

# WOMEN AND THE ALHAMBRA. THE FEMALE PRESENCE IN POLITICAL, ARCHITECTURAL, PICTORIAL AND SYMBOLIC SPACES

LAS MUJERES Y LA ALHAMBRA. PRESENCIA FEMENINA EN ESPACIOS POLÍTICOS, ARQUITECTÓNICOS, PICTÓRICOS Y SIMBÓLICOS

BÁRBARA BOLOIX-GALLARDO

LECTURER IN ARABIC AND ISLAMIC STUDIES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF SEMITIC STUDIES  
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF GRANADA

[bboloix@ugr.es](mailto:bboloix@ugr.es)

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**ABSTRACT:** the Alhambra, as the main expression of the path of the Nasrid dynasty in history, was an enclave where both men and women were present during the trajectory of the kingdom of Granada (13th-15th centuries). Despite their conscious historiographic «veiling», the latter had a considerable influence in both the political development and the spatial and aesthetic configuration of this palace. Therefore, its analysis and reconstruction are not possible today without the application of a gender perspective. Throughout this paper, we will try to identify the feminine presence in the political, architectural, pictorial, and symbolic fields at the Alhambra, in order to contribute to a better understanding of both the importance and the mark that Nasrid women left in this monument.

**KEYWORDS:** Alhambra, women, politics, architecture, visual culture, poetry, gender studies

**RESUMEN:** la Alhambra, como máxima expresión del paso de la dinastía nazarí por la historia, fue un enclave en que tuvieron presencia tanto hombres como mujeres durante la trayectoria del reino de Granada (siglos XIII-XV). A pesar de su consciente «velación» historiográfica, estas últimas llegaron a tener un peso considerable tanto en el desarrollo político como en la configuración espacial y estética de este palacio, cuyo análisis y reconstrucción no deben ser posibles a día de hoy sin la aplicación de la perspectiva de género. A lo largo de este trabajo, pretendemos identificar la presencia femenina fundamentalmente dentro de los ámbitos político, arquitectónico, pictórico y simbólico alhambrenos, con el fin de contribuir a un mejor conocimiento de la importancia y de la huella que las mujeres nazaríes tuvieron y dejaron en este monumento.

**PALABRAS CLAVES:** Alhambra, mujeres, política, arquitectura, cultura visual, poesía, estudios de género

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IL. 1. Pepe Marín. North portico of the Court of the Myrtles reflected in the pool. (2016) APAG.

## Introduction

The history of the Nasrid dynasty, which ruled the kingdom of Granada from the 13th to the 15th century, has generally been interpreted, reconstructed and analysed from a predominantly male perspective in all its various manifestations. This approach established a biased view of the dynasty's political trajectory that has endured for centuries and decades, overlooking the contribution made by women of this lineage. For a long time, no important questions were asked about the roles that women actually played in the public sphere and how they influenced the development of the Nasrid dynasty, despite their great importance. Their footprints have been limited to an occasional series of references scattered across sources and studies that have, in addition, been left out of the official historical discourse and the process of interpreting the facts<sup>1</sup>.

In spite of this, women's involvement in the different facets of Nasrid history (politics, diplomacy, economics, etc.) can today no longer be denied when viewed from various scientific perspectives, forcing a re-examination of the dynasty from a gen-

1. Among the works that have highlighted the contribution of women to Nasrid history and have contributed to its visibility, the following particularly stand out (in chronological order): SECO DE LUCENA, L.. La sultana madre de Boabdil, *Al-Andalus*, 12/2 (1947), pp. 359-390; ALBARRACÍN NAVARRO, J. Un documento granadino sobre los bienes de la mujer de Boabdil en Mondújar in Manuel González Jiménez (ed.). *Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Andalucía. Andalucía Medieval. Fuentes y Metodología*. Córdoba: Monte de Piedad, 1978, pp. 339-348; DE SANTIAGO SIMÓN, E. Algo más sobre la sultana madre de Boabdil in Ángel Sáenz-Badillos Pérez (ed.). *Homage to Prof. Dario Cabanelas Rodríguez, O.F.M., on the occasion of his LXX anniversary* Granada: University, 1987, I, pp. 491-496; RUBIERA MATA, M.<sup>a</sup> J. La princesa Fāṭima bint al-Aḥmar, la "María de Molina" de la dinastía nazarí. *Medievalismo*, 6 (1996), pp. 183-189; CHAROUITI HASNAOUI, M. La intervención de la mujer en la vida política granadina durante la primera mitad del siglo XV, in Francisco Toro Ceballos and José Rodríguez Molina (coords.). *Estudios de Frontera. Alcalá la Real y el Arcipestre de Hita*. Jaén: Diputación Provincial, 1996, pp. 323-334; SALICRÚ I LLUCH, R. *El Sultanat de Granada i la Corona d'Aragó, 1410-1458*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1998; BOLOIX-GALLARDO, B. Revelando nuevos vínculos familiares de la dinastía nazarí en el siglo XIII: Amat al-ʿAziz y los Banū Ḥudayr de Crevillente, *MEAH*, 60 (2011), pp. 57-78; BOLOIX-GALLARDO, B. *Las Sultanas de la Alhambra. Las grandes desconocidas del reino nazarí de Granada (siglos XIII-XV)*. Granada, Comares - Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife, 2013; BOLOIX-GALLARDO, B. Mujer y poder en el reino nazarí de Granada: la sultana Fāṭima bint al-Aḥmar, la perla central del collar de la dinastía, *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 46/1 (2016), pp. 269-300; SALICRÚ I LLUCH, R. Sultanas emergentes: visualizaciones de la mujer musulmana en las fuentes cristianas, in José Rodríguez Molina (ed.). *VIII Estudios de Frontera. Mujeres y fronteras*. Jaén, Diputación Provincial, 2011, pp. 477-483, among others.

der perspective that is indispensable for a better understanding of its internal dynamics. Following the methodological recommendations of American historian Joan Scott<sup>2</sup>, this approach is not only decisive in reconstructing a new history of women, but also a new history –in this case, that of the Nasrid kingdom of Granada– since, paraphrasing her ideas, «the inclusion of women in history necessarily implies the redefinition and expansion of traditional notions of historical meaning, so that it encompasses personal and subjective experience as well as public and political activities» and gender, as a topic for analysis, is a decisive part of this.

Reconstructions of the history of the Alhambra, and analysis of the palace from different points of view (architectural, aesthetic, etc.), has generally suffered from this male perspective, with the exception of the well-known work of some women researchers who have opened up lines of research that are as necessary as they are interesting<sup>4</sup>. Taking into account the importance of considering the feminine component in any general study of the palace, this work analyses the presence of Nasrid women in the Alhambra based on four key areas: political, architectonic, pictorial and symbolic. This study aims to contribute, as far as possible, to an appreciation of the Alhambra as an enclave in which very diverse feminine worlds developed, identifying how femininity is an essential feature in the historical, aesthetic and spatial configuration of the Nasrid palace, and it urges any study of the Alhambra to constantly apply a gender perspective (Il. 1).

### Women and power in the history of the alhambra

Politics, in its various manifestations, was a field in which women of the Nasrid dynasty actively and significantly participated. Due to the idiosyncrasy of Islamic civilization in medieval times, this involvement was officially prohibited by the male domain, as acknowledged by and recommended in several Andalusian and Eastern political treaties, the finest example being the treatise written by vizier and secretary of the Alhambra Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Jaṭīb (d. 776/1374) entitled *Al-Maqāma fī l-siyāsa* (*The ses-*

*sion on politics*). In this short work, which he dedicated to Nasrid emir Muḥammad V, (755-760/1354-1359; 763-793/1362-1391) he offers practical advice on how to govern and defines a sultan's group of women (*al-ḥuram*) as follows [as for the wives]:

«they are the soil in which the children are planted, the myrtles of the spirit and the repose of the heart –tired by thoughts– as well as the soul –cut open by self-esteem, to the point of intrigue and censure–. (...) Seek out, then, among them the one who surpasses the others in the goodness of her character, the one who shows herself to be proud regardless of her size, as long as [that] does not harm you in the spirit, so that she may be the [mother] of your children (...)»

«Forbid them to wink [among themselves], to be jealous of each other, and rivalry and preferences of some over others. Put peace between them in personal affairs, playing deaf to their demands and showing deference to their apprehensions».

«Reduce your encounters with them, which should be your permanent concern and the moustached [guardian] of your harem, being intimate with them [only] when weariness and tedium reign; and abstain [from it] if you have much work, anger, sleep or apathy due to the day's fatigue (...)».

2. SCOTT, Joan W. "El género: una categoría útil para el análisis histórico", in Marta Lamas (ed.), *El género: la construcción cultural de la diferencia sexual*. Mexico: Universidad Autónoma de México, 2013 (4th reprint), p. 267.

4. In this context, the well-known works by Elena Díez Jorge on architecture and women are particularly noteworthy. Due to their extremely large number, only the following shall be mentioned due to space limitations: *Mujeres y arquitectura: mudéjares y cristianas de la construcción*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2011 (English version: *Women and Architecture: Christian and Mudéjar Women in Building*. Granada: University of Granada, 2011); "Women and the Architecture of al-Andalus (711–1492): A Historiographical Analysis" in Therese Martin (ed.), *Reassessing the Roles of Women as "Makers" of Medieval Art and Architecture*. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2012, I, pp. 479-521.

«Do not disown any woman on the advice of others or due to intrigue, nor should you entrust her with small or big matters»<sup>5</sup>.

Despite official recommendations to keep women out of politics and to prevent women's presence from encroaching at a government level, the reality proved very different from the theory as shown by several cases in which different sultanas clearly crossed the threshold of their private habitat to enter the public sphere. The political instability of the Nasrid dynasty, which was comprised of twenty-three sultans of whom at least thirteen died in organized crimes, and the context of war that constantly enveloped the kingdom, meant that the women of the family were frequently left on the front line<sup>6</sup>. One of the most decisive reasons for these female interventions was undoubtedly to ensure the succession to power of a woman's own first-born child or other candidates from among her own offspring. To this effect, it is important to bear in mind the great importance that motherhood had in terms of the legal, and therefore also social, footing established among the different categories of women members of a royal harem. To define the term, a harem (*al-ḥarīm* o *al-ḥuram*) was the set of private females belonging to a sovereign who were, as a result, forbidden (*ḥarām*) to other men<sup>7</sup>.

Harems were principally complex feminine microcosms because they were made up, as in the case of the Nasrid dynasty, of two types of women: firstly, those born into the ruling family itself who were considered 'legitimate wives' (*zawġ*, plural *azwāġ*) of the sultans. These women were generally paternal cousins (*bint 'amm*) –though sometimes maternal cousins (*bint al-jāl*)– of the reigning sovereign, since marital union between cousins was frequently practised at all levels of society in the kingdom of Granada. It was preferred in Arabic-Islamic culture for reasons that were mainly economic because endogamy allowed a family's heritage to be kept intact within the family. As a result of their high social status, these women were considered noble or *ḥurras* ('free') by birth. The second group in the Nasrid harem were slaves (*ġawārī*, *mamlūkāt*) who were intended for procreation; they were generally Christian women (*rūmiyyas*) from the north of the peninsula who were brought to Granada either through the slave trade or as captives following mi-

litary expeditions. By bearing the sovereign a child, concubines (*ummahāt al-awlād*, literally 'the mothers of the children')<sup>8</sup> achieved the social status of free women or *ḥurras*, because motherhood conferred the right to freedom, and this in turn implied nobility<sup>9</sup>.

Examining the entire Nasrid family tree, it is possible to count twenty-three named legitimate wives and nine Christian concubines documented in Arabic sources, which relate quite explicitly the strategies that some of these women employed to secure a position for their own children in the government after the death or dethronement of the reigning emir. This can be illustrated in detail by describing the case of Fāṭima bint al-Aḥmar (d. 749/1349), a woman who epitomised this situation; she was born in the 13th century but prolonged her political career well into the 14th century.

Chroniclers always describe Fāṭima in the biographical shadow of her son but they define her as a «very noble lady related to the kings [on all four sides]», as recounted by Ibn al-Jaṭīb (d. 776/1374)<sup>10</sup>

5. IBN AL-JAṬĪB. *Al-Maqāma fī l-siyāsa*, texto conservado en *Al-lḥāṭa fī aġbār Ġarnāta*. Ed. Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh 'Inān. El Cairo: al-Širka al-Duwalīyya li-l-Ṭibā'a, 20014, IV, pp. 625-626 and in AL-MAQQARĪ. *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min guṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb wa-ġikr wazīri-hā Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Jaṭīb*. Ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās. Beirut: Dār Šādir, 1968, VI, pp.439-440, apud BOLOIX-GALLARDO, B. *Las Sultanas de la Alhambra*, pp. 166-167.

6. On this subject, see VIDAL CASTRO, F. El asesinato político en al-Andalus: la muerte violenta del emir en la dinastía nazarí (s. century) in Maribel Fierro (ed.). *De muerte violenta. Política, religión y violencia en al-Andalus (Estudios Onomástico Biográficos de al-Andalus, 14)*. Madrid: CSIC, 2004, pp. 349-397 and by the same author, *La Alhambra, como espacio de violencia política en la dinastía nazarí*, en José Antonio González Alcantud (coord.). *La Alhambra: lugar de la memoria y el diálogo*. Granada: Comares, 2008, pp. 201-220.

7. See BOLOIX-GALLARDO, B. "Los harenes del mundo islámico medieval y su pervivencia romántica en el norte de África" in Catálogo de la Exposición *Odaliscas. De Ingres a Picasso*. Granada: Board of Trustees of the Alhambra and the Generalife (in production)

8. BOLOIX-GALLARDO, B. *Las Sultanas de la Alhambra*, pp. 170-202.

9. On these themes, see *ibid.* pp. 187-193.

10. *lḥāṭa*, I, p. 378; trad. BOLOIX-GALLARDO, B. *Las Sultanas de la Alhambra*, p. 66.



because she was the daughter of emir Muḥammad II, sister of Muḥammad III and half-sister of sultan Naṣr<sup>11</sup>. The tragic circumstances surrounding her life made her an active participant in the dynastic affairs of the Nasrid court. Firstly, her father, Muḥammad II, died in 1302, then her brother Muḥammad III, to whom she must have felt great loyalty because they shared both the same father and mother (*Nuzha*), was deposed by sultan Naṣr (their half-brother with a father in common) in 708 (1309); sultan Naṣr also died two years later. Arabic sources reveal that Fāṭima was never in agreement with this shift in politics, which would explain why she began to plan –from Malaga, the city where she lived with her husband, Abū Saʿīd Faraʿy, ruler of this military stronghold– the coup d'état that would elevate her own son, Ismāʿīl I, to power at the Alhambra.

These developments in Nasrid history are worth analysing in detail due to the consequences and great significance that they entailed: Fāṭima was, like her male brothers Muḥammad III and Naṣr, the daughter of emir Muḥammad II but, unlike them, her status as a woman meant that she could not officially pass on the right to reign, despite the fact that she was also a direct descendent of the legitimate ruling line that began in the 13th century with Muḥammad I, the founder of the dynasty. In spite of this, following the death of Muḥammad III the succession to this dynastic branch found itself at a dead end because the sultan had produced no heirs and it was predicted that Naṣr would not have any. For this reason, Fāṭima emerged as the continuer of the lineage, instigating her son Ismāʿīl I to take power until he overthrew Naṣr in 713 (1314). This meant that her first-born son played a leading role in an unusual event in the Nasrid dynasty, and in an Islamic dynasty in general: he rose to power through his mother's side rather than his father's. This fact was analysed by M<sup>a</sup> Jesús Rubiera<sup>12</sup>, who reached the conclusion that

«the social solidarity of the Granada lineages was not based on the unilateral –agnatic– structure of the Arab-Bedouin model but rather a bilateral structure, meaning that cognatic bonds –the feminine line– had as much importance as agnatic bonds –the masculine line– (...). However, for a cognatic

bond to be important, it was necessary for women to transmit the honour and nobility of their lineage to their descendants so that they could identify with it».

In fact, the rise to power of Ismāʿīl I, who was old enough to do so at 30 years of age, cannot be understood without this female key, which explains how he received political legitimacy from his mother who, unlike his father, was a direct descendant of emirs. Although medieval Arabic historiography distinguished this new dynastic branch under the title of «the dynasty of Ismāʿīl» (*al-dawla al-Ismāʿīliyya*), in reality it should have been called «the dynasty of Fāṭima» (*al-dawla al-Fāṭimiyya*) or it should not have been given any particular name because sultan Ismāʿīl directly continued a line that was already established in power, though he did so through his mother<sup>14</sup>.

Fāṭima's political interventions would endure throughout the course of Nasrid history as much as those of her own descendants. Once established in the Alhambra as Ismāʿīl I's mother, she would live through his murder in 725 (1325), following which her participation in the sphere of power at the Alhambra would only intensify further. In the first place, she held shared political guardianship over her grandson Muḥammad IV (725-733/1325-1333), who was appointed emir at the age of 10. The way she protected her grandson's reign is best exemplified by her decision to eliminate vizier Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Maḥrūq al-Aṣ'arī from the political scene; he had tried to establish «a perso-

11. On the life and political actions of sultana Fāṭima, *Mujer y poder en el reino nazarí de Granada: Fāṭima bint al-Aḥmar, la perla central del collar de la dinastía (siglo XIV)*, *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 46/1, 2016, pp. 269-300.

12. El vínculo cognático en al-Andalus, *Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Andalucía. Andalucía Medieval, Córdoba, diciembre de 1976*, Córdoba: Monte de Piedad-Caja de Ahorros, 1978, I, pp. 121 and 123.

13. He was born in the year 677 (1279).

nal dictatorship taking advantage of the under-age status of Muḥammad IV»<sup>15</sup>. The chronicles recount how one day Ibn Maḥrūq, who used to regularly visit the house of the sultan's grandmother (*dār al-ḡadda/dār al-ḥūrra al-kabīra ḡaddat al-sulṭān*) to consult her on important government matters, was assaulted there by two slaves who murdered him in front of Fāṭima, who must have been over 60 lunar years old, on the night of the 2nd of the month of *muḥarram* in the year 729 (6 November 1328)<sup>16</sup>. Despite this, the sultana could do little to prevent the death of her grandson, the emir, who was killed in an ambush in 733 (1333).

Fāṭima would once again take the reins of power when her other grandson, Yūsuf I (733-755/1333-1354) ascended to the throne. He was also declared to be a minor and insufficiently mature to run the government by himself because, as Ibn al-Jaṭīb<sup>17</sup> reveals, he was not capable of taking

«anything from his estate, nor did he concern himself with any matter that was of his court, nor did he make any decision other than what food was on his table behind the closed doors of his fortress until he reached adulthood».

Although the sources are not very explicit in identifying what Fāṭima's political activity involved at this time, María Jesús Rubiera has suggested her possible participation in the plan to build the Alhambra palaces that the sovereign ordered to be constructed, including the Comares Palace. However, Fāṭima died during the reign of Yūsuf I due to her advanced age; her grandson did not hesitate to honour her as if she were an emir and her funeral rites befitted her status and her enormous political legacy. At dawn on 7th of *dū l-ḥiḡḡa* 749 (26th February 1349), sultana Fāṭima died with over ninety lunar years of age and was interred in the royal cemetery of the Rauda of the Alhambra, where neither her brothers (Muḥammad III and Naṣr), nor her grandson Muḥammad IV –all of whom were sultans– were buried. Her life would be remembered in a heartfelt and lengthy funeral eulogy composed and recited by Ibn al-Jaṭīb in her honour as «a catalogue of morals and an epitaph of [illustrious] ancestors» describing her as «the very best of the kingdom, the central pearl of the necklace [of the dynasty]»<sup>19</sup>.

### Female residential spaces in the alhambra. a palace for women too

The official residence of the Nasrid princesses was, by definition, the Alhambra enclosure, the seat of Nasrid power and the dynasty's dwelling place. However, not all the women of this lineage saw or experienced the same Alhambra. It must not be forgotten that the complex was slowly built from the 13th-15th century, meaning that generation after generation of Nasrid sultanas bore witness to the gradual evolution of its construction. This means that the family's first women, who lived in the 13th century under the first emir, Muḥammad I (629-671/1232-1273), inhabited its heart and the plainest and most primitive Alhambra, i.e. the military area of the Alcazaba<sup>20</sup>.

Following the rise to power of his son and successor, Muḥammad II (671-701/1273-1301), the horizons of the Alhambra began to expand as the kingdom entered the 14th century. Muḥammad II is in fact credited with having begun to build *Dār al-Mamlaka al-Sa'ida* ('the House of the Happy Kingdom'), referring to the Generalife; an enhancement in terms of space that the women of his time –his legitimate wife *Nuzha*, his concubine Šams al-Ḍuḡā, his sister, the famous Fāṭima bint

14. BOLOIX-GALLARDO, B. *Mujer y poder*, pp. 278-281.

15. MARTÍNEZ ENAMORADO, V. *Granadinos en la Rihla de Ibn Baṭṭūta: Apuntes biográficos, Al-Andalus-Magreb*, 11 (1994), p. 218.

16. On the medieval Arabic sources that describe this event, see BOLOIX-GALLARDO, B. *Woman and Power*, pp. 283-286.

17. *Kitāb A'māl al-A'lām fī man būyi'a qabla al-iḥtilām min mulūk al-Islām*. Ed. E. Levi-Provençal. El Cairo: Maktabat al-Ṭaqāfa al-Dīniyya, 2004, p. 305.

18. RUBIERA MATA, M<sup>a</sup>J. La princesa Fāṭima bint al-Aḥmar, la "María de Molina" de la dinastía nazarí, *Medievalismo*, 6, p. 188.

19. BOLOIX-GALLARDO, B. *Las Sultanas de la Alhambra*, pp. 66-67 and 267-271; BOLOIX-GALLARDO, B. *Woman and Power*, pp. 288-292.

20. On the adaptation of the Alhambra as the new seat of local power in Granada, see BOLOIX-GALLARDO, Bárbara. *Ibn al-Aḥmar. Vida y reinado del primer sultán de Granada (1195-1273)*. Gra-

al-Aḥmar and her four daughters– must have witnessed and enjoyed in their daily lives. However, the Nasrid family tree was quite large and housing was required for both the members of the dynasty and also for the extended Nasrid family, which also included their women. This explains why construction of the first royal mansions in the capital, Granada, began in the time of Muḥammad II, such as the house of *Yannat al-Manjara al-Kubrā* or Huerta Grande de la Almanjarra –today the Cuarto Real de Santo Domingo– (the remains of a palace belonging to Muḥammad II have recently been found on this site); the nearby Casa de los Girones; or the house that in Christian times would be converted into the first Convent of San Francisco, in the vicinity of the Alhambra<sup>21</sup>. All of these spaces could have been inhabited by women during the period.

Under the reigns of Muḥammad III (701-708/1302-1309) and Naṣr (708-713/1309-1314), neither of whom had any known wives or descendants, «slender and elegant buildings were erected on the northern walled enclosure of the Alhambra, showing from the exterior their nature as royal dwellings»<sup>22</sup>, and one example of these architectural constructions was the Partal Palace. However, it was the arrival of emir Ismāʿīl I (713-725/1314-1325) that brought about the enlargement of the Alhambra, and also saw the starting point of a building process that elevated the palace to its zenith in the 14th century under the governments of Yūsuf I (733-755/1333-1354) and Muḥammad V (755-760/1354-1359; 763-793/1362-1391). This architectural growth was a result of the splendour progressively achieved by the dynasty, which was also reflected in an increase in the female side of the Nasrid family tree. This can be seen in the fact that, from the time of Ismāʿīl I onwards, the sultans of the line began to take more wives and concubines and to produce more sons and daughters; this is reflected in the texts and can be interpreted as a clear indication of the economic power obtained by the dynasty. In fact, the greatest number of concubines is registered in the Nasrid family tree in the times of emirs Ismāʿīl I and Yūsuf I (three and two, respectively, in addition to legitimate wives), and a greater amount of space must have been required in the Alhambra to house more members of the family.

In fact, Ismāʿīl I built his own palace, located to the west of the Partal Palace and where the Comares Palace is currently located, and one can imagine that women in his family environment lived here. These women must have been numerous because they would have included the three Christian concubines or *rūmiyyas* that he took during his life ('Alwa –his favourite–, Bihār and Qamar), but also the offspring he had with each, including two girls called Fāṭima and Maryam who resulted from his union with 'Alwa<sup>24</sup>. However, the Alhambra also needed to house the women of the emir's extended family, starting with his own mother, sultana Fāṭima, who moved to the Alhambra from her native Malaga when Ismāʿīl I ascended to power. Various anecdotes in Arabic and Christian sources attest to this, including one source that recounts how, after being stabbed by his paternal cousin in his private council in 725 (1325), he was immediately taken to one of his rooms in the Alhambra Palace where, as detailed in the *Crónica de don Alfonso el Onceno*<sup>25</sup>, (Chronicle of Don Alfonso El Onceno), his mother Fāṭima was waiting: «Et tornó [el alguacil] del Rey (...) et tomólo en los brazos, et esforzándose, levólo a un palacio do estaba su madre del Rey». («The tornó [minister] of the King (...) took him in his arms, and struggling, carried him to a palace where the mother of the King was found.») In turn, Arabic sources place this sultana in her own house when they relate how, in the time of her grandson Muḥammad IV (725-733/1325-1333), courtier Ibn Maḥrūq used to regularly enter her house (*dār al-ḡadda/dār al-ḥūrā al-kabīra ḡaddat al-sulṭān*) to take advice on important government matters

nada, Universidad de Granada - Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife, 2017, pp. 98-99.

21. FERNÁNDEZ PUERTAS, A. El arte in M<sup>a</sup>Jesús Viguera (coord.). *El Reino Nazarí de Granada (1232-1492). Sociedad, Vida y Cultura*. Volumen VIII/4 de la *Historia de España* de España edited by Ramón Menéndez Pidal. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 2000, pp. 196-220.

22. *Ibid.*

23. FERNÁNDEZ PUERTAS, A. Art, p. 224-225.

24. IBN AL-JAṬĪB. *Iḥāṭa*, I, p. 538.





IL. 2. Lucía Rivas. El Serrallo from the south portico of the Patio de los Arrayanes. (2020) APAG.

and one day he was unceremoniously assaulted there by two slaves, as described above<sup>26</sup>.

It becomes somewhat easier to locate, even if hypothetically, female spaces in the Alhambra from the reign of his successor, Yūsuf I (733-755/1333-1354), onwards. Yūsuf I, being a minor, «lived in the house of his noble and holy mother, [whose] luxuries and comfortable life were noticeable in her body»<sup>27</sup>. Although it is not known exactly which building the home of Yūsuf I's mother, concubine Bihār, might have been, the enlargement of the Alhambra midway through the 14th century allows us to situate all the Nasrid women in the new palaces constructed by both this sovereign as well as those constructed by his son and successor, Muḥammad V (755-760/1354-1359; 763-793/1362-1391) (IL. 2).

The Comares Palace was begun by Yūsuf I and this complex was called *Qaṣr al-sultān* ('Sultan's Fortress' or 'Royal Fortress'), as well as *Dār al-Mulk* ('Royal House'), and the duality of its name reflects its twin function as both a royal dwelling and seat of power. The women of the Nasrid family must have enjoyed these new palatial areas and others already

existing in the Alhambra grounds as during this time the Nasrid family tree grew considerably; Yūsuf I took two Christian concubines –Buṭayna and Rīm– and a legitimate anonymous wife, producing six daughters in total: 'Ā'īša, with the former, and Fāṭima, Mu'mina, Jadīya, Šams and Zaynab, with the latter.

Yūsuf I's son and successor, Muḥammad V, completed this palatial complex and built the Palacio de los Leones (Palace of the Lions) in around 1380, called *al-Riyāḍ al-Sa'īd* ('the Happy Garden'), which was partly constructed as a «private chamber of the monarchs» of Granada, as revealed by the ancient testimonies of various chroniclers and travellers. It can be supposed that the women in his household lived in the upper rooms, including his mother,

25. Ed. Francisco Cerdá y Rico. Madrid: Printed by Don Antonio de Sancha, 1787, pp. 206-207, chap. 5. BOLOIX-GALLARDO, B. *Mujer y poder*, p. 282.





IL. 3. Lucía Rivas. The Patio del Harén. Patrontato de la Alhambra y Generalife (2020) APAG.

Butayna, his sister, –‘Ā’iṣa–, his wife, and his daughter, possibly called Umm al-Faṭḥ. In fact, during this period Ibn al-Jaṭīb places Dār al-nisā’ or ‘the dwelling of women’ on the second floor of the Sala de los Abencerrajes (Hall of the Abencerrajes), and this floor would have had a predominantly domestic use<sup>28</sup>. This would explain why the house known today by the romantic name of the Patio del Harén (Harem Courtyard), which has a central courtyard and two small porticoes, had a hallway that can today be seen to run off the exterior façade. This architectural solution meant that this area could be accessed from the street without having to cross the interior of the Palacio de los Leones, thereby preventing any interruptions to the privacy of family life, and the women, who lived there. In turn, the upper rooms of the neighbouring Sala de las Dos Hermanas (Hall of the Two Sisters) may also have been used to house women<sup>29</sup> (IL. 3).

By the time of Muḥammad V the texts confirm that every woman belonging to an emir, whether she was a legitimate wife or a concubine, had her own room or house (dār) in which she could raise her own children. This was recommended to the emir

by Ibn Ibn al-Jaṭīb<sup>30</sup> in the political treatise mentioned above:

«Put your bedroom among them so that your blessings may be expressed and your movements hidden. Separate anyone who gives birth in a [private] room that acknowledges her independence and her situation due to this distinction is appreciated (...)».

This paragraph demonstrates how the residential areas of the Alhambra were distributed by gender

26. On the medieval Arabic sources that describe this event, see BOLOIX-GALLARDO, Bárbara. *Mujer y poder*, pp. 283-286.

27. IBN AL-JAṬĪB. *A’māl*, pp. 304-305.

28. GALLEGO Y BURÍN, A. *La Alhambra*. Granada: Comares, 1963, pp. 113-114; Díez Jorge, E. *Mujeres y arquitectura*, pp. 157-158.

29. Díez Jorge, E. *Mujeres y arquitectura*, p. 158.

30. IBN AL-JAṬĪB. *Al-Maqāma fī l-siyāsa*, en *Ihāta*, IV, pp. 625-626

because it places the emir in a private bedroom where the woman of his choice would inevitably go to spend the night. In fact, the Maliki school of jurisprudence, which was used to govern the kingdom of Granada, recognized the right of slaves to share their husband and master with their free co-wife (*al-ḥurra*) on an equal number of nights<sup>31</sup>. Maternity was, as the text reveals, essential to achieve independent housing because it placed women in a special category within the harem, especially concubines, who could achieve freedom by having a child and, through this, obtain the status of nobility (*ḥurras*), as described earlier.

Some sovereigns developed the strategy of providing women with their own residence, probably outside the Alhambra, if they represented a threat to the new emir's succession to power. This was the tactic developed by Muḥammad V when he succeeded his father (Yūsuf I). He observed that his father's concubine –his own stepmother– Rīm (a Christian) had taken considerable riches from the royal Nasrid treasury that were stored in the room of the deceased sultan's room. He forced her and her children to stay in one of the well-equipped palaces that his father owned close to the Alhambra royal palace (*qaṣar quṣur abī-hi bi-ḡiwār dāri-hi*), to avoid, albeit unsuccessfully, any suggestions of conspiracy<sup>32</sup>.

Sources also record that the lives of Nasrid women were under constant surveillance to prevent them from leaving the palace grounds<sup>33</sup>:

«Put the custody [of your wives] in the hands of the old women, whose behaviour is more in keeping with religion and fidelity, their self-esteem and honour being greater (...). And see to it that the servants are aware of their departure from the palaces, and that they may escape the lion's jungle in all its magnificent appearance, for no good perfume can be instantly appreciated (...).»

In fact, Ibn al-Jaṭīb boasted of being a person so trusted by Nasrid sultan Yūsuf I (733-755/1333-1354) that he described how the emir «gave me his ring and his sword, entrusted me with the treasure of his court, the Royal Mint, the custody of his women, the education of his children and his inaccessible fortress», referring to the Alhambra<sup>34</sup>.

The women of the Nasrid family who lived in the 15th century would have continued to enjoy the Alhambra they inherited from the previous century without any major additions. Although rare, there are some (mainly Christian) testimonies that place some women towards the end of Nasrid history within its palace enclosures. Hernando de Baeza<sup>35</sup>, for example, recounts how 'Ā'īṣa after being rejected by Muley Hacén, «with her children she had her house and state and people in the room of the lions, and the rrey [Muley Hacén] in the Comares tower with the other rreyna [Soraya]». However, the same chronicler describes the same 'Ā'īṣa together with her sister of the same name and Umm al-Faṭḥ (Boabdil's wife) bidding farewell to the emir before leaving for a battle «at the door of the hall of Comares tower». The *Historia de la Casa Real de Granada*<sup>37</sup> (History of the Royal House of Granada) tells how these women lowered the emir down from this tower one night helped by a rope made of their «headresses and almaiçares».

The presence of 'Ā'īṣa has been recorded in these descriptions in the texts but she was also described as being in the Nasrid mansion known as the Daralhorra Palace which, although located far from the Alhambra, has retained its name of 'the house of the noble [woman]', in reference to 'Ā'īṣa<sup>38</sup>. Echoes of this 'Ā'īṣa, or of another woman of the same name from the Nasrid family, have also ended up

and at AL-MAQQARĪ. *Nafḥ al-ṭib*, VI, pp. 439-440, apud BOLOIX-GALLARDO, Bárbara. *Las Sultanas de la Alhambra* pp. 166-167.

31. BRUNSCHVIG, R., 'Abd, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*<sup>2</sup>, I, p. 27.

32. AL-MAQQARĪ. *Nafḥ al-ṭib*, V, p. 84; MUJṬAR AL-'ABBADĪ, Aḥmad. *El Reino de Granada en la época de Muḥammad V*. Madrid: Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos, 1973, p. 30.

33. *Ibíd.*

34. Al-Lamḥa, apud ARIÉ, R. *El Reino naṣrī*, p. 200.

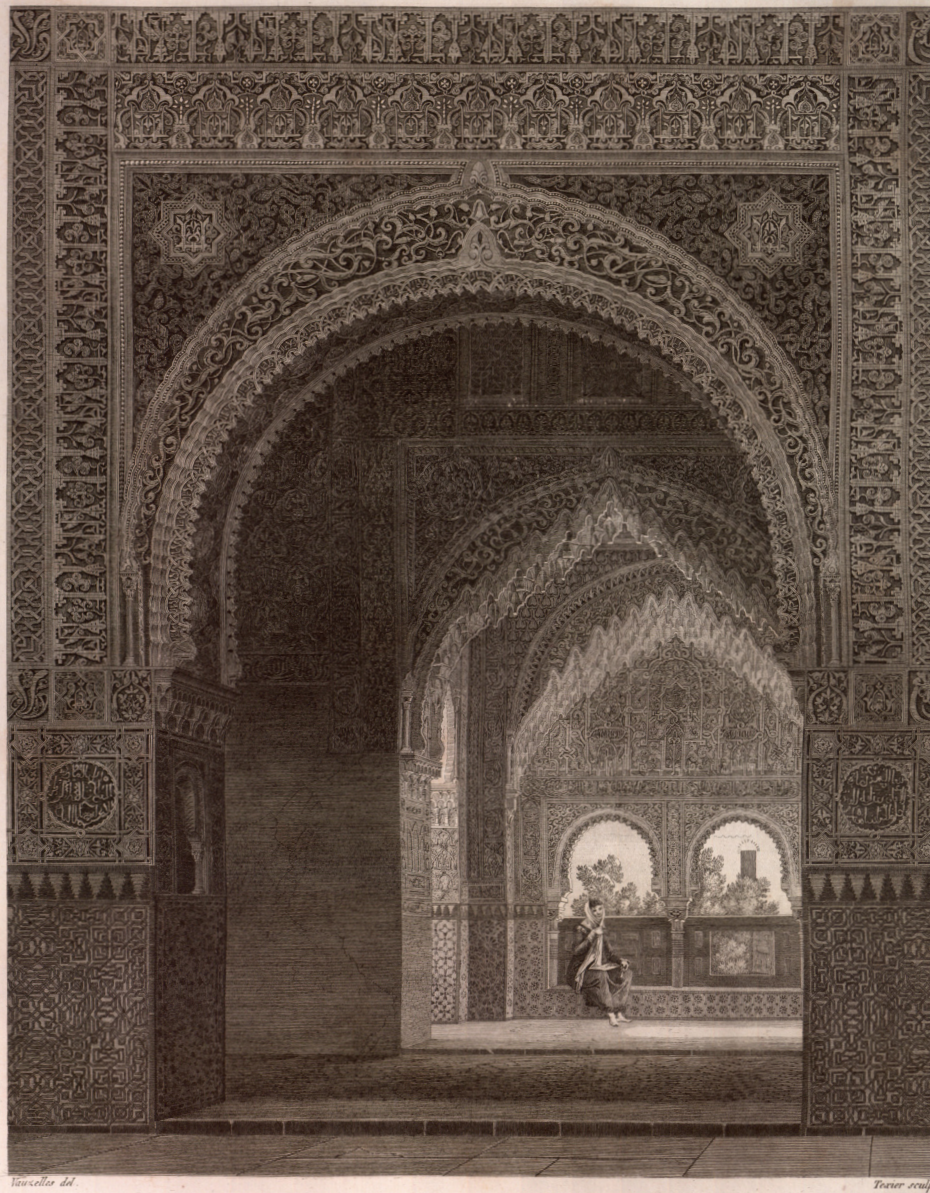
35. *Las cosas que pasaron*, p. 8.

36. DE BAEZA, H. *Las cosas que pasaron*, pp. 42-43.

37. pp. 45-46.

38. On the female connotations of this house and its history, see BOLOIX-GALLARDO, B. Daralhorra, 'la casa de la libre'. Una pro-





Vista Interior de la ALHAMBRA tomada de la Sala de las dos hermanas.

Vue d'un Intérieur de l'ALHAMBRA prise de la Salle des deux sœurs.

Inside of the ALHAMBRA taken from the Sal of the two sisters.

IL. 4. Engraving of a woman at the Mirador de Lindaraja. BPAG. A-5-3-07.

as poetic spots in the Alhambra, such as the Mirador de Lindaraja (Lindaraja Viewpoint), a name that comes from the Arabic expression '*Ayn Dār 'Ā'īša*' ('the eye' or 'the fountain of the House of 'Ā'īša').

### Pictorial reflections of nasrid women. A visual testimony

Among the surprising features of the Alhambra are a series of paintings that bring to life the rich descriptions that medieval Arabic sources have passed down about the history of the Nasrid dynasty. One of these pictorial findings was discovered in 1908 inside a small house attached to the gallery of the Partal Palace (*al-Barṭal*), thereafter known as the Casa de las Pinturas (House of the Paintings). Although they are badly damaged, these frescoes dating from the period of Yūsuf I are a metaphorical window that allows the viewer to travel back in time; they essentially recreate a war scene, in the form of a parade, in which a triumphant Nasrid and Marinid army returns from a military raid. Among this richly masculine composition –seemingly composed of horsemen, soldiers, the sultan himself with his entourage, guards, servants, etc.– of which there are detailed descriptions and reconstructions, the presence of women is significant for this study. This was rather unusual considering that, in medieval Islamic societies, members of female royalty were physically and zealously guarded, since the honour of the whole family depended on protecting their honour or *ḥurma*.

Turning first to the east wall of this room, some figures of women have been made out in different situations. According to Manuel Gómez Moreno<sup>39</sup>, who made an initial examination of this outstanding mural, the upper row contains:

«a boy leading a camel that bears a woman dressed in a red striped almalafa that lies across her shoulders and, after covering her body, then falls down her back. This woman, a slave or captive, turns her head towards the knight behind her, who is followed by a line of soldiers on horseback that continues throughout the composition».

It is unsurprising that, if true, this figure corresponds to a woman taken as a loot during a military

expedition carried out in a Christian area, as was common on both sides of the border. On the left side of the same wall, where six haimas (tents) are painted, it is also possible to make out the presence of a woman who is lying down, fully relaxed, in a final tent, «her arms uncovered and her head raised, looking out»<sup>40</sup>. The function of this figure in the middle of a war scene is difficult to determine, although she could have been part of the royal entourage because the Nasrid emir can supposedly be found in one of the nearby tents. Finally, in the central part of the row immediately below, it is possible to find a camel carrying a palanquin in whose interior we can cautiously pick out the face of a woman<sup>41</sup>; she is almost completely hidden and must undoubtedly be royalty due to the means of transport in which she is borne in this military procession.

However, the female presence seems to be most concentrated on the right-hand side of the west wall of this room, where a group of women (possibly from the Nasrid harem) are portrayed inside the rooms of a house, which could be the Alhambra itself or another Nasrid royal mansion, due to the rich decorations. The female scene is depicted in three sequences framed by «little arches on columns with hanging curtains», and six women can be seen in the central room playing musical instruments –specifically, a lute (*al-ʿūd*), a tambourine with zills (*al-bandīr/al-tār*) and others that are difficult to make out – and clapping their hands<sup>42</sup>. These women appear to be *qiyān* or *muganiyyāt* (slave singers) and *zammārāt* or *ḍarabāt* (instrument players), women who were versed in «the profane arts, i.e. poetry, its recital and declamation; music,

piedad femenina de la dinastía nazarí. In Bárbara Boloix-Gallardo and Cynthia Robinson (ed.), *El palacio nazarí de Daralhora*. Granada, Universidad de Granada - Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife, 2019, pp. 23-37.

39. Pinturas de moros en el Partal (Alhambra), *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, 6 (1970), p. 159.

40. Pinturas de moros, p. 158. See also FERNÁNDEZ PUERTAS, Antonio. *Alhambra. Muḥammad V*, Granada, Almed, 2018, p. 141.

41. GÓMEZ MORENO, M., *Pinturas de moros en el Partal*, pp. 159-160; FERNÁNDEZ PUERTAS, A. *Alhambra*, p. 141.



singing, playing instruments, dance and games, grammar, its prosody and calligraphy»<sup>43</sup> and who were typically found in the courts of Muslim rulers in the Middle Ages. In fact, Tunisian chronicler Ibn Jaldūn (808/1406) recounts that the slaves of the Nasrid court excelled in the art of dancing with handkerchiefs and sabers, adorned with costumes and decorations, and other games, with which they demonstrated their skills<sup>44</sup>. In turn, under each of the two side arches, three other women can be seen talking in a relaxed manner among themselves<sup>45</sup>. The clothing of this female group is worthy of closer analysis because it is highly revealing in light of the scarcity of testimonies in written sources about the physical appearance of noble women or *hurras*. They are all veiled, as you would expect from their high status, and dressed in light colours but in different styles: «One wears a small turban consisting of a gold embroidered almaizar» while «the others have small veils, fixed to the head by a thick cord»<sup>46</sup>. In terms of their clothing, some wear «wide trousers, gathered at the ankles» and others are dressed in «marlotas with golden stripes on the edges, necks and cuffs»; all are wide and in different colours with red (the emblematic colour of the Nasrid dynasty) and blue appearing to predominate.

This festive scene, undoubtedly motivated by the triumphal return of the military raid described above, takes place separately from another scene that only features men at the far left end of the same wall, where two musicians can be seen playing a kind of *darbūqa* or kettledrum and a bagpipe (*gayta*)<sup>47</sup>, both instruments that, according to Ibn Jaldūn<sup>48</sup>, the Galicians of the Christian area of the peninsula used to play in battles. This custom could have been brought to al-Andalus across the border or they could be Christian slaves from that area imported to the Nasrid court. The way gender was typically segregated in Islamic civilization is clearly expressed in the architecture and the distribution of all the characters in the mural-men on one side and women on the other (Ils. 5-9).

### The Alhambra as a woman. Marriage in poetic symbolism and metaphor

Since the Middle Ages, Islamic architecture has internalised its state of being a woman; this concept was recognised by Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), the renowned Sufi of Murcia, when he declared that «any place not feminized is dispensable»<sup>49</sup>. The Alhambra, as a palace and a place embellished by the combination of different motifs that are sensorially complementary to each other, was shown to have the voice of a woman in some of its epigraphic verses, expressing a supreme feminine aesthetic developed within a symbolic plane. This ancient concept, typical of the description of cities, was defined as the marriage of architecture by its foremost academic, José Miguel Puerta Vilchez, to whom we owe its discovery and analysis in numerous publications. This femininity was strengthened to reinforce the virile, masculine and heroic image of the sultan who received it; his own work became bound to him as if she were the most beautiful woman, as we can see in the examples below. In this respect, José Miguel Puerta Vilchez distinguished «the two axes on which the semiology of this courtly architecture is expressed, namely, one that connotes the spaces in terms of marriage and femininity, and

42. On the musical instruments used in al-Andalus, see FERNÁNDEZ MANZANO, Reynaldo. *Música de al-Andalus*, Granada, Universidad, 2015, pp. 178-194, especially pp. 178 and 191, where these are specifically described.

43. CORTÉS GARCÍA, M. Estatus de la mujer en la cultura islámica. Las esclavas cantoras (ss. XI-XIX), En *Mujer versus Música. Itinerancias, incertidumbres y lunas*, Valencia: Rivera Mota, 2011, pp. 139 and 149-150, and also the section: Las esclavas cantoras en las artes iconográficas; by the same author, see also «La música, los instrumentos y las danzas andalusíes y moriscas en las fuentes árabes (ss. IX-XVII), *Cuadernos del Cemyr*, 25 (2017), pp. 147-190.

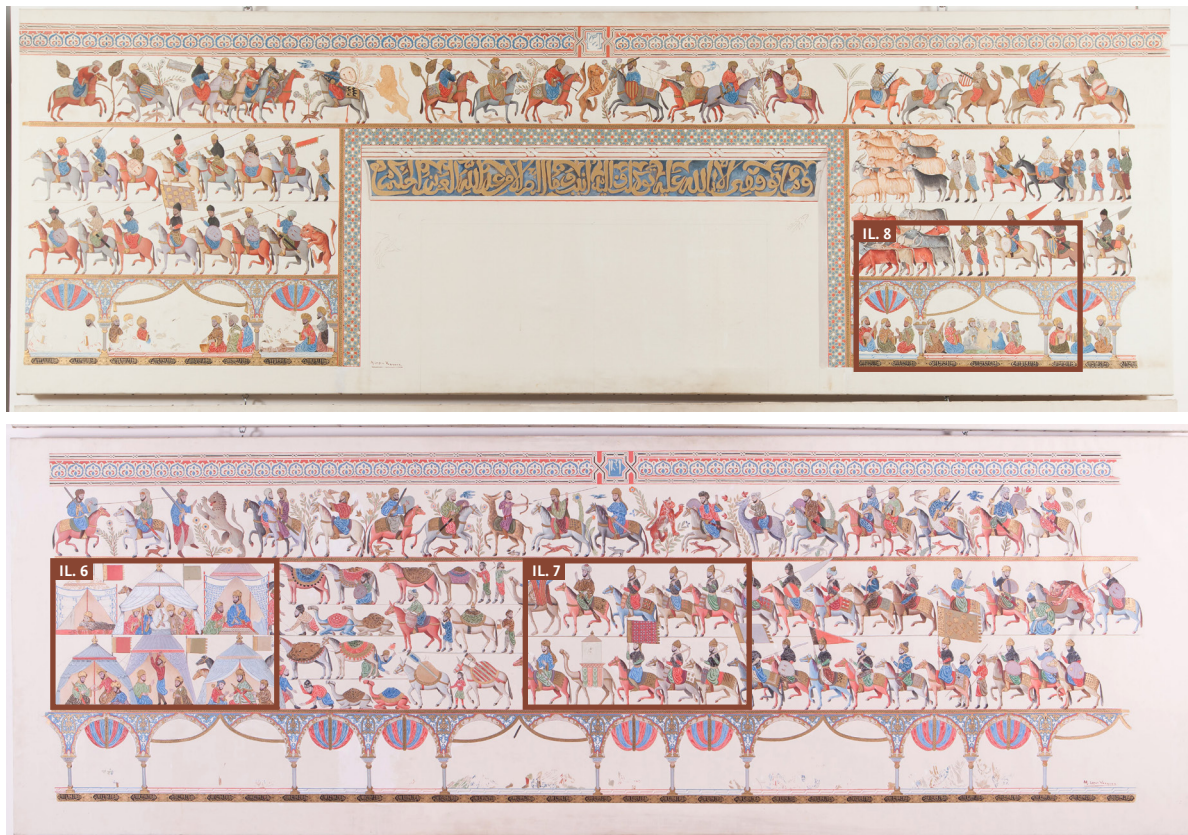
44. CORTÉS GARCÍA, M. *Estatus de la mujer*, p. 156.

45. GÓMEZ MORENO, M. *Pinturas de moros en el Partal*, p. 163; FERNÁNDEZ PUERTAS, A. *Alhambra*, p. 143.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

47. For descriptions of these instruments, see FERNÁNDEZ MANZANO, Reynaldo. *Música de al-Andalus*, pp. 190 and 192-194.

48. CARBALLEIRA DEBASA, Ana Maria. *Galicia y los gallegos en las fuentes árabes*. Madrid: CSIC, 2007, p. 106.



IL. 5. Manuel López Vázquez, Reinterpretation of the paintings of El Partal by the painter for Antonio Fernández Puertas' book. [undated]. Museum of the Alhambra. Antonio Fernández Puertas. Alhambra. Muhammad V. Granada. Almed Ediciones. 2019.

another that illustrates the heroic image of the sovereign», and both are present in the Nasrid palace<sup>50</sup>.

Ibn al-Jaṭīb described the Alhambra in terms of a wedding, detailing how «after having been desert land and barren ruin, [the Alhambra] is today a bride (*'arūs*) sweetened by the rain courted by the stars»<sup>51</sup>. Specifically, throughout the epigraphic catalogue that runs throughout the interior of this monument it is possible to find metaphors dating from the 14th and 15th centuries that show the Alhambra as a woman who, adorned at the height of her wedding, awaits the arrival of her husband, the sultan. These poems contain abundant references to rich clothing and jewellery that allow us to imagine what the women of the Nasrid harems must have actually worn during this type of celebration. This is how Ibn al-Jaṭīb envisions it in the poem he composed to decorate the *Qubbat al-'ard*, the Comares document exhibition room<sup>52</sup>:

«(...) You can say I am the *Ka'ba* for people, even though I wrap myself up in the dress of an attractive maiden.

49. IBN 'ARABĪ. *Risāla [mā] lā yu'awal 'alay-hi* (Treatise on what is disposable). In M. Šihāb al-Dīn al-'Arabī (ed.). *Rasā'il Ibn 'Arabī*, Beirut, 1997, p. 255, *apud* PUERTA VÍLCHEZ, J.M. *La poética del agua en el Islam*. Pontevedra, Trea, 2011.

50. *Estéticas de la luz, tiempo y apariencia en la arquitectura áulica andalusí*, pp. 136, 173-174. Although the originality of the topic covered in this section does not stem from my own research, I decided to include it because I believe that it completes the knowledge about the relationship between the Alhambra and Nasrid women.

51. *lḥāṭa*, II, p. 52.

52. IBN AL-JAṬĪB. *Dīwān*. Ed. Muḥammad Miftāḥ. Casablanca: Dār al-Taḳāfa li-l-Našr wa-l-Tawzī', 1989, I, p. 114-115 (poem no. 18) *apud* AL-ZAHRANI, Saleh. *Aspectos culturales e ideológicos en el Dīwān de Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Jaṭīb*. Unpublished doctoral thesis





IL. 6. Manuel López Vázquez, Reinterpretation of the paintings of El Partal (friezes with figures) by the painter for Antonio Fernández Puertas' book. [undated]. Museum of the Alhambra. Antonio Fernández Puertas. Alhambra. Muhammad V. Granada. Almed Ediciones. 2019.

I am the beautiful girl whose beauty makes  
the pearls of necks and cleavage expendable.

True beauty is the natural beauty that stands  
out without effort or labour (...)

The niches in the entrance arch to the Salón de Comares or Salón del Trono (Hall of Comares or Throne Room) also both have qasidas or odes composed by Ibn al-Jaṭīb, the polymath from Loja, in which the Alhambra is described as a crowned bride<sup>53</sup>:

Right block:

«(...) With my jewels and my crown to my  
most beautiful advantage, and even the stars  
of the Zodiac descend to me (...)

Left block:

«(...) My craftsman's fingers embroidered  
my fabric after setting the jewels in my  
crown. (...)

«(...) I am similar to a bridal throne, I even  
surpass it, and I assure the bride and groom  
of their happiness (...)

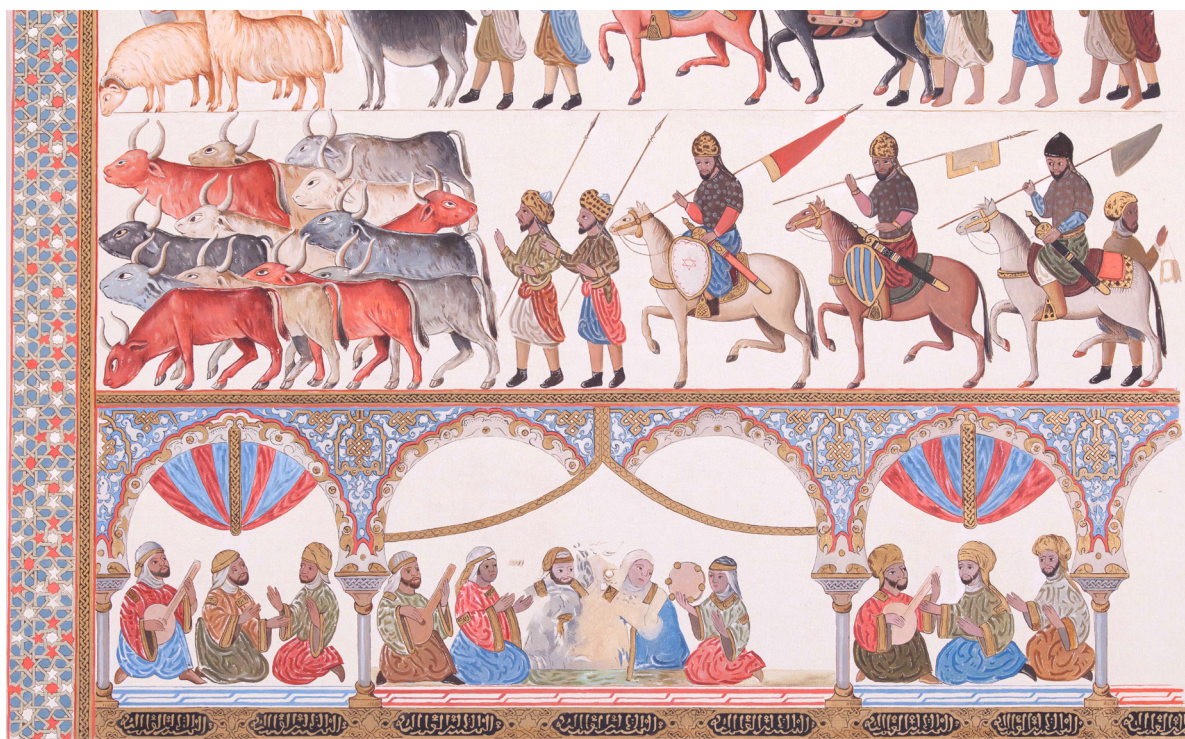
by Dr Celia del Moral Molina. Granada, Universidad de Granada, 2011, pp. 538-539 and by the same author, *Supuesta poesía epigráfica de Ibn al-Jaṭīb en la Alhambra*, in various authors (ed.). *Saber y poder en al-Andalus: Ibn al-Jaṭīb*, Córdoba: El Almendro, 2014, p. 209.

53. IBN AL-JAṬĪB. *Dīwān*, I, p.197 (poem no.127) and p. 198 (poem no. 128); PUERTA VÍLCHEZ, José Miguel. *Leer la Alhambra*, pp. 119 and 120.





IL. 7. Manuel López Vázquez, Reinterpretation of the paintings of El Partal (friezes with figures) by the painter for Antonio Fernández Puertas' book. [undated]. Museum of the Alhambra. Antonio Fernández Puertas. Alhambra. Muhammad V. Granada. Almed Ediciones. 2019.



IL. 8. Manuel López Vázquez, Reinterpretation of the paintings of El Partal (friezes with figures) by the painter for Antonio Fernández Puertas' book. [undated]. Museum of the Alhambra. Antonio Fernández Puertas. Alhambra. Muhammad V. Granada. Almed Ediciones. 2019.



The following poem is similar and also sprung from the quill of Ibn al-Jaṭīb; it was believed to be engraved in one of the royal residences built by sultan Muḥammad V, who the building addresses in a woman's voice<sup>54</sup>:

«(...) I was built by the emir of the believers  
Muḥammad [V], namesake of the prophet  
hāšimī Muḥammad.

I am the necklace that adorns the neck of  
the Kingdom. How often the pretty necklace  
beautifies the lovely neck! (...)»

The reflective effect of water intensifies the feminine narcissism of the Alhambra within this theme of wedding metaphors. The pools and the jugs in the niches at the entrance to some rooms, commonly found in the Nasrid palace, acted as metaphorical mirrors at which the bride gazes to contemplate herself and the reflection of her own architectural beauty<sup>55</sup>. This is expressed in a qasida, no longer visible in the Alhambra, that was composed to adorn a niche for water in the bedroom of the Comares Palace<sup>56</sup>:

«(...)Oh, my inventor, what perfection!  
Among artists, you are the master.

You perfected my crown when you shaped  
its decorations, so heads and partings of hair  
bowed before it.

You adjusted me until I looked like a mirror,  
and the water jug on me, like a bride...»

54. IBN AL-JAṬĪB. *Dīwān*, I, p. 363 (poem no.270); trad. AL-ZAHRA-NI, S. *Aspectos culturales*, p. 539 and *Supuesta poesía*, pp. 213-214.

55. PUERTA VÍLCHEZ, J.M. La Alhambra y el Generalife de Granada, *Antígrama*, 22 (2007), p. 191.

56. IBN AL-JAṬĪB. *Dīwān*, II, p. 719 (poem no.653); AL-ZAHRANI, Saleh. *Aspectos culturales*, p. 542 y *Supuesta poesía*, p. 204.