

# The PORTOLAN

Issue 98 SPRING 2017 JOURNAL OF THE WASHINGTON MAP SOCIETY

Page 7

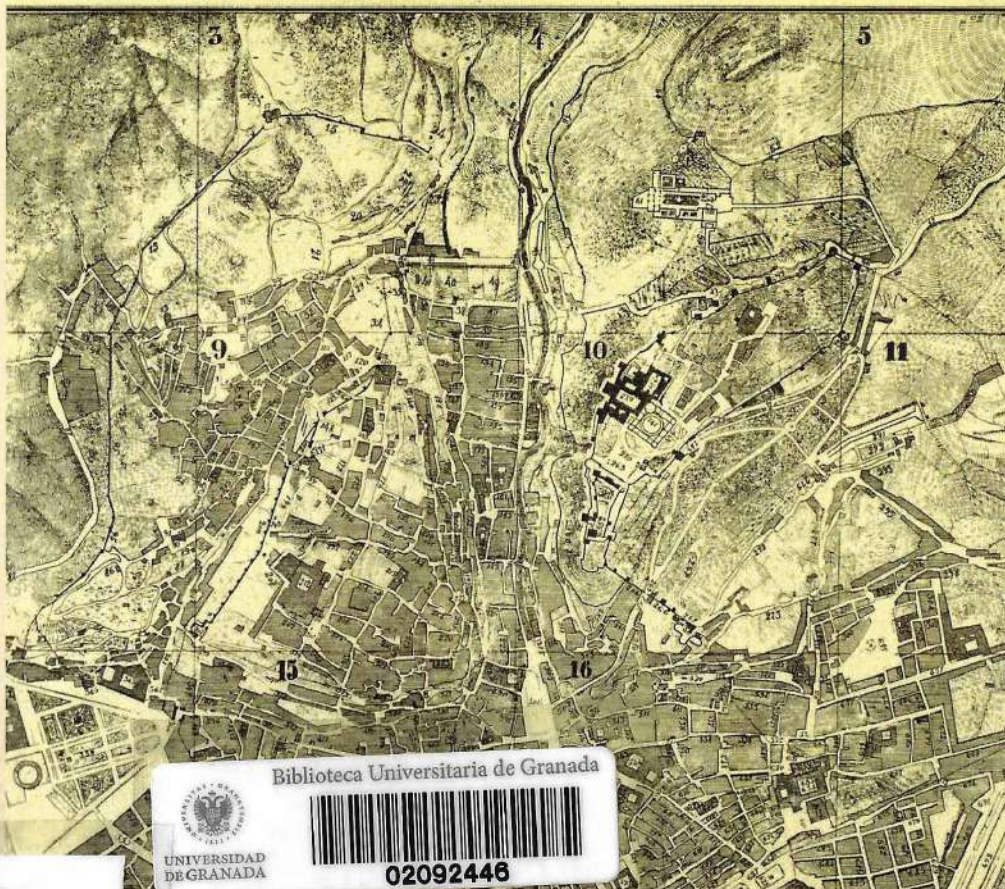
2016 Ristow Prize for Academic Achievement in The History of Cartography

## Orientalist Cartographies: Granada and the Alhambra

by Ana del Cid Mendoza



PLAZAS Y MONUMENTOS ÁRABES: GUIA DE CALLES PLAZAS Y DEPENDENCIAS OFICIALES. É INDICADOR DE LOS EDIFICIOS



## In This Issue

page 25

The Olmsteds and the Development of the Permanent System of Highways for the District of Columbia  
by Matthew B. Gilmore

page 39

Mapping the Underground Railroad  
by Cheryl LaRoche

page 52

Ex libris, Jean Frédéric Oberlin:  
The Atlas with a Great Pedigree  
by Joseph Schirò

page 57

ICHC 27 – Belo Horizonte Update  
by Bert Johnson

page 62

Ralph Ehrenberg Retires from the Library of Congress  
by Ed Redmond and Mike Buscher

page 65

Washington Map Society Interview with Dr. Paulette Hasier New Chief, G&M, LOC  
by Dick Pflederer

[www.WashMapSociety.org](http://www.WashMapSociety.org)



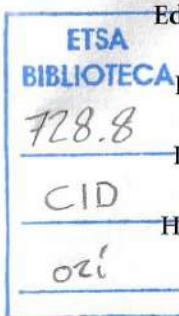
8.8  
ID  
ri

el Contreras, *Plano de Granada con el recinto de sus antiguas murallas y monumentos, guía de calles, plazas y dependencias oficiales, e indicador de los edificios más históricos o artísticos*, 1872. Courtesy: Archivo Municipal de Granada.

# The Washington Map Society



# Inside



## OFFICERS, 2016-2017

**Edward Redmond**  
*President*

**Eliane Dotson**  
*Vice President*

**Peter Porrazzo**  
*Treasurer*

**Harold Meinheit**  
*Secretary*

**Jeffrey Katz**  
*Membership*

**Leigh Lockwood**  
*Webmaster*

*Leigh@washmapsociety.org*

## BOARD OF DIRECTORS 2016-2017

**Robert Hansen,**

**Bert Johnson, Jeffrey Katz,**

**Chas Langelan, Leigh Lockwood,**

**Tony Mullan, Iris Taylor**

**Thomas F. Sander**  
*Editor, The Portolan*

9501 Burke Rd., # 10793  
Burke VA 22009-8036 USA  
*sanderva@erols.com*

## SEND ALL NON-PORTOLAN CORRESPONDENCE TO:

**John W. Docktor**  
3100 N. Highway A1A, PH A1  
Ft. Pierce FL 34949-8831 USA  
*washmap@gmail.com*

**Cyrus Ala'i**  
**Imre Josef Demhardt**  
**Ralph E. Ehrenberg**  
**John R. Hébert**  
**Peter van der Krogt**  
**Richard Pflederer**  
*Editorial Advisory Board*

**The Word Express, Inc**  
*Portolan Design and Layout*

*The Portolan* (ISSN 1096-1925) is published three times per year by the Washington Map Society. Annual subscription rates: US: \$45 (1<sup>st</sup> yr student rate \$25); Canada \$50; All other countries: \$65; Single Copy to U.S.: \$16.00; Canada \$18; Other countries: \$23. All payments are to be made in U.S. currency. Internet Address: <http://www.WashMapSociety.org>

Address all editorial correspondence to the Editor. Viewpoints of the authors do not necessarily reflect those of the Society.

© 2017 Washington Map Society.

President's Spring 2017 Letter	2
Washington Map Society Meetings, April – December 2017	3
Exhibitions and Meetings	4
Ristow Prize Competition 2017	6
Orientalist Cartographies: Granada and the Alhambra <i>Ana del Cid Mendoza</i>	7
The Olmsteds and the Development of the Permanent System of Highways for the District of Columbia <i>Matthew B. Gilmore</i>	25
Mapping the Underground Railroad <i>Cheryl LaRoche</i>	39
<i>Ex libris</i> , Jean Frédéric Oberlin: The Atlas with a Great Pedigree <i>Joseph Schirò</i>	52
Passing of Rodney Shirley	56
ICHC 27 – Belo Horizonte Update <i>Bert Johnson</i>	57
Book Reviews The Enigma of the Origin of Portolan Charts. A Geodetic Analysis of the Hypothesis of a Medieval Origin <i>Richard Pflederer</i>	58
Dury & Andrews' Map of Hertfordshire – Society and Landscape in the Eighteenth Century <i>Michael Wood</i>	60
Ralph Ehrenberg Retires from the Library of Congress <i>Ed Redmond and Mike Buscher</i>	62
Paulette Marie Hasier, New Chief, Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress	64
The Washington Map Society Interview with Dr. Paulette Hasier <i>By Dick Pflederer</i>	65
WMS Members Map Evening, January 12, 2017 <i>Bert Johnson</i>	67
Spotlight on the WMS Membership	69
Cartographic Notes <i>Tom Sander</i>	70
Recent Publications <i>Joel Kovarsky</i>	72

## FROM THE EDITOR

Have you felt the excitement of all the presentations held so far this season? The Underground Railroad, Election Mapping, Persuasive Cartography, mapping northern Virginia, the Members Map Evening. If you have been unable to personally attend, you can view videos of several of these presentations via the Members Only site on the WMS web pages. You must register and sign into the site to receive this benefit.

The Society in this issue honors one of our Founding Members – Ralph Ehrenberg, who retired in January as Chief of the Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, for the SECOND time. See the tribute article to him on page 62. His successor, Paulette Marie Hasier, is interviewed on page 65.

Our other contents are varied to hopefully appeal to much of our membership. The 2016 Ristow Prize winning article, about Spain, is our lead item, followed by articles on the mapping of Washington, the Civil War's Underground Railroad, and a fascinating atlas. Bert Johnson updates readers on the July 2017 ICHC meeting in Brazil, noting registration needs and travel documents needed. Many WMS members always attend this week-long feast of cartographic lectures and exhibitions, this year in the food capital of Brazil

Our 2016-2017 season continues, and is due to conclude at the annual dinner in May. See the enclosed RSVP flyer for dinner event details.

Since the next *Portolan* will not be mailed until August, I wish all continued enjoyment at map meetings and exhibitions continuing through the summer months.

*Tom*



## *The 2017 Dr. Walter W. Ristow Prize For an Academic Paper in the History of Cartography*

The prize, offered since 1994, recognizes academic achievement in the History of Cartography and honors the legacy of the late Dr. Walter W. Ristow, former chief of the Geography & Map Division, Library of Congress, and co-founder and first president of the Washington Map Society.



### THE AWARD

\$1000 cash award, a one-year membership in the Washington Map Society, and publication of the paper in *The Portolan – Journal of the Washington Map Society*. Honorable Mention may be awarded for a paper or papers at the judges' discretion.



### WHO MAY APPLY

Full or part-time undergraduate, graduate, and first year post-doctoral students attending accredited U. S. or foreign colleges and universities.



### ENTRY CRITERIA

Research papers related to cartographic history and completed in fulfillment of course work requirements. The text, in English, and documented in a style selected by the author, may not exceed 7,500 words. Papers entered in the competition may have been previously presented at academic symposia. They may have been entered in other competitions. They must not, however, have been published, selected for publication, or in contention for publication at the time of entry into the Ristow Prize competition. This criterion is not circumvented by a change of title and/or wording to what is essentially the same article that has appeared in another publication. Serious copyright implications make this necessary.



### FORMAT

Four unbound copies with a title page and cover sheet including the entrant's name, address, telephone number and e-mail address, and department and academic status.



### JUDGING CRITERIA

Three broad criteria: (1) importance of research (e.g., originality, sources used), (2) quality of research (e.g., accuracy, source reliability), (3) writing quality (e.g., clarity, organization, command of cartographic terms).



### DEADLINE

Postmarked no later than 1 June 2017 and mailed to Dr. Evelyn Edson, Ristow Prize Chair, 268 Springtree Lane, Scottsville, VA 24590-9511, USA. Complete and comprehensive information is available on the Washington Map Society's web site: [www.WashMapSociety.org](http://www.WashMapSociety.org). Contact [eedson@pvcc.edu](mailto:eedson@pvcc.edu).

2016 Ristow Prize for Academic Achievement in The History of Cartography

# Orientalist Cartographies: Granada and the Alhambra

By Ana del Cid Mendoza

## INTRODUCTION

Although we are far from achieving a precise theoretical and historical delineation of *Orientalism*,<sup>1</sup> given that, so far the concept itself continues being a central theme of major debates, it is indisputable that throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century “the Islamic” myth was forcefully interjected in the material and imaginary construction of modern capitalist metropolises. Since the Romantic era, the Arabic city—in the broadest meaning of the adjective, due to the exact source of the region was not relevant—and its mythicized way of life became the object of attention with increasing frequency and greater depth. And this almost always occurred from a point of view where the belief in the intrinsic superiority of the Occidental culture coexisted in peace with the fascination with the Oriental exoticism. Romanticism encouraged that Orientalist fascination and legitimized a biased interest in Arabic culture which was the basis of a multitude of artistic expressions.

The 19<sup>th</sup> century-Orientalism left trace too in the cartography of the epoch. Its influence was felt through two simultaneous and complementary processes which had important effects on urban planning, architecture and heritage conservation. On the one hand, the renewed and partial interest in Islam caused an explosion of authentic topographical and architectural surveys, and detailed floor plans of many Arab monuments which had been hitherto overshadowed by the prevalence of Greco-Roman architecture. On the other hand, cartography worked, as it had done in many other circumstances throughout History, as an instrument for the survival of urban images, in this case “Orientalized” and mythicized ones. These images crystallized in the collective imagination and became, up to today, the archetypes of some European cities once belonging to Islam, regardless of the *forma urbis* and the reality of these cities at the moment of making and dissemination of their “Orientalizing” maps.

In this context of Orientalism and its influence on contemporary hectic city, Granada, and specially, the Alhambra played a key role on all matters relating to the artistic culture of that time. The Granada-Alhambra

tandem was the central character in descriptions and images of English and French travelers, in canvases and engravings of a whole horde of Orientalist painters or in the literary daydreams of Romantic writers. Specifically, the “Alhambrist” myth was not only captured in the visual or written discourse, but eventually also impregnated, of course, the constructed architecture itself, giving rise to many buildings which were roughly inspired by the Nasrid monument and directly dependent on that architectural Orientalism. Among the most well-known examples where it is found is the “Moorish Villa” Wilhelma (1837–1845), recreational country property in Stuttgart for Wilhelm I of Germany whose image evokes the *Palacio de Comares* or the *Palacio del Partal*, and the London Leighton House (1866), where the plain exterior conceals its rich Nasrid-inspired interior spaces. There are numerous of these examples throughout Spain; the fanciful cabinet of the *Palacio Real de Aranjuez* (1847–1849) is one of the most highlighted, designed by Rafael Contreras (responsible for the conservation of the Alhambra during those years) at the behest of Isabel II of Spain. About all this artistic production related to Orientalism<sup>2</sup> and pertaining to very diverse fields, not only architecture, we should also add that it is neither so well-known nor as exhaustively studied as it may be thought.

## GRANADA AND THE ALHAMBRA FROM THE ORIENTALIST PARADIGM

In the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century—in the context of the Counter-Reformation—the image of Granada suffered a first and radical reinvention in order to base its exceptionalism in a supposed and desired Christian ancestral past. In that framework, the cartographic document known as the *Plataforma de Ambrosio de Vico*<sup>3</sup> played an active role: it was the best representation of the aspirations of the elites from Granada to reveal the image of a Catholic city exorcised of the Arabic invasion and in total harmony with the sacral urban discourse led by Rome.

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the image of Granada suffered a second and opposite—regarding to the content—overall

process of paradigmatic reprocessing: it had to do with the "invention" of an Orientalist Granada which, once previous religious reservations had been overcome, was discovering in its Arabic past the *raison d'être* for its existence. Granada turned again into a city with a mythical image, very far beyond its sad economic, social and political reality, since the splendor days of the city were only distant memories wrapped in the mythology of an *aurea aetas* which was more and more unreal.

And in this new reinvention of the character of Granada, the real vortex of the city was no longer in the places where the Counter-Reformist plot had been built—the *Sacromonte*, the Cathedral, or the multifarious churches and convents dotting *Plataforma de Ambrosio de Vico*—but Granada was increasingly identified with an Alhambra that was raised as an essential reference of the modern European Orientalism.

A great part of the Orientalist discourse of Granada and the Alhambra came from abroad, from the above mentioned travelers and writers who had visited the city and its exceptional Arabic fortification since the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century; but also the presence of a series of very specific cartographic documents, same as it had been two centuries before, was indispensable to finish the definition and visualization of Granada and the Alhambra from the parameters of Orientalism.

### ORIENTALIST CARTOGRAPHIES OF GRANADA AND THE ALHAMBRA

The first major milestone, both cultural and cartographical, in this history that marks the stages whereby Granada and the Alhambra got this "Orientalist" image which even today feeds largely its mass tourism, is traced back to the decade 1760s. In 1766, a peculiar expedition was sent from Madrid by the *Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando* with the stated objective of studying the "antigüedades árabes" ["Arabic antiquities"] from Granada and Cordoba. This expedition, intimately connected with the Enlightenment spirit, was led by the architect and military engineer José de Hermosilla,<sup>4</sup> who was accompanied by two, at that time, young apprentices destined to assume the leadership of Spanish architecture in the immediate decades: Juan Pedro Arnal and particularly the great Juan de Villanueva, future architect of the building which these days is occupied by the *Museo del Prado*.

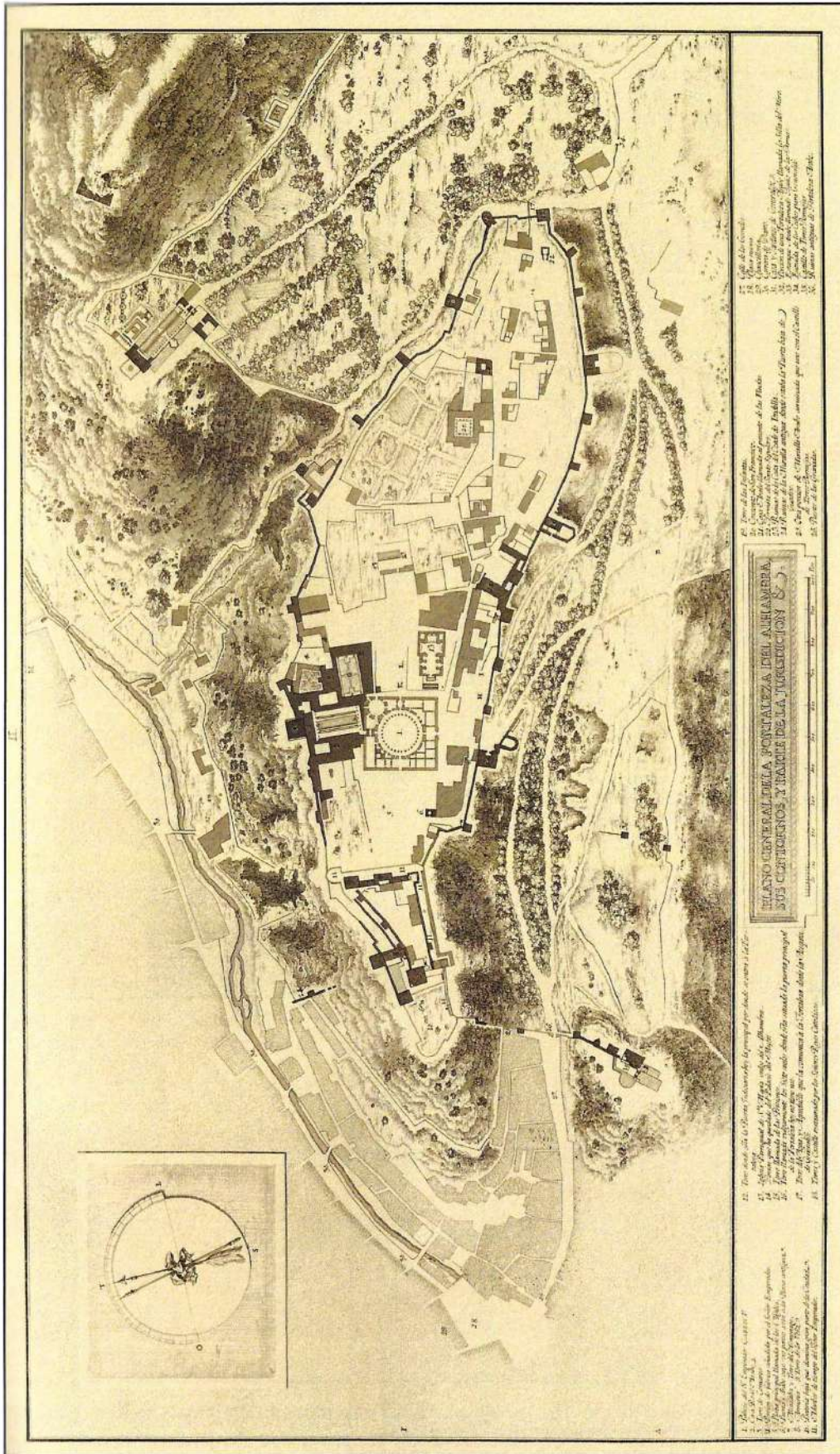
The circumstances surrounding this trip were exceptional, because it was not the private tour of a few "curious

spectators", this trip was an official initiative that arose from the wish of the Madrid Academy to organize the teaching of Architecture on new intellectual and scientific foundations, away from the traditional practical character of the foremen world. To achieve this objective therefore it was indispensable to chronicle the evolution of Spanish architecture for the first time, integrating as many references as possible, but always reserving a privileged place for the classical tradition.

Thus, the visit by the academics is presented as an architecture-specific expedition, intended to provide arguments to rethink the History of Architecture. And it is very significant that the Academy did not consider that its passion for Greco-Roman antiquities was incompatible with the interest in great Islamic constructions of Granada and Cordoba.<sup>5</sup>

The result of the pioneering work developed by Hermosilla and his team was the extraordinary graphic documentation which, in 1787 and 1804, after numerous difficulties as Jovellanos summarized in his *Informe sobre Monumentos de Granada y Cordoba*,<sup>6</sup> gave rise to the publication of the *Antigüedades árabes de España*.<sup>7</sup> The academics made many drawings which served as basis for those engravings included inside the definitive two volume publication. Their survey encompassed the complete architectural spectrum of the palatine enclosure, from decorative details or inscriptions to panoramic views. However, what we would like to emphasize is the fact that for the first time the academics drew up very accurate maps, not surpassed until the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, of the whole Alhambra enclosure and Nasrid palaces (as well as the *Palacio de Carlos V* and the Cathedral, the two great Renaissance monuments of Granada), with the sole aim of documenting and leave testimony. After Wyngaerde's<sup>8</sup> and Hoefnagel's<sup>9</sup> pictures and the schematic representation contained in the *Plataforma* by Ambrosio de Vico, finally, and thanks to the academics, the Alhambra reached the highest scientific level of representation.

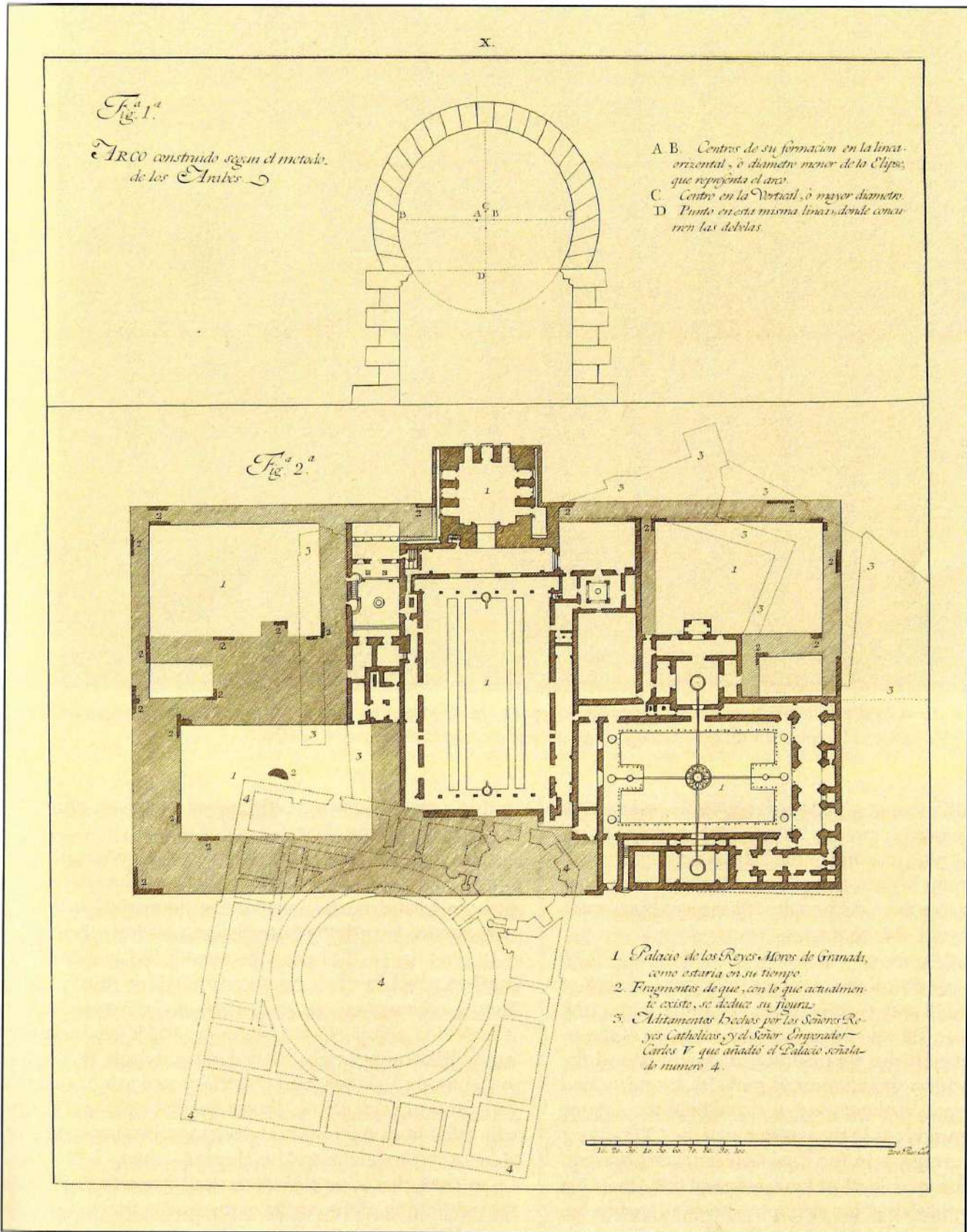
The *Plano general de la fortaleza del alhambra, sus contornos i parte de la jurisdicción* &c was part of the results of Hermosilla and colleagues' drawings (first *in situ* and later in Madrid) and the engraving tasks carried out by the notable cartographer Juan de la Cruz<sup>10</sup> in 1770. (Figure 1) This was the first accurate portrait of the large Nasrid palatial city. Enlightenment engineer's discerning and scientific gaze removed the blurry and generic image of the "Alhambra royal houses" and brought a rigorous identification of their diverse parts, differentiating graphically both their construction periods and their contemporary



**Figure 1.** José de Hermosilla (draughtsman) and Juan de la Cruz (engraver), *Plano general de la fortaleza del alhambra, sus contornos i parte de la jurisdicción &c.*, 1770 (Courtesy: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid).

See <http://www.tiendarabarf.com/plano-general-de-la-fortaleza-de-la-alhambra-sus-contornos-y-parte-de-la-jurisdiccio.html>.





**Figure 3.** José de Hermosilla (draughtsman) and Juan Moreno Sánchez (engraver), *Arco árabe y planta del palacio nazari*, 1773 (Courtesy: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid).





**Figure 4.** David Roberts (draughtsman) and E. Goodman (engraver), *The Alhambra from the Albaycin*, 1834 (Source: private collection). Figures 4 and 5 appear in <http://revistaseug.ugr.es/index.php/cuadgeo/article/view/1627/2475>.

status using different gray shades as a graphic resource. In addition, this map is currently an essential source of information concerning to some of the former existing secondary constructions within the court enclosure which have nowadays disappeared, such as the *Palacio de Abencerrajes*, named “del Mufti” in the map.

One of the most innovative contributions from Hermosilla’s expedition was a topographic cross-section of the Alhambra hill and its edifications. (Figure 2) This print, for the first time, showed the topographic features of the relationship between the Nasrid fortified enclosure and the low city. Nowadays, in addition, it provides abundant and accurate information about the towers and bulwarks existing before the French blasts in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Other illustrations in the *Antigüedades árabes* presented in detail this new level of knowledge of the Alhambra complex, emphasizing, for example, the relationship between the Arabic palaces and the Renaissance *Palacio de Carlos V*, or the study of the underground galleries world, crucial for the function of the court structure, but not

visible, without aesthetic effects and therefore, absent to the later Orientalist view.

The contrast between the high level of precision with which Hermosilla drew the Alhambra surviving elements and the great doses of imagination he applied in the attempts to reconstruct the destroyed parts is illustrative: in one of his sketches—which was subsequently included in *Voyage* by Alexandre Laborde<sup>11</sup> and, therefore, widely distributed in Europe—the rigorous representation of *Comares* and *Leones* is presented as part of a hypothesis in which two imaginary courtyards, conveniently located on wreckage (imaginary too), turn the *Comares* court into the central axis of a regular and symmetrical building, almost Escorial style, which is totally aside from the historical reality but in agreement with Hermosilla’s prejudice and his classical training.

In 1805, that is, on a date practically contemporary with the publication of the results of the academics’ trip, the minority Enlightenment culture of Granada generated another new image of the city. That year, the local philosopher Simón de Argote published his *Nuevos paseos históricos, artísticos,*



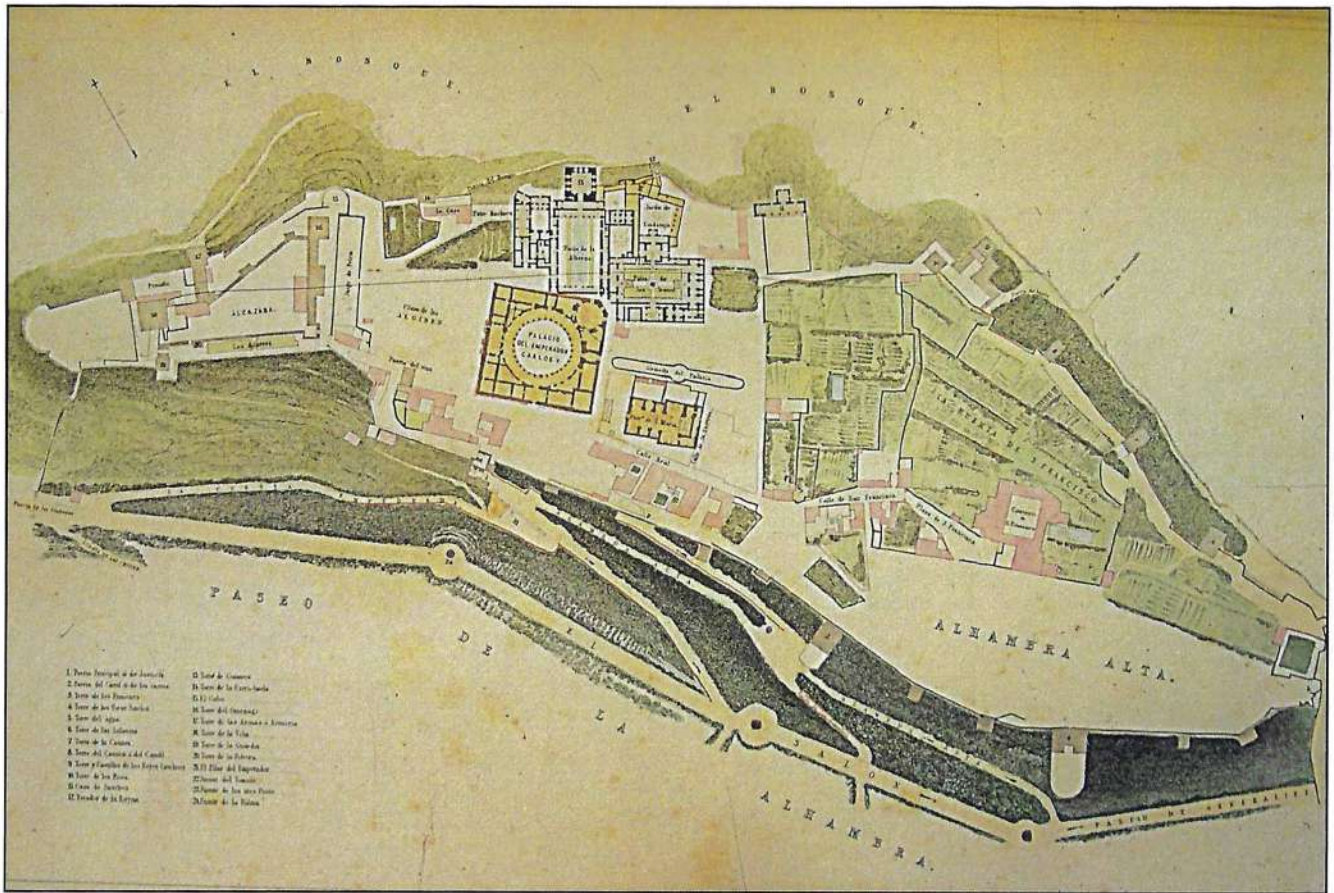
Figure 5. George Vivian, *View from San Cristobal*, 1838 (Source: private collection).

*económico-políticos, por Granada y sus contornos*. Just as Juan Calatrava<sup>12</sup> has studied, Argote's view of the Alhambra is very interesting because of its hybrid character, as it presents a time of transition between the Enlightenment exaltation of the Classical tradition (the *Palacio de Carlos V* was considered by Argote the best architectural lesson, even better than the Nasrid palaces) and the proto-Orientalist fascination for exoticism, the passionate character of Arabic culture and the ornamental exuberance of its architecture (fascination that caused in Argote a strong feeling of guilt).

In the advent of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the *Nuevos paseos*, interrupted by the outbreak of the Spanish War of Independence and the subsequent exile of its author, represented the swan song of the Enlightenment polemic. The Romantic culture achieved its full development during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, being the new Orientalism one of its main components, unthinkable without the 18<sup>th</sup>-century previous substrate and however, at the same time, profoundly different. Writers, artists, travelers, historians, and architects, most of them

foreigners at the beginning but also from Spanish culture and even from Granada (being the Contreras<sup>13</sup> family the best local example) were tracing a "new Oriental" image of Granada as the century progressed.

As mentioned above, it was essential—and undoubtedly the most studied feature of this Orientalist Granada,<sup>14</sup> although this is not a closed topic—the contribution of British travelers (from the 18<sup>th</sup>-century precedents such as Richard Twiss or Henry Swinburne, to James Cavannah Murphy, David Roberts [Figure 4], Richard Ford or J.F. Lewis, "the Spanish Lewis") or the French (Chateaubriand, Théophile Gautier, Girault de Prangey, Baron Taylor or Gustave Doré), in addition to the important role played by the New Yorker Washington Irving with his *Tales of the Alhambra*.<sup>15</sup> All these names contributed to consolidate the particular Romantic way of looking at the Islamic past of Granada and, very especially, the Alhambra. In that Romantic view, aspects strictly concerning to urbanism and architecture were steadily amputee while the considerations based on emotional and mythical terms were



**Figure 6.** General map of the Alhambra, in *Plans, elevations, sections and details of the Alhambra* by Owen Jones, edited in London in 1842 (Source: private collection).

underlined. This is evidenced by Victor Hugo’s famous verses: “L’Alhambra ! l’Alhambra ! palais que les Génies / Ont doré comme un rêve et rempli d’harmonies; / Forteresse aux créneaux festonnés et croulants / Où l’on entend la nuit de magiques syllabes, / Quand la lune, à travers les mille arceaux arabes, / Sème les murs de trèfles”.<sup>16</sup>

The enormous number of travel books about Granada and the Alhambra written during these decades contributed decisively to configure this new image of the city. The hundreds of engravings which were prepared to illustrate these books constitute a corpus in which a view of Granada as an Oriental land inside the European borders becomes strengthened. (Figure 5) However, the cartographic production was not aligned with the importance of this cultural phenomenon. The Granada map made by Alexandre Laborde<sup>17</sup> during the early years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which was not more than a simplified reproduction from the map which was commissioned by the local government to Francisco Dalmau,<sup>18</sup> was an exception of this dynamic. This lack of maps is perfectly understandable and coherent with a kind of aesthetic view of reality,

which prefers the evanescence that we can appreciate in many of the Romantic travelers’ engravings rather than the topographic accuracy of cartography. And while almost all 19<sup>th</sup>-century major books about Granada paid little or no attention to the city cartographic representation, by contrast, they never forgot to include a map of the Alhambra.

A key figure in the transition from the Romantic issue to an “alhambraism” directly implicated in the contemporary architecture debates is the British Owen Jones,<sup>19</sup> who spent several months in Granada, in 1834 and 1837. His great work, *Plans, elevations, sections and details of the Alhambra*,<sup>20</sup> contained 101 illustrations that took advantage from the availability of a new technology, chromolithography. (Figure 6) This was the perfect means for Jones’s special interest in colors. Among the illustrations, most of them are detailed studies of architectural or decorative elements, there is also, of course, a general map of the Alhambra, where the legend and the chromatic code identify broadly—except in the case of the royal palaces and the old mosque whose interior is represented—the main buildings and the distribution of paths and gardens.

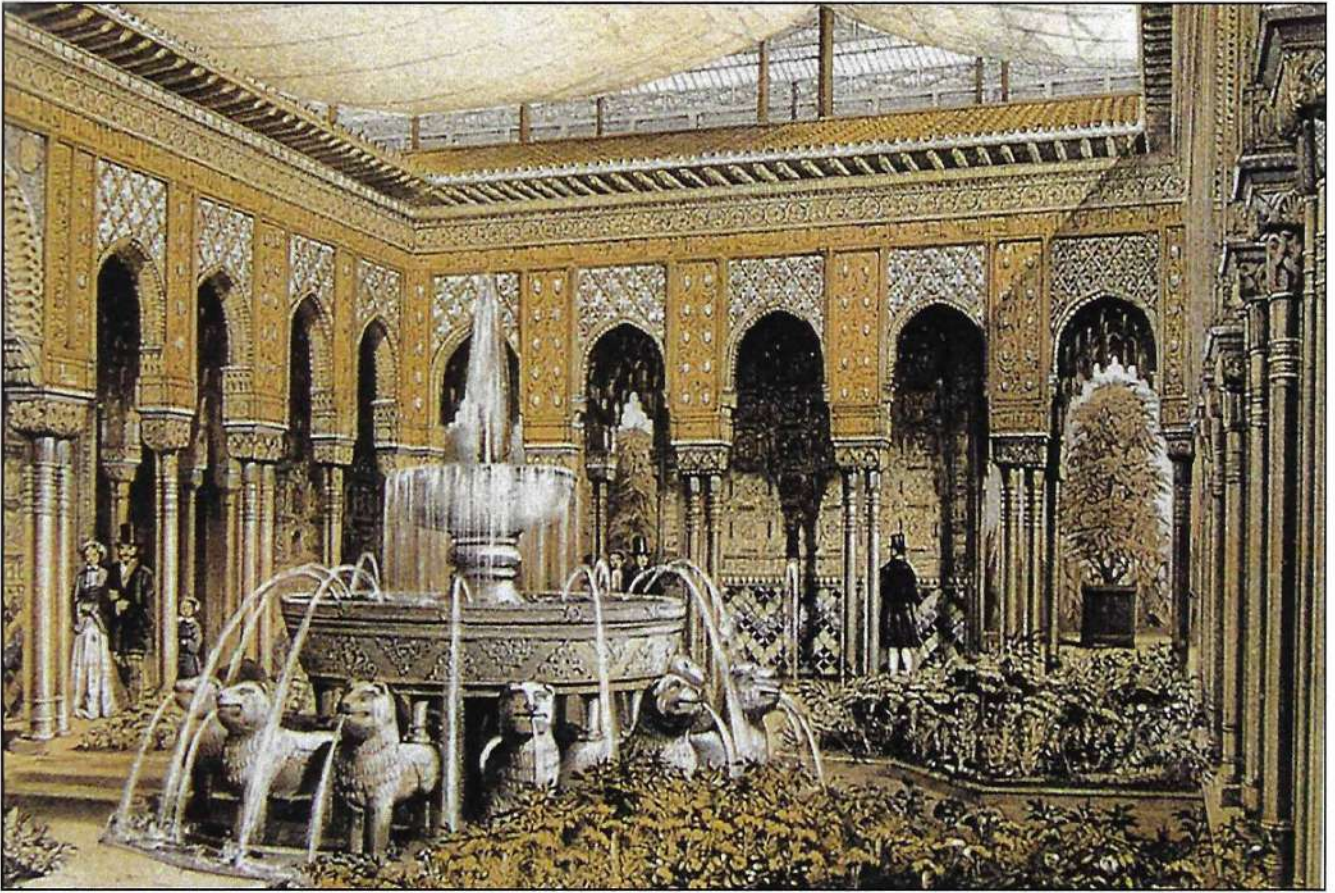


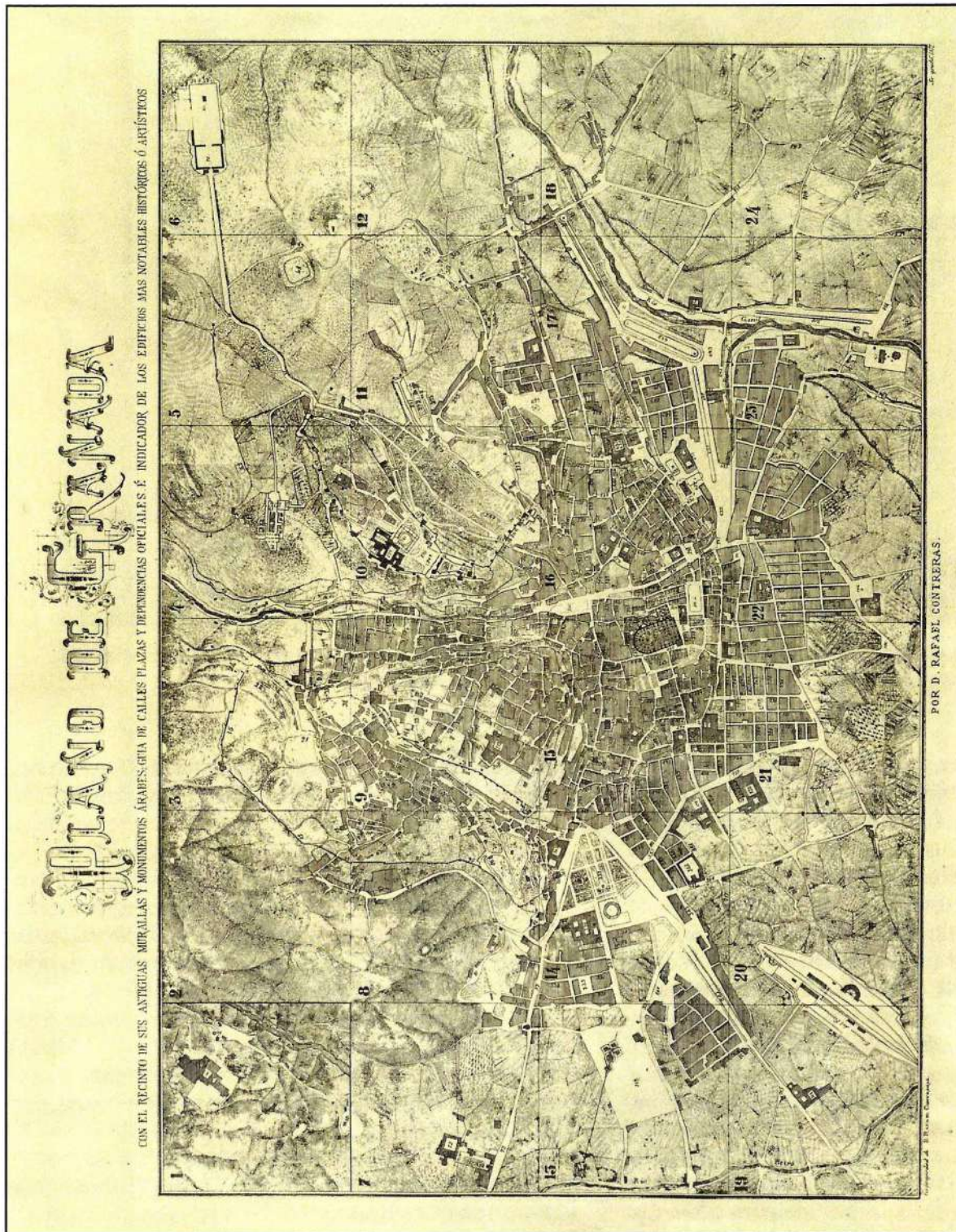
Figure 7. M.D. Wyatt, *Alhambra Court, Views of the Crystal Palace and Park*, Sydenham, 1854 (Source: private collection). Viewable online at [www.sciencephoto.com/media/559081/view](http://www.sciencephoto.com/media/559081/view).

Throughout this work, Jones defends the independence of Moorish art, dominated by the elegance and refinement, with regard to the Arabian art, marked by its lavishness. From an exhaustive *in situ* study (analysis of the chromatic remains, casts, traces on paper, copies, etc.), the British artist imagined an Alhambra entirely covered in color and at the same time showed a special interest in the *mocárabes*, the Nasrid pointed arches, or the decoration of false arches, this is, all those elements that make the Alhambra the top of coherence between architecture and decoration or between form and color. This idea is the beginning of Jones's interest in incorporating the lessons of the Islamic legacy to the artistic elaborations of his time.

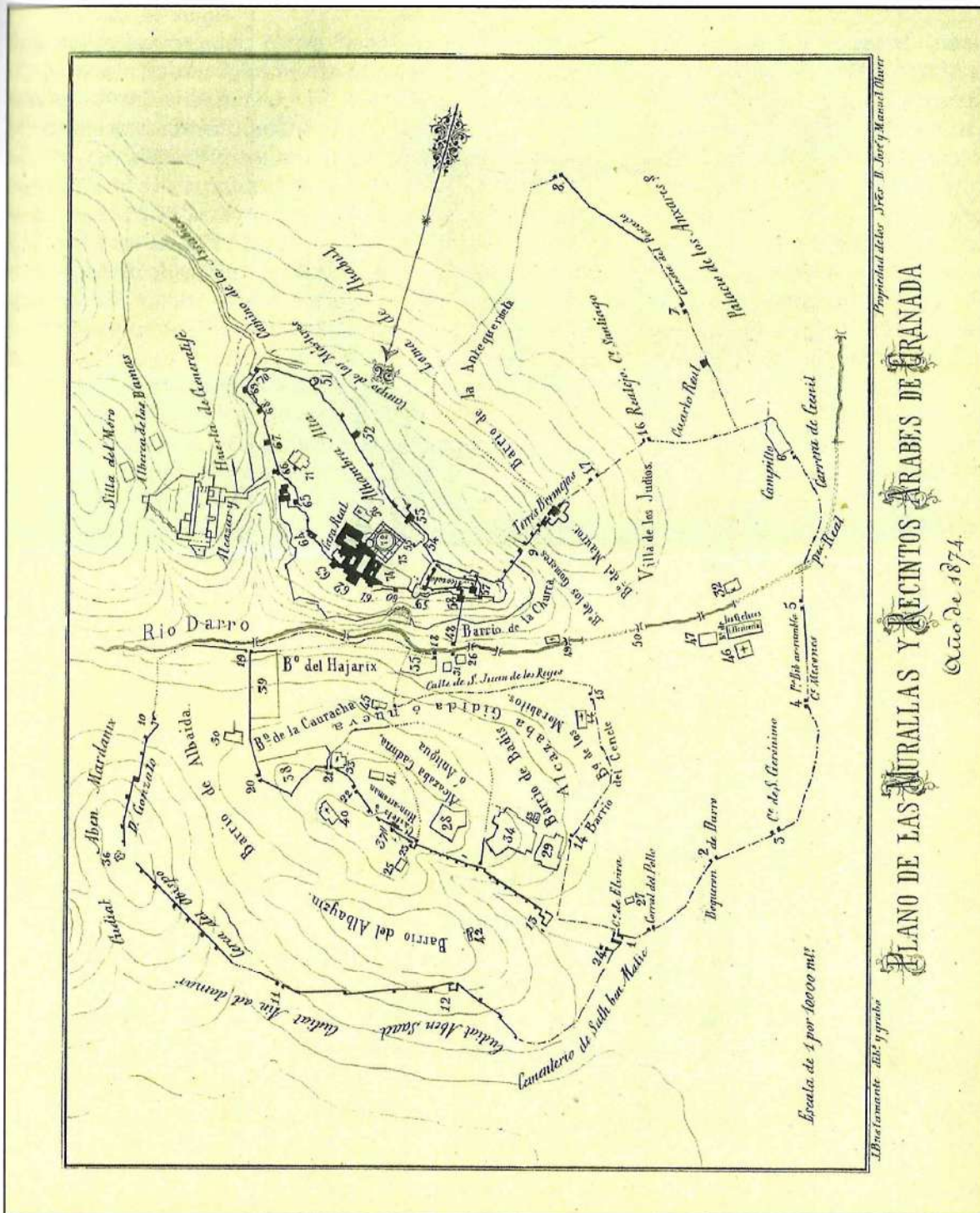
A decade later, in 1856, in his *The Grammar of Ornament*,<sup>21</sup> one of the most influential architectural texts in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Jones affirmed the universal role of the Alhambra aesthetic system when trying to define ornamental principles of modern architecture, considering the importance of the Nasrid monument comparable to the relevance of the Parthenon. To Jones, the Alhambra became a prototype from which he could

deduce ornamental and chromatic principles with universal application, and this is the idea that took shape in his celebrated reconstruction of the *Patio de los Leones* inside the Sydenham Crystal Palace in 1854<sup>22</sup> (Figure 7).

In this context, as noted above, not only foreign travelers but Granada intellectuals were increasingly active in the development of this mythical "Oriental" Granada. For the purposes of the current study, it is important to point out the historiographical work of Rafael Contreras Muñoz, son of the architect José Contreras (author of the 1853 Granada map)<sup>23</sup> and frequently erroneously cited himself as an architect, a title he never possessed despite being an elected member of the Royal Institute of British Architects; this fact evidences the close relationships between his family and British Orientalists. Rafael Contreras was responsible for conserving and restoring the Alhambra from 1847 to 1888. His work along those years was very controversial because his interventions were based in an "ideal Orientalism" which had often no historical justification: the episode of *Leones* court's polychrome pavilions is well known; these ones were removed later by the architect and



**Figure 8.** Rafael Contreras, *Plano de Granada con el recinto de sus antiguas murallas y monumentos árabes, guía de calles, plazas y dependencias oficiales, e indicador de los edificios más notables históricos o artísticos*, 1872 (Courtesy: Ayuntamiento de Granada. Archivo Municipal de Granada).



**Figure 9.** J. Bustamante (draughtsman and engraver), *Plano de las murallas y recintos árabes de Granada*, 1874 (Source: José y Manuel Oliver Hurtado, *Granada y sus monumentos árabes*, Málaga, Imprenta de M. Oliver Navarro, 1875, p. 619).



Figure 10. Luis Seco de Lucena and José Gómez (lithographer), *Plano de Granada árabe*, 1910 (Source: private collection).

archaeologist Leopoldo Torres Balbás meanwhile part of the Granada public opinion was scandalized, given that it was much more identified with the Orientalist mystifications or topics rather than the scientific rigor.

Directly related to his activity in the Alhambra but in contrast with the attitude shown by his own restoration actions, in 1878 Rafael Contreras published the book *Estudio descriptivo de los monumentos árabes de Granada, Sevilla y Córdoba*.<sup>24</sup> In this work Contreras says to aspire placing the predominance of the rational architectural analysis over the emotional aesthetic sentiment, and proposes, according to it, to reveal the essential symmetry hidden under Arabic architecture. A symmetry, nevertheless, that has nothing to do with José de Hermosilla's classical rigidity, whose symmetrical reconstruction is explicitly criticized by Contreras in his text;<sup>25</sup> a symmetry that, as stated in Owen Jones's theories, claims an own specificity of Arab architecture based on a principle of non-monotonous simplicity, which Contreras would like to see recovered and explicitly stated in contemporary architecture. To Contreras, according to José Caveda's pioneering historiographic work<sup>26</sup> (1848), the last centuries of Islamic Spain produced a truly original art, and the Alhambra is the culmination of the historical evolution of this Hispano-Arabic architecture.

Contreras' study includes, of course, two maps of the Alhambra which were made in 1865; he turns to them continually throughout the text to support his description of the monument. The first of these maps, on a larger scale (1:2500), is the *Plano de la Alhambra y Generalife con las antiguas construcciones, las modernas y algunas de las que han desaparecido*; and the second one is the *Plano del Palacio Árabe de la Alhambra: con los descubrimientos hechos por D. Rafael Contreras*, on 1:500 scale, where the lower floor of the Arabic palaces is presented in detail, except the area of the *Palacio del Partal*, still privately owned, as well as the connections with the Renaissance palace and the rest of stances created for the Christian emperor Carlos V. Those cartographic documents were the fundamental instrument with which Rafael Contreras proposed to discover the compositional keys and guidelines of Alhambran architecture.

But Rafael Contreras's cartographic work did not finish here, since in 1872 he took over from his father and he prepared and published a new map of the whole Granada. If in the topographic map of 1853, some ornamental details, such as the arabesque framework, insinuated Contreras family's interest in Islamic ornamentation, and more specifically the "Alhambrist" one, the new map of 1872 clearly

showed that the image of Granada was already anchoring to its mythicized Arabic past in an indissoluble way.

This is expressed in the own title of the map, which succeeds in combining the historical interest in the Arabic past with the modern requirements of foreign visitors: *Plano de Granada con el recinto de sus antiguas murallas y monumentos árabes, guía de calles, plazas y dependencias oficiales, e indicador de los edificios más notables históricos o artísticos*. (Figure 8)

This map, on 1:7500 scale—this scale, in practice, prevented the lettering of most of its streets, entrusting localization to an imperfect numerical system—underlines all the Arabic architectural vestiges in Granada. In addition, Rafael Contreras knew how to combine, as other cartographers had previously done, a portrait of the existing reality with the evocation of the lost heritage, indicating with a discontinuous trace the missing wall stretches. Regarding to Arabic walls, it is necessary to emphasize that Rafael Contreras's hypothesis, shown in the map, presents *Alfareros* neighborhood wall colliding with the Alhambra enclosure in the currently called *Torre del Agua*.

Obviously, Rafael Contreras's map reflects the main urban and architectural innovations that Granada had experienced in the nearly twenty years (1853–1872) since José Contreras's map: the railway station, the first section of river Darro's vaulting, etc. In the same way, author's attention to modernity, from the cartographic point of view, can be found in the election of the metric system for the scale, a choice made twenty years before that the Weights and Measures Acts of 1892 imposed it as an obligation. However, the most significant issue about this map is, undoubtedly, the bet on the Islamic evocation as basis of the contemporary Granada: with Rafael Contreras, the Arabic past began to integrate into the city's new touristic uses.

In this respect, we should understand the inclusion of several cartographic documents inside the book, *Granada y sus monumentos árabes*,<sup>27</sup> published in 1875 by José and Manuel Oliver Hurtado brothers.<sup>28</sup> The first of these documents is the foreseeable map of the Alhambra, although in this case it just draws the more consolidated palatial nucleus: the so-called *Cuarto de Comares* and *Cuarto de los Leones*; and the second document is the *Plano de las murallas y recintos árabes de Granada*, in which, over the level curves of the rugged topography of the city, only the architectural elements of the Islamic past are represented. (Figure 9) On this map, therefore, the Oliver-Hurtado brothers gave continuity to the idea conceived by Rafael Contreras of converting the Arabic monuments into unquestioned players



of the urban scene. Nevertheless, their action was further away because they offered an image of the city which was exclusively defined by its Islamic architecture, erasing from the map, as Counter-Reformation images of Rome had done, the rest of buildings and streets.

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Orientalist image of Granada, with the Alhambra as its major reference, was more than established. To foreign visitors, Granada had turned into a comfortable "Orient inside Europe"—special mention is rewarded on this point to new travel facilities offered by railway and to the birth of the modern tourist figure—as the numerous writings by the journalist Victor Fournel<sup>29</sup> or the travel notes by Charles Garnier<sup>30</sup> (the celebrated architect of the Paris Opera building) manifest. And at the same time, the Moorish image had become integrated in the imagination of Granada high society as part of the mythical configuration of the city, thus, the reserves towards the modernization were increasing.

The year 1910 can establish the final of this itinerary throughout the Orientalist cartographies of Granada and the Alhambra. On that date, three deeply linked to Orientalism key events coincided, one of them, in addition, allows us to appreciate a new cartographic visualization of the phenomenon: the construction of the Spanish pavilion in the *Exposition Universelle et Internationale* in Brussels, the building of the *Hotel Alhambra Palace* in Granada, and the publication of the *Plano de Granada árabe* by Luis Seco de Lucena.<sup>31</sup> (Figure 10)

It is not a coincidence that the pavilion of Spain in Brussels and the *Alhambra Palace* hotel were projected by the same architect, Modesto Cendoya, who had just been designated (in 1907) responsible for conservation of the Alhambra. For Brussels it was decided to recover, after the *Neo-plateresque* style that was used in *L'Exposition de Paris* (1900), the identification of Spain with the *Neo-Arabic* style, which had already been present in the exhibitions at Vienna (1873) and Paris (1878).<sup>32</sup> Cendoya's pavilion kept a fairly accurate (although with less arcades) reproduction of the *Patio de los Leones*, being, in this way, one more episode of the Granada tradition of Alhambrist reproductions which was inaugurated by Contreras family. This was happening in Europe meanwhile, on the *Mauror* Hill, the heavy mass of the *Alhambra Palace* hotel was being raised, with a syncretic Arabism that synthesized the definitive merging between the Islamic evocation and modern tourist demands.

But, going back to Brussels, precisely one of the exhibited works inside the Cendoya's pavilion was the recently

published *Plano de Granada árabe*,<sup>33</sup> which, despite his numerous faults, tried to be an historical reconstruction of Nasrid Granada. The author of this map was the Granada journalist Luis Seco de Lucena. In fact, in the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a group of researchers on the Arabic past of the city had appeared—intellectuals such as, Francisco Javier Simonet, Manuel Gómez-Moreno González or Seco de Lucena himself—and was trying to introduce a new historical rigor into the knowledge of this past. One of the most evident and widespread fruits of this research group was the *Plano de Granada árabe*, the first major attempt at historical cartography, with the exception of Oliver-Hurtado brothers' precedent.

Seco de Lucena declared that to carry out his map he had used as basis the *Plataforma de Vico*, Dalmau's work and the Arabic walls map by the Oliver-Hurtado brothers. And, among them, Dalmau's map (the revised edition of 1831) was apparently his essential reference. This decision seems quite surprising if we think that Seco de Lucena could have used Contreras family's maps (especially Rafael Contreras's one, which was particularly suitable for his purpose), and even could have known—maybe not the completed version but at least the process of production—the *Plano de Granada* of 1909 by the Instituto Geográfico y Estadístico.<sup>34</sup>

The *Plano de Granada árabe* appears at the end of a small hundred-page book, in which Seco de Lucena reveals his knowledge and hypothesis about the urban and architectural structure of Nasrid Granada. The map does not have explicit scale and is contained in a 17.3 x 21.7 inches folded sheet. It is notable because of its expressive force, which is clearly aimed to provide an overview from first sight, using for this purpose the firmness of the drawing and three basic colors: black for "construcciones y edificios árabigos que aún existen" [Arabic constructions and buildings that still exist] red for "construcciones y edificios árabigos que han desaparecido" [Arabic constructions and buildings that have disappeared] and bluish green for "parte de la ciudad que se hallaba edificada, y cuyos barrios, calles y edificios han experimentado transformaciones que no es posible precisar ó se encuentran sustituidos por otros de moderna construcción" [part of the city found built, and whose neighborhoods, streets and buildings have experienced transformations that cannot be determined or have been replaced with modern constructions].

The historical accuracy of this cartographic exercise is quite questionable, since, as Antonio Orihuela mentions in his study, the recreation of the Arabic Granada was submitted

to an arbitrary process of “de-regularization” to adapt some areas to the general idea of the Islamic chaotic urbanism. The *Plano de Granada árabe*, therefore, must be used today with a good dose of precaution and be considered, first of all, an historical document relative to Orientalism in Granada and not a trustworthy source about the city morphology.

In any case, with Seco de Lucena’s proposal, Granada finally acceded to this important genre of historical cartography—other cities had this kind of examples from centuries before<sup>35</sup>—and this last meeting between Orientalism and urban cartography came to enhance the image of a Granada which was anchored more to its Arabic past and to the Alhambra than to modern realities.

#### ABOUT THE AUTHOR



Ana del Cid Mendoza is the winner of the 2016 Dr. Walter Ristow Prize for Academic Achievement in the History of Cartography. Growing up in Granada (Spain), she developed a fascination with maps during her undergraduate Architecture studies, in large part thanks to Prof. Juan Calatrava’s lessons at the Universidad de Granada. Maps and urban history have become the main topics of her PhD Thesis:

“*Cartografía urbana e historia de la ciudad. Granada y Nueva York como casos de estudio*” (UGr, 2015). These last years she has engaged in several collaborative research projects on the archeology of the Alhambra, has been a Visiting Scholar at Università degli Studi Roma Tre (2013) and Columbia University (2014), and a Professor of Urban History at E.T.S. Arquitectura, Universidad de Granada.

#### ENDNOTES

- 1 The present debate about *Orientalism* has a well-known focal point in the polemical book by Edward Saïd, *Orientalism*, London, Penguin, 1977. The ramifications of this debate and the vast bibliography generated in the last three decades are impossible to summarize here, however, an excellent compendium in Spanish about the state-of-the-art can be found in José Antonio González Alcantud (ed.), *El Orientalismo desde el Sur*, Barcelona, Anthropos, 2006.
- 2 Regarding to the architectural and artistic Orientalism in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Europe, *vid.* Michael Darby, *The Islamic perspective: an aspect of British architecture and design in the 19<sup>th</sup> century*, London, The world of Islam

festival trust, 1983; John Sweetman, *The Oriental obsession: Islamic inspiration in British and American art and architecture, 1500–1920*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987; Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: architecture of Islam at nineteenth-century world’s fairs*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1992; Pierre-Robert Baduel (ed.), *Figures de l’orientalisme en architecture, Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée*, 73–74, 1994; Miles Danby, *Moorish Style*, London, Phaidon Press, 1995; Mark Crinson, *Empire building: Orientalism and Victorian architecture*, London-New York, Routledge, 1996; Rémi Labrusse (ed.), *Purs décors? Arts de l’Islam, regards du XIXe siècle. Collections des Arts Décoratifs* (exhibition catalogue), Paris, Musée du Louvre, 2007; Nabila Oulebsir y Mercedes Volait (eds.), *L’Orientalisme architectural. Entre imaginaires et savoirs*, Paris, Picard, 2009 ; Rémi Labrusse (ed.), *Islamophilies. L’Europe moderne et les arts de l’Islam* (exhibition catalogue: *Le Génie de l’Orient*), Lyon, Somogy, 2011; Juan Calatrava y Guido Zucconi (eds.), *Orientalismo. Arte y arquitectura entre Granada y Venecia*, Madrid, Abada editores, 2012.

- 3 *Plataforma de la ciudad de Granada* (c. 1613), drawn by Ambrosio de Vico and engraved by Francisco Heylan, and included in the unedited work by Justino Antolínez de Burgos, *Historia Eclesiástica de Granada*. A detailed study about this urban map of Granada in Ana del Cid Mendoza, *Cartografía urbana e historia de la ciudad. Granada y Nueva York como casos de estudio*, PhD Thesis in Universidad de Granada, 2015, pp. 129–148.
- 4 José de Hermosilla Sandoval (Llerena, 1715 – Madrid, 1776) was a Spanish military engineer and an architect. He is recognized as a key figure in the study of Islamic architecture. His most important built projects were the *Hospital General* (Madrid, 1756)—currently *Museo Reina Sofía*—the *Salón del Prado* (Madrid, 1768) and the *Colegio Mayor de Anaya* (Salamanca, 1770), where he tried to evoke the floor of the *Palacio de Carlos V*. In 1748, during his stay as a pensioner at the *Academia de España* in Rome, he attended the publication of the famous *Pianta di Roma* by Giovanni Battista Nolli. This extraordinary specimen, which was included in Hermosilla’s Library, was very influential in his cartographic works, including those maps he made in the Alhambra. *Vid.* Antonio Almagro (ed.), *El legado de al-Ándalus. Las antigüedades árabes en los dibujos de la Academia* (exhibition

- catalogue), Madrid, Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando y Fundación Mapfre, 2015.
- 5 Delfin Rodríguez Ruiz, *La memoria frágil. José de Hermosilla y las Antigüedades árabes de España*, Madrid, Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Madrid, 1992.
  - 6 Ignacio Henares Cuéllar, "Arqueología e historia del arte islámico en el siglo de las Luces. El Informe de Jovellanos sobre los monumentos árabes de Granada y Córdoba", *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino*, 2, 1988, pp. 165–176.
  - 7 Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, *Antigüedades árabes de España*, Madrid, Imprenta Real, 1787–1804.
  - 8 Anton van den Wyngaerde (Antwerp, c. 1525 – Madrid, 1571) was a Flemish painter and a cartographer, specializing in urban views. His work in Spain began in 1561 when he was commissioned by Felipe II of Spain to prepare the largest and accurate collection of topographical views of the main Spanish cities. Wyngaerde made several sketches and drawings during his stay in Granada in 1567, although only one of them is a finished view of the city: an extraordinary panoramic from the west, highlighted because of its accuracy. *Vid.* Montserrat Galera, *Antoon van den Wuijgaerde, pintor de ciudades y de hechos de armas en la Europa de los Quinientos*, Barcelona, Institut Cartogràfic de Catalunya, 1998; Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, "The Spanish views of Anton van den Wyngaerde", *Master Drawing*, VII, 1969, pp. 375–399; Richard Kagan, *Ciudades españolas del Siglo de Oro. Las vistas de ciudades españolas de Anton Van den Wyngaerde*, Madrid, Ediciones El Viso, 1986 (2<sup>nd</sup> edition 2008).
  - 9 Joris Hoefnagel (Antwerp, 1542 – Vienna, 1600) was a Flemish artist specializing in cityscapes painting. He practiced his profession in numerous and frequent trips around Spain, France, Germany, and England. He is the author of many urban views included in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* by Georg Braun. Among these views, there are three which portray Granada—two panoramas and one more dedicated to the Alhambra and its surrounding areas. These pictures have picturesque character and were conceived from a scenic point of view. *Vid.* Joaquín Gil Sanjuán y Juan Antonio Sánchez López, "El flamenco Joris Hoefnagel pintor de las capitales andaluzas del quinientos", en M. Begoña Villar García y Pilar Pezzi Cristóbal (eds.), *Actas del I Coloquio Internacional "Los extranjeros en la España Moderna"*, Málaga, 2003, vol. II, pp. 341–358.
  - 10 Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla (Madrid, 1734 – ib., 1790) was a Spanish geographer, a cartographer, an engraver and a member of the *Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*. His major cartographic work was the *Mapa geografico de la America Meridional* (1775), a particularly interesting engraving because of its scale (1:4000000) and the ethnographic and political information inside it. This map became known internationally in 1799 through a London edition by William Faden, who had received a copy of the Juan de la Cruz's original engraving from Thomas Jefferson.
  - 11 Alexandre Laborde, *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne*, París, Pierre Didot ed., 1806–1820.
  - 12 Juan Calatrava, "Un retrato de Granada a principios del siglo XIX: los Nuevos Paseos de Simón de Argote", *Demófilo*, 35, 2000, pp. 95–110.
  - 13 Contreras surname was tied to the Alhambra for the whole 19<sup>th</sup> century throughout three figures: José Contreras Osorio (1795–1868), Rafael Contreras Muñoz (1824–1890) and Mariano Contreras Granja (?–1912). They were for decades responsible of the polemic restoration and reconstruction of the Nasrid complex, and they were the founders of a company which made miniature reproductions and partial models of the Alhambra that were very popular in Victorian England.
  - 14 AA.VV., *Imagen romántica de España* (exhibition catalogue), Madrid, Ministerio de Cultura, 1981; Pedro Galera Andreu, *La imagen romántica de la Alhambra*, Madrid, Ediciones El Viso, 1992; AA.VV., *La imagen romántica del legado andalusí*, Barcelona, Lunwerg, 1995; Antonio Gámiz Gordo, *Alhambra. Imágenes de ciudad y paisaje (hasta 1800)*, Granada, Fundación El Legado Andalusí, 2008.
  - 15 Washington Irving, *Tales of the Alhambra*, Philadelphia, Lea & Carey, 1832.
  - 16 Alhambra! Alhambra! Palace that the Geniuses / Have made gilt as a dream and filled with harmonies; / Festooned and ruinous battlements fortress / Where at night magical syllables are heard / When the moon, through a thousand Arabic arcades / sows the walls with trebles" (Victor Hugo, *Les Orientales*, 1829).
  - 17 Louis Joseph Alexandre Laborde (París, 1773 – ib. 1842?) was a French soldier, a historian, a writer, a diplomat, and a liberal politician. Although he was born in Paris, he was a descendent of Spaniards. He served



- in the Austrian Army, studied History and Archaeology and traveled around Italy, Spain, England, and Holland. His literary production was broad and varied and he is considered a key figure for subsequent attachment of the Romantic image of Spain. *Vid.* AA.VV. *El viaje a España de Alexandre de Laborde* (exhibition catalogue), Barcelona, MNAC, 2006.
- 18 The *Mapa topográfico de la ciudad de Granada* was made by Francisco Dalmau—mathematician and member of the *Real Academia de Ciencias Naturales de Barcelona*—between 1795 and 1796, and it was the first geometric map of the city and the first specifically aimed to be an instrument for local government and the only one map that made use of the Enlightenment cartographic advances in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. A detailed study of that map in Ana del Cid Mendoza, *op. cit.* pp. 149–166.
  - 19 Owen Jones (London, 1806 – ib. 1874) was a British architect, an artist and a theorist who became an essential figure in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century artistic debates caused by the advent of serial production and consequent reflections regarding to the role of history in this context. Jones was responsible for the polychrome decoration inside the Crystal Palace in the London Great Exhibition in 1851. *Vid.* Kathryn Ferry, “Printing the Alhambra: Jones and chromolithography”, *Architectural History*, 46, 2003, pp. 175–188; Carol A. Hrvol Flores, *Owen Jones. Design, ornament, architecture, and theory in an age in transition*, New York, Rizzoli, 2006; Juan Calatrava, “Owen Jones: diseño islámico y arquitectura”, en Juan Calatrava (ed.), *Owen Jones y la Alhambra*, Granada, Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, 2011, pp. 9–41.
  - 20 Owen Jones and Jules Goury, *Plans, elevations, sections and details of the Alhambra*, London, Owen Jones, 1842–1845.
  - 21 Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament*, London, Day and Son, 1856.
  - 22 Jones dedicated one of his books to this reconstruction: *The Alhambra Court in the Crystal Palace, erected and described by Owen Jones*, London, Crystal Palace Library and Bradbury and Evans, 1854 (Spanish edition, with two introductory studies: Juan Calatrava y José Tito Rojo, *El Patio Alhambra en el Crystal Palace*, Madrid, Abada editores, 2010).
  - 23 The *Plano Topográfico de la Ciudad de Granada* was prepared by the municipal architect José Contreras in 1853, to obey the Real Orden of 1846 regarding to geometric population maps. This copy was conceived as a tool to undertake reforms in the urban space, in the increasingly complex context of a contemporary city, although it was never used as such a tool—among several reasons because of its geometric inaccuracy—and it was perpetuated as a portrait of Granada at that time. A detailed study of this map in Ana del Cid Mendoza, *op. cit.*, pp. 213–231.
  - 24 *Estudio descriptivo de los monumentos árabes de Granada, Sevilla y Córdoba: ó sea La Alhambra, El Alcázar y la Gran Mezquita de Occidente*, Madrid, Imprenta y Litografía de A. Rodero, 1878 (facsimile edition with an introduction by José Laborda, Zaragoza, Delegación en Zaragoza del Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Aragón, 1993).
  - 25 “¡Qué uniformidad tan deliciosa para aquellas gentes! De este modo se contentaron con lo que existía, imaginándose lo que había desaparecido [...]. Lo que habían hallado nuestros académicos no era el mérito especial de la Alhambra, era la interpretación equivocada de su carácter y de su símbolo. El libro y el plano de la academia quedaron en nuestro tiempo relegados al olvido, y si no bastaran las teorías para negar su importancia, lo demostraríamos por las recientes excavaciones que hemos hecho con este propósito” (*Ibid.*, p. 153).
  - 26 José Cávada, *Ensayo histórico sobre los diversos géneros de arquitectura empleados en España desde la dominación romana hasta nuestros días*, Madrid, Imprenta de D. Santiago Saunague, 1848, p. 225. *Vid.* Juan Calatrava, “La construcción romántica de la historia de la arquitectura española, 1829–1848”, en Juan Calatrava (ed.), *Romanticismo y arquitectura. La historiografía arquitectónica en la España de mediados del siglo XIX*, Madrid, Abada editores, 2011, pp. 14–52.
  - 27 José y Manuel Oliver Hurtado, *Granada y sus monumentos árabes*, Málaga, Imprenta de M. Oliver Navarro, 1875.
  - 28 José Oliver Hurtado (Málaga, 1827 – Madrid, 1886) and Manuel Oliver Hurtado (Málaga, 1831 – ib. 1892) lived parallel lives. They were two priests, lawyers and writers. They composed several important texts jointly and so they were members of the *Real Academia de Historia de España*.
  - 29 Juan Calatrava, “Granada y Venecia desde París: orientalismo y ciudad en la mirada de Victor Fournel”, en Juan Calatrava y Guido Zucconi (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 133–158.

- 30 Fernando Marías y Véronique Gerard-Powell (eds.), *Viaje a España de Charles Garnier*, Hondarribia, Ed. Nerea, 2012.
- 31 Luis Seco de Lucena Escalada (Tarifa, 1857 – Granada, 1941) was a Spanish historian and a journalist. He was a member of the *Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando* and he was a renowned and influential figure in Granada contemporary society.
- 32 M. José Bueno Fidel, *Arquitectura y nacionalismo (pabellones españoles en las exposiciones universales del siglo XIX)*, Málaga, Colegio de Arquitectos-Universidad, 1987; Daniel Canogar, *Pabellones españoles en las Exposiciones Universales*, Madrid, Sociedad Estatal Hannover, 2000; Luis Sazatornil Ruiz y Ana Belén Lasheras Peña, "París y la españolada: casticismo y estereotipos nacionales en las exposiciones universales (1855–1900)", *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez. Nouvelle série*, 35(2), pp. 265–290; Ana Belén Lasheras Peña, *España en París. La imagen nacional en las Exposiciones Universales, 1855–1900*, PhD Thesis, Universidad de Cantabria, 2009; Juan Calatrava, "Paradigma islámico e historia de la arquitectura española: de las exposiciones universales al Manifiesto de la Alhambra", en AA.VV., *Las exposiciones de arquitectura y la arquitectura de las exposiciones. La arquitectura española y las exposiciones internacionales (1929–1975)*, Pamplona, Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de la Universidad de Navarra, 2014, pp. 27–36. About the Spanish pavilion in the Exposition Universelle et Internationale in Brussels: José Manuel Rodríguez Domingo, "La Alhambra efímera: el pabellón de España en la Exposición Universal de Bruselas (1910)", *Cuadernos de Arte*, 28, 1997, pp. 125–139.
- 33 Granada, Imprenta de El Defensor de Granada, 1910 (facsimile edition with an introduction by Antonio Orihuela Uzal, Granada, Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2002).
- 34 The so-called *Plano de Granada de 1909* is the first example in the cartographic history of Granada carried out by a state organism, the *Instituto Geográfico y Estadístico*. This is a map of Granada urban center with an extraordinary accuracy. A detailed study of this map in Ana del Cid Mendoza, *op. cit.* pp. 233–267.
- 35 Remember, for example, the series of historical maps displaying the evolution of Paris inside the work by Nicolas Delamare, *Traité de la Police*, Paris, Brunet, 1705–1738.



# The OLD PRINT SHOP INC.

AMERICAN GRAPHIC ARTS, ANTIQUARIAN MAPS AND ATLASES

established 1898



MAP OF TEXAS AND LOYAL COLONIES  
SOMETIMES REFERRED TO, AS THE UNITED STATES.  
PUBLISHED BY THE NOWOTNY-BURRELL CO.  
SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS. C.1950.

A rare, mid-twentieth century pictorial comic map of the United States featuring the Lone Star state.

[www.oldprintshop.com](http://www.oldprintshop.com)

*Celebrating 119 Years of Buying, Selling and Building American Art Collections*

KENNETH M. NEWMAN HARRY S. NEWMAN ROBERT K. NEWMAN

150 LEXINGTON AVENUE AT 30TH STREET NEW YORK, NY 10016-8108  
TEL 212.683.3950 INFO@OLDPRINTSHOP.COM