes of a complex fountain in his garden:

> At the head is a curved seat of white marble decked with vines and four vine-clad columns of Carystian marble. From beneath the seat water flows out from small pipes but appears to be pressed out by the weight of the bench and its occupants, and is caught in a stone basin hewn out of the rock faced with marble, very pretty, in which the supply is so regulated that it never overflows though it is always full. There is a fountain in full view of this seat from which the water shoots up into the air and is caught in the basin as it falls back, not continuously but intermittently.[20]

The regulation of a water supply, the playful illusion of the seat causing the water to spew out, and the highly visible fountain mentioned here may have drawn Navagero's attention to analogous elements he describes at the Alhambra.

Navagero would also have known other classical authors whose writings could have served as prototypes. For example, Lucullus's villa provides an ancient precedent for the dissolution of the boundaries between indoors and outdoors, house and garden, which Navagero notes in the Court of the Lions: Varro described Lucullus's aviary, which was under the same roof as the dining room. Cicero writes that his brother's estate included a bath, promenade, colonnade, aviary, and fish pond with fountains. And Statius's *Silvae* includes an ekphrasis of a country villa which expresses enthusiasm for the marvels of technology. Martial writes of "this grove, these springs, this matted shade of the horizontal vine, this conduit of irrigating water, the meadows, the rose gardens . . . the white tower . . ." that belonged to the estate he was given on his return to Spain in 98 A.D.[21]

The way Navagero's classical education informed his response to Spain also surfaces more explicitly in his scattered references to Pliny the Elder, to Cicero, and to Columella, a first-century Roman of Spanish birth who wrote on agriculture,[22] and through his description of the ancient ruins he came upon. Of the ruins around Granada he writes:

> In the passage before you reach the Puente de Pinos on the right side of the mountain, you see many ruins and vestiges of a city, which it is believed in ancient times was Iliberis, now called Granada la Vitia. However, many believe that where Granada is now was in ancient times Iliberis, because one finds some stones in which the liberitani are named, but they could have been brought, particularly from so close a place. . . . there are some stones at Puente de Pinos with ancient inscriptions brought there from a place that is past Puente de Pinos, which is called le Aerro dellos Infantes and in ancient times Ilvereon, which you see and recognize by the same inscriptions that are in the marble stones.[23]

Although Navagero doubts the accuracy of the claims that Granada itself was the site of an ancient city, he was aware of the classical heritage of the area around Granada and of how its history could be read in the stones. Evidence of his archaeological interests emerges more clearly from his descriptions of the Roman ruins around Seville:

> Past the monastery, at a league or a little more from Seville, there is another beautiful monastery called Saint Isidoro, where they say Seville was in ancient times, but this is false, because Seville was where it is. The monastery is pretty enough (as I said), but what is more beautiful are the great number of antique ruins one sees. Among them there is an amphitheater that is not very big, which functions to this day, still in its entire form, and its steps, but many parts are ruined, and all the marble and stone (*pietre vive*) that was there has been taken away. One also sees the vestiges of a temple, and of baths, from which one can understand [what was there], but nothing is as complete as the amphitheater. Everything else is confused, and only full of ruins that don't show what the things were. It is certain that there was a city, but I don't think it was Seville, but more like what Pliny says, speaking of Seville, *ex adverso oppidum esset*.[24]

The passage also provides an example of the way in which Navagero's factual descriptions are strewn with classical references.

But not all sixteenth-century Italian visitors to the Alhambra had Navagero's classical training or enthusiasm for gardens. For example, his secretary Zuan Negro writes of the Alhambra in a far more mundane and predictable manner:

> The Alhambra, as the place where the emperor lodges is called, is situated on top of a hill. . . . It is built in the Moorish style, and for what it is I like it well enough and it is not ugly. There are many fountains inside and pleasant places and so many delights, because from what can be seen these Moors, or most of them, did not attend to anything if not to delight and pleasure.[25]

Negro's unembellished version of Navagero's description still conveys a measured degree of appreciation.

Closer to Navagero in his approach to Islamic palaces was Leandro Alberti. Alberti's account of La Ziza in Sicily, in *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia e Isole pertinenti ad essa* of 1561, demonstrates an equally informed, but quite distinct, perception. Both Navagero and Alberti discern facets of Roman architecture in Islamic buildings, but

according to their own interests. Both approach the unknown forms with the tools they have, Alberti with architectural theory, Navagero with classical literature; but neither has the vocabulary to describe precisely the Islamic architectural features they see.[26] Alberti begins by stating that all the buildings "were made with much measure, proportion, and ornament. Finding myself here and seeing that palace, which you can still see was made with great artifice and expense, I decided to draw as much as was possible with measure (*misuratamente*), describing it then part by part, to please curious minds." Following this explanation, he continues in a passage typical of his analytical mode: "The façade is ninety feet long, and seventy-three tall, of stone squares put together with great artifice, above which there is an order of merlons of a height of three feet. In the middle of this façade you see a very measured door thirty feet high and half as wide, made with great majesty."[27] His determination to measure and draw the buildings of La Ziza and his focus on their symmetry and geometrical relations suggest an attitude to these Islamic ruins akin to that adopted by Renaissance architects to Roman ruins.

While both Navagero and Alberti could certainly identify Moorish buildings, they had a limited knowledge of distinctions in historical eras and architectural styles. In Navagero's description of the cathedral of Seville, he did not realize that the courtyard was twelfth-century Almohad, although he could discern a difference between the two parts. He writes, "Next to the Church is a sort of cloister, or large court, with a wall adjoining the church, so that it all seems to be one building." He continues, "Attached to the church there is a bell tower that is beautiful and has a very high tower, furnished with beautiful, large bells; one ascends by a very flat staircase, without steps, like the one in Venice, in the bell tower at San Marco, but more pleasant and light."[28] The transformation of the minaret into a bell tower must have been a success, because Navagero does not recognize its earlier function. His allusion to Venice reveals that he, like Alberti and indeed all travelers, defined what he saw in terms of what he already knew.

Alberti notes some of the same features of the architecture as Navagero: the Moorish craftsmanship, the fine marbles, the fountains, the fruit trees:

> . . . the building, as I have said, is made with much ingenuity, so that one cannot understand the means by which the water, which here cascades from the air, falls. In truth, as I have written, this is a superb and extremely artful (*artefiociossissimo*) building, but now for neglect it is falling into ruin. . . . In truth I believe that no one with a generous soul could see these buildings with parts ruined and parts threatening ruin, without feeling great sorrow in his heart. . . . I have described this building to satisfy curious minds, and because of the fear that there is no one of a generous soul who will preserve them, so that they will no longer be seen standing, at least the written memory of them will remain, and for this reason I have written the *Geography*.[29]

Alberti's sense of imminent loss and his desire to preserve the buildings he sees falling into ruin parallel the sentiments Navagero expresses with regard to the Spanish control of the countryside and the coming of the Inquisition to Granada.

As a humanist, Navagero's comments are remarkably free of cultural bias; he seems almost to regret that the Moors no longer rule Granada: "Under the above-mentioned hills of the Alhambra . . . there are many underground caves where it is said that the Moors held the Christian slaves in prison," he says but then praises the Moors for cultivating the land and criticizes the Spanish both for their laziness and for their treatment of the Muslims:

> . . . in every part around Granada, among the many gardens, you see in the plains and in the hills . . . many small Moorish houses here and there which, put together, would make another city no smaller than Granada: it is true that most of them are small, but all of them have their water and roses, and muscat grapes and myrtles, and everything pleasing, demonstrating that the country was much more beautiful in the time that it was in the hands of the Moors than it is now. Now there are many houses in ruin and gardens gone to ruin which under the Moors were maintained, so that they grew; and the Moors were the ones who kept the entire countryside cultivated and planted as many trees as there are. The Spanish, not only in this town of Granada, but in all the rest of Spain, are not very industrious, they neither plant, nor work. They gladly go to war, or to the Indies to acquire skill. . . . there are not as many people in Granada as there were in the time of the Moors. . . . The Moors speak their ancient and native Moorish language, and there are few who want to learn Spanish. They are forced to become Christians, but they are taught so little about our faith, and devote so little care to it, since it is more for the priests' advantage that they have to be this way, that in secret they are Moors as before, or they do not believe in any faith at all. They are enemies of the Spanish, by whom they are not very well treated. All the women dress in the Moorish style, which is a fantastic costume.[30]

Navagero found the forced conversion of the Moors intolerable:

> When the Catholic King conquered this kingdom, he conceded that for forty years the Inquisition would not enter. This was ending at the time that we were in Granada, and

> the moment I leave the Inquisitors will enter. That could easily ruin that city, if they want to proceed severely against the Moors. Those who say that the Inquisitors were introduced more against the Christians than against the Moors are right, because with the shield of this privilege that for forty years the Inquisition would not enter, during this time many suspicious types (*suspetti*) came from every part of Spain to live securely, but this was to the detriment of the beauty and improvement of the city, because all those who built beautiful houses and were rich merchants do not come any more, and what remains is destroyed, so that clearly everything will get worse.[31]

Unlike Alberti, Navagero's perception of ruin is not specific to one monument; rather, he foresees an overall decline in both the city of Granada and in the surrounding countryside.[32]

CHARLES V AND HIS PALACE AT GRANADA

On 2 January 1492, Granada surrendered and the last Nasrid ruler Muhammad XII, also known as Boabdil, handed over the keys of the Alhambra to King Ferdinand of Castile.[33] The terms of surrender were generous; they allowed the Moors to keep their property and to continue practicing their religion.[34] Moors and Christians continued for a time to live together peacefully as they had for centuries, but the growing power of the Ottoman Empire soon brought about a change in policy, as the Spaniards feared that the Moors represented potential allies of the Ottoman Turks on their own soil.[35] In the year 1501 the Moors were forced to choose between conversion and expulsion, and thousands were converted.[36] The converts (or Moriscos) continued to practice their Muslim religion, resented this reversal of the 1492 agreements, and were still suspected of sympathy with the Ottomans.

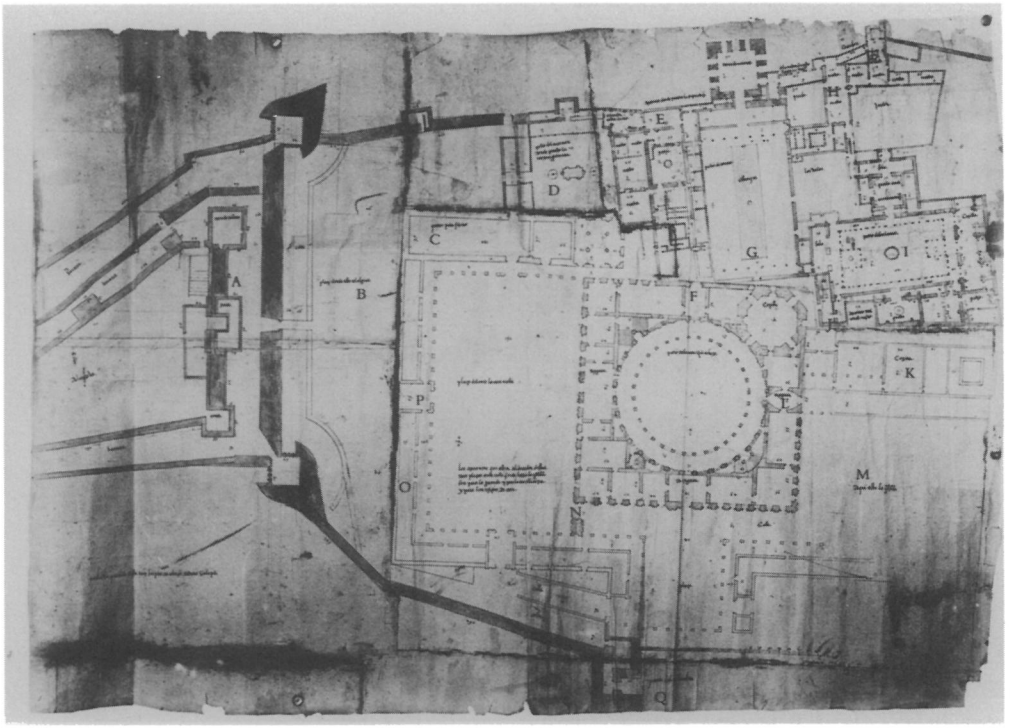
When Charles I, already ruling Burgundy and the Low Lands, became king of Spain upon the death of Ferdinand in 1517, he inherited these problems. His accession as Holy Roman Emperor diminished the likelihood that he would achieve a satisfactory resolution of them.[37] Although he attempted to rule each part of the empire he had inherited following its own local laws and traditions, this was not sufficient to quell local resentment at being asked to fund exploits in remote areas of the empire.[38] In 1520–21, the *comuneros* rose in revolt against foreign rule and high taxes.[39] The former complaint, at least, was well founded: of his forty years as Spanish king, from 1517 to 1556, fewer than sixteen were spent in Spain, and the longest continuous period fell between 1522 and 1529.[40]

Charles V first entered Granada in June 1526, accompanied by his queen, Isabella of Portugal.[41] For his entry triumphal arches had been erected at the city gate and at the former mosque (they failed to impress Navagero's secretary Zuan Negro, who called them "ugly and awkward"), and there was dancing and singing in the Moorish style.[42] Despite these displays, Navagero wrote that "His Majesty made an entry in this land with little pomp, because almost everyone here is Moorish."[43]

An early chronicle suggests that Charles preferred Granada to all the other cities he had visited in Spain, and was particularly pleased with the Alhambra, though he found it could not provide the comforts to which he was accustomed.[44] Therefore, although he kept it maintained in its original style, he began work on new quarters next to the original building. Between 1528 and 1533 Charles had quarters added to the north end of the Hall of the Two Sisters to facilitate access to his favorite parts of the Alhambra, chiefly the Court of the Lions, without causing it any damage.[45] He had the rooms decorated in a combination of Italian Renaissance and Mudéjar styles and adorned with imperial devices.[46] Over the fireplace of his bed chamber, he employed a new emblem depicting an imperial eagle holding a globe flanked by the columns of Hercules and inscribed with the motto "*Plus oultre.*"[47] Africa figured prominently on the globe, signifying Charles's intent to fulfill Ferdinand and Isabella's plan to conquer the African coast which was under Islamic control.[48]

The plan to build an entirely new palace emerged in the early 1530's, and construction had begun under the supervision of the Italian-trained painter Pedro Machuca by May 1533.[49] In a letter to Alonso de Toledo of 23 May 1534, Charles refers to having granted 50,000 ducats for the building of a new palace, the money for which was to be taken from the annual tribute paid by the Moriscoes for the right to retain some of their customs.[50] The site chosen for the palace adjoined the Court of the Myrtles and the Court of the Lions (fig. 2). The square plan encloses an immense, two-story circular courtyard (fig. 3). The façade is articulated by rustication and by Doric order pilasters on the first story and by Ionic order pilasters on the second, with reliefs adorning the bases and the window frames (fig. 4). The main entrance is marked by fluted double columns and a broad arch on the upper level, producing the impression of a two-story triumphal arch.

Charles's decision to construct a monumental palace on this site must in part have been a response to his perception of the political situation in Granada. Navagero's description of the mistreated Moorish population as



KEY TO PLATE 17

A. Proposed fortifications
B. Water storage tank
C. Festival hall
D. Patio de Machuca
E. Cuarto dorado
F. North staircase
G. Court of Myrtles (or Comares)
H. New Quarters
I. Court of Lions
J. Christian entry to Nazaride palaces
K. Kitchen
L. East entry
M. Santa Maria de la Alhambra
N. Arch connecting two forecourts
O. Location of Puerta Real
P. West gate
Q. Puerta de Justicia

Fig. 2. Granada. Palace of Charles V and the Alhambra. Plan by Pedro Machuca (1528). (From Earl Rosenthal, *The Palace of Charles V* [Princeton, 1985])

Arabic speaking, secretly continuing to practice their religion, and harboring hostility towards the Spanish suggests a cause for anxiety. In addition, the recent revolt of the *comuneros* made the possibility of political upheaval particularly real.[51] Because his imperial duties prevented him from occupying the city for any stretch of time, he had to rely on his emissaries and on his palace to send a clear message about the power of the state and his commitment to defend it against the Ottomans.[52] It is noteworthy that, although Europeans generally perceived the Ottomans as a menace and welcomed Charles's vow to defeat them, critics of the emperor thought that he was merely using the Ottoman threat as an excuse to forward the interests of the Hapsburg dynasty.[53]

The urgency of Charles's political needs, however, does not in itself explain his decision to express himself in the language of the Roman Renaissance. Although Charles did not visit Italy until the summer of 1529, early in his reign he was already following the convention of Holy Roman emperors in developing a personal iconography imbued with references to imperial Rome.[54] He signed his name "Carolus," and had "caesar" added to his title.[55] The title of "caesar" was also claimed by Sultan Süleyman I, and, as Gülru Necipoğlu has demonstrated, the dispute over the rights to it provides an example of the way in which the Hapsburg-Ottoman rivalry was expressed in symbolic terms.[56] Considering that the title of caesar and other classical references were integral to Charles's construction of his identity as emperor, he would have been well disposed to proposals to express this form of self-representation on a monumental scale.

Although Charles did not reside at Granada for long periods and never actually lived in the palace — and caution regarding the degree of his involvement in its building is therefore appropriate — it would be foolish to imagine that he would authorize such a large and expensive project without first approving the plans for it. Nonetheless, and granted that Charles would have found the classical architectural language compatible with his self-representation, he is unlikely to have been the actual agent of its employment. For that, we must look to Charles's court. Responsibility for overseeing the project was given to Luis Hurtado de Mendoza, the governor of the Alhambra.[57] The architect of the palace has been identified as Pedro Machuca by Rosenthal, and as Giulio Romano by Tafuri, but Luis Hurtado may well

Fig. 3. Granada. Courtyard of the palace of Charles V, 1556–1568. (Photo: courtesy of the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute, London)

have played the most significant part in shaping its basic program and style. The Mendoza family had connections with Italy and had helped to introduce the Italian Renaissance style into Spain.[58] Their interpretation of it involved the rediscovery of Spain's Roman heritage, and they undertook such projects as tracing the Latin roots of Castillian place names and translating Roman authors who had lived in Spain, such as Seneca, Lucan, and Quintillian.[59] Luis Hurtado's father Iñigo López, who had served as governor of the Alhambra before him, had lived in Florence from 1485 to 1486 and his brother Diego had lived in Italy from 1523 to 1527.[60]

Yet another member of the Mendoza family, Don Rodrigo de Vivar y Mendoza (1466–1523), cousin of Luis Hurtado, as a reward for his valor in the Reconquista, had been granted the Moorish fort of La Calahorra, 75 kilometers from Granada. He had gone to Rome in 1508 to obtain approval of his marriage and upon his return he began renovations of the courtyard of La Calahorra.[61] He brought back with him from Rome the *Codex Escurialensis,* a book of drawings after the antique produced in the workshop of Giuliano da Sangallo or of Ghirlandaio.[62] Using antique decorative motifs represented in the codex as the basis for the relief ornament, and craftsmen and materials imported from Italy, he created the first Renaissance courtyard in Spain.[63] This precedent for an Italian Renaissance design in the Mendoza family

Fig. 4. Granada. The palace of Charles V, south façade (begun 1533). (Photo: courtesy of the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute, London)

and so close to Granada further substantiates their influence in shaping the style of the new imperial palace.[64]

Developments in Italian Renaissance architecture had spread to Spain in part through books.[65] The illustrations of Cesare Cesariano's 1521 edition of Vitruvius, for example, appear to have influenced the ornamentation of the palace façade.[66] The two-dimensional character of the volutes on the palace's Ionic capitals suggests a graphic source, and Cesariano's illustration of the Ionic order provides a nearly precise model.[67] Illustrations such as that of the Porticus Persica, encrusted with relief sculpture of arms and trophies, provided a vision of Roman architecture that was rich and ornamental.[68] Because Cesariano had apparently never visited Rome himself, the illustrations he provides bear more resemblance to traditional northern Italian architecture than to the monuments of ancient Rome.[69] Thus, if his book was indeed used in the design of the palace façade, it in part accounts for the anomalous, anachronistic relation of the palace of Charles V to Renaissance architecture. Like La Calahorra, the palace does not reflect the culmination of years of study and sketching among Roman ruins and Renaissance palaces, but a conglomeration of assiduously copied motifs.

One way of understanding the decision to build a Renaissance-style palace on the hill of the Alhambra is to consider the alternatives Charles faced and the choices he made. Given the premise that he wished to make a statement of his power and presence in Granada, he might have chosen to erect an equestrian statue, or perhaps a triumphal arch. One can well imagine, however, that either of these would have appeared dwarfish and insignificant alongside the Alhambra. Another palace, then, presented his only possible means of matching the Alhambra. Although it would have defied the wishes of

Fig. 5. Seville. Courtyard of the Casa de Pilatos, 1481–1530. (Photo: courtesy of the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute, London)

Ferdinand and Isabella, he could have razed the Nasrid palace to build his own. He might also have decided to build in the Gothic style, as he did at the Córdoba cathedral, or the Spanish plateresque style, as at the Seville Alcazar. Neither of these, however, was well suited to monumental building. On the other hand, he could have built in the Mudéjar style, as at the Casa de Pilatos in Seville (fig. 5).[70] That palace, built by Son Fadrique Enrîquez between 1481 and 1530, presents an alternative type of palace architecture in Andalusia. Like the Mendozas of Granada, the Enrîquez family played a part in introducing the Italian Renaissance to Andalusia through their architectural patronage. However, unlike the palace of Charles V, the Casa de Pilatos displays an amalgam of Italianate features, such as the square courtyard and round arches, and of Islamic decorative detail. The inner walls of the courtyard feature busts of Roman emperors, as at the palace of Charles V, but unlike it they are also decorated with the geometric patterns of Islamic tiles. But on the site of the Alhambra any

Fig. 6. Granada. Fountain of Charles V, 1545. (Photo: courtesy of the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute, London)

style which reflected Islamic influence would have inevitably appeared derivative and second rate. Instead, Charles chose to build in the style that presented the greatest formal contrast with, and cultural challenge to, the Alhambra: that of the High Renaissance in Rome.

The classical language of the palace serves to articulate its most important features: the first-story rustication emphasizes the physical massiveness and impenetrability of the palace; the relief panels and sculpture on the entrance portal, its double columns, and its Serliana motif express the rhetoric of the triumphal arch, while the elaborate ornaments of the second-story window frames extend this association with richness and triumph. The linear articulation of the Ionic pilasters on the second story suggests refined elegance, in contrast to the strength of the rusticated Doric on the first. The concentration of ornament on the exterior and the monumental scale of the palace make its domination of the hilltop as explicit as possible. Inside the two-story colonnaded courtyard, one has the impression of being in an entirely rational space, closed to the exterior and self-contained.

Both the fact that and the manner in which classical language is employed in the palace of Charles V determine its relationship to the Alhambra. The two palaces are bound by their opposing forms and similar ideologies. On a basic, formal level, the architect employed features of Renaissance architecture as opposing analogues to those of the Alhambra. It is as if he had compiled a list of the Alhambra's chief features and made their opposites the basis for his program: the Alhambra is additive, multicolored, sprawling, with internal decoration and outward-looking views, while the palace is square, monotone, self-contained, externally ornamented but inward-looking.[71] The overdetermination of the façade of the palace, in both its use of the orders and its ornaments and emblems, may be read as a classicizing version of the inscriptions adorning the interior walls of the Alhambra. Three of the most prominent features of the palace design — the portal, the fountain (fig. 6), and the courtyard — correspond to those of the Alhambra. Although each is present in other Renaissance buildings, their particular emphasis in the palace of Charles V may constitute a response to the Alhambra.

On a more abstract level, the place architectural theory held in the classical tradition distinguishes it most clearly from the Islamic tradition, and thus could provide the most effective means of opposing it. As literal renditions of Renaissance interpretations of Vitruvius, both the form of the plan and the use of the orders reflect the attempt to utilize this distinction to good effect.

The relationship between the Alhambra and the palace of Charles V is not solely defined by formal contrasts, however. Despite their grossly different appearances, both manifest the principle of hegemonic rule. Specifically, the geometry of the square, the circle, and the octagon which governs the configuration of the palace's plan also defines several of the major spaces of the Alhambra.[72] According to Biget, Hervé, and Thébert, the conjunction of these three figures symbolizes earth, eternity, and celestial life; Tafuri suggests that the geometry served to underscore the unified totality of religious and political rule.[73] While the use of pure geometric forms to suggest the link between spiritual and earthly realms may be discerned in ancient Roman architecture, its more culturally obvious and physically immediate roots lie in the Alhambra.

This relationship is explored by Oleg Grabar in an article on the dome of paradise, in which he suggests parallels between the Alhambra and the Golden House (Domus Aureus) of Nero. The historian Suetonius described Nero's palace in terms not unlike those in which Navagero describes the Alhambra. He writes:

> There was a pond, too, like the sea, surrounded with buildings to represent cities, besides tracts of country, varied by tilled fields, vineyards, pastures, and woods, with great numbers of wild and domestic animals. In the rest of the house all parts were overlaid with gold and adorned with gems and mother-of-pearl. There were dining rooms with fretted ceilings of ivory, whose panels could turn and shower down flowers and were fitted with pipes for sprinkling the guests with perfumes. The main banquet hall was circular and constantly revolved day and night, like the heavens. He had baths supplied with sea water and sulphur water.[74]

Navagero also marvels at the rich materials and surface decorations, the ingenious waterworks, the pools of water, and the baths. Grabar proposes a more specific similarity between the rotating dome in Nero's palace and that of the Dome of Heaven in the Hall of the Two Sisters at the Alhambra.[75] According to Grabar, a poem by the Iranian poet Nizami implies that the Dome of Heaven at the Alhambra served as a symbol of universal power in a manner analogous to the circular hall and wall paintings at Nero's palace.[76] The plan of the palace of Charles V, a circular courtyard enclosed within a perfect square, suggests that the points of similarity that Grabar cites between the ancient Roman and Nasrid palaces may, in broad terms, also apply to this Renaissance palace.

Thus, the Roman emperor Nero, the Nasrid rulers of Spain, and Charles V may be bound less by historical continuity than by imperial ideology. For all three, their totalizing, hegemonic ideology finds its symbolic expression in pure geometric forms. The articulation of architectural space as the earth and heaven, with the implication of cosmic control, characterizes not only the House of Nero and the Alhambra, but also the palace of Charles V. Aside from a symbolic geometry, these palaces share displays of ornamental and material richness. Such domestic displays are conventional means of establishing the abundant wealth and hence power of the owner. In addition, according to a Vitruvian hierarchy in which decorum dictated that the luxury of a house correspond to the status of its owner, ornament and scale established superiority. These similarities can be viewed, on the one hand, as parallels arising from like circumstances or, on the other, as historically connected, through classical influences on Umayyad architecture, that were revived by the Nasrids.[77] The Roman roots of Umayyad architecture have yet to be thoroughly explored. However, it is a tribute to Navagero that he intuitively perceived what contemporary historians have yet to explicate.

The parallels between ancient Roman architecture and the Alhambra would have conditioned its reception by Renaissance viewers. While Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor was the heir to the imperial Roman tradition, historical circumstances made him heir to that of the Nasrid empire. The palace he built at Granada manifests the tension between these two roles. The fact that the palace embodies Roman and Renaissance principles more explicitly than any building in Rome serves to reveal its relation to, rather than independence from, its site next to the Alhambra. The parallels between the Alhambra and ancient monuments were recognized by contemporaries: in an inscription on the tomb of his brother, Iñigo Lòpez, the father of Luis Hurtado de Mendoza, had referred to the Alhambra as the "acropolis of Illiberis," the ancient city which was believed to have been on the site of the Alhambra.[78]

By reconsidering the relation of the palace to architecture in Italy, the dependence of its form on its particular

location may be better understood. The similarity of the palace to Italian buildings has, I think, been overstated by both Rosenthal and Tafuri. And despite Rosenthal's painstaking catalogue of the Roman sources for roughly seventy of the elements of the façade, the palace of Charles V is unimaginable on a street in Rome. Given the premise that Charles and his advisers wanted to build in an Italian Renaissance style, why does the palace they built look so unlike palaces in Italy? The distance of the palace from its Italian counterparts is evident in its plan, its exterior ornament, and its interior disposition. While the concept of a building with a circle in a square had been formulated in Italy, appeared frequently in the architectural drawings by Francesco di Giorgio, Peruzzi, Giulio Romano, and others, and had been tested in the house of Andrea Mantegna in Mantua (built 1472–ca. 1502), it was not until Charles V that an appropriate occasion for its employment on a grand scale arose.[79] This was presumably in part a result of practical considerations such as the spatial restrictions of urban sites and the difficulty and expense of executing circular moldings, and in part because the unfamiliarity of its form may have inhibited patrons.[80] While the plan could have been accommodated on a rural site, its fortress-like walls were antithetical to the ideology of the country villa, which entailed openness to the landscape and garden. The Villa Madama, built by Raphael for Pope Leo X on the Monte Mario outside of Rome, provides an illuminating point of contrast in this regard. Rosenthal and Tafuri both speculate that its courtyard, only partially executed but intended to be circular, served as a model for that of the palace of Charles V, but overall the buildings have little in common. They are founded on entirely different conceptions of the relation of interior to exte-

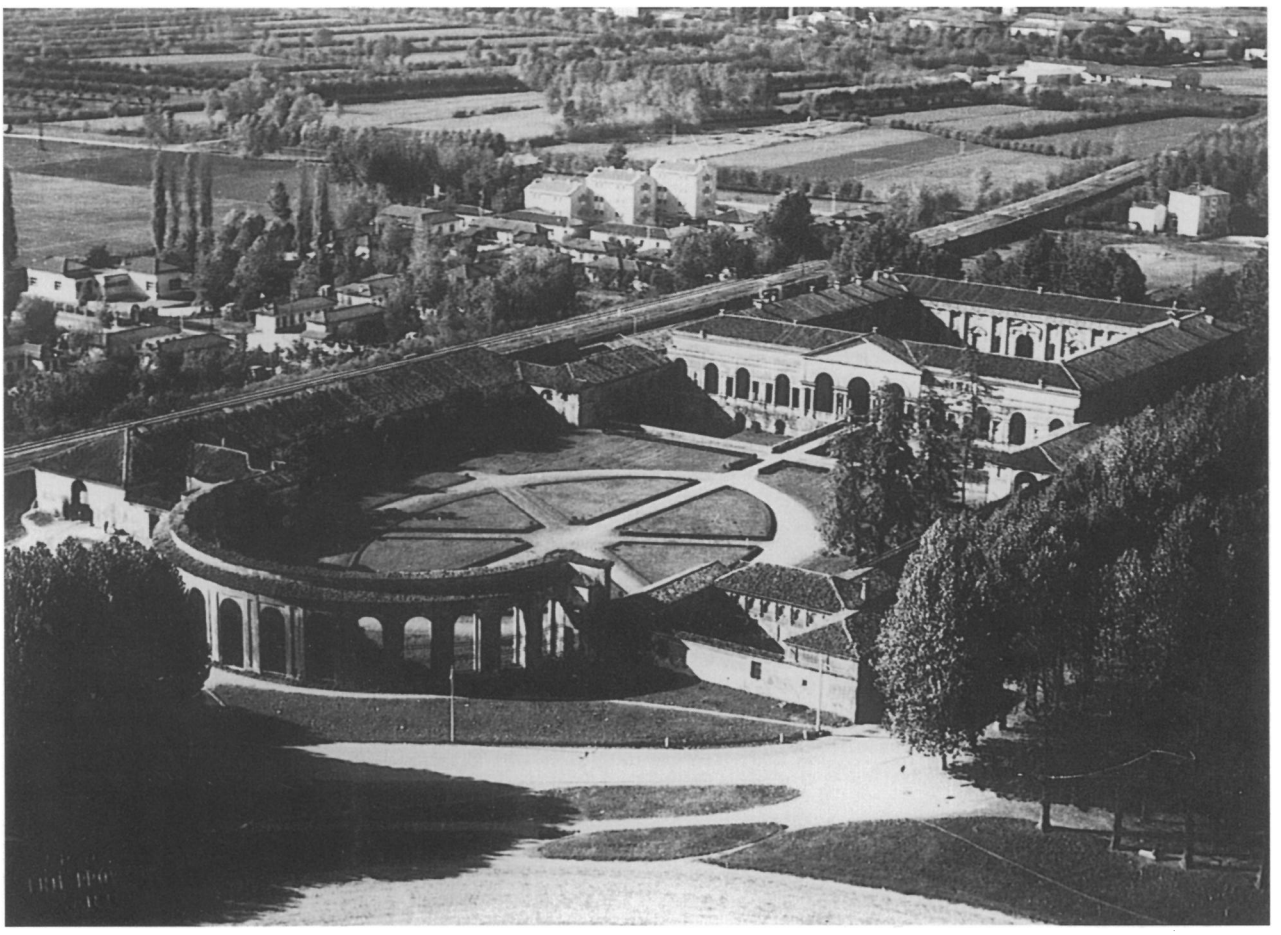


Fig. 7. Mantua. The Palazzo del Te, ca. 1525–1533. View from above. (Photo: courtesy of Ente Provinciale del Turismo)

Fig. 8. Fumane, Italy. The Villa della Torre (completed by 1562). (Photo: Michael Hirst; Courtesy of the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute, London)

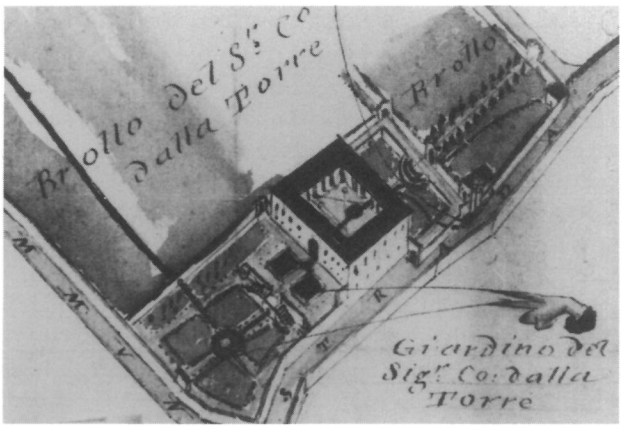


Fig. 9. Map of 1752 with detail of Villa della Torre. (From: Pierpaolo Brugnoli and Arturo Sandrini, eds., *L'Architettura a Verona nell' età della Serenissima* [Verona, 1988], vol. 1, p. 362.)

rior and of architecture to garden. Likewise the Palazzo del Te, while resembling the palace of Charles V in certain details of its exterior façade, bears little comparison in the arrangement and function of its courtyard (fig. 7). The ways in which the palace differs from contemporary buildings in Italy points to the determining nature of its imperial patronage and its location adjoining the Alhambra. Ironically, in the very ways these Italian buildings differ from the Palace of Charles V, they resemble the Alhambra.

While Navagero was in Granada describing the Alhambra according to classical and specifically Plinean models, in Rome humanists and architects (most of them friends of Navagero) were attempting to reconstruct ancient villas and gardens on the basis of these same textual sources. Both the Villa Madama and Palazzo del Te are founded on ancient literary descriptions of villas and gardens, particularly by Pliny. They are thus similar to the Alhambra in the features Navagero emphasizes. To name the most obvious elements: the relation of interior to exterior, particularly the dissolution of these boundaries, the importance of views onto the gardens and landscape beyond, the presence of reflecting pools, courtyards, and loggias. In both the Renaissance villas and in the Nasrid palace, these spaces deliberately glorified gardens, poetry, tranquillity, and sensual pleasure. As the many poetic verses inscribed on the walls of the Alhambra testify, there are marked parallels beween the poetic ideals of the Nasrid empire and those of Renaissance humanists. For example, the Hall of the Two Sisters is inscribed by Ibn Zamrak's poem, which after praising the splendor of the palace continues, "Moreover we do not know of any other garden more pleasant in its freshness, more fragrant in its surroundings, or sweeter in the gathering of its fruits."[81] Navagero's own poem *Lusus* is of the pastoral genre, and contains many descriptions of sweet gardens.

Broadly speaking, the aesthetic values of both Islamic and Italian gardens emerged at least in part from a well-developed poetic tradition.[82] In both traditions, garden or pastoral poetry was in fact often composed in the garden, in an atmosphere of casual gatherings among scholars and poets. The Islamic poetic form of the *rawdiyyat* focused on the sensuality of the garden's sights and smells, and poetry was often composed among groups around gardens and pools.[83] In Italy, from Petrarch and Boccaccio to Angelo Poliziano, Pietro Bembo, and Nav-

Fig. 10. Granada. Alhambra. The Court of the Lions, ca. 1370–80. (Photo: courtesy of the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute, London)

agero himself, poets celebrated the idea of writing poetry in a garden setting. In *Gli Asolani* (1505), Bembo describes how at the garden near Asolo, a "delightful fountain, carved with consummate art out of the living rock . . . a little stream of clear, fresh water, gushing from the slope, fell into the fountain . . . descended with a gentle sound into a miniature canal of marble . . .; here . . . the murmur of the water stimulates discourse."[84] This tradition informed Navagero's description in that he notes that a particular part of the Alhambra gardens would be an ideal, tranquil spot for a scholar. The same values contributed to Raphael's design of the Villa Madama, as the letter in which he repeatedly employs the Plinean term *dyetha,* or a place to sit and talk, demonstrates.[85]

Such a parallel cultural background was part of what allowed Navagero to perceive the palace in the terms he did. In their sensual qualities, if not in their use of architectural language, these palaces have more in common with the Alhambra than with the palace of Charles V. In contrast to the inward-looking, fortress-like aspect of Charles's palace, the Villa Madama and the Palazzo del Te have belvederes looking out over the landscape and a dissolution of the boundaries between architecture and garden.[86] This should not be a complete surprise — after all, Charles was more interested in rivaling the Alhambra than in reviving ancient forms. He seems to have realized that the Alhambra could best be challenged through what was completely absent from it: what most obviously distinguished the Islamic tradition from the Italian one was the absence of any book on architecture or, more fundamentally, of the concept of an articulated architectural language. It is thus theory, not poetry, that is given its most emphatic expression in the design of the palace.

Although the palace of Charles V had no immediate impact on Spanish architecture, by the 1560's Spanish interest in classical architecture was widespread, if unsophisticated.[87] Like Navagero, many Spaniards imagined they discerned classical elements in Islamic buildings.

For example, Ambrosio de Morales and Alonso de Morgado, in 1575 and 1587, saw Vitruvian features in the mezquitas of Córdoba and Seville, and as a result concluded that their origin must be Roman rather than Moorish.[88] Similarly, Lázaro de Velasco saw the entry halls of Moorish buildings in Granada as illustrations of Vitruvius's account of the narrow entrances to the Greek house. Felipe Guevara referred to the ceiling ornament of Moorish plaster craftsmen as Vitruvian in type.[89] The latter two examples are of particular interest, because they indicate an ability to see classical features in what they knew to be Muslim buildings. It is as if they, like Navagero, intuitively discerned the traces of a Roman past still present in Nasrid architecture via the Umayyad tradition. But these Spanish authors are taking Navagero's perceptual framework a step further. While Navagero's vision of the Alhambra was informed by his classical training, and his mode of description emerged from that context, these Spaniards were reading a particular ancient Roman text and citing particular elements of Moorish architecture as illustrations. Such surprising results arose from the natural desire to find local illustrations of an abstract, dense, and unillustrated text.[90]

Fig. 11. Granada. Cathedral (begun 1523). Interior view. (Photo: courtesy of the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute, London)

Navagero's account of the Alhambra had some repercussions in Italy. His letters circulated among Ramusio's friends even before they were published[91] and allowed the Italian adaptation of features of the Nasrid palace to classicizing villas in Italy. Among Ramusio's close friends were patron Giulio della Torre and architect Michele Sanmicheli.[92] Giulio della Torre made medals modeled after the antique; of the few dedicated to particular people, one was for Gianbattista Ramusio.[93] Ramusio was evidently in contact with the della Torre family during Navagero's absence; in a letter of 20 February 1526, Navagero asks Ramusio to send his regards to all his friends, and most of all to "i Signori Torri."[94]

The Villa della Torre at Fumane, completed by 1562, is of uncertain attribution, but was most likely the product of a collaboration between Giulio della Torre and Sanmicheli.[95] It is positioned on an inclined slope, and is unusual both for its water system and for the architectural interpenetration of the garden and the villa (fig. 8). A sloping site is unusual for villas of the Veneto, and the hydraulic problems it posed would have called for innovative solutions. As illustrated in a map of 1752, a channel of water ran through the center of the courtyard, into two symmetrical fishponds, down into a formal garden on a lower level, and into a natural canal (fig. 9). The connection between formal, architectural uses of water, irrigation, and natural supply parallels that of the Alhambra. The channel of water running through the courtyard and culminating in a central fountain is a feature also found in the Alhambra's Court of the Lions (fig. 10).[96] Although water featured prominently in ancient Roman gardens, both as a means of irrigation and in decorative, architectural contexts such as the nymphaeum, I know of no specific Italian precedents for a water channel being employed in a courtyard. Thus, given the absence of obvious models for this feature of the Villa della Torre, and the fact that both the architect and the patron are likely to have read Navagero's letters, the Alhambra could have been its inspiration.[97]

At the time the palace project was conceived, Charles was attempting to unite and represent his empire through opposition to the Ottomans. Because of the threat they posed, and consequently the perceived

Fig. 12. Seville. Alcazar. The Patio de las Doncellas, 1539–79. (Photo: courtesy of the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute, London)

threat posed by the Moriscos in Spain, the Alhambra was the symbol, not only of a vanquished empire, but also of one that continued to threaten the security of Spain's borders as well as its internal stability. Just as the Moors in Spain were seen more in terms of their connection to Muslims elsewhere than in terms of their local heritage in Spain, so the Alhambra came to be perceived not only as an emblem of the Nasrid empire, but as representative of Islamic culture in general. Such a perception allowed Charles's imperial ideology to crystallize in architectural form just as it had politically and militarily.

The particular political and social circumstances of Granada thus informed not only Charles's imperial policy, but also the character of his architectural patronage. As Navagero and Zuan Negro noted, there were few "genuine" Christians in Granada, and the Moorish population was largely hostile to Spanish rule. These facts, and the absence of the monarch, made it all the more important that the cross and the crown should be symbolically manifest through an immense palace for an absent king and a grand cathedral for a minuscule community of Christians. At a time when constant wars were straining imperial finance, Charles's willingness to invest in these projects demonstrates the faith he placed in architectural symbols.

ARCHITECTURAL PATRONAGE OF CHARLES V IN GRANADA, SEVILLE, AND CÓRDOBA

After the conquest of Granada Ferdinand and Isabella had built a royal chapel and stipulated that they and all future kings of Castille should be entombed in it. Charles surpassed this obligation in patronizing the construction of a new cathedral at Granada (fig. 11). The plan for the cathedral dates from the 1520's, and like the palace, it turned out to be chiefly a symbolic gesture, since a large Christian population had yet to emerge.[98] In 1500, fifty thousand Muslims had been converted to

Fig. 13. Seville. Alcazar. The Patio de las Doncellas, 1539–79. Detail from the lower story. (Photo: courtesy of the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute, London)

Christianity and all the mosques of Granada had been consecrated as Christian churches, both acts that defied the agreement of 1492 which had allowed Muslims to continue practicing their religion and the mosques to remain open. Despite resistance, by 1507 the Franciscan order of Granada had established themselves in the Great Mosque which dated from the foundation of the city and was estimated by Hieronymus Münzer in 1494 to have a capacity of several thousands.[99]

In 1521 a commission was appointed to oversee the construction of the new cathedral. It was begun by Enrique Egas in the Gothic style, but in 1528 he was replaced by Italian trained Diego de Siloe, who transformed it according to the Roman style.[100] The change in architect and style corresponds to Charles's involvement in the project. Finding the royal chapel too small and plain for his tomb, Charles decided to make the sanctuary of the cathedral an imperial mausoleum.[101]

Christians believed that Granada was built on the site of an early Christian city founded by Saint Cecilius in 64 A.D., which allowed them to see themselves as the restorers of Christianity to Granada, rather than its founders.[102] The construction of the palace in a Roman style may also have been owing in part to the belief that the Alhambra stood on the site of an ancient Roman city. Though such myths gave these architectural projects ancient precedents, they were nonetheless built adjoining or upon Moorish structures. Although Tafuri and Biget, Hervé and Thébert are right to emphasize the similarity of the palace and cathedral projects in their formal characteristics, architectural language, and imperial iconography, on a more fundamental level both buildings were constructed on the site of Moorish structures of a parallel function.

The desire symbolically and functionally to appropriate Islamic buildings formed part of a strategy to rid the Moorish population of any potential nodes of power. On a social level, this had entailed persuading the Moorish aristocracy to emigrate or accept official posts in the local bureaucracy.[103] On a physical, architectural level, it meant occupying and then building on sites of Moorish culture, heritage, and power.

Charles's first major project in Spain was the cathedral of Córdoba. After the fall of Córdoba to Ferdinand III in 1236, the mosque had been consecrated for Christian worship. It served this purpose until 1523, when the bishop and the canons decided to construct a new cathedral in its center. The city council and the magistrate opposed this decision, seeking to preserve the ninth-tenth-century mosque in its original state, but Charles V decided in favor of the bishop, and the demolition of parts of the mosque built by Abd al-Rahman II in 836 and al-Mansur in 987–98 began. Construction of the new cathedral started in 1523 and continued through the end of the eighteenth century.[104] Although the mosque had served the needs of the Christian community for three hundred years, suddenly in the sixteenth century the church felt the need to make a gesture of power and subordination over the city's Moorish past. Like the Alhambra in Granada, the mosque of Córdoba was too deeply a part of the city's identity to allow its total destruction. The solution at the two sites was similar: a gesture was made not by destroying or replacing the old, but by appropriating the venerable status of the site. In both cases, the tactics of insertion in an existing building fabric and stylistic juxtaposition were employed. Both projects indicate Charles's need to make his sovereignty manifest, particularly vis-à-vis Spain's Islamic heritage, in concrete terms.

The cathedral's densely layered ornamentation docu-

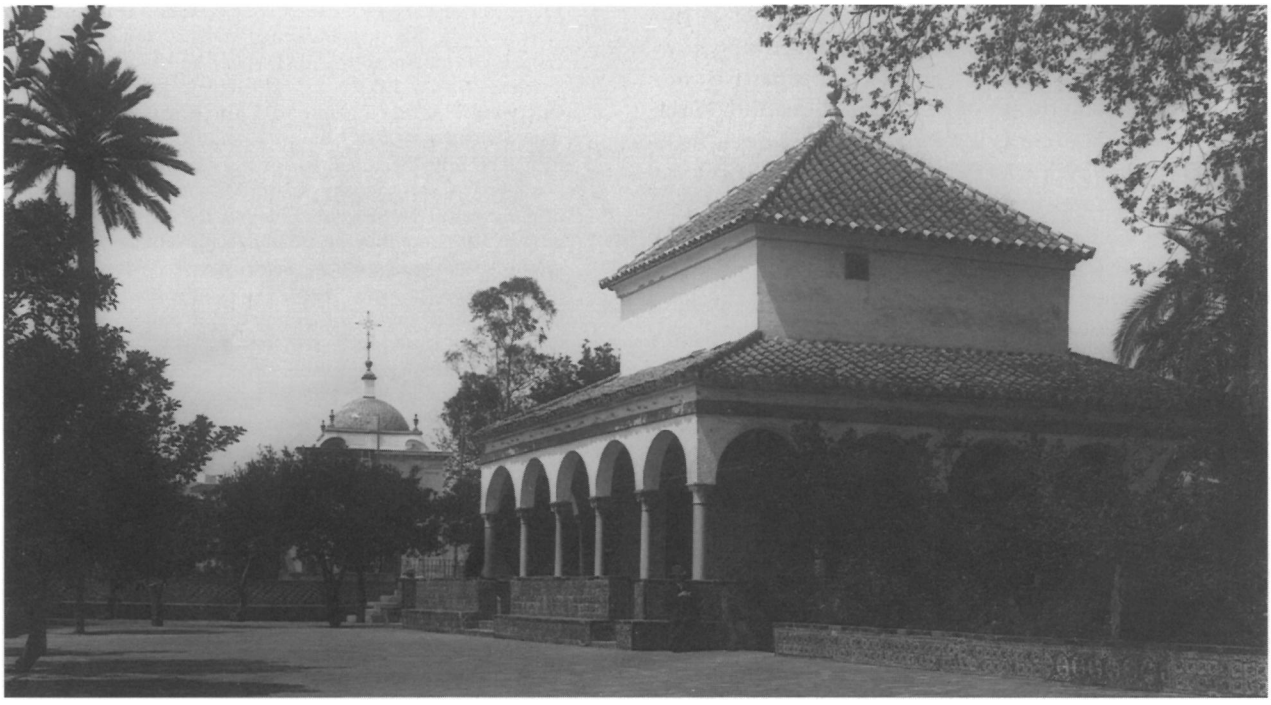


Fig. 14. Seville. Alcazar. The pavillion of Charles V, 1543. (Photo: courtesy of the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute, London)

ments its long building history. It began in a lavish Gothic style, with tracery and Gothic arches, acquired classical columns and figurative sculpture, and was later layered with Baroque decorative motifs. As at the palace of Charles V, the desire to make a statement on behalf of the new Christian empire could not overcome the lack of a native architectural language. Despite his initial sanction, Charles's reaction upon seeing the new cathedral indicates that his hegemonic impulses had not completely overcome his aesthetic sensitivity. Reportedly, he said of it, "You have taken something unique and turned it into something mundane."[105]

Another of Charles's projects was the remodeling of the Alcazar in Seville. In 1523, Navagero described it as follows:

> Behind the church is an Alcazar, which was the palace of the Moorish kings, very rich, and beautiful, and built in the Moorish style. It has beautiful marble everywhere, and a pretty fountain (*bel capo*) of water runs everywhere. There are baths, and rooms, and the water artfully flows everywhere, truly delightful places for the summer. It has a patio full of orange and lemon trees, and behind more beautiful gardens, among which is a beautiful grove of orange trees, that is shaded, and in truth it may be the most delightful place in Spain.[106]

Between 1539 and 1556 Charles remodeled it in a way that was relatively respectful of the old fabric of the building and preserved its Islamic features.[107] First of all, he had the corridors of the Patio de las Doncellas remodeled in the Spanish plateresque style (fig. 12).[108] Above the original Mudéjar decoration of 1369–79 on the lower level, he had Roman round arches constructed with his motto "*Plus oultre*" stamped on the upper-story columns and his device of the Pillars of Hercules on the lower-story portals (fig. 13).[109] In the gardens, originally planted in the twelfth century with orange and lemon trees and surrounded by a boundary wall, Charles built a garden pavilion, La Alcoba (1543), with arched loggias around a central square (fig. 14).[110]

Charles's patronage at Seville indicates that when the Nasrid past was not represented in such an obvious, symbolically loaded, and therefore potentially threatening way, it could be utilized and molded to suit imperial iconography. Given that local craftsmen were trained in Moorish carving and building and that in Andalusia the Moorish style was the predominant one, it makes sense that Charles should want to appropriate these traditions.

At Granada, Córdoba, and Seville, the preservation of

the Moorish buildings had served as a reminder of the victory of the Christians. In the sixteenth century, however, Charles's imperial ideology made this passive symbolism insufficient: the scope of his ambitions and power called for active architectural patronage. The stylistic eclecticism that characterizes his architectural projects in these three cities indicates that his message had not been formulated in a consistent or clear architectural language; the complexity of his position necessitated both a contextual and intertextual approach to the site. Each project took the form of an intervention and reflected the need for the new Christian rulers to establish their power in relation to Spain's Islamic heritage.

Both Navagero and Charles V formulated their responses to the Alhambra according to classical paradigms, but while Navagero encompassed his experience of the Alhambra within the framework of ancient literary descriptions, Charles V was bound by his political and historical circumstances to perceive the Alhambra in terms of cultural difference. Navagero's description of the Alhambra in classical terms highlights its parallels with Italian villas and palaces and may have facilitated the adaptation of several of its features at the Villa della Torre. Charles V, on the other hand, responded to it as a symbol of the conquered but still threatening empire which had to be inscribed with a sign of his domination. The palace he built answers the challenge posed by the sprawling splendor of the Alhambra with emphatically classical rhetoric and rational geometry. The relationship of the two buildings symbolically replicates the struggle Charles was carrying out throughout the country: to legitimize his empire by demonstrating his mastery over Spain's Moorish past. But the monument Charles built on the Alhambra hill with the tribute money of the oppressed Moorish population could not in itself quell their resentment. In 1568 the Moriscos rebelled, resulting in their expulsion into central Spain by Philip II, the fall from influence of the Mendoza family (who were sympathetic to the Moriscos and pleaded for leniency), and the loss of funding for and interest in the palace of Charles V.[111] The fate of the palace, as an elaborate symbol to an absent king, was to remain incomplete.

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NOTES

Author's note: I would like to thank Howard Burns, Gülru Necipoğlu, and John Shearman for their generous contributions to my research and thinking on this topic.

1. In a letter of 13 October 1523, Pietro Bembo congratulated Navagero on his appointment; Andrea Navagero, *Opera Omnia,* ed. Jo. Antonio J. U. D. [sic] and Cajetano Vulpiis (Padua, 1718), p. 335.
2. Charles arrived in Granada on 5 June 1526; Earl E. Rosenthal, *The Palace of Charles V in Granada* (Princeton, 1985), p. 4, n. 2. The festivities planned for his entry are described by Navagero's secretary Zuan Negro; Marino Sanuto, *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto,* vol. 41 (rept., Bologna, 1894), p. 748. Ramusio himself was compiling information for a volume of travel literature, *Delle navigationi et viaggi;* Alice E. Wilson, ed. and trans., *Andrea Navagero: Lusus* (The Hague, 1973), p. 8.
3. On 13 September 1515, Ferdinand and Isabella's daughter Queen Joan issued a decree stating: "The Casa Real, this sumptuous and excellent edifice, shall so remain because the wish of my lords the said king and queen [Ferdinand and Isabella], and my own, has always been, and is, that the said Alhambra and Casa be well repaired and maintained, in order that it stand forever as a perpetual memorial . . . and that such an excellent memorial and sumptuous edifice as this not fall into disrepair and be lost" (Darío Cabenelas Rodríguez, "The Alhambra: An Introduction," *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain,* ed. Jerrilynn D. Dodds [New York, 1992], p. 132). See also Leopoldo Torres Balbás, "Los Reyes Católicos en la Alhambra," *Al-Andalus* 16 (1951): 185–205.
4. Sergio Sanabria wrote of the palace, "Architecturally its Spanish location is accidental," in a review of Earl E. Rosenthal's *The Palace of Charles V in Granada* in *Renaissance Quarterly* 40 (1987): 338. Similarly, Tafuri characterizes the relation of Charles's palace to the Alhambra as that of "a meteor that has run into the Alhambra by chance" (Manfredo Tafuri, *Ricerca del Rinascimento. Principi, città, architetti* [Turin, 1992], p. 281).
5. His volume of Latin poetry, *Lusus,* was first published in Venice in 1530.
6. Bembo writes in a letter from Rome to Cardinal Bernardo Bibiena, "Io, col Navagiero e col Beazzano e con M. Baldassar Castiglione e con Rafaello, domani anderò a riveder Tivoli, che io vidi già un'altra volta XXVII anni sono. Vederemo il vecchio e il nuovo, e ciò che di bello sia in quella contrada. Vovvi per dar piacere a M. Andrea il quale, fatto il dì di Pasquino, si partirà per Vinegia" (Pietro Bembo, *Le Lettere,* vol. 2, ed. Ernesto Travi [Bologna, 1990], p. 114). The friendship between Navagero, Bembo, Castiglione, and Ramusio is also noted by Vittorio Cian, *Un illustre nunzio pontifico del Rinascimento: Baldassar Castiglione* (Vatican City, 1951).
7. Pietro Bembo wrote to Navagero from Murano on 7 April 1527: "Io sono stato in questo vostro piacevole suburbano, concedutomi dal nostro Ramusio, quindici giorni con molto piacer mio, e tale che m'incresce partirmene. . ."; Bembo, *Le Lettere,* p. 352. Cristoforo Longueil, in a letter to Bembo, wrote, "Huius in suburbano, quum hortus ipse ratus nobis spectaculo fuit, ita dimensus et descriptus, ut omnes tum pomarii tum seminarii arborum ordines in quincuncem dirigentur, et exquisitissimo ambulationum topiario opera latera eius decumanique limitis camerae convestiantur; tum vero omnem expectationem meam vicerunt mali Assyriae plurimae, suis quaeque intervallis discretae, et in certum quoque ordinem digestae; quas eumdem Navagerium nostrum paucis ante mensibus sevisse audiebam, atque incredibili quadam celebritate, solertiaque and frugem perduxisse: fructu

mehercule laetissimo, etenim cujus aspectu nihil sit pulchrius, odore soavius, gustatu jucundius, varietate autem atque magnitudine admirabilius. Delectatur enim etiam agricolarum voluptatibus, sed his honestioribus: et qua diligentia artes nostras colit, eadem profecto cum horto suo rationem habit" as quoted in Mario Cermenati, "Un diplomatico naturalista del Rinascimento: Andrea Navagero," *Nuovo Archivio Veneto* 24 (1912): 179.

8. For example, he wrote of the hills around Granada, which he is likely to have visited chiefly because of their botanical interest (Cermenati, "Un diplomatico naturalista," p. 198): "Tutto è bello: e tutto è piacevole a meraviglia; tutto abondante di acqua: che non potria esser più: tutto si pieno di arbori fruttiferi: come Pruni d'ogni sorte: Perischi: Fighi: Codogni: Alberges: Albercocche: Ghinde: e altri tai frutti: che apena si puo veder il cielo fuora della foltezza de gli alberi. Tutti i frutti sono bonissimi: ma tra gli altri quelle che addimandano Ghindas garrofales son le megliori che siano al mondo, vi sono oltra gli alberi sopradetti tanti granati: e si belli: e si buoni, che non potriano esser piu: e uve singulari di assaissime sorte; e massime di quei cibibi senza grani, ne mancano gl'olivi si spessi che pareno boschi di querce" (Andrea Navagero, *Il viaggio fatto in Spagna et in Francia dal magnifico M. Andrea Navagiero* [Venice, 1563], pp. 24v–25r). On leaving Toledo he wrote, "Vado à tempo, che già la primavera è fuori; non lascerò l'occasione di considerar qualche erba." He writes that the Sierra Nevada are "abbondante di molte erbe medicinali, ed in questa trovarono il frumento di tante spighe" (*Opera Omnia,* p. 324). Navagero's fascination with the variety of plants in Spain may have grown out of his reading of Pliny the Elder, who makes numerous references to the flora of Spain in his *Natural History.* Navagero made frequent reference in his letters to Pliny's comments on ancient cities, so it is plausible that he would also have known about his writings on plants. As significant as his ability to classify what he sees in Spain is his interest in bringing exotic plants back to Italy; he was one of the first to bring seeds from the New World back to Italy, where he cultivated them in his own garden (Navagero, *Viaggio,* pp. 15v–16r; Cermenati, "Un diplomatico naturalista," p. 186). Navagero's friends knew of his botanical interests; for example Pietro Bembo wrote about Navagero in a letter to Ramusio: "Vedo che questa peregrinazione li sarà giovevole, non solo in farli conoscere nuove erbe e pesci e altre cose, come esso dice, ché son certo che ne ritornerà ben pieno, ma ancora in farli più cara la qualità del suo stato . . ." (Bembo, *Le Lettere,* p. 256).
9. Wilson, ed., *Lusus,* p. 17.
10. "Detta Alhambra ha le sue muraglie a torno: e è com'uno Castello separato dal resto della città: alla qual predomina quasi tutta. Vi è dentro bon numero di case: ma il più però del Spatio è occupato da un bel palazzo, che era de i Re Mori: che in vero è molto bello, et fabricato sontuosissimamente, si de marmori fini, come di ogn'altra cosa: i qual marmori però non sono ne i muri, ma ne i suoli in terra: vi è una gran corte, ò Spatio, al modo Spagnolo, molto bella, e grande, circondata da fabrica intorno, ma da una parte, ha una torre singular e bellissima, che chiamano la Tor de Comarez, nella qual vi sono alcune sale, e camere molto bone, con le fenestre fatte molto gentil e commodamente, con lavori moreschi assai eccellenti, si nelli muri, come nel cielo de gl'allogiamenti: i lavori parte son di Giesso con oro assai: e parte di Avorio, e oro accompagnato: in vero tutti bellissimi: e massime il cielo della sala da basso, e tutti i muri. La corte è tutto saleggiata di finissimi e bianchissimi marmi, delli quali vi sono pezzi grandissimi. Per mezzo vi è come un canale pieno di aqua viva, d'una fontana che intra in detto palazzo, e se vi conduce per ogni parte fina nelle camere. Da un canto a l'altro di detto canale vi è una spallera di mirto bellissima, e alquanti pè di Naranci" (Navagero, *Viaggio,* pp. 18v–19r). Unless otherwise noted, this and subsequent translations are my own. The volume has been translated into Spanish by Antonio Maria Fabie, Andres Navagero, *Viaje por España* (Madrid, 1983). Excerpts from it are translated into Spanish along with other travel accounts in J. Garcia Mercadal, *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal,* 3 vols. (Madrid, 1952). The Palacio de Comares, which so impressed Navagero, is the subject of a monograph by Antonio Fernandez-Puertas, *La Fachada del Palacio de Comares* (Granada, 1980).
11. "Io sono qui in una Terra, del resto come infinite in Italia, ma di giardini i più belli, ch'io mi possa immaginare, che possano essere; ne bisognava meno a ricrearci del mal patito in mare. Fin qui ho notato tutto il viaggio, ed il medesimo ho fatto per innanzi, sicch'io vi porterò una buona Spagna. Di erbe, e pesci ancora ho trovate non poche cose, delle quali tutte ve ne farò parte. Voi in vece di questo fate ch'io truovi ben piantato il luogo di Selva, e l'Orto di Murano bello, nel quale vorrei che faceste porre tanto spessi gli si gli arbori più di quel che sono, che almen dal mezzo in giù paresse tutto un bosco soltissimo. Al muro dove sono i conastrelli, non movendo però quelli, vorrei, che sotto l'inverno faceste piantar lauri spessi, sicchè anche di quelli si postesse far una spalliera; i quali bisogna, che non sieno afrondati da piè, acciochè vesta tutto il muro. A Selva, fate oltra il resto, che'l Frate metta quanti rosai sia possibile, sicchè tutto sia rose. Barcellona è bellissima Città. . ." (Navagero, *Opera Omnia,* pp. 297–98).
12. "A Selva molto mi curo d'avere un bosco piantato a fila giusto quanto si può, e con istrade per mezzo eguali. . ." (Navagero, *Opera Omnia,* pp. 308–9).
13. "Di questo palazzo si esce per una porta secreta di dietro, fuora de la cinta che ha intorno, e si intra in un bellissimo giardino d'un palazzo che è più alto sul monte, detto Gniahalariffe. Il qual Gnihalariffe anchora che non sia molto gran palazzo, è però molto ben fatto e bello, e di bellezza di giardini e acque, è la più bella cosa che habbi vista in Spagna: ha più spatii, tutti con acque abondantissime, ma un tra gl'altri con la sua acqua corrente come un canal, per mezzo pieno di bellissimi mirti, e naranci, nel qual vi è una loggia ch'alla parte che garda di fuora, ha sotto di se mirti tant'alti che arrivano poco meno ch'al par de'balconi, i quali si tengono cimatic si eguali, e son si spessi, che parono non cime d'arbori, ma un prato verde egualissimo, son questi mirti dinanzi tutta questa loggia, di larghezza di sei ò otto passi, di sotto i mirti nel vacuo che vi resta, vi sono infiniti conigli, i quali vedendosi alle volte tra i rami che pur traluceno, fanno bellissimo vedere, l'acqua va per tutto'l palazzo, et ancho per le camere quando si vuole, in alcune delle quali vi fa un piacevolissimo star l'estate: in un spatio tutto verde, e fatto un prado con alcuni bellissimi arbori, si fan venir l'acque di tal maniera, che serrandosi alcuni canali senza che l'huomo se ne aveda, stando nel prato si sente crescer l'acqua sotto i

piedi, si che si bagna tutto. Fassi più ancho mancar senza fatica alcuna, et senza ch'alcuno vedi come" (Navagero, *Viaggio,* pp. 19r–19v).

14. ". . . se vogliono ancho far maggior l'acqua, fannola crescere tanto, che non scendo ne i lochi suoi, esce, e inonda tutti i gradi, e bagna ogn'uno che vi si truova, facendo mille burle di questa sorte" (Navagero, *Viaggio,* p. 20r).
15. ". . . in somma al loco non par a me che vi manchi cosa alcuna di bellezza et piacevolezza, se non uno che'l cognoscesse, e godesse, vivendovi in quiete, e tranquillità in studii, e piaceri convenienti a huomo da bene, senza desiderio de più" (Navagero, *Viaggio,* p. 20r).
16. ". . . da tanti vestigi di luochi dilettovoli, si puo giudicare, che quei Re Mori non si lasciavano mancare cosa alcuna alli piaceri, e vita contenta" (Navagero, *Viaggio,* p. 21r). Navagero had also visited ruins around Rome (see above, n. 6).
17. Letter of 12 September 1525, *Lettere di diversi autori eccellenti libro primo, nel qual sono i tredici,* ed. Girolamo Ruscelli (Venice, 1556), pp. 706–7.
18. Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1953), pp. 192–97.
19. Pliny, *Letters,* vol. 1, trans. William Melmoth (London, 1923), p. 163.
20. Ibid., p. 23.
21. These examples and others are cited by A. R. Littlewood, "Ancient Literary Evidence for the Pleasure Gardens of Roman Country Villas," *Ancient Roman Villa Gardens,* ed. Elisabeth B. Macdougall (Washington, D.C., 1987), pp. 11–12, 22.
22. In a letter of 21 December 1540, Navagero asks Ramusio to send his copy of Columella (cited by Emanuele Antonio Cicogna, *Della vita e delle opere di Andrea Navagero* [Venice, 1855], p. 322). In addition to classical sources, Boccaccio may have provided a more immediate model. In the introduction to the *Decameron,* he writes of a walled garden with a fountain and water channels.
23. Navagero, *Viaggio,* pp. 28v–29r. The Roman city of Iliberri was located on the other side of the Darro river, and it is impossible to know whether there were ancient buildings on the present site of Granada. The name of the city was later adapted to Ilbira, or Elvira (Rodrìguez, "Alhambra," p. 133, n. 1; for a map of the location of ancient cities in Spain, see Helmut Schlunk and Theodor Hauschild, *Hispania Antiqua: Die Denkmäler der frühchristlichen und westgotischen Zeit* [Mainz am Rhein, 1978], p. 6). Navagero refers to ancient ruins in many other instances; for example, he wrote in a letter of 20 February 1526 from Toledo: "Vado à tempo, che già la primaver è fuori; non lascerò l'occasion di considerar qualche erba, metterò anche qualche pensiero alle regioni e nomi antichi, e se la paura di non tardar troppo non m'impedisse, forsi arriverò a Merida, già Emerita Augusta nella quale Vi sono molte antichità, e tra l'altre un Teatro, e anfiteatro, e un Circo, et acquedutti assai, nè ad andarvi s'alle gia molto il camino, pure mi consiglierò per viaggio" (Ruscelli, *Lettere di diversi autori,* p. 707). At another point he notes that the name Elvira comes from Illiberis: "Ha una strada principal assai larga & molto longa detta la strada Elvira, il qual nome ancho ha la porta, alla quale termina detta strada, & detta Elvira, corotto il vocabolo da Iliberis, perche andava ad Iliberis città antiqua, della quale si vedeno i vestigii ad una lega da Granata" (Navagero, *Viaggio,* p. 21v).
24. Navagero, *Viaggio,* pp. 14r–14v.
25. "La Lambra, che cosi si chiama dove allogia l'Imperatore, è posta sopra uno colle. . . E fabricà a la morescha, et per quel che è mi piace assai et non è bruta. vi sono de molte fontane dentro et ameni lochi et tropo delitiosi, perchè a quel che si vee questi mori, zoè li principali, non atendevano ad altro se non a delitie et piaceri" (Sanuto, *I Diarii,* 41: 750).
26. Navagero, however, seems dimly aware of this deficiency, describing the Moorish courtyard attached to the cathedral of Seville as a *"typo cortile."*
27. Leandro Alberti, *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia e Isole pertinenti ad essa* (Venice, 1577), p. 47v. Alberti's *Descrittione di tutta Italia* was first published in Bologna in 1550, and then in Venice in 1553 and 1557; however his description of Sicily was not included until the Venice 1561 edition, *Aggiuntavi nuovamente la descrittione di tutte l'isole pertinenti ad essa Italia,* and my quotations are taken from the 1577 edition.
28. "Gionto alla Chiesa vi è un campanile, che è bellissima, e altissima torre, fornita di bellissime campane, e grande, se vi monta per una scala molto piana, e senza gradi, come quella di Venetia, del campanile di San Marco, ma piu commoda, e piu chiara" (Navagero, *Viaggio,* p. 13v).
29. Alberti, *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia,* pp. 49r–49v.
30. Navagero, *Viaggio,* p. 25r.
31. Ibid., p. 26r. Although the Inquisition said it would be forty years before they entered Granada, it was in fact between twenty and thirty.
32. Navagero's *Il viaggio fatto in Spagna et in Francia* may have been used as a guide for future travelers. Francesco Jamis da Tomezzo informs us that ca. 1519 he found "a certain diary written in Spanish of the foresaid trips, of which I took a copy to carry" (Tamen se trova certo diario composto in lingua hispana di li preditti viazi, de lo qual ho tolto copia per portarlo), suggesting that contemporaries used travel accounts much as a modern tourist might use a guide. Arturo Farinelli, *Viajes por España y Portugal,* vol. 1 (Rome, 1942), p. 197.
33. J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469–1716* (London, 1963), p. 37.
34. Ibid., p. 38.
35. John Lynch, *Spain under the Hapsburgs,* vol. 1, *Empire and Absolutism, 1516–1598* (Oxford, 1964), p. 205.
36. Ibid.; Earl Rosenthal, *The Cathedral of Granada. A Study in the Spanish Renaissance* (Princeton, 1961), p. 7.
37. Elliot, *Imperial Spain,* p. 137.
38. Ibid., p. 157.
39. Ibid., p. 143; Martin Rady, *The Emperor Charles V* (London, 1988), p. 102.
40. Elliot, *Imperial Spain,* p. 154; Karl Brandi, *The Emperor Charles V: The Growth and Destiny of a Man and of a World Empire,* trans. C. V. Wedgwood (London, 1939), p. 195.
41. Castiglione wrote from Seville on 13 May 1526, "L'imperatore e la Imperatrice partiranno credo indubitatamente lunedi, che è domani, per Granata. La maggior parte della Corte credo che tarderà chi sei chi otto giorne" (Baldassare Castiglione, *Le Lettere,* ed. Pier Antonio Serassi [Venice, 1769]).
42. ". . . erano fatti dui archi trionfali uno a la porta et l'altro a la chiesa assai brutti et goffi" (Sanuto, *I Diarii,* 41: 748).
43. Ibid., p. 745.
44. Prudencio de Sandoval wrote in *Historia de la vida y hechos del emperador Carlos V* (1618), "Aposentóse en el Alhambra, y como mirase con curiosidad los edificios antiguos, obras moriscas, y los ingenios de las aguas, y la fuerza del sitio, y la

grandeza del pueblo, si bien de todas las ciudades de su reino mostró tener gran contento, de ésta en particular recibió mucho gusto" (as quoted in Rosenthal, *Palace of Charles V,* p. 3, n. 1).

45. Ibid., p. 46.
46. Several rooms had ceilings coffered after the Italian manner; one had an interlacing, layered design of the Mudéjar style, presumably rendered by local craftsmen trained in Islamic carving.
47. Rosenthal, *"Plus Oultre: The Idea Imperial of Charles V in his Columnar Device on the Alhambra," Hortus Imaginum: Essays in Western Art,* ed. Robert Enggass and Marilyn Stokstad (Lawrence, Kansas, 1974), pp. 85–86.
48. Ibid., p. 87.
49. Rosenthal, *Palace of Charles V,* p. 57. Before construction could begin, a room on the south side of the Patio de Comares had to be destroyed (Rodríguez, "Alhambra," p. 132).
50. Rosenthal, *Palace of Charles V,* document 5, pp. 266–67.
51. Tafuri, *Ricerca del Rinascimento,* 278. Tafuri also notes the humiliation of the royal power at the Cortes of Valladolid in 1527.
52. Ibid.
53. Elliott, "Ottoman-Hapsburg Rivalry," p. 154.
54. For examples and illustrations, see Bruno Anatra, "Monarchia universale e libertà d'Italia," *Venezia e la Spagna* (Milan, 1988), pp. 12–27. In particular, figures 22 and 23 on p. 27 show marble reliefs of the emperor and his queen encrusted with antique motifs.
55. Helen Nader, *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance 1350–1550* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1979), p. 198.
56. See Gülru Necipoğlu, "Suleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry," *Art Bulletin* 71 (1989): 401–27.
57. Rosenthal, *Palace of Charles V,* p. 7.
58. Francesco Rico, "Principes y humanistas en los comienzos del Renacimiento español," and Alfredo J. Morales, "Italia, los Italianos y la Introducción del Renacimiento en Andalucía," *Reyes y Mecenas: Los Reyes Católicos-Maximiliano I y los Inicios de la Casa de Austria en España,* (Madrid, 1992), pp. 101, 178.
59. Nader, *The Mendoza Family,* p. 83.
60. Rosenthal, *Palace of Charles V,* pp. 9, 11, n. 49.
61. Hanno-Walter Kruft, "Un cortile rinascimentale italiano nella Sierra Nevada: La Calahorra," *Antichità Viva* 8 (1969): 35–36; see also Miguel Angel Zalama, *El Palacio de la Calahorra* (Granada, 1990).
62. The codex has traditionally been attributed to the Ghirlandaio workshop on the basis of Egger's research (H. Egger, *Codex Escurialensis: Ein Skizzenbuch aus der Werkstatt Domenico Ghirlandaio* [Vienna, 1905–6]). However, Arnold Nesselrath has argued that it belongs to the circle of Giuliano da Sangallo ("I libri di designi d'antichità: Tentativo di una tipologia," *Memoria dell' antico nell'arte italiana,* ed. Salvatore Settis [Turin, 1986], 3: 130–33).
63. John Shearman speculates that Giulano da Sangallo may have placed the codex in the hands of Don Roderigo ("Raphael, Rome, and the Codex Escurialensis," *Master Drawings* 15 [1977]: 130; Kruft, "Un cortile rinascimentale," p. 46).
64. Given that La Calahorra was close to Granada and belonged to a relative, it is likely that Luis Hurtado had seen it while on his way to the fortifications at Orjiba (Rosenthal, *Palace of Charles V,* p. 10, n. 41; Rosenthal however writes that there is no evidence that Luis Hurtado ever visited La Calahorra). Carl Justi, "Anfänge der Renaissance in Granada," *Jahrbuch der königlich preussichen Kunstsammlungen* 12 (1891): 186–87, noted the presence of many humanists at Charles's court in the 1520's, all of whom could have reinforced the influence of the Mendoza family. In particular, Baldassare Castiglione, who as a young man had studied Vitruvius and was friends with Raphael and Giulio Romano, has been proposed as an agent in the adoption of a Renaissance-style plan for the palace by John Bury (review of Earl E. Rosenthal, *The Palace of Charles V in Granada* in *Burlington Magazine* 129 [1987]: 196) and Tafuri (*Ricerca del Rinascimento,* pp. 289–90).
65. The first Spanish architectural book, *Medidas del Romano,* by Diego de Sagredo, was printed in Toledo in 1526; Nigel Llewellyn, "Diego de Sagredo and the Renaissance in Italy," *Les traités d'architecture de la Renaissance,* ed. Jean Guillaume (Paris, 1988), p. 295.
66. Tafuri, *Ricerca del Rinascimento,* p. 283.
67. Cesare Cesariano, *Di Lucio Vitruvio Pollione de architectura Libri Dece* (Como, 1521), book 3, p. 58v; Tafuri, *Ricerca del Rinascimento,* p. 266; Rosenthal, *Palace of Charles V,* pls. 151 and 153.
68. Ibid., book 1, p. 7.
69. Carol H. Krinsky, ed., *De architectura: Nachdruck der kommentierten ersten italienischen Ausgaben von Cesare Cesariano, Como 1521* (Munich, 1969), pp. 5–7. Howard Burns has suggested that the absence of an abacus in the palace's Ionic order may have resulted from a misreading of the abacus shown in the print as part of the architrave.
70. Vicente Lleó Cañal, *Nueva Roma: Mitologia y Humanismo en el Renacimento Sevillano* (Seville, 1979), p. 35.
71. Jerrilynn Dodds suggested to me the relationship of opposites between the palace and the Alhambra.
72. The most specific example is the use of the octagon in the Court of the Lions fountain and in the plan of the royal chapel.
73. Jean-Louis Biget, Jean-Claude Hervé, and Yvon Thébert, "Expressions iconographiques et monumentales du pouvoir d'état en France et en Espagne à la fin du Moyen Age: L'exemple d'Albi et de Grenade," *Culture et idéologie dans la genèse de l'état moderne* (Rome, 1985), p. 272; Tafuri, *Ricerca del Rinascimento,* 278–79.
74. Cited by Oleg Grabar, "From Dome of Heaven to Pleasure Dome," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 49 (1990): 15.
75. Ibid., pp. 16–17.
76. Ibid., p. 18.
77. Grabar cites several examples of influence of the classical Mediterranean world on Umayyad art in *The Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven, 1973), pp. 147, 153.
78. Rosenthal, *Palace of Charles V,* p. 8; Illiberi was an ancient Roman city (see above, n. 23).
79. Tafuri, *Ricerca del Rinascimento,* p. 291. The evidence concerning the original appearance of the House of Mantegna is discussed by Earl E. Rosenthal, "The House of Andrea Mantegna in Mantua," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 60 (1962): 327–48.
80. Howard Burns suggested these practical restrictions.
81. Cited by Oleg Grabar, *The Alhambra* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), p. 145; L. Torres Balbás, *La Alhambra el Generalife*

(Madrid, 1953), p. 53. Several poetic inscriptions of Ibn Zamrak are translated into French by Henri and Anne Stierlin, *Alhambra* (Paris, 1991), pp. 133–34. Darío Cabanelas and Antonio Fernández-Puertas write about the poetic inscriptions of the Generalife: "Inscripciones poéticas del Generalife," *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* 14 (1978): 43–86.

82. Yasser Tabbaa, "The Medieval Islamic Garden: Typology and Hydraulics," *Garden History: Issues, Approaches, Methods* (Washington, D. C., 1992), pp. 325–26. See also James Dickie, "The Islamic Garden in Spain," *The Islamic Garden,* ed. Elisabeth B. Macdougall and Richard Ettinghausen (Washington, D. C., 1976), pp. 89–105.
83. Tabbaa, "Medieval Islamic Garden," pp. 325–26.
84. Cited by Naomi Miller, "Paradise Regained: Medieval Garden Fountains," *Medieval Gardens* (Washington, D. C., 1986), pp. 151–52.
85. Raphael's letter itself is lost, but is recorded in a letter of Castiglione to F. M. della Rovere of 13 August 1522. According to John Shearman, the original letter must have been written by 1518–19 because a poem by Sperulo dated March 1519 clearly depends on it. It is transcribed in C. L. Frommel, S. Ray and M. Tafuri, eds., *Raffaello Architetto* (Milan, 1984), pp. 325–26.
86. Gülru Necipoğlu suggested to me the importance of the outward-looking aspect of the Alhambra.
87. Rosenthal, *Palace of Charles V,* p. 238; Fernando Marias, *El largo siglo XVI* (Madrid, 1989), p. 185.
88. Marías, *El largo siglo,* pp. 185–86. I would like to thank Serafin Moralejo for pointing out to me that the classification of monuments as Moorish or Roman has a complicated history in Spain. Medieval writers often conflated the two terms, and failed to recognize ancient Roman ruins as such. In responding to this medieval literary tradition, and attempting to correct its inaccuracies, Morales and Morgado may simply have gone too far. Moralejo discusses related issues in "La reutilizacion e influencia de los sarcófagos antiguos en la España medieval," *Colloquio sul reimpiego dei sarcofagi romani nel medioevo,* ed. Bernard Andreae and Salvatore Settis (Marburg, 1984), pp. 187–203.
89. Earl Rosenthal, "The Image of Roman Architecture in Renaissance Spain," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 52 (1958): 338.
90. The problem of matching Vitruvius's text to buildings was difficult because so few buildings that existed in the first century B.C. still survived in the sixteenth.
91. For example, Pietro Bembo writes to Ramusio thanking him for sending Navagero's letters from Spain, and asking him to send more as they arrive (Bembo, *Le lettere,* p. 256).
92. Ramusio's contact with Michele Sanmicheli is documented in a letter of 5 March 1541. Pietro Bembo asked Ramusio to send him his regards (Ruscelli, *Lettere di diversi autori,* p. 692).
93. Lanfranco Franzoni, "Collezionismo e cultura antiquaria," *Palladio e Verona,* ed. Paola Marini (Verona, 1980), p. 126.
94. D. Atanagi, ed., *Lettere di diversi autori eccellenti,* vol. 1 (Venice, 1556), p. 708.
95. Giuliana Mazzi, "Il Cinquecento: Il nuovo lessico," and Annamaria Conforti Calcagni, "Giardini di città e di villa: dalla simbologia mediovale alla razionalità illuministica," *L'architettura a Verona nell' età della Serenissima,* ed. Pierpaolo Brugnoli and Arturo Sandrini (Verona, 1988), pp. 163, 364.
96. Howard Burns has informed me that the present owner of the villa can still remember when water flowed through the courtyard.
97. A less well documented, but equally probable, instance of borrowing involves the star-shaped tower designed by Giulio Romano for Castiglione at Casatico. The connection to the star plan of the Hall of the Abencerrajes at the Alhambra was proposed by Howard Burns and Pier Nicola Pagliara, "La corte e la torre Castiglioni a Casatico," *Giulio Romano* (Milan, 1989), pp. 526–27.
98. Navagero's judgment that "because the city has not belonged to the Christians for very long, there are not many beautiful churches" (*Viaggio,* p. 23r) is confirmed by Soardin, who wrote in a letter to the Marchese di Mantua from Granada on 26 August 1526 that the Christians in Granada were recent and few ("Christiani novi è pocca quantità"); Sanuto, *I Diarii,* 42: 444.
99. Earl Rosenthal, *The Cathedral of Granada: A Study in the Spanish Renaissance* (Princeton, 1961), pp. 7–8; James Dickie, "Granada: A Case Study of Arab Urbanism in Muslim Spain," *The Legacy of Muslim Spain,* ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Leiden, 1992), pp. 98–99.
100. Rosenthal, *Cathedral of Granada,* p. 12. In his introduction to the 1550–64 translation of Vitruvius, Lázaro de Velasco wrote that Siloe "continued on what Master Enrique had erected in the main church of Granada and he changed it to the Roman style since it had been planned in the modern [Gothic] style" (quoted in ibid., p. 15).
101. Ibid., p. 14. Rosenthal (ibid., p. 148) argues that the design of the cathedral was modeled after the Holy Sepulcre in Jerusalem; Tafuri (*Ricerca del Rinascimento,* p. 272) suggests the iconographical connection between the spherical dome of the cathedral and the circular courtyard of the palace and argues that both are meant to affirm imperial ideology.
102. Rosenthal, *Cathedral of Granada,* pp. 162–63.
103. Elliot, *Imperial Spain,* p. 39.
104. Dolores Baena Alcantara, *The Mezquita: The Cathedral of Cordoba* (Córdoba, 1986), p. 62; Jerrilynn D. Dodds, "The Great Mosque of Córdoba," *Al-Andalus, The Art of Islamic Spain,* ed. Jerrilynn D. Dodds (New York, 1992), p. 24.
105. Dodds, "Great Mosque," p. 25.
106. Navagero, *Viaggio,* p. 13v.
107. Ana Marín Fidalgo, *El alcazar de Sevilla, bajo los Austrias,* 2 vols. (Seville, 1987), 1: 134. There had been earlier modifications. Following the reconquest of Seville by Ferdinand III in 1248, several rooms were added to the Alcázar by his son Alfonso X, and further minor changes were made in the fourteenth century; Barbara von Barghahn, *Age of Gold, Age of Iron: Renaissance Spain and Symbols of Monarchy,* 2 vols. (New York, 1985), 1: 16.
108. Fidalgo, *El alcazar de Sevilla,* pp. 134–36; Cañal, *Nueva Roma,* pp. 89–91.
109. Fidalgo, *El alcazar de Sevilla,* p. 159; von Barghahn, *Age of Gold, Age of Iron,* p. 18.
110. Navagero, *Viaggio,* 13v; von Barghahn, *Age of Gold, Age of Iron,* p. 28. The garden continued to be modified in the seventeenth century, but the original Moorish water system and boundary wall were preserved; Fidalgo, "Die Renaissance und Barockgärten des Alcázar von Sevilla," *Garten und Landschaft* 100 (1990): 61.
111. Rosenthal, *Palace of Charles V,* pp. 124–25, 128; Rodríguez, "Alhambra," p. 132.