

explore. The hereditary family of Parthenay (featured in this book) was involved in regional conflicts that spilled over into campaigns in the Holy Land. That activity undoubtedly contributed to their self-identity and their perceived power, as well as the development of their stronghold. A significant and regrettable shortcoming of this long and in many ways highly original book is the scant attention given to that part of their story.

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Note

1. Toward the end of his book, Maxwell cites my own characterization of Aquitanian equestrian reliefs, in *Songs of Glory: The Romanesque Facades of Aquitaine* (1981), in support of his interpretation of them, without noting the different sociohistorical circumstances I employed in developing my observations more than thirty years ago. I did not merely "posi[t] the facades as poetic constructions analogous to literary production of the period," in contrast to Maxwell's situation of "the facades as poetic interpretation in the enveloping urban discourse (including the material conditions of the facade's production)" (p. 215 n. 20). *Songs of Glory* is framed, from beginning to end, by regard for the crusading activity with which minor as well as major lords throughout France were engaged throughout the twelfth century; time has not tarnished the attention I drew, by means of comparisons with the *chansons de geste*, to the energies, interests, and impact of that movement.

JERRILYNN D. DODDS, MARÍA ROSA MENOCAL, AND ABIGAIL KRASNER BALBALE

The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture

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The Arts of Intimacy offers a multiconfessional and multidisciplinary alternative to the usual historical narrative of the Castilian state's construction from the first days of Muslim presence on the Iberian Peninsula through the Christian conquest of Granada in 1492. Departing from the assumption that Castilian culture—understood to be predominantly Christian—existed in constant and intimate dialogue with its two "Others," Judaism and Islam, the authors propose to interrogate, on the one hand, the idea of strictly separated cultural enclaves that "influenced" one another in sporadic and often superficial ways (a concept the authors, not alone among scholars, reject) and, on the other hand, an idealized permutation of the once viable concept of

convivencia, literally, the "living-together" of members of medieval Iberia's "Three Religions," Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.¹ Instead, relying on Homi Bhabha's notion of hybridity, they present the historical process frequently referred to as the *reconquista* (that is, the progressive conquest by Christian forces of territories that had been in Muslim possession since the 700s) as a series of diverse and dynamic exchanges.² The book is largely centered on the Castilian city of Toledo, though forays into other regions and capitals are made, and one of its major contributions is its focus on the Arabized Christian population of that city—referred to as *mozarabs*, from the Spanish *mozárabe*, itself derived from the Arabic, *musta'arib*—as key agents of cultural encounter and production.

The book is divided into seven chapters, an introduction and a conclusion, each of which receives a short, evocative title. Chapter 1, entitled "Frontier," treats the Visigothic state and its culture, as well as the Umayyad caliphate of Córdoba, together with its emblematic mosque and palatial seat, Madinat al-Zahra'. Next, "Dowry" addresses Alfonso VI's conquest of the taifa (Muslim kingdom) of Toledo in 1085. Chapter 3, "Others," presents readers with a glimpse into postconquest Toledo, tracing the influx of significant numbers of Frankish settlers, as well as the history and culture of the *mozarabs*. Much of chapter 4, entitled "Union," is dedicated to a discussion of the transformation of the small neighborhood mosque of Bab Mardum into a church following its donation to the military order of Saint John of Jerusalem, also known as the Hospitallers, during the final decades of the 1100s. An important focus of chapter 5, entitled "Babel," is the figure of Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de la Rada, who famously laid the first stone of Toledo's new Gothic cathedral in the 1220s. The authors also posit his involvement in the conception and execution of the ornamental program of the Mozarabic church of San Román, which he consecrated in 1221. Chapter 6, entitled "Adab," encompasses the reigns of Fernando III (r. 1217–62) and Alfonso X (r. 1268–84) and divides its pages between Toledo and a recently conquered Seville. Chapter 7, "Brothers," is devoted primarily to what the authors term the "shared visual language" of the "mudejar" palace of Pedro I "the Cruel" of Castile ("mudejar" is a term used to describe buildings constructed for Christian or Jewish patrons in a style many would describe as "Islamic"; this concept is examined in more detail below); the "mudejar" synagogue constructed in Toledo by that sovereign's treasurer, Samuel Halevi (known today as the Synagogue of the Tránsito); and Granada's Alhambra during the reign of the Nasrid Sultan Muhammad V.

In the preface, the authors state their wish that their study be accessible to "as

broad a range of readers as possible" (p. ix), and the primary intended audience is arguably one composed of undergraduates and interested members of the general public. The book is generously illustrated and the writing is clear and entertaining. The text includes chronological and genealogical tables and is frequently punctuated by informative maps of Toledo and textbook-like "orange boxes" in which key terms and concepts are explained. It is in this spirit of accessibility that the authors, as they state on p. ix, have foregone a traditional critical apparatus in favor of a bibliographic essay. This essay covers key works of secondary literature on historical, visual, and literary topics and places them in a broad historiographical landscape. It is well written, comprehensive, and, for the most part, evenhanded. It offers useful orientation to the general reader, the advanced undergraduate or beginning graduate student, and the scholar from a related field desirous of broadening her or his horizons.

For specialists, however, this compromise is likely to make for frustrating reading, and one wonders whether thorough endnotes might have yielded a more satisfactory solution. The authors state that, "though many of the ideas developed in this work are new," theirs is "less a work of original scholarship than a different narration of cultural history" (p. 7); scholars (and even general readers) may nonetheless wish for a clearer delineation of the original from the borrowed or the adapted; for discussion of theories or interpretations that differ from those espoused by the authors; or for solid confirmation of such unqualified affirmations as "The thirteenth-century monarch Alfonso X . . . knew Arabic himself" (p. 5), which is not accepted by specialists. A minimal number of direct citations have been included; in some cases these appear a bit random, and frequently they do not aid the reader in reconstructing the specifics of a given argument. Citation for the purposes of scholarly books or articles will thus be tricky: though the elimination of a proper critical apparatus reduces production costs for beleaguered presses, scholars who wish for their works to participate in serious academic dialogue would do best to resist it.

Despite this caveat, the historical narrative is engaging, lively, and—with the exception of the inevitable generalizations, which may be bothersome to some—both accurate and successful in highlighting, through the able use of documentary sources and literary texts, the complex reciprocity of intercultural relations that characterized medieval Castile. The combination or juxtaposition of visual, literary, and historical themes is primarily thought-provoking, and it offers uninitiated readers an appealing "tasting menu" of the material studied by specialists. Given the broad chronological and thematic range of *The Arts of Intimacy*, it will not be

possible to engage each and every topic discussed by the authors. Instead, I will address a selection of the book's most important arguments, beginning with literary issues and going on to matters likely to be of most interest to art historians.

In terms of the treatment of literature, some of the most rewarding moments of the study are found in the consideration of excerpts from the epic poem *Cantar de Mio Cid* (pp. 38–43). Also original and successful is the reconstruction of the two cultures of translation—the Toledan and the Alfonso—undertaken in chapter 6. Through the hermeneutic deployment of the Arabic concept of *adab* (a category of urbane, entertaining, and encyclopedic literature patronized by the educated classes), Alfonso X's appropriation of Hebrew and Arabic genres in order to fashion Castilian literature into an indispensable arm of imperial culture is traced in a manner that is particularly illuminating of the processes of hybridization the book seeks to foreground.

Otherwise, more specialized readers might find the texts selected here to be too similar to a textbook survey; many have been previously analyzed in Menocal's *Shards of Love* and *The Literature of al-Andalus*, which she co-edited.³ They might, likewise, be inclined to question statements concerning Ibn Hazm, who, though he was arguably a "towering figure of Andalusian letters of his age, a polymath, [and] an important legal scholar" (p. 61), was hardly "the best known writer of all of Islamic Spain" (p. 22), unless the implied audience is one of modern scholars deeply indebted to Emilio García Gómez's Spanish translation of the *Tawq al-hamama* ("The Neckring of the Dove").⁴ Others might object to the characterization of Ibn Zaydun's *qasā'id* (odes) (pp. 59–67) as emblematic of all taifa poetry in classical Arabic, a choice that perhaps finds its explanation in the fact that it serves the authors in the construction of what seems to me as a somewhat exaggerated portrait of the much vaunted Andalusian nostalgia (pp. 59–62).⁵

One hermeneutic device that might have been helpful in the analysis of much of the literature discussed in chapter 4 is largely absent: that of the court and its culture (frequently a "courtly" one) conceived as a space, both physical and conceptual, in which encounters with "Others" habitually took place. Count William of Aquitaine, the "First Troubadour," and 'Imad al-Dawla Ibn Hud, the final sovereign of the taifa of Zaragoza, played a part in a key phase of the "Troubadour Question"—Was the phenomenon of the Provençal lyric in some way "influenced" or impacted by the Arabic lyric?—and the court of the latter was almost certainly the setting for the majority of their encounters. In their explanation, I would argue that the authors have overplayed the anecdotal—embodied in the popular topos

of a group of captive singing slave girls (*qiyān*) taken back to Provence as war booty following the papally sponsored crusade of 1064 against the Muslim stronghold at Barbastro in present-day Aragon (pp. 105–10)—at the expense of the court and the "courtly."⁶ Though it might be countered that this approach is more appropriate for the book's intended audience, it also elides evidence that suggests that the origins of an officially "courtly" court culture in western Europe and the Mediterranean are probably to be found in the cultivation of a "courtly" persona and literary culture as a solution to the lack of dynastic legitimacy acutely felt by the 'Amirid minister-dictators, whose reign immediately preceded the *fitna* (civil war) and dissolution of the Córdoba caliphate in the early decades of the 1000s. The so-called Pamplona casket—whose appropriation by Christian patrons is interpreted by the authors exclusively through a triumphalist lens⁷—has been read by the present author as the first visual representation of this newly "courtly" 'Amirid court.⁸ It would be well to take such possibilities into account when the reuse and adaptation of luxury objects or textiles of Islamic manufacture in a Christian context is considered. While it is certainly accurate to imagine an audience composed of Castilian ecclesiastics as approaching Islamic textiles or ivory containers as metaphoric booty ripe for triumphal appropriation (pp. 67–75), recent scholarship proposes that a significant number of such objects, including the Pamplona casket, also spent time in contexts that were not so religiously charged as cathedrals or monasteries and were frequently received as gifts from allies, coming eventually to be "naturalized" as part of the trappings of Castilian courtly elegance and display.⁹

In terms of specifically visual arguments, the most rewarding moment is found in the analysis of the apocalyptic image program of the Toledan Mozarabic church of San Román (pp. 166–84), dated by inscription to 1221. The proposed connections to Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de la Rada, as well as to the Visigothic liturgy and liturgical drama in general, are both convincing and original in the interpretation of an impressive group of images that are unlikely to be familiar even to specialist readers. Would that such a successful combination of text and image in the service of a contextually grounded reading of the latter were achieved more consistently. One obstacle to this goal in their analysis of visual phenomena is the authors' tendency, despite their expressed desire to free horseshoe arches, blind arcades, or carving styles from their identification with one religion or another, to take certain forms as always and inherently linked to "Islam," "Islamic Art," or an "Islamic Aesthetic," itself not clearly defined.

The problems begin in the introduction, where the church of San Jorge Mártir is ad-

dressed. Here we read that "Columbus and his men would remember home as a church portal whose language of forms was rooted in an Islamic civilization now vanquished but still at Spain's very heart" (p. 2). This statement is buttressed by a description of the facade that employs such phrases as "puzzle-like" and "exuberant" and refers to its interlacing arch motif as "fluttering ribbons" (p. 1). Andalusian Islamic art and architecture are essentialized from the beginning, as the authors link the facade of San Jorge Mártir to everything from the mosque of Córdoba to the Nasrid Alhambra, with predictable stops along the way at Zaragoza's Aljafería and Seville's Alcázar (p. 2; the only missing links are monuments built by the Almoravids and the Almohads, which receive scant attention throughout the study). Such passages, reminiscent of the writings of Orientalist art historians such as Titus Burckhardt,¹⁰ sit uncomfortably with assertions that these forms would not have been "in any way unusual" to viewers, given that they were "familiar to all who lived throughout Spain" (p. 1).

It is proposed (p. 6) that hybridity be taken as the "historically inconvenient norm" for medieval Castile. There seems to be an imbalance, however, in the two "parents" of this hybrid, as one "parent" is implicitly privileged over the other.¹¹ As we move from the introduction into first one chapter and then another, we become aware that the dynamism claimed for the processes of hybridization examined is, in the case of visual phenomena, reserved for the Christian "father," while the Islamic or Arabic "gene pool" is presented as flat, unchanging, and monolithic. There is an insistent use of diminutives when Islamic monuments are referenced ("elegant little qubba," "tiny oratory," pp. 56–57), and "puzzle" and "puzzle-like" appear again and again in contexts where a reader might begin to wonder if perhaps the essential incomprehensibility of Islamic art is being implied.

The interlacing arches of al-Hakam's addition to Córdoba's Friday mosque are characterized as "bewildering" and as "puzzle-like optical illusions" (pp. 118–19). In a brief reference to the adaptation of this motif at the taifa palace of the Aljafería in Zaragoza¹² these same "baffling" forms here reach "new heights of mystifying complexity, with whole systems of interlacing arcades hidden like tiny twisted worlds within large palace arcades" (p. 118). Groupings of images in which the manifestations of a particular form, such as the horseshoe arch or interlacing arcades, are traced over a large chronological span contribute to a perception of monolithic Islamic meaninglessness, as does the use of such terms as "ataurique" and "arabesque" (these latter are referred to as "confounding and meditative," p. 255), which, it should be noted, were coined by

art historians rather than by the culture that produced the monuments.

Somewhat contradictorily, the assertion—reminiscent, again, of the universalizing tendency of the Orientalist tradition of Islamic art history¹³—that “the arabesque, in its refusal to culminate, to begin or end, is often associated with mystic thought” (p. 255) appears to suggest (albeit without the sort of coherent argumentation or documentation that was offered for the analysis of San Román’s Apocalypse cycle) that all Islamic art is somehow mystical. Missing here is reference to the lively debate among historians of Islamic art concerning the possibilities of nonfigural ornament to signify. Though there is still some resistance to this theory, studies in which successful, contextually grounded interpretations of specific programs of ornament have been presented are now numerous.¹⁴

More troubling than these essentializing analyses of Islamic monuments are their ramifications for the interpretation of such “hybrid” phenomena as “Mozarabic” and “Mudejar” architecture and ornament. The examination of the various meanings associated with the initially Visigothic horseshoe arch and the process through which it might have come to be associated by Mozarabic Christians with Islam begins on solid ground in chapter 1, where many of the key arguments from Dodds’s *Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain* are rehearsed.¹⁵ The knowledge that both architectural and ornamental elements of Córdoba’s mosque and the caliphal palace of Madinat al-Zahra² were charged with specific significance, much of which was doubtless understood by the Mozarabs themselves, makes Dodds’s argument concerning the Córdoba “cult of relics” surrounding the bloodied leaves of the Qur’an of the murdered Umayyad Caliph ‘Uthman (d. 656 CE) all the more charged and viable.¹⁶ This applies as well to the idea that these same forms were transported, as discussed in chapters 2 and 3, to the Castilian north by groups of Mozarabic monks who, in addition to an admiration for their prestige and aesthetic qualities, had every interest in flattening and demonizing them, as is clearly the case in such images as the *Feast of Balthasar* from the Silos *Beatus*, convincingly analyzed here (pp. 79–87). Such gestures are meaningful only when a profound understanding of the “Other” is in place.

Similar interpretative minefields are not negotiated as successfully in subsequent chapters. “Mudejar” art and architecture’s perceived association—ideological for many—with “Islam” is a long and unfortunate one. The historiography of this concept is traced coherently (pp. 323–33), but in the text, a number of the traps eschewed in the bibliographical essay are not avoided. On p. 327, for example, the authors cite Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza’s exasperated rhe-

torical question, “How long before a foreign element incorporated into a particular tradition actually becomes part of that tradition?”¹⁷ only to refer (on pp. 166–67) to the “inscrutable” ornamental forms surrounding the apocalyptic frescoes at San Román as “Islamic” (and which are also interpreted as an essential representation of “Mozarabic identity”). Horseshoe arches, *alfices* (frames around arches), and leaves are presented as being simultaneously reminiscent of Madinat al-Zahra², taifa ornament, and the Great Mosque of Córdoba, allowing the authors to contend that many viewers would have considered San Román’s program to be a deliberate and ideologically charged juxtaposition of apocalyptic images with “Islamic” ornament. Ruiz Souza, however, has suggested that the Córdoba mosque served Castilians throughout the latter medieval centuries as a source not of fodder for the fabrication of a visual “clash of civilizations,” but of motifs and topoi through which to articulate the sacred.¹⁸

Complications also arise in the triumphalist reading, undertaken in chapter 4, of the transformation of the neighborhood mosque of Bab Mardum into a church following its donation to the order of Saint John of Jerusalem, also known as the Hospitallers, in 1183. In the previous chapter, the authors successfully deployed Meyer Schapiro’s famous analysis of the introduction of both the Roman liturgy and the Romanesque style—in the face of significant resistance on the part of the local Mozarabic monastic culture—into the Castilian monastery of Silos.¹⁹ Roman hegemony is denoted by the rounded arches of the European style, whereas Mozarabic identity is convincingly linked to the local architectural idiom characterized by, among other features, the horseshoe arch, now thoroughly “naturalized” and emblematic of Toledo’s glorious Visigothic past. Yet over the following pages, horseshoe arches, blind brick arcades, and certain vaulting types are interpreted as representative, alternatively, of the mosque of Córdoba, of Islam, of Mozarabic identity, and of a “hybrid” culture (that is, one that is conscious of its condition as a hybrid of essentially “Islamic” and “Christian” elements). For my part, along with Ruiz Souza, I find it difficult to accept any sort of ideological intention in the choice of what was clearly, by the 1100s, essentially a local architectural vernacular.²⁰ Moreover, the approach taken has the further unfortunate effect of obscuring the importance of the cases for which dialogue between specific Islamic and Christian monuments (as opposed to “visual traditions”) might, in fact, be posited, as in the instance of the striking resemblance between the so-called Capilla de la Asunción constructed by Alfonso VIII at the Cistercian convent of Las Huelgas, outside Burgos, and the Almo-had mosque of Tinmal, which the chapel

postdates by only a few decades.²¹ Both monuments were funerary and both were located close to pilgrimage routes. Though the relation between them still remains to be fully articulated, its potential specificities are blunted and blurred by the assumption that all horseshoe arches and blind arcades in some way reference Islam.²²

All of the interpretative pitfalls and contradictions discussed above plague chapter 7, in which Muhammad V’s Alhambra is analyzed in conjunction with two of Castile’s most important “mudejar” monuments of the fourteenth century: Pedro I’s palace in Seville and the synagogue constructed by the Castilian king’s Jewish treasurer, Samuel Halevi, in Toledo. It is in this chapter that phrases such as “shared visual language” occur with greatest frequency, in response to the particularly striking resonances that undeniably exist between these three buildings. What this “shared visual language” might serve to articulate, however, never becomes clear, owing to the assumption, first, that it is the (arbitrarily defined) style, rather than its elements, that holds meaning (“when Halevi used this style, he was expressing through *visual language* his connection to Peter . . .”) and, second, that this meaning is always (unconvincingly, to my mind) associated with Islam (“this style of decoration had become the expression of the Castilian monarchy, a style unapologetically associated with *Islamic taste*”; p. 244, emphasis added).

More convincing are arguments concerning the similar deployment, in the reception halls of Pedro I and Muhammad V, of architectural features and Qur’anic and biblical inscriptions in the articulation of an all-powerful kingship, which, as Ruiz Souza has maintained, served as the genesis of the iconographic evocation of the modern state. Their implications of deep mutual knowledge, though, are somewhat marred by an anecdotal approach, as well as the problematic assertion that part of the Sevillian palace, like Muhammad V’s additions to the Alhambra’s Palace of Comares following the Battle of Algeciras in 1369, was constructed by Alfonso XI as a victory monument after the Battle of the Salado (p. 253), thus suggesting a triumphalist rationale for the sovereign’s choice of an “Islamic” style.²³ A different argument, made by Porto Rodríguez, holds that Alfonso XI’s reign is notable not for a consistent and triumphalistic appropriation of “Islamic” cultural topoi in order to visually announce Christian dominance, but rather for the initial articulation of a shared cultural language of courtly forms. This vocabulary includes the visual, the sartorial, the literary, and the behavioral, and it goes far beyond similarly carved stuccoes in order to articulate the parameters that would govern and shape interaction between the Nasrid sultanate and its Christian enemies and allies throughout the 1300s in ways that

would be profitable to all, even as full consciousness of religious affiliations was maintained. Porto Rodríguez has proposed the adoption of translation theorist Anthony Pym's concept of "intercultural" as a fruitful way to approach the roles of courts and of courtliness, particularly during Alfonso XI's reign, in the creation of a "zone" or cultural space in which members of differing confessions might interact, using this "shared language." Indeed, Porto's specific deployment of this phrase might be contrasted with the more generalized and less productive use made of it throughout this chapter.²⁴

References to the "symbolic meanings" (p. 255) contained in the ornamental programs of these structures are left unresolved. Interestingly, of all the ornamental programs of Islamic monuments considered in *The Arts of Intimacy*, the Alhambra is the only one for which a mystical interpretation makes sense. I would opt, though, for locating this meaning not in the decontextualized dado-level tiles of the "elusive" Palace of Comares (p. 249), but rather in the so-called Palace of the Lions. The authors note Ruiz Sousa's proposal that the courtyard plan of this most famous of Islamic palaces might be related to the near-contemporary "Patio del Vergel" of Pedro I's palace at Tordesillas, converted, during the middle decades of the 1300s, into a convent for members of the second Franciscan order, the Poor Clares, as well as to the courtyards of Castilian Cistercian monasteries.²⁵ No mention is made of the same author's interpretation of the entire Palace of the Lions as a variant on the Sufi *madrasa-zawiya* constructed under Marinid patronage, which both Muhammad V and his minister, Ibn al-Khatib, himself a practicing Sufi and an authority on the subject, would have visited while in exile in North Africa.²⁶

With the decision not to address Ruiz Sousa's suggestion concerning the possible Sufi significance to be accorded to the Palace of the Lions, moreover, a potentially profitable avenue of exploration has been rejected. If we remember that Samuel Halevi's synagogue is, in fact, a building intended to serve as a setting for religious ceremonies, the possibility that specific, devotional significance, and perhaps a significance shared or negotiated between members of all of medieval Castile's three religious confessions, might have been encoded into this "shared language" of forms should be considered. If the ornamental program of the convent of the Poor Clares at Tordesillas, also referenced above, and frequently discussed in relation to the structures that form the center of this chapter, is added to the equation, the possibility becomes much stronger, and it is one substantiated by a significant body of contemporary devotional texts.²⁷ This line of interpretation, however, is fundamentally at odds with *The Arts of Intimacy*'s unspoken but consis-

tent assumption that the "symbolic meanings" and "shared visual languages" of non-figural ornament work only in the service of the generalized articulation of "identity" or "hybridity."

In sum, *The Arts of Intimacy* represents an accessible, innovative, and dynamic introduction to a very complex field. In addition to its likely appeal to a nonacademic audience, it is certain to stimulate discussion in the undergraduate classroom. The study is underwritten by a sophisticated methodology and is ambitious in its attempt to confront the problem of applying nomenclature—cultural, confessional, regional, or otherwise—to forms. Unfortunately, it frequently falls prey to the very problems it sets out to circumvent, owing largely to the models selected, the most notable example being Bhabha's rather one-dimensional understanding of hybridity. These problems are complicated in and of themselves, even when abstracted into a choice between Saussurian structures or a Derridean consciousness of synchronic contingency; in the ideological minefield of medieval Iberian "identity politics," the stakes of such choices are exponentially raised.

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Notes

1. See Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi, ed., *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).
2. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004).
3. Maria Rosa Menocal, *Shards of Love: Exile and the Origins of the Lyric* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1994); and Menocal with Raymond P. Scheindlin and Michael Sells, eds., *The Literature of Al-Andalus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
4. See 'Alī ibn Ahmad ibn Hazm, *El collar de la paloma: Tratado sobre el amor y los amantes de Ibn Hazm de Córdoba*, trans. Emilio García Gómez, 2nd ed. (Madrid: Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1967). According to my research, Ibn Hazm is almost never mentioned by later taifa *littérateurs* or anthologists or by key anthologists of subsequent periods, such as Ibn Sa'īd al-Andalusī or Ibn al-Khaṭīb. See also Cynthia Robinson, "Ubi Sunt: Memory and Nostalgia in Taifa Court Culture," *Muqarnas* 15 (1998): 20–31.
5. For a variety of taifa poets and compositions, consult the multivolume series edited by Jorge Lirio Delgado and José Miguel Puerta Vilchez, *Diccionario de autores y obras andalusíes* (Seville: Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Cultura; Granada: Fundación El Legado Andalusi, 2002); and Henri Pères, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique au XI^e siècle*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1953). See also Cynthia Robinson, *In Praise of Song: The Making of Courtly Culture in Al-Andalus and Provence, 1005–1134 A.D.* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), which examines taifa ornamental aesthetic through the lens of its poets and courtly culture.
6. On pp. 105–6, the authors imply that great numbers of enslaved *qiyān* were responsible for inculcating the principles of courtly song and courtly love at the courts of Aquitaine; no references, however, are given, and I am not aware of the primary sources in which this information may be found. It should also be observed that, like nostalgia, these singing slave girls represent a particularly popular and malleable literary device. On the *qiyān* and their manipulation as a literary topos in all three of medieval Iberia's literatures, see Michelle Hamilton, *Representing Others in Medieval Iberian Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
7. The authors' interpretation rests on the reading proposed by Julie Harris, "Muslim Ivories in Christian Hands: The Leire Casket in Context," *Art History* 18 (1995): 83–93.
8. It is quite likely that the Pamplona casket was not appropriated as a reliquary until much later than the 1050s, as proposed by Harris; the obviously profane subject matter of its iconography would probably have rendered it inappropriate. Numerous other heavily figural ivories do not appear to have been employed in this fashion either. See Robinson, *In Praise of Song*, 371–97.
9. See Francisco Prado-Vilar, "Circular Visions of Fertility and Punishment," *Muqarnas* 14 (1997): 19–41; Cynthia Robinson, "Love in the Time of Fitna: The Banu 'Amir, 'Courtliness' and . . . Still More on the 'Córdoban Ivories,'" in *Revisiting al-Andalus: Perspectives on the Material Culture of Islamic Iberia and Beyond*, ed. Claire D. Anderson and Mariam Rosser-Owen (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 99–114; and María J. Feliciano's valuable contribution to our understanding of the reception of Andalusian textiles in a Castilian context, "Muslim Shrouds for Christian Kings? A Reassessment of Andalusī Textiles in Thirteenth Century Life and Ritual," in *Under the Influence*, 101–31.
10. Titus Burckhardt, *Art of Islam: Language and Meaning*, trans. J. Peter Hobson (London: World of Islam Festival, 1976); idem, *Moorish Culture in Spain*, trans. Alisa Jaffa (Lahore: Suhail Academy, 1997); and idem, *The Essential Titus Burckhardt: Reflections on Sacred Art, Faiths, and Civilizations*, ed. William Stoddart (Bloomington, Ind.: World Wisdom, 2003).
11. David A. Wacks, *Framing Iberia: Maqamat and Frame-Tale Narratives in Medieval Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 2007). 4. Indeed, many cultural critics have come to prefer the concepts connected to cosmopolitanism, given their greater fluidity in terms of the definition and construction of identity and of identities. See Kobena Mercer, ed., *Cosmopolitan Modernisms* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2005); and the special issue on cosmopolitanism in *Public Culture* 12, no. 3 (2000), especially the article by Sheldon Pollock, "Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in History," 591–625. I thank Amanda Gilvin for these citations.
12. I have related this structure to a complex series of specific cultural references, including the philosophical, literary, and aesthetic. See Robinson, *In Praise of Song*, pt. 1, chap. 4.
13. And specifically of Burckhardt (see n. 10 above). For criticism of this school of thought, as well as of the universalizing tendencies of Islamic art history in general, consult the introductions to Gülru Necipoglu, *The Topkapı Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture*, Topkapı Palace Museum Library MS H. 1956 (Santa Monica, Calif.: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1995); and Yasser Tabbaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001).

14. This issue was raised by Oleg Grabar in *The Mediation of Ornament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); his discomfort with the association of specific ornamental motifs and more or less specific referents is apparent. Neçipoglu's *Tophkapı Scroll*, however, advocates such interpretation, as does Tabbaa's *Transformation of Islamic Art*. Some of Tabbaa's theories have recently been challenged in Stephanie Mulder, "The Mausoleum of Imam al-Shafi'i," *Muqarnas* 23 (2006): 15–46, but she does not dispute the possibilities of non-figural ornament to signify. As already noted, Robinson, *In Praise of Song*, offers an extensive contextual interpretation of the ornamental program of Zaragoza's Aljafería as it existed under the taifa dynasty of the Banu Hud during the 1100s. Concerning the mosque of Córdoba, see Susana Calvo Capilla, "La ampliación califal de la Mezquita de Córdoba: Mensajes, formas y funciones," *Goya*, no. 323 (April–June 2008): 89–106; idem, "Justicia, misericordia y Cristianismo: Una re-lectura de las inscripciones de la Mezquita de Córdoba en el siglo X," *Al-Qantara* (forthcoming); and Nuha Khoury, "The Meaning of the Great Mosque of Cordoba in the Tenth Century," *Muqarnas* 13 (1996): 80–98. Concerning the Fatimids, see Irene A. Bierman, *Writing Signs: The Fatimid Public Text* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); and Caroline Williams, "The Cult of 'Alid Saints in the Fatimid Monuments of Cairo," pt. 1, "The Mosque of al-Aqmar," *Muqarnas* 1 (1983): 37–52; and pt. 2, "The Mausolea," *Muqarnas* 3 (1985): 39–60.
15. Jerrilynn D. Dodds, *Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990).
16. This was demonstrated by Manuel Acien Almasa, "Materiales e hipótesis para una interpretación del salón de 'Abd al-Rahman al-Nasir," in *Madinat al-Zahra', el salón de 'Abd al-Rahman III*, ed. Antonio Vallejo Triano (Córdoba: Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Cultura, 1995), 177–95; Calvo, "La ampliación califal"; idem, "Justicia, misericordia y Cristianismo"; and Khoury, "Meaning of the Great Mosque."
17. Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "Castilla y al-Andalus: Arquitecturas aljamiadas y otros grados de asimilación," *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte (UAM)* 18 (2004): 17–43, at 33.
18. Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "Al-Andalus y cultura visual Santa María la Real de las Huelgas y Santa Clara de Tordesillas: Dos hitos en la asimilación de al-Andalus en la reinteriorización de la Corona de Castilla," in *Actas del Simposio Internacional "El legado de al-Andalus: El arte andalusí en los reinos de León y Castilla durante la Edad Media"*, ed. Manuel Valdés Fernández (Valladolid: Fundación del Patrimonio Histórico de Castilla y León, 2007), 205–42, esp. 210–12. This was the perception even in the times of Alfonso VI, who, as noted by Vincent Lagardère, desired that his pregnant wife might reside at Madinat al-Zahra', owing to its easy access to the mosque, where Alfonso wished her to give birth so that she might profit from the miraculous powers it owed to its previous existence as a Christian church. See Lagardère, *Les Almoravides jusqu'au règne de Yusuf b. Tashfin (1039–1106)* (Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan, 1989), 103.
19. Meyer Schapiro, "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos," in *Romanesque Art: Selected Papers* (New York: G. Braziller, 1977), 28–101.
20. "With the passage of time, the significance of forms can be changed or lost and, following their initial assimilation, it is very possible that they will come to be considered unproblematically as [part of a local tradition]," Ruiz Souza, "Al-Andalus y cultura visual," 208.
21. The late-thirteenth-century date proposed by the authors for the chapel (p. 185) is based on arguments offered in Gema Palomo Fernández and Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "Nuevas Hipótesis sobre las Huelgas de Burgos: Escenografía funeraria de Alfonso X para un proyecto inacabado de Alfonso VIII y Leonor Plantagenêt," *Goya*, nos. 316–17 (January–April 2007): 21–44. Another line of interpretation also argues convincingly for the construction of the chapel under Alfonso VIII. See Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras, "El 'cementerio real' de Alfonso VIII en Las Huelgas de Burgos," *Semata* 10 (1998): 77–109.
22. Many thanks to Jessica Streit for discussion on these questions. Her dissertation, currently in preparation, should help to clarify a number of these points.
23. In support of this argument, the authors cite D. Fairchild Ruggles, "The Alcazar of Seville and Mudéjar Architecture," *Gesta* 43, no. 2 (2004): 87–98. Though the Sala de Justicia has been associated by some with the period of Alfonso XI's reign, the dating has never been conclusively demonstrated, and the representations of the arms of the Order of the Band with which it is decorated were not common until the reign of Pedro I. Many thanks to Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza for discussions on this point. On the insignia of the Order of the Band, see Ana Echevarria, "Painting Politics in the Alhambra," *Medieval Encounters* 14, nos. 2–3 (2008): 199–218.
24. Anthony Pym, *Negotiating the Frontier: Translators and Intercultures in Hispanic History* (Manchester, U.K.: St. Jerome, 2000), discussed in Rosa María Porto Rodríguez, "Courtliness and Its *Trujumanes*: Manufacturing Chivalric Imagery across the Castilian-Grenadine Frontier," *Medieval Encounters* 14, nos. 2–3 (2008): 219–66.
25. Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "El Patio del Vergel del real monasterio de Santa Clara de Tordesillas y la Alhambra de Granada: Reflexiones para su estudio," *Al-Qantara* 19, no. 2 (1998): 315–37.
26. Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, "El Palacio de los Leones de la Alhambra: Madrasa, zawiya y tumba de Muhammad V? Estudio para un debate," *Al-Qantara* 22, no. 1 (2001): 77–120.
27. This proposal, deemed "bold" and "intriguing" but "still await[ing] resolution" by the authors (p. 331), was made in Cynthia Robinson, "Mudejar Revisited: A Prolegomena to the Reconstruction of Perception, Devotion, and Experience at the Mudejar Convent of Clarisas, Tordesillas, Spain (Fourteenth Century A.D.)," *Res* 43 (2003): 51–77. In this article, I drew on a wide variety of written sources by members of all three confessions, including the mystical writings of Ibn al-Khatib. See now also Cynthia Robinson, "Trees of Love, Trees of Knowledge: Toward the Definition of a Cross-Confessional Current in Late-Medieval Iberian Spirituality," *Medieval Encounters* 12, no. 3 (2006): 388–435.

CHRISTY ANDERSON

Inigo Jones and the Classical Tradition

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One of the major reconstructions in modern architectural history is the life and work of Inigo Jones. Very little is documented

about his background, early life, or professional training, and the list of buildings attributed to him has varied considerably over the past two hundred and fifty years. He can be considered with some justification as belonging to the last stage of the English tradition that preceded the introduction of Renaissance architecture, as seen in his design for an elevation for a new termination to the tower of St. Paul's Cathedral of 1608 and in many of his masque designs, but more often he is seen as the first English classical architect, the bringer of Palladian principles to English shores. Whatever view one takes of his work, the architect remains singularly elusive. In his 1966 biography of Jones, Sir John Summerson noted that "if we try to enclose him in his own time and look into his works instead of outward from them, we find ourselves gazing at something extremely hard to bring into focus."¹ This elusiveness goes even further. Ultimately, studies of Jones tell one at least as much about his biographers, their periods, and their concerns, as about the ideas or buildings of the man.

At first sight this is surprising, because apart from a dozen or so edifices whose attribution is now uncontested, Jones left much material documenting his thoughts and designs: drawings and sketches for his masque designs and major buildings and extensive notes in the margins of the books he left to his amanuensis John Webb, the majority of which are now preserved at Worcester College in Oxford. His library contained not only architecture treatises by Vitruvius, Leon Battista Alberti, Sebastiano Serlio, Andrea Palladio, and Vincenzo Scamozzi and studies of Roman antiquities in Rome and Verona by Laerzio Cherubini, Andreas Fulvius, and Torello Sarayna, but also a substantial number of works by Greek, Roman, and humanist historians, Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, Plato's *Republic*, and Giorgio Vasari's *Vite*. The annotations he made in many of these books attest to close, careful, and repeated study and make possible a reconstruction of the web of reading in which Jones formed his ideas.

Inigo Jones and the Classical Tradition is not primarily concerned with reconstructing Jones's thought by means of the notes he made in the margins of his books, or understanding his designs through an analysis of the drawings he left, or exploring the possible connections between his reading, writing, and architectural work. Instead, Christy Anderson sets Jones's reading and writing practices against the background of English late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century culture in order to discern the construction of Jones as a professional architect who introduced Palladian design principles in England. Anderson's book, therefore, consistently offers a double-layered view, which makes it one of the more original books on English architecture of the past decades.