

AROUND 1870: THE LIBERAL REVOLUTION AND ITS INFLUENCE IN GRANADA AND THE ALHAMBRA

EN TORNO A 1870: LA REVOLUCIÓN LIBERAL Y SU INFLUJO EN
GRANADA Y EN LA ALHAMBRA

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ABSTRACT: political agitation was a dominant note in 19th century Spain. But the political changes hid a very backward economic and social reality. The stage of the Sexenio Democrático was key in the desires of modernization of the country, although with little results. In this context, Granada lived between exoticism and immobility. Based on the historiography of Granada and the Alhambra in the 19th century, the image of the city and the scope of its changes are drawn, which affected the urban planning very severely. In this context, the Alhambra, exalted by romantic travelers, became a national monument in 1870. This fact did not ensure its conservation or better management at that time. But it was the starting point to revalue and raise awareness about this ancient Arab fortress.

KEYWORDS: Alhambra, Granada, liberal revolution, 19th century, foreign travelers

RESUMEN: la agitación política fue una nota dominante en la España del siglo XIX. Pero los cambios políticos ocultaban una realidad económica y social muy atrasada. La época del Sexenio Democrático fue clave en los deseos de modernización del país, aunque con resultados limitados. En este marco, Granada vivía entre el exotismo y el inmovilismo. Sobre la historiografía de Granada y la Alhambra en el siglo XIX se dibuja la imagen de la ciudad y el alcance de sus cambios, que afectaron muy severamente al urbanismo. En este contexto la Alhambra, exaltada por los viajeros románticos, se convierte en monumento nacional en 1870. Este hecho no aseguró por entonces su conservación ni una gestión mejor. Pero fue el punto de partida para revalorizar y concienciar sobre esta antigua fortaleza árabe.

PALABRAS CLAVES: Alhambra, Granada, revolución liberal, siglo XIX, viajeros extranjeros

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IL. 1. David Roberts. Charles V's Palace with the Wine Gate. (1833). Watercolour. APAG. Colección de Dibujos. D-0038.

The reign of Isabella II, whose ascension to the throne was celebrated in Granada in the first days of February 1834, caused great instability from the start that translated into political uncertainty, largely driven by military coups or pronunciamientos (uprisings). In fact, the regent's reliance on the liberal forces, who saw this moment as their great opportunity, was born out of the need to defeat Carlism, which had no great impact in the south, suffering a few set-backs, and also to hold back the Progressive sector, which threatened an uprising in Granada in July 1836. Any real consensus between the two liberal branches, the Moderates and the Progressives, was difficult so the agreement that inspired the 1837 Constitution proved to be ephemeral. María Cristina had to cede the regency to Espartero in 1840. And both the following Moderate constitution of 1845 and the Progressive constitution of 1856 (which never came into force) were clearly partisan. Meanwhile the «regime of the generals» with its legendary «espadones» was being established in Spain; Moderate leader Ramón Narváez from Loja was included

among their number. During the «moderate decade» –the «government of the capable»– when Francisco Javier Istúriz was president of the cabinet, Granada celebrated the queen's wedding to her cousin Don Francisco de Asís in 1846. In terms of the constitution, the 1869 constitution was more progressive and advanced than that of 1837; it was the desired result of the *Revolución Gloriosa* (Glorious Revolution) and its great eagerness for change. By way of example, barely a month after the revolution triumphed Spain changed its currency and the peseta was born, revealing itself when the country opened up to international markets before the iron curtain of protectionism (IL. 1).

19th century Granada: exoticism and stagnation

The moderate decade can be said to have passed peacefully for a Granada that watched with curiosity as foreign intellectuals and artists visited more and more frequently; these visitors appreciated a herita-



IL. 2. John Frederick Lewis. Water vendor's stall in the Alhambra's Cistern Square March (1833). Watercolour. APAG. Colección de Dibujos. D-0399.

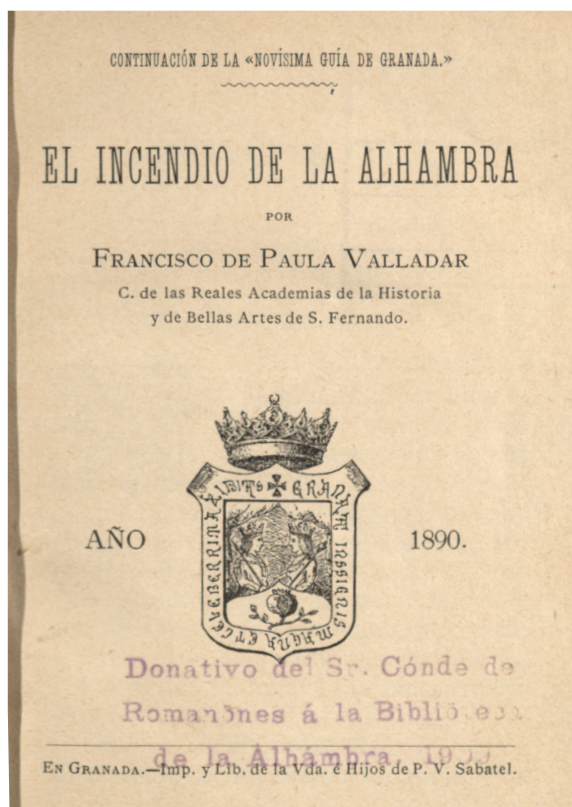
ge that, due to being at close quarters, lay in lethargic neglect under the spell of exoticism. Meanwhile, a growing bourgeoisie, the basis of the class society, was consolidating its power and its impact on society through political opportunities, especially the advantages it was offered by the confiscations process (the confiscation of Mendizábal from 1836 onwards and the confiscation of Madoz from 1855 onwards.) In Vega de Granada county more than 7,000 hectares changed hands and it saw significant hydraulic improvements: the Arabuleila dam was created as early as 1853 followed by the «Derecha del Genil» canal (1877), after an irrigation company had been set up in Albolote seven years earlier. Directing the flow of the Genil (1852) was also suggested while the plan to divert the course of the Darro was never carried out; the drinking water plan dated from 1892¹.

Merchants and officials became wealthier as a result of the confiscations, as did those who were already landowners (who were determined to accumulate

more and more land, seen as a «safe investment»); however, the peasants did not benefit, so Granada, like all of Andalusia, continued under the burden of degrading day labouring. Increased cereal and olive farming was inextricably linked to the growth of latifundium in a generally undercapitalised abusive agricultural sector. Which, naturally, maintained 70% of the population in humiliating illiteracy.

The agricultural crisis (which in Granada was also financial but not industrial as industry was virtually non-existent), was endemic, but the situation became dire in 1866. In fact, the climate simply made a permanently fragile situation occasionally worse; of course, this fragility affected the same so-

1. MORELL Y TERRY, L. *Efemérides Granadinas* (1892). Ed. facsimil Granada: Gráficas Alhambra, 1997, pp. 142, 180, 232, 251, 323 and 377.



IL. 3. Fco. Paula Valladar. The Alhambra fire: continuation of the brand new guide to Granada, Granada: Imprenta y Lib. de la Vda. e Hijos de P.V. Sabatel, (1890). BPAG. A-9947.



IL. 4. David Roberts. Gate of the Vivarrambla. Granada (Bibarrambla Gate). (c.1837). Lithography. APAG. Colección Grabados. G-00461.

cial groups. There was sugar cane farming on the coast, and olive and wheat farming inland, at purely subsistence levels, in addition to legumes and some plants for industrial use, such as flax and hemp, on the irrigated land of the Vega, although this was in decline. Phylloxera later spread through the province but the Vega had already settled on opportunistic monoculture farming, such as beetroot from 1877 onwards or tobacco many decades later.

The secondary sector barely survived off artisans who had fallen on hard times and could only meet their most immediate needs. Filigree artisans made «cloths, silks, playing cards, lingerie, wool, hats, gloves, ceramics or glass, in the capital, and oil and flour mills, with a small production of alcohol in the province, was all that Granada had to offer in around 1850»². In the end, the local textile industry disappeared, giving way to trade in Catalan or Levantine fabrics, and virtually the food processing alone succeeded in growing. The Nuestra Señora de las Angustias sugar factory in Motril dates from 1871.

However, the new times did not succeed in displacing traditional trades such as the water seller, who collected his refreshing product from the Alhambra (wells in the Plaza de los Aljibes) or the various fountains that dotted the outskirts of Granada: La Salud, El Avellano, La Bicha, etc. The popular figure of the nevero or ice seller also survived, offering his much-desired frozen wares to the wealthiest houses of the city. In this way the Alhambra and Sierra Nevada provided an everyday usefulness that was highly appreciated by the community (Il. 2).

2. GAY ARMENTEROS, J. y VIÑES MILLET, C. *Historia de Granada. IV. La época contemporánea, siglos XIX y XX*. Granada: Ed. Don Quijote, 1982, p. 28.



IL. 5. Joseph Philibert Girault de Prangey. Reyno de Granada. Casa del Chapiz (Albaycin) (ca. 1850). Lithography. APAG. Colección Grabados. G-00291.

In terms of local private banking, the sector was excessively weak and concentrated on the economic fortunes of families like the Agrela, the González Aurioles and especially the Rodríguez Acosta. The Caja de Ahorros, founded a century earlier as Monte de Piedad (Caja since 1838)³, went bankrupt in 1866, and it was not the only financial company to do so. The most important activity of insurance agencies was processing the redemption of military service⁴, which involved four years of active duty.

Granada's commerce was based around streets such Calle Mesones (inns) –bars including the bar in Calle Callejón and the coffee shop in Calle León retained their fame– Calle Zacatín (textiles and silverware), the Alcaicería neighbourhood (silk and perfume) and the Plaza de Bib-Rambla, which expanded in the middle of the century with new facilities for groceries, the fish market and the butchers (later the market); municipal grocery regulations were issued between 1849 and 1856⁵.

The Alcaicería was rebuilt after a terrifying fire in 1843; there was also a fire here four years earlier

with victims in Calle Colcha. Other iconic areas also served as food for the flames, such as the bullring (1876), which led to the replacement built by the Real Maestranza, the viewpoints of Plaza de Bib-Rambla (1879) and the Sala de la Barca de la Alhambra (Hall of the Boat of the Alhambra) (1890). (Il. 3). Incidentally, the following year a German owner ceded the Torre de las Damas (Ladies' Tower) in the Alhambra enclosure to the State.

The sections of city wall that became covered up by the expanding number of farmhouses were gradually sacrificed, as were popular and emblematic gates from the Arabic period. The gate of Bibataubín was followed in the frenzy of pick-axe work by the gate of Los Molinos in 1833 (at one end of the Realejo), with El Pescado (1837) shortly afterwards and, in 1867, the gate of El Sol. This was in turn followed twelve years later by the gate of La Alhacaba, while the demolition of the Arco de las Orejas was delayed thanks to pressure by scholars and a section of the population. Its destruction was ordered by the town hall in 1873 and finally undertaken in 1884 despite the fact that it had been made a national monument three years earlier; the gate was reconstructed much later in the Alhambra forest (Il. 4).

A similar fate met the Moorish houses that were such an exotic feature of Granada's urban planning; all had the same end as Las Beatas or Las Monjas in the Albaicín (more specifically the Alcazaba Qadima): «demolished by its owner to sell the materials and speculate with the architectural fragments»⁶ in 1877. It is no wonder that the Escuela de Estudios Árabes (School of Arabic Studies), which was created in the Second Spanish Republic, took one of these impressive palaces as its headquarters (Il. 5). How could the hungry collector or needy disposses-

3. *Ibid.*, p. 176.

4. GÓMEZ OLIVER, M. and CRUZ ARTACHO, S. "Granada en la edad contemporánea". In *Historia de Granada*. Granada: Proyecto Sur, 1996, p. 256.

5. VIÑES MILLET, C. *Historia urbana de Granada*. Granada: CEM-Cl, 1999, p. 242.

6. GAY ARMENTEROS, J. *Granada Contemporánea. Breve historia*. Granada: Comares, 2011, p. 115.

sed not have turned their eyes to the Arabic houses or the Alhambra itself decades earlier?.

Finally, there was a lack of transport; in 1864 the only operational road connected with Madrid and the railway, a symbol of progress, did not reach Granada until that same year, with the railway route between Granada and Loja. Work had begun on the track two years earlier; meanwhile, connections between Granada and Motril were in the process of being resolved and travel was still dominated by mule transport. Passenger stage coaches connected Granada, and several villages, with Jaén, Málaga, Almería, Córdoba, Seville, Murcia and Madrid⁷; it took four days to reach the capital of Spain. In the end, the city of Granada had to be redeveloped to connect the railway station, located in the old neighbourhood of San Lázaro outside the walls, to the city centre.

The 19th century saw population growth in the neighbourhoods of Antequera and El Realejo (on the slopes of Colina Roja) (Il. 6), and in the parishes of Santa Ana and San Andrés, and especially in the outlying districts of San Ildefonso, Santa María Magdalena and Nuestra Señora de las Angustias. The working population was under 30% in 1843 and at that time the number of voters was no greater than 5% of the total population. The 1857 census gives a population of about 70,000 inhabitants in the city; ten years later there were still fifteen nobles among the twenty-five largest landowners⁸. In around 1870, Granada reached its peak population of the century in a Spain of 16 million inhabitants that was firmly dominated by the rural world.

Large-scale landowners (noble families of independent means) were at its head in peaceful union with bourgeois sectors, landowners and tenants of large agricultural areas. These groups stood above a small bourgeoisie that frequently fell in social status and here merchants, public employees, people in the liberal professions and the class that was optimistically described as «manufacturers» stood out. As is well known, these groups were in a minority but were the dominant social sector; they upheld a political system based on selective suffrage by census (the census never exceeded 25% of adult males.) Universal suffrage (male, needless to say) would not be achieved in Spain until 1890. And so,

life bustled along in the former Nasrid city with all the characteristics of a provincial capital.

This is the Spain, the Granada, that was seen by enthusiastic travellers who added a further note to the exoticism of a city that was closed in on itself, as Spain itself was too. Still, it is fascinating how it burst with life for them in Washington Irving's famous *Tales of the Alhambra* (1834) or Richard Ford's *Guide* (1845). Spain's presence on the international scene after the Napoleonic Wars was non-existent, except for the shameful episode of the Hundred Thousand Sons of Saint Louis. For decades, Europe was barely more than a pipe dream for Spain, which was on the rebound from colonialism and now looked on as Great Britain and France displayed an interest in other, «periphery» worlds. Meanwhile, Spain permitted investment by foreign companies in large-scale works such as the construction of the railway, regulated by law in 1855, in another form of colonialism.

Because the chimera of progress –the «mythology of progress»⁹– superimposed itself on a stagnant world, only serving to mask the true situation of precariousness, if not extreme poverty, of the vast majority of the population. An agrarian reality marked by despotism: the appearance of change disguised the fact that the concentration of land and the mechanisms of exploitation were merely perpetuated. The fateful panorama was rounded off by an urban habitat of substandard housing, overcrowding, and limited healthcare measures, that, in 1855 –just as in 1833–34– were a breeding ground for cholera. The disease left 17,000 deaths in its wake and around 3,300 of these occurred in the capital –154 in one day, on the 8th of July¹⁰–. There was a fresh bout in 1860 but without serious consequences; as usual thanks was given to protection by Our Lady of Sorrows. However, the famine of 1857 claimed around 600 victims¹¹. Cholera struck for the final time in 1885.

7. GAY ARMENTEROS and VIÑES MILLET, *Op. cit.*, p. 46.

8. GÓMEZ OLIVER and CRUZ ARTACHO, *Op. cit.*, pp. 249, 262 y 265.

9. GAY ARMENTEROS, *Op. cit.*, p. 58.

10. MORELL Y TERRY, *Op. cit.*, p. 294.

11. GAY ARMENTEROS, *Op. cit.*, p. 101.



IL.6. José García Ayola. Cuesta de los Molinos (1863-1900). Albumin copy in sepia. APAG. Colección de Fotografías. F-005449.

In addition, the old centre of the lower town periodically struggled with flooding by the Darro River; in addition to the material damage this health of the city severely suffered, as was evident following the dramatic flood of 1835. Various disasters regularly affected the city and its emblematic fortress, such as storms and floods (1835, 1839, and 1851, which blocked Castañeda Bridge; the 1881 storm that damaged Comares and La Vela towers; the 1887 storm that tested the fragility of the vault; the 1889 cyclone that blew down the trees in the bullring), and earthquakes (1734, which affected Comares Tower; 1804, 1806, 1815, 1872, 1884, 1890). This was quite apart from other incidents, including the powder magazine on the banks of the Darro River exploding in 1590, or the roofs of the fortress simply being destroyed by rain, in 1784 for example.

The traditional position of senior master builder of the city disappeared in 1836¹², when municipal authority in the area of urbanism was clarified and ex-

panded –especially following the law of January 8, 1845– leading to successive regulations and edicts (1847, 1853, 1864, 1869, 1878); the regulation of 1837 had already covered paving, lighting (effective from 1843), security, transit, and public ornament. But the greatest concerns were the layout of the streets and the declaration of buildings in ruins. For health reasons, the municipal cemetery was built in 1804 and provided with its own regulation in 1853.

In 1840 José Contreras was appointed «architect of the city» with support from Salvador Amador, Juan

(12) ANGUITA CANTERO, R. *La ciudad construida. Control municipal y reglamentación edificatoria en la Granada del siglo XIX*. Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1997, p. 59.



IL. 7. José García Ayola. Foto. Carrera del Genil. Granada. (1863-1900). Albumin copy in sepia. APAG. Colección de Fotografías. F-005345.

Pugnaire and Baltasar Romero¹³ to meet the needs of the four quarters into which the community was divided, later reduced to two. Particularly significant events included construction of the famous Swiss Café building (1866 onwards), the opening of Calle Marqués de Gerona, which helped to enhance the cathedral façade (1868) –the layout of Calle Mesones and Calle Hileras had been completed around fifteen years earlier– and the new market and fish market were operative as early as 1883 (in the grounds of San Agustín and Las Capuchinas respectively.) In 1869, the provisional government had strengthened municipal areas of activity, including expropriations for «public use»; this was already included in the new constitution that was approved on 1 June 1869, which firmly established popular sovereignty and a wide range of freedoms.

But the most emblematic 19th century project –only surpassed by the opening of the «brutal straight line» of Gran Vía at the beginning of the 20th cen-

tury– saw the Darro River buried underground; this had been particularly necessary ever since it burst its banks in 1835. The 1842 project did not begin until twelve years later and was never intended to be comprehensive. It did not disappear in order to be hidden, however, in several stages during the century the ancient bridges that spanned from bank to bank gave way to the road of brand new Calle de Reyes Católicos. This became Granada's main thoroughfare, a place for talking a stroll that superseded Carrera del Darro and was comparable to elegant Paseo del Salon. In 1872 a tax was levied on the community to continue the work on the river's vaulting up to Castañeda Bridge and the route of Calle Reyes Católicos was only completed when

13. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

it was finished in 1884. The works were justified by health conditions, even safety, and also by the desire to give a modern air to a city that was no such thing. In addition, these huge public works represented a somewhat contrived solution to the unemployment problem, which periodically decreased at the pace of the works (Il. 7).

Of course, the cultural sector did not match the fascination shown by the romantics, to whom so much is still owed, on their travels; stopping and staying in Granada was obligatory for these travellers. The university in Granada was kept to a minimum, but at a regional level it attracted the very top of the powerful elite, who moved to the city bringing student customs with them that had been established for centuries. In 1842 it absorbed the Colegio de San Miguel (where the Botanical Garden was later installed) and in 1850 a Faculty of Pharmacy was added to those of Arts, Law, Medicine and Science, which were all drawn into national uniformity under the Moyano Law three years later. The Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé y Santiago was linked to the provincial secondary education school and in 1869 was placed under the supervision of the Provincial Council, returning to its previous use eight years later¹⁴.

Long before the influence of Krausism, progress in education essentially focused on primary education, ever since the General Regulation on Public Teaching of 1821. In the 1850s there were 44 private schools and 13 municipal schools, and secondary schools emerged at this time (1845). The Escuela Normal (1848)¹⁵ was established in Campo del Príncipe, although this building was ceded to the military for use as a hospital and the Escuela Normal moved to the former Dominican convent; it was re-established in 1868. Also in 1845, A. Mon's laws to reform the Treasury came into force; taxes became the economic foundation for town councils¹⁶. The school in Granada was definitively installed in the confiscated convent of El Carmen in 1858 (Il. 8). Other convents remained but were used as barracks, stables and warehouses. A sign of the new times in which an over-sized army, inherited from the Peninsular War, maintained its prominence throughout the century. Essentially, the old taxes of the Old Regime were eliminated, such as the alcabala sales tax and the widespread tax of the Granada Population Census (1841-42).

In the middle of the century, Granada newspapers that stood out included *El Eco de Granada*, *El Mensajero*, *La Torre de la Vela*, *El Duende*, *El Cascabel*, *La Lealtad*, *El Porvenir de Granada*, etc. as did magazines such as *La Pulga* and *El Paraíso*, and shortly afterwards the progressive (*El Progreso*), republican (*El Hombre*), workers' (*El Obrero de Granada*) or federal (*El Cantón Granadino*) political press¹⁷. *El Defensor de Granada* did not appear until 1880; four years later new magazine *La Alhambra* was launched under the aegis of Francisco de Paula Valladar. The press had a marked social impact but not as much influence as cordel literature.

In 1839 the Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes (Provincial Museum of Fine Arts) was created (housed for more than eight decades in the confiscated convent of Santa Cruz la Real), with displays such as the exhibition on agriculture, industry and fine arts in honour of Isabella II's visit, while the «Cuerda Granadina» literary group was formed in around 1850. The artistic and musical initiatives of the Liceo livened up the cultural life of the city for decades and ran projects for the benefit of the city, including the Alhambra. Its magazine *La Alhambra* (until 1845) and its school for adults (1869) are highly interesting. The «Cuerda» («rope») tied together its famous members or «knots» (intellectuals and artists), although they were partly dispersed during the Progressive Biennium¹⁸. It was a real catalyst, and Ronconi, the Italian promoter of concerts (school of singing and declamation named for the queen, 1862) and theatrical performances, stood out among others: «La Cuerda performed at the Liceo, debated at the Academia de Ciencias y Literatura, supplied the theatre, dominated journalism and everything from official documents to the carocas of Corpus Christi was the work of their pen»¹⁹. In

14. MORELL Y TERRY, *Op. cit.*, pp. 48, 50 and 70.

15. GAY ARMENTEROS and VIÑES MILLET, *Op. cit.*, pp. 189-191.

16. VIÑES MILLET (1999). *Op. cit.*, p. 220.

17. GAY ARMENTEROS and VIÑES MILLET, *Op. cit.*, p. 209.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 202.

19. VILLA-REAL, R. *Historia de Granada, acontecimientos y personajes*. Granada: Miguel Sánchez editor, 1986, p. 292.



IL. 8. José García Ayola. Plaza del Ayuntamiento (1863-1900). Albumin copy in sepia. APAG. Colección de Fotografías. F-005467.

1842 the Academia de Jurisprudencia y Legislación (Academy of Jurisprudence and Legislation) was created and the Colegio Notarial (College of Notaries) was established in 1862. The Comisión de Monumento Históricos y Artísticos (Commission for Historical and Artistic Monuments)– was rightly set up in 1866. A decree of 11 January 1870 insisted that it pronounce on the historical and artistic interest of monuments before divesting them²⁰– and the Museo Arqueológico (Archaeological Museum) was founded in 1879. In 1876 the Sociedad Económica (Economic Society) celebrated its centennial anniversary. And in 1885 the emblematic Centro Artístico y Literario (Artistic and Literary Centre) was born, followed by the Cámara de Comercio e Industria (Chamber of Commerce and Industry) a year later.

However, many initiatives fell by the wayside, such as the project for a Banco General de Crédito de Granada (1861), a library of authors from Granada that barely got off the ground, a failed municipal lottery for charity (1870)²¹, with two draws a month

and special Christmas and Corpus Christi draws, or a monument in tribute to illustrious figures from Granada in the fields of science, literature and the arts (1879). During this period, the telegraph made its first advances in 1857 before spreading throughout the province; the telephone would not arrive until 1889.

On the other hand, the run-down Corpus Christi festivities, the main celebration held in the city, were restored in 1839 and gained new momentum at the end of the 1850s. (Il. 9). The fairs of San Antón and San Miguel, among others, were no small matter either. And some civic events were also ce-

20. GABARDON DE LA BANDA, J. F. La tutela del patrimonio eclesiástico histórico y artístico en el Sexenio Revolucionario (1868-1874). *Anuario Jurídico y Económico Escorialense*, XLVIII (2015): p. 436.

21. GAY ARMENTEROS and VIÑES MILLET, *Op. cit.*, pp. 175 y 182.



IL. 9. José García Ayola. Decoration in Plaza de Bibarrambla during the Corpus Christi festivities. (1863- 1900). Albumin copy in sepia. APAG. Colección de Fotografías. F-005493.

lebrated, such as the transfer of Mariana Pineda's remains to the cathedral (1856) –a temple that had been awarded the status of «minor basilica» the previous year– or those of El Gran Capitán to the monastery of San Jerónimo (1857, his remains were taken to Madrid twelve years later), not to mention Isabella II's visit to Granada where she boasted of her traditional yet down-to-earth character, devout and informal at the same time. Incidentally, the canton would advocate the demolition of the Hieronymite monastery «to provide work for the workers»²². Bread and bullfighting, just as it sounds. Bullfighting festivals remained active, especially when Granada-born matador Frascuelo (Salvador Sánchez) became a leading figure in the 1870s and 1880s. And when it came to shows, in 1810 the old Casa de Comedias gave way to the Teatro Napoleón, remodelling its surroundings and demolishing the gate of Bibataubín, another troubling legacy of the French invasion. It then became the Teatro del Campillo and later the legendary Cervantes, while in 1856 the first Teatro Isabel la Católica was built in Plaza de los Campos.

19th century political turmoil in a provincial capital

Granada was an administrative town in reduced circumstances. The establishment of the liberal regime undoubtedly diminished the status of the city's institutions and caused some to disappear. The once powerful Chancery became a regional court at the beginning of Isabella II's reign (although the title was established by the 1870 judicial authority law) and later a provincial court. After the «kingdom» disappeared, the province was established (1833) and with it the Provincial Government (with a first glance at the Cortes of Cadiz). During its first decades, except during periods of Progressive governments, it operated under the flag of centralism.

22. MORELL Y TERRY, *Op. cit.*, p. 243. Magnificent analysis of lost buildings in BARRIOS ROZÚA, J. M. *Guía de la Granada desaparecida*. Granada: Comares, 2006, together with other works by the same author.

In the city of Granada, the most critical moment of the reign of Isabella II was undoubtedly the final period of the Regency of Espartero (1843), when the city's dissident forces came to her defence against the government's troops, as had happened earlier in Barcelona and Malaga, the only time the Moderates made use of the *pronunciamiento* and the *movimiento juntero* (junta movement). As a sign of dynastic legitimacy, they flew the banner of Castile from La Vela Tower, but there was virtually no need for the military apparatus to go into action with simply the picturesque scene of «an amenable junta, the people with arms, bells ringing, generalas [dice games] and charangas [brass bands] at all times and around seven hundred men at the gates of the city to erect barricades»²³, all under the protection of Our Lady of Sorrows, naturally. Help was sought from the Virgin for the needs of the community: the drought of 1849 ended when her image was carried out of her church and something similar occurred in 1882.

Espartero's escape to Gibraltar saved the city from bloodshed in 1843, except for a few incidents in Carrera de la Virgen and El Campillo, until General Concha's troops arrived, who were of a Moderate inclination. But the gesture in itself was a sufficient sign of support for the queen (she was declared of age on 23 July 1843, not having yet turned thirteen), and she always held Granada in her favour and amended her coat of arms in testimony to her gratitude.

There was no trouble after the *Vicalvarada* of 1854 either. The city, under the command of a higher government junta presided over by Captain General Vasallo, breathed an air of greater freedom and planned urban and social reforms, although without any great pretensions. In reality, these ideas, which directly affected education, charity (Provincial Board for Charity, known as *Beneficencia* from 1849 onwards, with various vicissitudes) or health –fields that were outside the State's authority for a long time– were repeated as a declaration of principles during the most advanced periods of liberalism since the Liberal Triennium. Municipal regulation of *Beneficencia* dates from 1837 and was completed in 1858, although its much-needed shelter for mendicants had a fleeting existence. Meanwhile, recourse was made to the *Hijas de San Vicente* de

Paul in 1858 for the Colegio de la Concepcion, in 1861 for the hospital of El Refugio and in 1868 for the Colegio de Niñas Nobles²⁴, not to mention the arrival of other active religious orders, such as the Piarists, who founded their school in 1860.

There was no shortage of anticlerical tendencies, although the dominant bourgeoisie maintained a changing position towards the Church which retained unquestioned power, especially due to its social influence. However, the network of parishes was reduced, with fourteen parishes remaining in 1845 (San Andrés, Las Angustias, San Cecilio, Santa Scholastica, San Gil, San Ildefonso, San José, Santos Justo y Pastor, La Magdalena, San Matías, San Pedro, Sacromonte, El Sagrario and El Salvador), to better fit pastoral needs. The relationship between the Church and the State became easier following the 1851 concordat; as a result of this, in 1867 the ecclesiastical province of Granada was established with the dioceses of Almería, Cartagena, Guadix, Jaén and Malaga as suffragans.

Protests and riots due to the rising price of bread were controlled by declaring a state of war and repression; the steely application of the principle of order would become a maxim during the final stages of the reign, which was dominated by Moderatism and the Liberal Union led by O'Donnell, an alliance that emerged in reaction to the brief Progressive Biennium. If anything worried the people of Spain in general, it was the price of bread and military service, not pointless political debate. This situation reflected the growing gap between the real Spain and the official Spain, which was none other than an updated version of the legend of the two Spains, a legend that ran through the entire century to emerge in its most dramatic version in the first four decades of the 20th century.

Rafael Pérez del Álamo, a veterinarian with anarchist tendencies, led a protest for day labourers that mobilized ten thousand people on 21 June 1861 in

23. GAY ARMENTEROS, *Op. cit.*, p. 53.

24. MORELL Y TERRY, *Op. cit.*, pp. 182 and 427.

Mollina, Iznájar and Loja, with slogans against the papacy and the monarchy; he broke up the columns before the arrival of the army. The royal visit of 1862²⁵, propaganda of the first order, was made to help the queen ingratiate herself with Granada but the pardon was only partial. Incidentally, at this time awards for merit and donations to the poor were smoothly blended together in royal magnanimity, another liberal paradox. The glitter of that visit contrasted with the inevitable breakdown of the Moderate-Unionist regime (Il. 10).

It was only during the period of the Liberal Union that Spain, thanks to the Duke of Tetuán, hinted at a prestigious international policy that ultimately proved fragile, despite the pomposity of its actions in Africa, Mexico, battles in Cochinchina or the Pacific campaign, including the momentary recovery of Santo Domingo. However, it is true that the war in Morocco (1859) once again highlighted an orientalism with close connections to Granada, which was revealed in the works of Mariano Fortuny and Pedro Antonio de Alarcón.

So it is unsurprising that while the most advanced political forces, such as the Progressives and the Democrats –the latter operating from secret societies– conspired to overthrow the monarchy (*Ostend Pact* of 1866), in the south of the peninsula other ideas were spreading, those of the hunger-stricken working masses. Such apparently different political and social ends joined forces, leading to the revolution that promised so much hope to a battered Spain as it entered the final third of the century: «riots encouraged by cries of *bread at eight!* were common currency during the decline of the Isabelline monarchy»²⁶, and they continued for several decades. This was because cereal had become 25% more expensive, with even higher price peaks. In around 1866 a bushel of wheat rose from 46 to 84 reales and a bushel of barley from 26 to 43 reales during a crisis that was harder and longer than those of 1847 or 1857. In 1867, the response on the street was the same reaction seen for centuries under the Old Regime, with growing crowds from Barranco del Abogado, the storming of some granaries and clashes in El Campillo. Similarly, in January 1868 the mayor prohibited displaced persons from rural areas entering the city and a state of war was decreed that validated the use of force



IL. 10. Charles Clifford. Granada: Arch in Puerta Real. (1862, October). Albumin copy in sepia. APAG. Colección de Fotografías. F-005785.

and exemplary punishment, the most imaginative of measures. The Guardia Civil, Carabineros and, also in 1868, the Guardia Rural were used; these repressive forces proved to be insufficient when faced with the magnitude of peoples' dissatisfaction, which was aggravated by the reduction of public salaries and a deeply burdensome loan forced on citizens.

It was hard to appreciate cultural sensitivities when the country was tormented by a burden that could not be tossed overboard. And it was on the decks of the navy's ships, commanded by Admiral Topete from the Bay of Cadiz, where the «revolution» was forged on 18 September. Popular support ensured

25. Vid. DE LOS REYES, E. and COBOS, F. J. *Crónica del viaje de sus Majestades y Altezas Reales por Granada y su provincia en 1862*. Granada: Imprenta de Francisco Ventura y Sabatel, 1862.

26. GAY ARMENTEROS, *Op. cit.*, p. 109.

the movement's triumph, especially after the Alcolea victory (28 September). It was joined by Granada on 22 September. The situation in Granada remained so stagnant that revolts in favour of the new pronunciamiento occurred in the traditional neighbourhoods of the city centre, in Calle Zacatín and Calle de los Tintes, i.e. on the back of the Darro River on its right bank, in its most urban section – a neighbourhood of artisans that disappeared with the century – while the church of San Gil and La Vela Tower rang out their bells in alarm in accordance with custom. The rioters headed to the prison to free prisoners detained under the strict repressive regime of O'Donnell and Narvaez. The «revolution» triumphed in Granada on 27 September 1868.

As a cruel paradox, in October the revolutionary junta and the town council approved the demolition of the centrally located church of San Gil, when the layout and expansion of Plaza Nueva was completed. This destruction of ecclesiastical buildings by the revolutionary juntas (previously attributed to the civil governors) was common during the Sexenio Democrático due to their secularizing tendencies and what was described as the «modernization of the urban fabric»²⁷ for the sake of bourgeois pragmatism tinged with utilitarianism. However, the Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (notice of 18 December 1868), and the provincial commissions of monuments – featuring leading figures in Granada such as Leopoldo Eguílaz, Francisco Javier Simonet, José and Manuel Oliver, Manuel Gómez-Moreno González and Manuel de Góngora –, (regulation of 5 February 1869), helped to mitigate the demolitions while King Amadeo I tried to stop the auctions in 1871. In this context, the First Republic expanded its authority over these assets just two years later; fortunately the Castelar government established the concept of a national asset based on values that were cultural rather than ideological²⁸. It is important to emphasise once more that the advice of academies, monument commissions (independent, with monitoring activities) and even university rectors and head teachers, each in their respective fields, worked to prevent arbitrary and hasty destruction.

In 1868, as was the custom in all liberal uprisings, a junta, presided over by Brigadier Carbó, governed

the fate of the city and province, while the militia (up to five battalions) was once again created, now under the name of the Voluntarios de la Libertad (Volunteers of Freedom) – years later becoming the Voluntarios de la República (Volunteers of the Republic) –. Federal republicanism cried «Long live the Republic», during a theatrical performance in tribute to Mariana Pineda in June 1869, for example. As usual, the aspirations of an intellectual elite required popular support and Granada was fertile ground for the dissatisfied, while it also spurred on the desire for new beginnings felt by the liberal professionals, journalists, writers and even merchants and shopkeepers²⁹. On 31 December 1870, the official bulletin published the death of General Prim, president of the government; on the following 2 January the already truncated reign of King Amadeo I, Duke of Aosta, began. He had been chosen by Prim from among fourteen possible candidates for the Spanish Crown; these did not fail to include the houses of Hohenzollern, Savoy, Coburg and Orleans, not to mention Carlist and Alphonsine options; even the name of old Espartero was mentioned.

The revolutionary phase, as mentioned above, advocated greater autonomy for municipalities, in addition to the election of members by universal male suffrage, a demand of the Democratic Party. In Granada, as elsewhere, this federal republicanism was implemented at the town hall, while the Provincial Government was supported by Progressives and Unionists. Local authorities in Granada flew the popular flag against consumption (very burdensome taxes) and military service, although this was in the realms of utopia, not reality. A professionalisation of the judiciary was advocated to define the career of judge (the aforementioned law of 1870.) The desire for change intensified in the midst of social stagnation. The press proliferated, as occurs in all moments of upheaval, revealing the political radi-

27. GABARDÓN DE LA BANDA, *Op. cit.*, p. 432.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 434-444.

29. GAY ARMENTEROS, *Op. cit.*, p. 137. Vid. interpretations of this 19th century period in SERRANO GARCÍA, R. (ed.). *España, 1868-1874: nuevos enfoques sobre el Sexenio Democrático*. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2002.

calism with its headlines, and examples included *La Idea* (which led to the *Diario Republicano*), *La Democracia* and *La Revolución*, together with those mentioned earlier, focal points of activism just like the Club Revolucionario. Even the tenuous influence of the First Workers' International –founded in 1864 and introduced into Spain by Fanelli in 1868 as the Spanish Regional Federation of the AIT– was felt in Granada. It was more committed to cooperativism in the social sphere –inspired by Proudhon in Granada– and federalism in the political sphere, which was widespread in Spain in the midst of increased unemployment. The first strike in Granada was held in July 1872³⁰ and was mostly by weavers.

It is therefore unsurprising that the frustrated reign of Amadeo I ended with no solution for governmental continuity and resulted in the First Spanish Republic –declared in Granada in the provincial bulletin of 13 February 1873–. It was an eleven-month experiment that the Republicans (neither the Unitarians nor the Federalists) knew how to solidify. However, it put the most advanced demands on the table, even those derived from the Paris Commune, in the midst of serious conflicts such as the beginning of the Cuban War, the third Carlist war and the incipient Cantonal Rebellion, which saw armed uprisings in 32 provinces. Granada became a canton on 20 July 1873. At this time, the constitutional Parliament drew up a magna charter that never came into force but that would have meant the effective separation of Church and State and, in terms of Spain's territory, would have legitimised the region (state) of Upper Andalusia.

In fact, on 20 July, the civil governor was forced to hand over his authority to a revolutionary junta (Public Health Committee), headed by two politically active federalists, Francisco Lumbreras and Ramón Maurell, who had been amnestied in 1870. Mixed juries were introduced for labour disputes and the aim was to dismiss the magistrates, demolish the temples, tax the rich and seize state property.

Once again, growing unemployment was counterbalanced by commissioning public works, including the demolition of some religious buildings. In a strange incident during the brief cantonal period, the Archbishop of Granada –on the see from 1866– was temporarily detained on 23 July 1873– before

being invited to pay for the demolition of some churches; this was in the context of condemning the Church in favour of advanced proposals such as the secularization of the State, religious tolerance, and civil marriage. In 1872 the word God was removed from official documents³¹. In fact, preaching and pastoral letters spoke out against this and other «evils of the century».

Those who feared this terror the most fled the city, but the canton was destined to fail: General Pavia entered Granada on 12 August and met virtually no resistance and it was officially dissolved at the beginning of September. General Serrano's «ducal republic» of 1874 simply represented a transition to the Bourbon Restoration, which was completed in early 1875. The 1876 Canovist Constitution, among other things, ingratiated itself with the Church and limited the autonomy of town and provincial councils.

It seems unfair to brand romantic travellers as transmitters of illusions when the situation in Spain as a whole was one of intense political struggle that barely changed the stagnant country one iota. And Granada was a faithful reflection of this.

The Alhambra: from fortress to monument

It should not be forgotten that these curious travellers were inspired by a spirit of adventure, a search for the authentic, primitive and wild, but also by a sense of superiority, encouraging the notion of Spanish backwardness being associated with the «spirit» of the nation; an idyllic vision, loaded with clichés: «Farewell to merry Andalusia,» Richard Ford would say, «and to tropical vegetation. Those who go north exchange an Eden for a desert»³².

However, the city of the Alhambra did not offer much comfort in terms of accommodation: inns in the Mesones area, such as La Herradura, Las Cam-

30. GÓMEZ OLIVER and CRUZ ARTACHO, *Op. cit.*, p. 271.

31. MORELL Y TERRY, *Op. cit.*, p. 51.

32. BERNAL RODRÍGUEZ, M. *La Andalucía de los libros de viajes del siglo XIX*. Sevilla: Biblioteca de la Cultura Andaluza, 1985, p. 19.

panas, La Trinidad, La Estrella or La Espada, as well as La Minerva, El Sol, the taverns of El Comercio, León del Oro and the Alameda, or even «casas de pupilos» or guest houses, were often shunned in the hope of staying at the Alhambra itself. Here there was also no shortage of picturesque accommodation and small inns in the middle of the 19th century, such as the inn of San Francisco, the Alhambra guest house, the Carmona guest house, the Ortiz guest house (the future Washington Irving hotel) and El Polinario, soon to be surpassed by the Hotel de los Siete Suelos³³. There were also private rooms, such as the one run by Carlos Manuel Calderón i.e. the palace of Los Mártires, with its «balcony of paradise» in 1891 (Il. 11). What was most curious of all, and something that shows the state of things at the top of the red hill, was that travellers aspired to stay in the actual rooms of the Royal House and its nearby facilities, either with the permission of the fortress warden or simply by concealing it, and sometimes by offering a moderate bribe to the guards. For example, entering or leaving the fortress after ten o'clock at night was strictly forbidden in around 1840 but arbitrary decisions were made, such as turning a blind eye to the sale of objects or renting of rooms. Teófilo Gautier boasted that he stayed in a room in the Patio de los Leones (Court of the Lions) and chilled some bottles of wine in its fountains³⁴.

It must be remembered that the context of the Old Regime still had a firm presence in many aspects of 19th century life and it was based on privileges, on different degrees and scales, meaning that those who possessed prerogatives defended them tooth and nail and, above all, exercised them. Were not the bonuses on meat and fish offal, rights to the snow and water of the Acequía del Rey or the defence of rustic and urban property just such examples? Especially when the centuries-long military status of the enclave is taken into account; it was under military jurisdiction that had been confirmed by Isabella II herself in 1847³⁵. The decline of this jurisdiction eventually led to desertion by the community, although the process was slow and gradual. Such exceptions were incompatible with the triumphant bourgeois mentality; the regime that had emerged from the *Gloriosa* made up for this contradiction with the cry of «Long live Spain with honour!».

The de facto autonomy of the Alhambra had advantages for those who were almost exclusively drawn to it by the delirious Nasrid palaces and the loveliness of their surroundings, full of freshness and plant life, a bountiful profusion created by the hand of man and nature in such a way that they were inseparable. Visitors' appreciation of its agreeableness had much to do with the abundance of water mentioned above: «The difference in temperature –Richard Ford exaggerates– with respect to the lower city is about six or eight degrees, we always have a delicious view and a constant dripping and splashing of fountains»³⁶. In 1875, J. Vasco evoked with nostalgia that «during the severe summer, not a ray of sunlight penetrated the dense vaults of its substantial trees, and today the opposite is true»³⁷. Aware of the harsh solstices in these parts, which for centuries many local authors had preferred to ignore in their idyllic descriptions of the city, they recommended visiting in autumn and, above all, in spring.

The Alhambra fortress always reigned over the apathy of the city. With its independent jurisdiction, which was challenged over this or that by the municipal authority, the Alhambra periodically joined the festive life of Granada by firing honorary salutes, either for events related to the Crown or for religious festivities. However, in 1732 these were reduced for the most part to the celebrations of Corpus Christi, San Isidoro and San Sebastian. This was what the fortress' artillery might had been reduced to.

Paradoxically, the Alhambra fortress, with its own regulations since 1745 and its small income from a limited allocation of property –it had lost the significant juros or annuities it had once enjoyed– was

33. VIÑES MILLET, C. *La Alhambra que fascinó a los románticos*. Granada: La Biblioteca de la Alhambra, 2007, pp. 56-58.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

35. VIÑES MILLET, C. *La Alhambra de Granada. Tres siglos de historia*. Córdoba: Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1982, p. 57.

36. VIÑES MILLET (2007). *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

37. *Memoria sobre la Alhambra. Año 1875*. Granada: Imprenta López de Guevara, 1890, p. 6.



IL. 11. Charles Clifford. Alhambra. Vista desde los Martires [Inn of the Siete Suelos in the centre of the image, under the Siete Suelos tower]. (1858 - 1859) Albumin copy in sepia. Album: Photographic memories of the visit by the King and Queen and the Prince and Princess of Asturias to the provinces of Andalusia and Murcia in September and October 1862. Colección de Fotografías. F- 005780.

maintained under the care of a worthy but limited detachment: fifty men under one captain, which grew to 81, of the *Inválidos del Batallón de Andalucía* (Invalids of the Battalion of Andalusia). This was, logically, a rearguard body due to the various injuries its members had sustained; it replaced the garrison of old guards at the fortress in 1752. In the past, the governorship of the Alhambra had been assimilated into the Crown but additionally, since 1756, a *juez conservador* (oidor of the Chancery) was charged with safeguarding the monument and was senior in authority to the *alcaíde* (governor) because the fortress's military function had clearly waned, as had its use as the *Real Junta de Obras y Bosques* (Royal Board of Works and Forests), a body created by Charles V that ended up disappearing with Charles III. Perhaps these were rough indications that the citadel was drawing closer to civil society and recommendations were certainly made to care for the gardens and fountains, as well as to prohibit the bullfights that had been famous

here in the 18th century on the initiative of the brotherhood of *Jesús de la Humildad* and the stewards of the Virgin, two of whom were chosen each year. There were up to six or eight corridas or bullfights a year to raise funds for building works (1800), with money obtained from the sale of tickets and bull meat³⁸.

The Liberal Triennium considerably limited, albeit temporarily, the possessions belonging to the Royal Site of the Alhambra –reducing its income to less than half– shrinking it to the citadel with its forests and tree-lined avenues. A regulation for cleaning and tidying the site was issued in 1828. Royal Sites depended on various officials of the royal house

38. VIÑES MILLET (1982). *Op. cit.*, p. 207.



IL. 12. Photographer: Garzón. Faroles de aceite en el acceso a la Puerta de la Justicia (Fachada norte) (1860 - 1870). Positive on paper. APAG. Colección de Fotografías. F-042868.

until they were passed to supervisors in 1838; the salaries and pensions of their staff were regulated in 1835³⁹. They were ordered to take care of the buildings, water distribution, ponds, bathrooms, tree-lined avenues, pastures, etc., ensuring the place had a sense of decorum. A multitude of provisions made at different times show the widespread abandonment of the facilities, with animals frequently present and increasing deterioration over the years. The town council intervened through urban action plans such as paving roads or providing street lights, which appear in a document of 1858 (IL. 12). At that time, some effort was made towards conservation, as shown by the work of architect José Contreras from 1828 onwards, who was ambitiously urged to repair defects but also to reform «the entire Arabic Palace, as it is one of the richest monuments of its kind»⁴⁰. Urgent work was completed on El Peinador, Comares Tower and the Patio de Los Arrayanes (Court of the Myrtles), but little else was done. To make matters worse, in 1846, the Inválidos company was dissolved; it had enjoyed its most heroic moment in 1812 under Corporal José García when it saved

part of the walled enclosure from the retreating invaders' explosives.

If the upper districts of Granada deteriorated during the 19th century and earlier, the Alhambra's citadel did not lag behind. A Royal Site, one of many scattered throughout the ancient kingdoms of Spain, it received limited economic funding for maintenance that ran at a deficit –2.655 reales when it reasonably needed around 12.000 reales⁴¹– only slightly more than the sites of La Isabela (Guadalajara) and Seville, with Valladolid and Navarre much further behind. The royal palace in Madrid had ten times more funding than the Alhambra, and an even greater amount was allocated to the Granja de San Ildefonso y Aranjuez.

This sense of secular abandonment that had taken over the Alhambra is linked to the colourful popular characters described by the Romantics, figures who were the essence of a greyer reality and a fictitious folklore: the poverty of the lower classes who seethed through the Arabic palaces, among other places, in search of some form of subsistence, drawing on their ingenuity and working somewhere between the legal and the criminal. A far cry from its traditional inhabitants, formerly hard-working, they wove the subtlest and most cunning tricks from a whole «mester de alhambra» («art of Alhambra skills»). W. Irving idealized them as «children of the Alhambra», such as –García Gómez explains– «veteran soldiers and old Andalusian women, smugglers and gypsies»⁴². Far from any romantic illusions, these people grasped the possibilities of survival offered by a monument of such magnitude.

In around 1870, humble and even impoverished families still used to live inside some of its thirty-three

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 122 and 137.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 221. The following work is highly illuminating on the conservation processes: BARRIOS ROZÚA, J. M. *Alhambra romántica: los comienzos de la restauración arquitectónica*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2016.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

42. VIÑES MILLET (2007). *Op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

towers, the alcazaba, and walls; some were privately owned properties (guard houses, workshops), but there were also private houses next to the royal palaces. These underclass figures of the Alhambra, beggars in the eyes of W. Irving or «galley slaves» according to R. Ford, also included Goya-esque ladies, youths, clergymen and water sellers, etc. This was a distorted vision of the almost 300 people who lived there in the first decades of the 19th century, an increasing number of older «people who lived in the Fortress by tradition, since their parents and grandparents had done so, and by the small advantages that the special jurisdiction and old privileges could provide them»⁴³; they were humble people, indeed, but not necessarily vagabonds, rather field workers and servants (Il. 13).

And there were certainly «special» guests i.e. prisoners; in around 1830 a hundred or so detainees were used to make urgent repairs –although the king had allocated 50,000 reales a year for them⁴⁴– and in May 1845 there were almost forty rioters. The fortress served as an extension to Granada prison, located in the confiscated convent of Belén. In 1868 the Alhambra continued to fulfil this function and prisoners were used for various works on the wells, trees and gardens⁴⁵, although given the proximity of the prison they may not have actually stayed in the citadel; in any case they were usually confined in the Torre del Homenaje (the Homage Tower).

The Alhambra also enjoyed visits from illustrious members of various royal houses, such as Austria, Coburg, Bourbon and Montpensier –who were given a ball in 1849– which were additional milestones in the romantic sublimation commonly felt by those who were comfortably assured of their daily bread. Except on 2 and 3 January, when the palaces could be freely accessed to commemorate the capture of Granada, visits were reserved for «distinguished» persons. This was too flexible a term because in reality «for four cuartos any person who wished to do so could enter and do his free will since no one was watching his movements»⁴⁶, although this was in small groups. Renowned prisoners who served sentences for disloyalty to the king in the Alhambra enclosure should not be forgotten: Martín de Lanuza (1658), General Bañuelos (1662), the Count of Rivadavia (1677), the Count of Arco (1685), the Prince of Omblin and the Lord of the Torre de Ovie-



IL. 13. Eduard Gerhardt. Alhambra de Granada. Puerta del Vino (1850). APAG. Colección de Grabados. G-0496.

do (at the end of the 17th century), the Count of Luque (1705), the Marquis of Las Escalonias (1707), Carmelite friar Pablo de la Concepción (1731), Augustinian friar Pedro de San José (1740), the less powerful Marquis de la Ensenada (1754) (47), about thirty English prisoners (1781), Don José Fernández Montesinos and Don Marcos del Castillo (1792), and the arrogant Count of Aranda (1794)⁴⁸.

Fascinated by the Alhambra, travellers succeeded in making two places meet in it, the physical and immaterial, the marvellous and the dream, as Mainer⁴⁹

43. VIÑES MILLET (1982). *Op. cit.*, p. 226.

44. GÓMEZ MORENO, M. *Guía de Granada*. Granada: Imprenta Indalecio Ventura, 1892, p. 41.

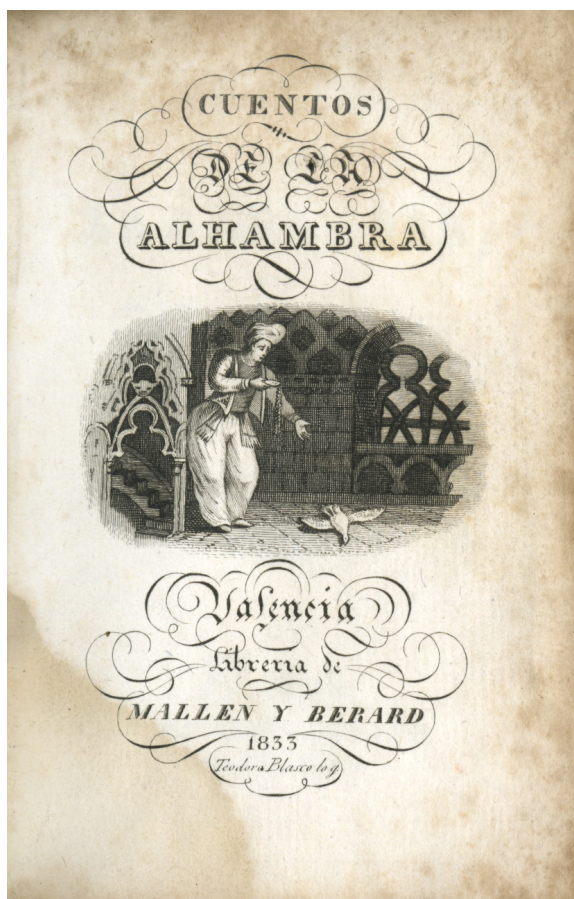
45. VIÑES MILLET (1982). *Op. cit.*, p. 110.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

47. Here is his testimony: «I have seen with the greatest sorrow the ancient royal palace, which is in such a deplorable state that it threatens ruin» (*Ibid.*, p. 218).

48. *Ibid.* pp. 102-105.

49. Prologue to VIÑES MILLET (2007). *Op. cit.*, p. 16.



IL. 14. Cover of *Tales of the Alhambra* by Washington Irving. Translation by Luis Lamarca-Valencia: Mallén y Berard (1833). BPAG. A-0734.

indicates, uniting the intellectual and the emotional. Admiring the Alhambra, becoming intoxicated by it, drawing it with the pen or brush, was the overwhelming result of an «inner discovery», sometimes translated into «impossible Alhambras». Theirs were not erratic and passive steps through halls, galleries and courtyards. While they scrutinized it, they interpreted it, recreated it. And we owe much to the work they did over several generations, two centuries ago: the most media-friendly of them all, Washington Irving, set foot in Granada in 1828 and did so to return and stay for a while (IL. 14). His enthusiasm contrasted with the sad situation of a city whose light was dimming: «its monuments, reminiscent of a lost civilization, made it the romantic city par excellence,» in the words of C. Viñes⁵⁰.

It had living buildings on which each era had left marks of splendour or decline and they were not mere ruins of the past. Calle Real de la Alhambra

was alive: at the end of the liberal century, when night falls, «crowded at that hour with whisperers and gossips who go looking for fresh air»⁵¹. The enlightened people of the 18th century were thrilled by the discovery of the ruins of Pompeii because they revealed 1st century Roman civilization in its purest state, a three-dimensional snapshot under a layer of ash capriciously created by the eruption of a volcano. But the Alhambra was not a relic, it was a beating reality, with its greatness and its miseries, which were many, always dazzling. Particularly on first sight, E. Lundgren explained in the wake of his 1849 visit, envying the sun: «We were eager to see it; the sun has looked upon it for centuries; for us it was the first time»⁵². Ethereal visions that combined beauty and fragility, as if it were a dream, an evanescent world, that «seems –Lady Tenison insisted a few years later– as if the slightest breath could make it disappear»⁵³. Colours, lights and shadows, changing perspectives that offer innumerable images of a fickle geography.

Some visited it during the turbulent times of the Sexenio Democrático, such as writer Augustus Hare, W. A. Tollemache, A. Jeréz Perchét, painter Alexandre Regnault or renowned Edmundo de Amicis, not to mention Fortuny⁵⁴. Amid this enthusiasm there was no lack of scholarly interest in these «antiques». Proof of this can be seen, among other publications and at the beginning of the Restoration, in *Granada y sus monumentos árabes* (Granada and its Arabic monuments) by José and Manuel Oliver (1875), and *Estudio descriptivo de los monumentos árabes de Granada, Sevilla y Córdoba* (A descriptive study of the Arabic monuments of Granada, Seville and Cordoba) by Rafael Contreras, which followed the scholarly line advanced by José Hermosilla – first part of *Las antigüedades árabes*, 1787 (The Arabic Antiques, 1787) –, which emphasised the state of the Alhambra at a time when «repairs» were

50. VIÑES MILLET (2007). *Op. cit.*, p. 31.

51. WILLIAMS, L. *Granada*. Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1991, p. 177. About the interesting concept of the «living» Alhambra, vid. GALERA ANDREU, P. *La Alhambra vivida*. Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, 2010.

52. VIÑES MILLET (2007). *Op. cit.*, p. 73.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

54. *Ibid.*, pp. 111-117.

urged; these were curiously made to the Count of Aranda's prison-room⁵⁵. Idyllic rooms next to an unfinished Renaissance palace, which also attracted the attention of some travellers.

In a memorial addressed to the Count of Floridablanca in 1792, an adelantado –perhaps the juez conservador himself– had advanced that «today I believe that all this focus on the superiority of this Fortress is none other than attention on its conservation because of the various beauties it contains»⁵⁶. Lattices and tiles, glass, flooring or locks, and in general any type of material, were easy prey for thieves in the face of inept management. Much needed to be repaired or replaced, and from time to time this was done to address imminent risks, not with any clear awareness of the need for preservation. S. Widdrington testified on a trip in the early 1840s that «extensive repairs were being carried out in the palace itself; one of the enormous towers above the Darro has been rebuilt from the foundations and the interior was being restored, which was done with great skill by a young man from the city»⁵⁷. But it is important to reiterate that these were occasional works, the children and grandchildren of improvisation and deterioration, «patches, props and stop-gap repairs»⁵⁸. The dynasty of Contreras architects –José Contreras, along with Amador, Romero, Soriano and Pugnaire, and especially Rafael Contreras y Muñoz, a key member of the «Cuerda» and member of Granada's Academia de Bellas Artes (Academy of Fine Arts) since 1847, at the head of the «restorer decorator» workshop and director–conservationist of the building since 1869 (housed in the Casa del Contador or Casa del Cadí), and his son Mariano Contreras since 1888⁵⁹– came to the aid of conserving the building from the last years of the reign of Fernando VII onwards. Sometimes they acted with a desire to substitute or recreate; in 1842, the Academia de Bellas Artes insisted on the need for preservation and to avoid absurdities, as happened with the Sala de las Camas del Baño Real (Hall of the Beds in the Royal Baths) in 1843, or with the exotic stained-glass dome in one of the gazebos in the Patio de los Leones that was installed in 1859⁶⁰. In general, «the decorative restorations were governed by a disastrous tendency to restore the Alcazar to its primitive splendour, destroying ancient ornaments that were in generally damaged condition»⁶¹ (Il. 15).

More specifically, an order by Isabella II published on 10 October 1862, during her visit to Granada,



IL. 15. Jean Laurent. Granada: 1114 bis. Temple de Levante del patio de los Leones. (Alhambra). J. Laurent. Madrid. (1871). Albumin copy in sepia. APAG. Colección de Fotografías. F-005171.

demanded that «without loss of time and without sparing any expense, the restoration of this historic monument should be completed in the most dignified and appropriate manner»⁶². This was on the exact day that a ball was held in her honour in the Patio de los Arrayanes and the Patio de los Leones to celebrate the birthday of the sovereign and «the first day also on which she visited the Alhambra Pa-

55. VILAR SÁNCHEZ, J. A. *Obras en la Alhambra*. Granada: Alhulía, 2013, p. XXXV.

56. VIÑES MILLET (1982). *Op. cit.*, p. 51.

57. VIÑES MILLET (2007). *Op. cit.*, p. 84.

58. VIÑES MILLET (1982). *Op. cit.*, p. 27.

59. DÍEZ JORGE, M^a. E. (ed.). *La Alhambra y el Generalife. Guía histórico-artística*. Granada: Universidad de Granada /Junta de Andalucía, 2006, p. 290.

60. *Ibid.*, pp. 290 and 300.

61. GÓMEZ MORENO, *Op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

62. VIÑES MILLET (2007). *Op. cit.*, p. 112.

lace, the conquest of the first Isabella and a relic of Arabic art, unrivalled in the world»⁶³.

In terms of the law, a royal charter by Charles IV (21 October 1800) had already initiated the confiscation of Crown property, with some exceptions such as the Alhambra fortress or the Alcazar of Seville. There was an inventory of the Alhambra with a budget in 1860 and an 1865 law then regulated the Crown Estate⁶⁴; shortly afterwards its staff was restructured. When the Queen was dethroned, the Crown's assets passed to the State (decree of 14 October 1868). On the following 18 December these assets were brought under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance, creating a «General Directorate of the Estate formerly owned by the Crown»⁶⁵, which was responsible for supervising managers (expenditure control) and staff (including the guards, among other highly varied jobs, but not the executives: governor, overseer, paymaster or senior master builder), hiring people for specific tasks, arranging inspection visits, pruning trees or supervising leases⁶⁶. A few months after Serrano's provisional government was established, it ceded the Alhambra to the State and El Retiro Park to the town hall of Madrid⁶⁷. On 18 December 1869, the Crown's assets were declared extinct and free to be disposed of –confiscated, similarly to religious buildings– except for the buildings intended for the king and for the service of the State or those with a notable historical-artistic character.

This is how C. Viñes explains it: «Donations of buildings and land have constantly been made there under certain conditions and there were always rooms in use there, but in compliance with the law of 18 December 1869, the Royal Assets –except for the Palacio Real de Madrid, Casa de Campo, the site of El Pardo, the palaces of Aranjuez and San Ildefonso, the monastery of El Escorial, the castle of Bellver and the fortress of Seville, which were in the service of the king⁶⁸–, private property in the Alhambra was unquestionably recognised by law»⁶⁹. These were times of chaos, the inexorable result of vested interests, including the intervention by the State in the Alhambra in accordance with the right to «public use» stated in the 1869 Constitution.

Interestingly, Granada town council had opposed transferring the Alhambra into the hands of the



IL. 16. Jean Laurent. Granada: 1468 .Fachada de mediodía del Palacio de Carlos V, (Alhambra). (1871). Insert in the catalogue *L'Espagne et le Portugal au point de vue artistique, monumentale et pittoresque: Carnet d'échantillons*. Original copy from the period. Albumin paper from wet collodion negative. APAG. Colección de Fotografías. F-005249.

State, preferring it to be governed by the Crown, as it feared speculation would break up the unity of the complex: buildings and areas of plant life, art and nature⁷⁰. In this climate, the Provincial Commission of Monuments' made a fundamental statement in favour of preventing the degeneration of the complex. The Alhambra was allocated to the Ministry of Public Works on 16 April 1870, in the middle of the Serrano regency, and –together, as a whole– was made a National Monument by the royal order of 12 July 1870.

The former royal asset was given to the nation by royal order on 23 February 1872 and a year later the republican government insisted on preserving its

63. VILLA-REAL, *Op. cit.*, p. 284.

64. PAU, A. El régimen jurídico de los bienes del Patrimonio Nacional. *Anuario de la Facultad de Derecho de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid*, 19 (2015): pp. 374 and 376.

65. BELMONTE MEDINA, P.M^a. Historia jurídica del patrimonio de la Corona durante el Sexenio Revolucionario (1868-1874). *Derecho y opinión*, 7 (1999): p. 70.

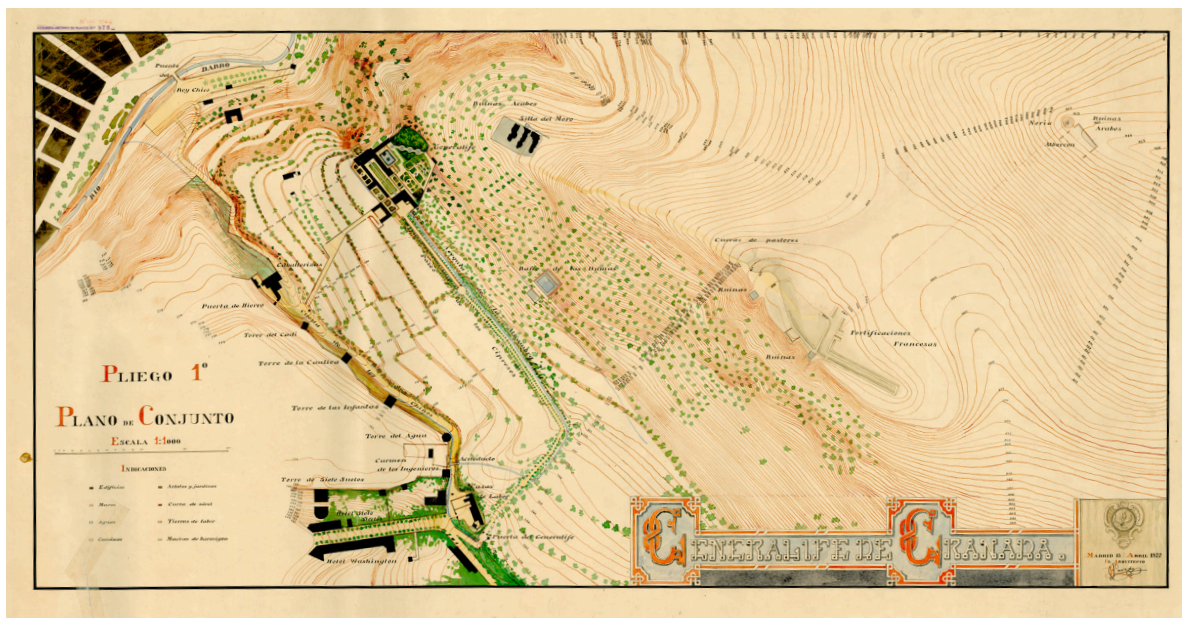
66. VIÑES MILLET (1982). *Op. cit.*, pp. 119-120.

67. PAU, *Op. cit.*, p. 377.

68. Approved by the Cortes on 9 December of this year (*Gaceta de Madrid*, n.º. 353 of 19 December 1869).

69. VIÑES MILLET (1982). *Op. cit.*, p. 115.

70. BELMONTE MEDINA. *Op. cit.*, p. 77.



IL. 17. Eladio Laredo. Generalife. Granada (1922) Original plan on cardboard, illustrated in colour with ink and watercolour, 84x49 cm. APAG.Colección de Planos. P-001044.

archives and on the benefits of creating a General Directorate, similar to the body from the Serrano era. But at the same time new delusions were emerging: «in the time of the cantons there were plans to demolish it –Charles V’s palace– to take advantage of the stone of its construction and to build in its place large looms to employ workers»⁷¹. For the sake of progress (Il. 16).

By the time of Restoration, in August 1875, Don José M. Vasco, a royal delegate who received no stipend, was appointed to report on the Alhambra; he managed to assign the prisoners to Torres Bermejas and install lightning rods. But no attention was paid to replanting trees, examining pipes, caring for the gardens, the excess of water sellers, the failure to make use of real estate and rights (orchards, buildings, water, entrances), the lodgings inside the enclosure, the lack of guard houses, the lack of uniforms for employees, the abuse of bonuses and private businesses, etc. He essentially denounced a speculative «immoderate desire for profit in the majority of the employees», advised granting visiting permits (tickets) at a price of one peseta to contribute to the restoration work and appointing a head-manager; he urged, after a detailed list, «the expropriation of all privately owned properties... within the Alhambra site»⁷². The Contreras fami-

ly (1828-1907) was followed by conservation architects Modesto Cendoya and the famous Leopoldo Torres Balbás (the latter between 1923 and 1936)⁷³.

The Alhambra definitely began to shine more brightly following 1870 but there was still much to be done. The romantic pioneers were followed by an increasing number of visitors who were more scholarly and less adventuresome: «Year after year, multitudes of modern women and men familiarize themselves with this immortal altar. Year after year they come and go, and tell the foreigner something about its history and fame. From their lips always, and almost always from their hearts, come forth wonders and sweetness»⁷⁴. By 1905, the special Commission had begun its work and it ultimately became the Alhambra Board of Trustees (by royal decree in 1914). And after a very long lawsuit, the Generalife was incorporated into the State’s heritage in 1921, thereby completing this National Monument (Il. 17).

71. Memoria sobre la Alhambra. *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

72. *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 13 and 18.

73. DÍEZ JORGE, *Op. cit.*, pp. 298-300.

74. WILLIAMS, *Op. cit.*, p. 177.