

Taking the Alhambra to St. Petersburg

Katrin Kaufmann

Taking the Alhambra to St. Petersburg

Neo-Moorish Russian Architecture
and Interiors 1830–1917

DE GRUYTER

Published with the support of the Swiss National Science Foundation
for the promotion of scientific research.



This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-
NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License:
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

ISBN 978-3-11-071065-6

e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-114137-4

DOI <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111141374>

Library of Congress Control Number: 2023947480

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication
in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic
data are available at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2023 the author, published by Walter de Gruyter GmbH,
Berlin/Boston

This book is available as an open-access publication via
www.degruyter.com

Cover illustration: Neo-Moorish interior in the Villa of Aleksei L'vov,
St. Petersburg, Alberto Cavos, 1841. Photo: Nikita Andreev,
St. Petersburg

Copyediting: Sally Sutton, Norwich

Typesetting: Edgar Endl, booklab, München

Printing and binding: Beltz Grafische Betriebe GmbH, Bad Langensalza

www.degruyter.com

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	8
Notes on Transliterations, Translations, and Dates	10
Abbreviations	11
Glossary	13
1. Introduction	16
1.1 Terminology	23
1.2 State of Research	24
1.3 Research Questions and Methodology	27
1.4 Structure of the Book	29
2. Turkish Style as a Precursor of Neo-Moorish Style	30
2.1 <i>The Turkish Kiosk in Tsarskoe Selo</i>	32
2.2 <i>The Turkish Bath in Tsarskoe Selo</i>	35
2.3 <i>The Turkish Cabinet at the Marble Palace</i>	41
2.4 <i>The Asiatic Room at the Catherine Palace</i>	44
2.5 Turkish Style and Neo-Moorish Style: Differences and Similarities	46
3. Early Neo-Moorish Architecture, 1830–1845	50
3.1 The Rediscovery of the Islamic Architecture of al-Andalus	53
3.2 Spain, Andalusia, and the Alhambra in Russian Culture	56
3.3 Lectures on Islamic Architecture at the Imperial Academy of Arts	58
3.4 <i>Two Interiors at the Grafaskaia Slavianka Manor</i>	59

3.5	<i>Aleksandra Fiodorovna's Bathroom at the Winter Palace</i>	67
3.6	<i>The Neo-Moorish Interior at the Villa of Aleksei L'vov</i>	73
3.7	<i>The Neo-Moorish Bedroom at the Villa of Ivan Pashkov</i>	76
3.8	Books as Transfer Media, and Briullov as a Pioneer of the Moorish Revival ...	79
4.	Studying the Alhambra On-site, 1845–1865	80
4.1	Russian Architects in Granada	81
4.2	Aleksandr Krakau's Alhambra Album	85
4.3	Pavel Notbek's Alhambra Models and Plaster Casts	91
	Living and Working in Granada	95
	Notbek's Collection in St. Petersburg	99
	The Collection as a Didactic Device	139
4.4	Karl Rakhau and Karl Kol'man's Study of the Tower of the Princesses	141
	Traveling in Western Europe and to the Holy Land	142
	Exploring Spain and the Alhambra	144
	Restoring the Tower of the Princesses	146
	Reflecting the "Moorish Style"	157
4.5	<i>The Oriental Living Room at the Iusupov Palace</i>	159
4.6	<i>The St. Mary Magdalene Chapel at the Bariatinskii Mansion</i>	165
4.7	<i>The Neo-Moorish Dining Room at the Villa Stieglitz</i>	169
4.8	Use of the Neo-Moorish Style and the Diversity of Orientalizing Styles	175

5. Popularity of the Neo-Moorish Style, 1865–1917	178
5.1 Knowledge and Reception of the Alhambra in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century	178
5.2 <i>The Neo-Moorish Cabinet at the Villa San-Galli</i>	183
5.3 <i>Maria Pavlovna’s Boudoir at the Vladimir Palace</i>	187
5.4 <i>The Muruzi House</i>	194
5.5 Architectural Alhambrismo from 1874 to 1911	202
6. Conclusions	211
6.1 Eclecticism and Neo-Moorish Style	211
6.2 Traces of Russia’s Own Orient in St. Petersburg’s Architecture	212
6.3 Essential Elements of Russian Alhambrismo	213
6.4 Design and Production of Alhambresque Decorations	215
6.5 Transfers and the Reproductive Continuum	216
Annexes	220
Catalogue	226
Bibliography	269
Image Credits	300
Index of Persons	302

Acknowledgments

This book deals with the mobility of ideas, knowledge, objects, and people that shaped the art scene in nineteenth-century St. Petersburg. Among the main actors in the transfers described were a few privileged architects who, after graduating from the Imperial Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg, were given scholarships of several years' duration and sent abroad to acquire knowledge. Upon their return to Russia they would share and apply this, furthering the country's artistic development. In 2015, I had the opportunity to undertake a similar task, and traveled to St. Petersburg for the first time to begin this research. At the time, I spoke Russian poorly and had only a few contacts in Russia. The latter changed quickly, as colleagues had given me the addresses of some scientists, whom I contacted. Everybody I encountered at universities and other institutions met me with great kindness and without prejudice, not only sharing their expertise willingly but also finding other ways to support me. They provided me with helpful tips and further useful contacts, accompanied me to libraries to assist me with the first steps of enrollment and research, and backed me up with administrative paperwork. I was impressed and moved by their dedication and patience, and am very grateful to all of these people, some of whom became friends during my repeated visits to Russia throughout 2018: Natalia Alfiorova, Nikita Andreev, Vadim Bass, Maria Bondareva, Nikolai D'iakov, Olga Efimova, Vladimir Gerasimov, Milana Iliushina, Nadezhda Ioutsen, Elena Ivanova, Boris Kirikov (†), Aleksandr Kobak, Liudmila Krestova, Tatiana Krestova, Konstantin Krestov, Svetlana Krestova, Lev Maciel, Vladimir Markov, Anna Matochkina, Antonina Nikonova, Irina Osmanova, Ilia Pechionkin, Andrei Punin (†), Ekaterina Savinova, Antonina Shakhanova, Nadia Stanulevich, Irina Zdvizhkova. Many thanks, too, to the people of

v-kafe: Dima (†), Thomas, Vika, Misha, Angelina, Natasha, Natalia, and others, for the adventurous explorations in and around St. Petersburg on mostly icy Sundays, and for their precious company.

My research has also been facilitated by the help and goodwill of many colleagues and friends in Switzerland and elsewhere. I should like to thank my coworkers at the Department for Historic Preservation at the Office of Culture, Canton of Berne, at the time, as well as Andreina Badertscher, Michelle Bühler, Michael Conrad, Sina Degenhardt, Rebecka Domig, Alwin Egger, Asun González, Milena Guthörl, Daniel Kaufmann, Sarah Keller, Inessa Kouteinikova, Birgit Kümmel, Andrea Meier, Heikki Pohjolainen (†), Maija Pohjolainen, Johan (†) and Hellevi Salo, Angelika Sarnowitsch, Thomas Scheidt, Bakhodir Sidikov, Larisa Temereva, Ariane Varela Braga, Eva Wenger, Pascal Zumkehr, my parents Alfred and Esther Kaufmann, and, most importantly, Simon Morgenthaler.

I owe my greatest debt of gratitude to Francine Giese, who encouraged me to write a doctoral thesis as part of her research project *Mudejarismo and Moorish Revival in Europe* at the University of Zurich between 2015 and 2019. She challenged me, but also assisted me in her typically practical way whenever possible and inspired me with her enthusiasm; I will remember the journeys we shared during those years. I would also like to thank Ulrich Rudolph (University of Zurich) and Thomas Grob (University of Basel), who were kind enough to offer additional supervision and support.

Sally Sutton, who has proofread this book, Thomas Campbell, translator of the Russian texts, Nathalie Herrmann, translator of the Spanish texts, and Nada Boul-naga, who deciphered and translated inscriptions in Arabic script, all deserve my heartfelt gratitude for their

excellent work. Franziska Zimmet from the Bildarchiv Foto Marburg optimized some of my photographs taken in St. Petersburg, while Christoph Studer and Andreas Sommer provided spontaneous help with a difficult German transcription.

I am indebted to the Swiss National Science Foundation, which granted me a scholarship for a ten-month research stay in St. Petersburg and financed the open-access publication of this book. My thanks also go to the following institutions for providing funding during my doctoral studies: the Institute of Asian and Oriental Studies at the University of Zurich, the Foundation for Research in Science and the Humanities at the University of Zurich, and the Boner Foundation for Arts and Culture. Finally, I thank the publishing house De Gruyter, in particular Anja Weisenseel, and Edgar Endl, for their care in realizing and printing this book, and all the museums and institutions that permitted me to use their images free of charge.

The political situation in Europe has changed, and I would not embark on a similar study now. Mobility is restricted, and scientific contact and exchange, which are so important and enriching, are hindered. Against this background, the present book is not only a chronicle of artistic exchange in the nineteenth century but also a testimony to recently experienced support and dialogue. The material presented here can be accessed in digital form from anywhere.

Katrin Kaufmann

Bern, summer 2023

Notes on Transliterations, Translations, and Dates

Transliterations from Russian follow the system used by the Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.), with the following adaptations: *ě* is rendered as *io*, and *ŭ* is rendered as *i*. Outdated spelling has been adjusted.

A few Russian names, mainly those of the tsars, are written in their more familiar anglicized form, for example Catherine II and Nicholas I rather than Ekaterina II and Nikolai I, as also are given names such as Maria, Iulia, Igor, Olga, Natalia, and Tatiana rather than Mariia, Iuliia, Igor', Ol'ga, Natal'ia, and Tat'iana.

Russian addresses are likewise written in their most familiar anglicized forms. The exact transliterations from Russian can be found in the catalogue. Russian dates following the Julian calendar have been converted to follow the Gregorian calendar.

Spanish, Arabic, Latin, and Russian terms are briefly explained on their initial occurrence. If used repeatedly, they are listed in the glossary for the sake of clarity. As plural forms of Arabic words can be unrecognizable to the lay reader, they have simply had the letter *s* added at the end; for instance the plural form of *ṭāqa* is given as *ṭāqas* rather than *ṭaqāt* or *ṭiqān*.

Abbreviations

GARF

State Archive of the Russian Federation, Moscow
Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii

GE

State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg
Gosudarstvennyi Ėrmitazh

GIM

State Historical Museum, Moscow
Gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii muzei

GMIR

State Museum of the History of Religion, St. Petersburg
Gosudarstvennyi muzei istorii religii

GMI SPB

State Museum of the History of St. Petersburg
Gosudarstvennyi muzei istorii Sankt-Peterburga

GMU Arkhangelskoe

Arkhangelskoe State Museum-Estate
Gosudarstvennyi muzei-usad'ba Arkhangel'skoe

GMZ Tsarskoe Selo

Tsarskoe Selo State Museum-Preserve
Gosudarstvennyi muzei-zapovednik Tsarskoe Selo

GMZ Gatchina

Gatchina State Museum-Preserve
Gosudarstvennyi muzei-zapovednik Gatchina

GMZ Peterhof

Peterhof State Museum-Preserve
Gosudarstvennyi muzei-zapovednik Petergof

GNIMA

Shchusev State Museum of Architecture, Moscow
Gosudarstvennyi nauchno-issledovatel'skii muzei arkhitektury imeni A. V. Shchuseva

GRM

State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg
Gosudarstvennyi Russkii muzei

GTG

State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow
Gosudarstvennaia Tre't'iakovskaia galereia

IAKh

Imperial Academy of Arts, St. Petersburg
Imperatorskaia Akademiia khudozhestv

KGIOP

Committee for State Control, Use, and Preservation of
Monuments of History and Culture of St. Petersburg
*Komitet po gosudarstvennomu kontroliu, ispol'zovaniiu i
okhrane pamiatnikov istorii i kul'tury Sankt-Peterburga*

NIMRAKh

Scientific-research Museum of the Russian Academy
of Arts, St. Petersburg
*Nauchno-issledovatel'skii muzei Rossiiskoi akademii
khudozhestv*

RGADA

Russian State Archive of Ancient Documents, Moscow
Rossiiskii gosudarstvennii arkhiv drevnikh aktov

RGIA

Russian State Historical Archive, St. Petersburg
Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv

RNB

National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg
Rossiiskaia natsional'naia biblioteka

TsGAKFFD SPB

Central State Archive of Documentary Films,
Photographs, and Sound Recordings of St. Petersburg
*Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv kinofotofono-
dokumentov Sankt-Peterburga*

TsGIA SPB

Central State Historical Archive of St. Petersburg
*Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv
Sankt-Peterburga*

Glossary

abacus, pl. abaci (Lat.): flat slab placed on top of a capital, providing a large supporting surface

ajimez, pl. ajimeces (Sp.): double window

alcázar, pl. alcázares (Sp.): palace, fortress

alicatado (Sp.): geometric mosaic of glazed, colored, polygonal tiles

armadura (Sp.): decorative ceiling composed of many individual wooden parts

armadura apeinazada (Sp.): armadura whose rafters form a geometric pattern of stars and knots

armadura ataujerada (Sp.): armadura whose structure is hidden by lazo-decorated panels nailed onto it

ataurique (Sp.): foliage and floral designs

ḥammām (Ar.): Islamic bathhouse

lazo (Sp.): complex geometric pattern of interwoven lines or ribbons, often forming a composition around a central star

Mexuar (Sp.): ceremonial hall in the administrative area of the Nasrid Alhambra

miḥrāb (Ar.): niche facing Mecca in a mosque, indicating the direction of prayer

mirador (Sp.): covered viewpoint

Mudéjar (Sp.): style of ornamentation in post-Islamic Christian Iberia, based on Islamic techniques and aesthetics

muqarnaṣ (Ar.): three-dimensional geometric motif in Islamic architecture, often likened to stalactites

pensionerstvo (Ru.): Funded trips for graduates from the Imperial Academy of Arts

pensioner, pl. pensionery (Ru.): Graduate student of the Imperial Academy of Arts continuing studies abroad with a grant

qalahurra (Ar.): defensive tower containing a royal dwelling

qubba (Ar.): alcove, room with a cupola, or set of rooms arranged around a central hall with a cupola

sebka (Ar.): decorative element or pattern of interlaced rhomboids forming a grid

spolia (Lat.): repurposed elements taken from older buildings

ṭāqa (Ar.): small niche, usually set into the wall next to an entrance

transenna, pl. transennae (Lat.): latticed window

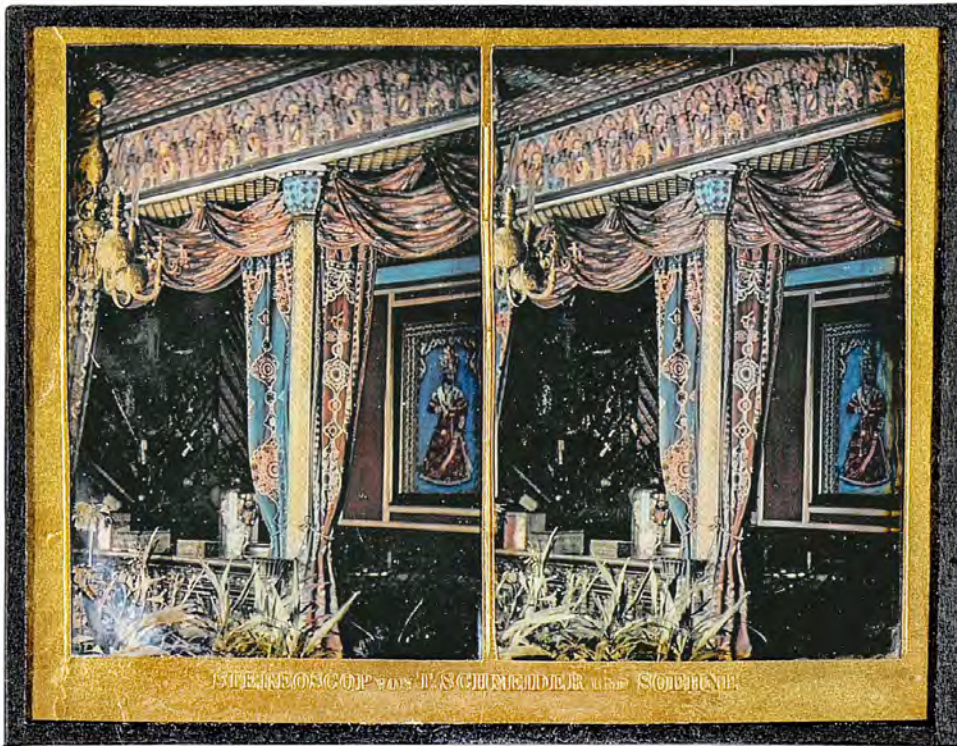
yaserías (Sp.): stucco decoration; decorated stucco panels



Our day and age is not as Moorish
as it is Gothic, Roman, or Greek.

Наш век столько же ни мавританский
сколько не готический, не римский и
не греческий.

Karl Rakhau and Karl Kol'man, early 1860s



1 Heinrich and Wilhelm Schneider, Oriental Living Room at Iusupov Palace in St. Petersburg, 1861/62, colored stereoscopic daguerreotype, 7.2 × 10.4 cm. GMU Arkhangelskoe, Mff-1172.



2 Heinrich and Wilhelm Schneider, Oriental Living Room at Iusupov Palace in St. Petersburg, 1861/62, colored stereoscopic daguerreotype, 7.2 × 10.4 cm. GMU Arkhangelskoe, Mff-1166.

1. Introduction

In May 1861, the daguerreotypists Heinrich (1835–1900) and Wilhelm (1839–1921) Schneider arrived in Russia, where, over the next fourteen months, many of St. Petersburg and Moscow’s aristocrats commissioned them to photograph their families and their palaces.¹ Prince Nikolai Iusupov the Younger (1827–1891) and his wife Tatiana Iusupova (née Ribeaupierre, 1828–1879) were among their clients. Over several days, the Schneider brothers documented the recently redesigned Iusupov Palace at 94 Moyka Embankment in St. Petersburg, whose interiors were furnished in a variety of styles. Their series of colored stereoscopic daguerreotypes includes two shots of the brand-new “Oriental Living Room” (*Vostochnaia gostinaia*; Cat. no. 9), showing a multitude of furnishings with an exotic flair: an eye-catching frieze, a column with a lozenge pattern, oriental fabrics and carpets, weapons, crafted jugs and bowls, and a portrait of a Persian shah (Figs 1 and 2).²

The Schneider brothers’ images may be the earliest photographic representations of an “Orientalizing” interior in Russia, although such interiors were already widespread at the time, and their number increased in the following decades.³ While the Oriental Living Room at the Iusupov Palace was not designed in one particular style that can be assigned to a specific Islamic building tradition, the frieze seen in the daguerreotypes and in the Palace today clearly alludes to Nasrid decorations such as those found in the Alhambra in Granada (Figs 3 and 4). The fortified complex of palaces for which the Alhambra is famous was built as the seat of the government of the Nasrid dynasty, which ruled the Emirate of Granada between 1238 and 1492. It attests impressively to the Islamic architecture that developed in al-Andalus, the Muslim territories on the Iberian Peninsula conquered by the Umayyads between 711 and 718. In the

eighteenth century it was rediscovered, neglected and decaying, as a source of inspiration by architects, writers, and artists during the Romantic era, and today it is one of the most visited sites in Europe.

While some of the rooms that the Schneider brothers photographed at the Iusupov Palace remain almost unchanged, the Oriental Living Room was redesigned in the 1890s. Princess Zinaida Iusupova (1861–1939) and her husband Prince Feliks Iusupov (1856–1928), Count Sumarkov-Elston, who had inherited the family’s possessions in their entirety, had the room transformed into a “Moorish Living Room” (*Mavritanskaia gostinaia*; Cat. no. 34). Since then, this room, with its walls divided into three or four zones, lavish ornamentation, and arcade supported by neo-Nasrid capitals and columns, is strongly reminiscent of the architecture of the Alhambra’s Nasrid palaces and their splendid decoration (Figs 5 and 6). Geometric tile mosaics (*alicatados*) are imitated on the lower

- 1 The brothers entered the lucrative business through their father, Trupert Schneider (1804–1899), originally a cabinetmaker in Ehrenstetten near Freiburg in the Grand Duchy of Baden. He had learned the photographic technique developed by Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre (1787–1851) at the end of the 1840s, about ten years after its first public presentation in Paris, following a chance encounter with the daguerreotypist Joseph Broglie. Heinrich and Wilhelm Schneider retained the company name T. Schneider and Sons (*T. Schneider und Söhne*) throughout their lives. For the Schneiders’ family business see Geiges 1989; Wilder 2008.
- 2 A special stereoscopic viewing device was used to display the images as three-dimensional. Today the thirteen daguerreotypes are held at the GMU Arkhangelskoe, a former Iusupov family residence about 20 km west of Moscow; see Garbar/Shamshimila 2004; Machugina 2014.
- 3 The term “Orientalizing” is used here to describe architecture and interiors adopting the aesthetics of Islamic art and architecture. For more details on terminology, see Chapter 1.1.



3 Iusupov Palace, St. Petersburg, frieze in the Moorish Living Room (former Oriental Living Room), Charles Rohault de Fleury, 1858/59.

walls; narrow niches recall *tāqas*, the small niches commonly set into the walls at the entrance to a room; the window screens are reminiscent of Nasrid latticed windows (*transennae*), and the motto of the Nasrid dynasty, “There is no victor but God” (*Wa-lā ḡālība illā ’llāh*), is inscribed on several decorative friezes in Arabic script.

Due to the two separate construction phases in 1859 and the 1890s, with the participation of both Russian and French architects and the use of a diverse array of materials, this Iusupov Palace interior is one of the most intriguing and multifaceted examples of the subject treated in this book: the Orientalizing architecture of St. Petersburg, in particular that based on the Alhambra’s decor. Traveling to St. Petersburg one might visit the Iusupov Palace and admire the Moorish Living Room without understanding how widespread these interiors were in nineteenth-century Russia, as most are now lost or not accessible to the public. However, between 1830 and 1917, one façade and at least fifty Alhambresque interiors were built in the imperial city.

The Oriental Living Room, furnished in the late 1850s in a palace owned by one of the wealthiest Russian families, illustrates the factors that led to the advent of Orientalizing architectural styles in Europe. Like many aristocrats, Nikolai Iusupov possessed a collection of artifacts from the Muslim world for whose display the interior provided a suitable framework. Such collections bore witness to a broad interest in the Orient and an en-



4 Alhambra, Granada, Façade of Comares, detail of a frieze, 1370.

agement with Islamic culture and art resulting from the increasing political and commercial East-West contact in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The complete series of the Schneider brothers’ Iusupov Palace daguerreotypes shows interiors furnished in different styles, not only because they were created in several phases between 1830 and 1860 but also as a result of a development in Western architecture that contributed to the emergence and popularity of various new architectural styles, including Orientalizing styles. In response to the demand for more individual building and furnishing designs, historicism and eclecticism gradually replaced neoclassicism during the first half of the nineteenth century. Russian architects began to apply a wide repertoire of styles based on the revival of such artistic periods as Italian Renaissance, Baroque, Rococo, and Gothic, or inspired by artistic principles associated with a certain place or area such as Pompeii or “the Orient”, which could mean ancient Egypt, China, Japan, or the Islamic world. The styles were selected according to their connotations as well as the function of the building or room in question and the habitus related to it; thus the neo-Gothic style was often used for libraries, studies, and dining rooms, recalling the libraries, scriptoria, and refectories of medieval monasteries, while Orientalizing styles were preferred for more intimate spaces such as smoking rooms and boudoirs, which were dedicated to leisure and relaxation.



5 Iusupov Palace, St. Petersburg, Moorish Living Room (former Oriental Living Room), Aleksandr Stepanov, ca. 1895 (and Charles Rohault de Fleury, 1858/59).

The Oriental Living Room's later incarnation as the Moorish Living Room confirms architects' increasing attention to the Alhambra in Granada, spurred by travelers, artists, and writers' rediscovery of Islamic architecture in the former al-Andalus, which the former recreated in a multitude of neo-Moorish and Alhambresque interiors and buildings almost worldwide. This fascination with the Alhambra went hand in hand with a growing enthusiasm for Spain and its culture that was felt particularly intensely in Russia.

Initially, the aim of this study was to investigate architecture and interiors inspired by Islamic models throughout the Tsarist Empire, but it quickly became clear that this topic was too broad to permit in-depth analysis. The vast Tsarist Empire, which expanded continually until the end of the nineteenth century, embraces a variety of Orientalizing architecture as diverse as its geographic, cultural, historical, social, and political contexts, as is briefly outlined below.

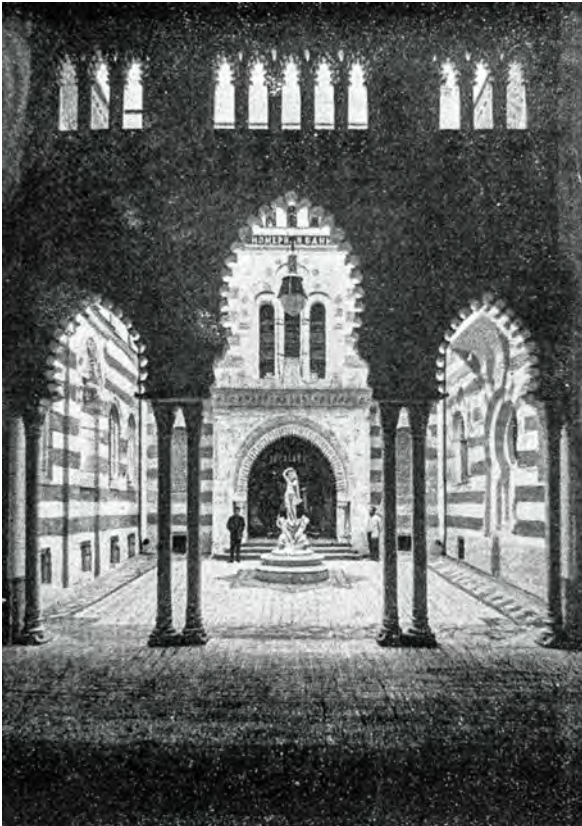


6 Alhambra, Granada, Court of the Mosque, fourteenth century.

In the Empire's two largest cities, St. Petersburg and Moscow, where many palace and mansion interiors were furnished in line with Islamic aesthetics, there are few façades with Orientalizing motifs. In Moscow, this fashionable trend seems to have been somewhat less widespread than in St. Petersburg, but it manifested strongly in the design of public baths towards the end of the nineteenth century (Fig. 7).⁴

In the south of the Tsarist Empire, Orientalizing architecture emerged in a completely different climate and cultural setting, namely in territories previously under Ottoman or Persian rule and influence and inhabited largely by Muslims. The new residences built by the Russian nobility along the Crimean coast, Russia's "first Ori-

⁴ Among these are the Sanduny Bathhouses at 14 Neglinnaya Street, remodeled in 1894/95 by Boris Freidenberg (1850–1917) and Sergei Kalugin (1866/67–1920).



7 Arab Courtyard of the Sanduny Bathhouses in Moscow, ca. 1896.



9 Zemstvo Museum in Chisinau, postcard, early twentieth century.

ent”⁵, were often given an Oriental twist (Fig. 8),⁶ as were the villas and thermal baths in Caucasian mountain resorts, especially in the last quarter of the nineteenth and the early-twentieth centuries.⁷ Some scholars argue that Russian architects adopted local building traditions in these regions, for example based on knowledge gained



8 Diul'ber Palace of Grand Duke Piotr Nikolaevich in Miskhor, postcard, early twentieth century.

during the restoration of the Khan's Palace in Bakhchisarai;⁸ while this is sometimes the case, examination of the edifices in question finds that they allude to other Islamic models, such as the Mamlūk architecture of North Africa and the Nasrid architecture of al-Andalus, at least as often. Various Islamic architectural traditions

5 See Dickinson 2002.

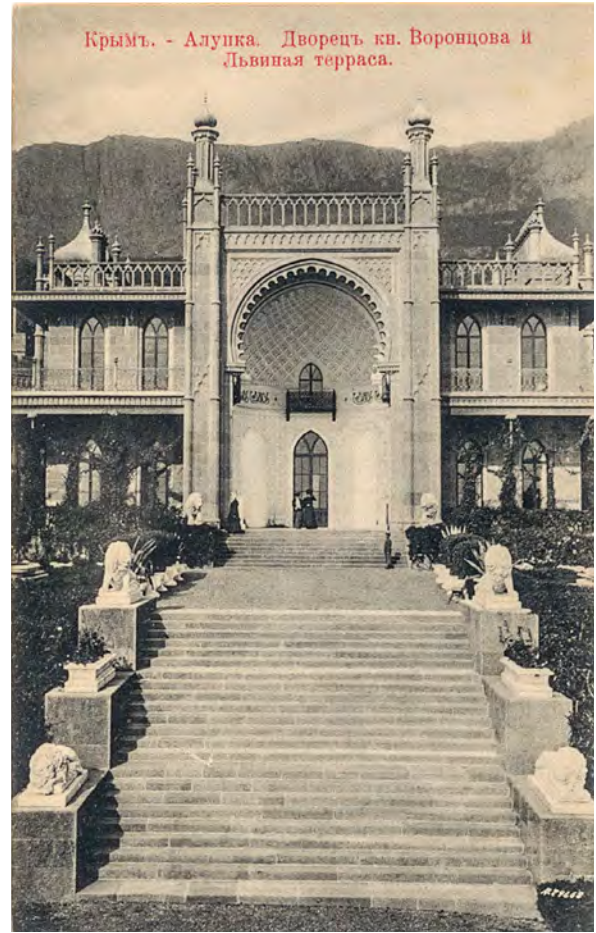
6 See the Diul'ber Palace of Piotr Nikolaevich (1864–1931) in Koreiz (Miskhor), designed between 1895 and 1897 by the architect Nikolai Krasnov (1864–1939) based on drawings made in the Near East and the Maghreb by the Grand Duke.

7 See for example the 1881 Villa Mavritaniia in Kislovodsk (no longer extant), built by the architect Vladimir Grozmani (1840–1910) for Olga Baranovskaia (ca. 1850–1934), and the Ostrovsky Baths in Zheleznovodsk, constructed between 1891 and 1893 by the architect Pavel Siuzor (1844–1919) and the engineer Andrei-Liudvig Konradi (1853–1898).

8 See for example Nashchokina 2003; Vinogradov 2013, 65; Koliada 2016.



10 Nurulla-Bai Palace, Khiva, fireplace, ca. 1910.



11 Vorontsov Palace in Alupka, postcard, early twentieth century.

are frequently found mixed together, a practice that was also common in the design of villas along the Mediterranean coasts of Italy and France.

Russia's annexation of Central Asia provided a new point of reference for Russian architects, affecting, for example, the style of public buildings in the southern provinces in the late nineteenth century (Fig. 9).⁹ In Russian Turkestan and the Russian protectorates of Bukhara and Khiva, new relations were established between builder-owners, architects, and executing masters, sometimes bringing about an amalgamation of contemporary Islamic and Russian architecture and interior design. Local craftsmen were contracted to furnish the interiors of Russian residences,¹⁰ and inversely, the Muslim elite ordered the construction of palaces according to regional traditions but furnished with European items such as tile stoves manufactured in St. Petersburg with Orientalizing

decoration (Fig. 10).¹¹ The Emir of Bukhara, al-Sayyid 'Abd al-Aḥad Ḥān (1859–1911), owned not only an eclectic palace planned by a Russian architect at Kagan, near

- 9 For instance, the present-day Orbeliani Baths (1893) in Tbilisi and the National Museum of Ethnography and Natural History in Chisinau (1903–1905, architect Vladimir Tsyganko (1854–1919)), both reminiscent of a Central Asian madrasa in shape.
- 10 See for example the former mansion of diplomat Aleksandr Polovtsov (1867–1944) in Tashkent, furnished by craftsmen from Tashkent, Bukhara, Khiva, and Rishton towards the end of the nineteenth century. Today it houses the State Museum of Applied Arts of Uzbekistan (*Gosudarstvennyi muzei prikladnogo iskusstva Uzbekistana*).
- 11 Examples include the Nurulla-Bai Palace (1906–1912) in Khiva, commissioned by Muḥammad Raḥīm Ḥān II († 1910) for his son Isfandiyār (1871–1918), the future Khan of Khiva; and the Sitorai Mokhi-Khosa Palace (1912–1918) in Bukhara, the summer residency of the last Emir of Bukhara, Muḥammad 'Ālim-Ḥān (1880–1944).



12 The Mosque in Orenburg, postcard, early twentieth century.



13 Arshakunin Family Palace interior, Tiflis, early twentieth century.

Bukhara but also two residences in the Crimea and the Caucasus, both of which were of Orientalizing design.¹²

Further examples beyond the localities mentioned above and/or that stand out for their style or the unique context in which they were created include, for example, an early palace with single Orientalizing elements designed by a British architect in the Crimea in the 1830s (Fig. 11);¹³ a mosque erected in the same decade by a Russian architect for the Muslim Bashkirs in Orenburg (Fig. 12);¹⁴ and a villa in Tbilisi, likewise constructed by a Russian architect in 1856, with interiors adorned by Iranian masters in Qajar style (Fig. 13).¹⁵ In addition, various pavilions at national and international exhibitions¹⁶ and a large number of synagogues inspired by Islamic architecture across the empire (Fig. 14)¹⁷ can be examined and described as distinct categories of Orientalizing architecture. In view of this wide research field, two decisions were made.

First, this study would be geographically limited to St. Petersburg and its environs, not ignoring the pan-European context in which they were created. Although many of St. Petersburg's Orientalizing buildings and interiors no longer exist, the city still includes quite a few informative examples. The Russian capital was fertile ground for new architectural trends, not only due to its political status but also because it was home to the Imperial Academy of Arts, the country's leading institution for trainee architects. St. Petersburg was thus the starting

point for many of the developments described above, and examination of its architecture offers a basis for further studies on this subject.

Second, the thematic focus of this study is neo-Moorish architecture and interiors. Although single designs

12 The Emir's Palace in Kagan (1895–1898), on which both Russian and local masters worked, was designed by Aleksei Benua (Alexei Benois, 1838–1902); the villa in Yalta (1907–1911) by Nikolai Tarasov (life data unknown); and the villa in Zhelezno-vodsk (1907–1912) by Vladimir Semionov (1874–1960).

13 See Mikhail Vorontsov's (1782–1856) palace in Alupka, whose central wing was erected between 1832 and 1837 to plans by the architect Edward Blore (1787–1879). Some consider the building the earliest example of Alhambriзм in Russia, which, as discussed earlier, is not the case; see Kaufmann 2019a.

14 The mosque was part of the Caravanserai at Orenburg (1837–1846), a military barracks planned by the architect Aleksandr Briullov (1798–1877).

15 See the former Palace of the Arshakunin family at 22 Griboedov Street, designed by the architect Grigorii Ivanov (1819–1877), which today houses the Tbilisi State Academy of Arts; <<https://georgiaphotophiles.wordpress.com/2013/01/31/tbilisi-academy-of-arts/>> (accessed May 6, 2023).

16 For example the pavilion of the Central Asian Department at the All-Russia Industrial and Art Exhibition (*Vserossiiskaia khudozhestvenno-promyshlennaia vystavka*) of 1896 in Nizhny Novgorod, planned by the architect Aleksandr Pomerantsev (1849–1918).

17 See for instance the former Karaite Kenesa (*Karaimskaia Kenasa*) at 7 Yaroslaviv Val Street in Kiev, designed between 1898 and 1902 by Władysław Horodecki (1863–1930).



14 Karaites Kenesa in Kiev, postcard, early twentieth century.

and motifs alluding to Mamlūk, Ottoman, and Timurid architecture can be found in St. Petersburg, the neo-Moorish style appears to have been the strongest trend in the city’s Orientalizing architecture. After the rediscovery of the Islamic heritage on the Iberian Peninsula, the Alhambra in Granada – or rather the decoration of its medieval Nasrid palaces – was most frequently taken as the model for Orientalizing design in the Russian capital. This book therefore deals specifically with Alhambriзм in St. Petersburg, allowing a detailed investigation of this single issue. The quote at the beginning of this book from the Russian architects Rakhau and Kol’man, who studied the Alhambra in the nineteenth century, underlines how the neo-Moorish style was only one of several concurrent varieties of architectural historicism. Hopefully the extensive materials discussed in this book will offer a profound understanding of the Russian version of this stylistic variation.

1.1 Terminology

Discussion of Orientalizing architecture is complicated by ambiguous terminology. Some terms have been re-evaluated since their introduction, or their semantics have changed and they are still subject to debate.¹⁸ It is therefore necessary to comment on the nomenclature employed here.

Due to the diffuse meaning of the word “Orient”, which denotes a vaguely defined and heterogeneous geographical and cultural area, and as a construct implies constantly shifting concepts that have oscillated between admiration, assimilation, and rejection over the past centuries,¹⁹ the terms “Orientalizing architecture” and “Orientalist architecture” are applied differently in art-historical scholarship. Some researchers use them in a broad sense to describe the architectural exoticism of buildings that recall models alien to local (mostly Western European) traditions, such as the architecture of Asia and Africa; ancient Egyptian, Chinese, or Japanese art and architecture; and the architecture of the Islamic world. Some scholars exclude from this broad scope, for example, references to ancient Egyptian art, while others limit their meaning more specifically to buildings and interiors that allude to the Islamic world by evoking Ottoman, Mamlūk, Persian, Timurid, and Mogul architecture, or the Islamic architecture of al-Andalus. Since this study concerns only the adoption of Islamic art and architecture, the term “Orientalizing architecture” is used here as a generic term in the latter sense. “Orientalizing architectural styles” serves as an alternative umbrella term summarizing the various tendencies of such adoption. Expressions such as “Orientalist architecture” and “architectural Orientalism” are not used here, given the range of associations they trigger and their possible derogatory semantics, although since the publication of Edward Said’s *Orientalism* in 1978 some of his theses have been refuted and the notion of Orientalism may once again appear more neutral, especially in relation to the arts.²⁰ Use of the term “Orient” on

18 See Depelchin 2012; McSweeney 2015b, 47. Davy Depelchin argues that the ambiguous nomenclature used to describe Orientalizing architecture may have led to its marginalization.

19 See for example Sievernich/Budde 1989.

20 In his seminal text for the field of postcolonial studies, Said

its own in this book appears only where it implies the concepts connected to it in the nineteenth century. To avoid misunderstanding, it is important to stress that all other terms discussed here are applied as art-historical descriptors in the context of this study and have no religious implications. Apart from taking its inspiration from Islamic art, St. Petersburg's Orientalizing architecture has in most cases no direct relation to Islam: it was not built by or for Muslims and had no religious function; it simply met the need for manifold forms of artistic expression during the period of historicism in the nineteenth century.²¹

Analogous to other revivalist styles, the notions of a "Moorish Revival" and "Moorish style" (in Russian *mavritanskii stil'*) were coined in the nineteenth century to describe Orientalizing architecture and decoration as discussed in this book; however, both are problematic from today's perspective. First, both terms were and often still are imprecisely applied to Orientalizing architecture in general, although "Moorish" in the strict sense refers to the Islamic cultures of Northwest Africa and the former al-Andalus.²² Second, the term "Moorish style" has also been used in relation to medieval Islamic architecture, which makes it ambiguous.²³ Third, the term "Moorish" is disputed as being too simplistic, which is why it is largely avoided today.²⁴ However, it is still used as a definition in connection with nineteenth-century architecture inspired by the Islamic aesthetics of al-Andalus. Thus, for lack of a better alternative, and as an established concept, the term "Moorish Revival" is therefore employed for the purposes of this study, while "Moorish" appears usually with the prefix "neo-" (e. g. neo-Moorish style, neo-Moorish architecture, neo-Moorish interiors etc.) to clarify its designation as a (mostly) Western fashion of recent centuries. Only where a historic name of an interior has survived and is still in use today is it adopted unchanged, rendered in quotation marks when first mentioned (e. g. "Moorish Living Room").

As the Alhambra in Granada – or, more specifically, the decoration of its medieval Nasrid palaces – most frequently served as the model for neo-Moorish designs in St. Petersburg, these can also be described as "Alhambresque" and "neo-Nasrid", while "Alhambriismo" serves as a generic term for this phenomenon in architecture and the decorative arts.²⁵

1.2 State of Research

About a hundred years after the fashion for Orientalizing architecture reached its peak, art historians' interest in it began to grow. Patrick Conner's *Oriental Architecture in the West* (1979), on architecture inspired by Mughal and Chinese building styles, marked the beginning of a series of publications, exhibitions, and confer-

enced an important and ongoing debate by critiquing the emphasis on the binary relationship between the Orient and the Occident in European and American scholarship about the Eastern World. According to Said, this way of thinking was a source of false and discriminatory cultural representation and narratives influenced by the psychological need to create a difference based on inequality that served as self-affirmation for the European-Atlantic identity and justified colonial and imperial ambitions (see Said 1978). For a critical rereading of the debate on Orientalism, see for example Said 1985, 1994; Sprinker 1992; Halliday 1993; MacKenzie 1995; Osterhammel 1997; Lütt et al. 1998; Macfie 2000; Polaschegg 2005, 28–38; Schnepel et al. 2011. Said does not comment on Russian Orientalism, and his study was not translated into Russian until 2006. However, discussion of his theories in relation to the Balkans and Eastern Europe began before the 2006 translation into Russian, and has gathered pace since the 1990s; see for example Wolff 1994; Bakiç-Hayden 1995; Todorova 1997; Kissel 2012; Born/Lemmen 2014. Interestingly, Edward Said's critique strongly concurs with an earlier entry on Orientology (*Vostokovedenie*) in the 1951 second edition of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia (*Boľshaia sovetskaja entsiklopediia*); see Schimmelpenninck van der Oye 2010a, 6. The debate on a possible specific Russian Orientalism and Russia's relation to the East intensified around 2000; see for example Brower/Lazzerini 1997; Sahni 1997; Bassin 1999; Jobst 2000, 2008, 2013, 2014; Khalid 2000; Knight 2000a, 2000b, 2002; Todorova 2000; Campbell 2002; Schimmelpenninck van der Oye 2002, 2010a, 2010b, 2014; Tolz 2005, 2011; Osterhammel 2008; Meaux 2010; Stemberger 2010; Bobrovnikov/Miri 2016.

21 An exception is the St. Petersburg Mosque, built in the first quarter of the twentieth century; see Aminov 1992; Kirikov 1995; Lisovskii/Isachenko 1999, 238–249; Kirikov 2004, 347–351; Vitiazeva 1997; Tagirdzhanova 2014; Kaufmann 2020.

22 See for example Danby 1995; Ivannikov 1999.

23 See for example Kugler 1848, 416 ("*der maurische Styl*").

24 See Anderson/Rosser-Owen 2007, xxxiv. Today the terms "Ibero-Islamic" or *andalusi* are used when speaking of the Islamic architecture of al-Andalus.

25 The term "Alhambresque" was already in use in the nineteenth century to describe designs derived from the ornamental decorations of the Alhambra, while "Alhambriismo" was introduced in musicology before Pedro Navascués applied it to architecture in the 1970s. Tonja Raquejo coined the term "Alhambresco", and

ences on this subject.²⁶ Some researchers deal with Orientalizing architecture in works on architectural exoticism, such as Nadine Beauthac and Francois-Xavier Bouchart in *L'Europe exotique* (1985), Stefan Koppelkamm in *Exotische Architekturen im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (1987), John MacKenzie in a chapter of his book *Orientalism. History, Theory and the Arts* (1995), Carlo Cresti in *Orientalismi nelle architetture d'Occidente* (1999), and Kerstin Bussmann in *Orientalisierende Architektur in Italien 1800–1940* (2012).²⁷ Other publications almost exclusively cover architecture inspired by Islamic models, for example Marie-Jeanne Dumont's *Paris arabesques. Architectures et décors arabes et orientalisants à Paris* (1988), and the conference proceedings *L'Orientalismo nell'architettura italiana tra Ottocento e Novecento* (1999), *L'Orient des architectes* (2006), *L'Orientalisme architectural entre imaginaires et savoirs* (2009) and *Orientalismo, arte y arquitectura entre Granada y Venecia* (2012).²⁸ Gerald Bernstein's *In Pursuit of the Exotic. Islamic Forms in Nineteenth Century American Architecture* (1968) appears to be the earliest study dedicated entirely to the reception of Islamic models in architecture, and addresses many issues that would be discussed again in later works such as Michael Darby's *The Islamic Perspective. An Aspect of British Architecture and Design in the Nineteenth Century* (1983), Hannelore Künzl's *Islamische Stilelemente im Synagogenbau des 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts* (1984), John Sweetman's *The Oriental Obsession. Islamic Inspiration in British and American Art and Architecture 1500–1920* (1988), Ludwig Marczoch's *Orientalismus in Europa vom 17.–19. Jahrhundert in der Architektur und Innenraumgestaltung* (1989), Rolf Senn's *Orientalisierende Baukunst in Berlin im 19. Jahrhundert* (1990), Miles Danby's *Moorish Style* (1995) and José Rodríguez Domingo's *La arquitectura 'neo-árabe' en España* (1997).²⁹ In his book *Purs décors? Arts de l'Islam, regards du XIXe siècle* (2007), Rémi Labrusse emphasizes the adoption of Islamic aesthetics in Western decorative arts, a subject that he later expands to other artistic genres and issues in *Islamophilies. L'Europe moderne et les arts de l'Islam* (2011).³⁰ Various articles and publications that deal specifically with the Moorish Revival and its protagonists are referred to throughout the present book. Of particular note among these are

the monograph *El palacio encantado. La Alhambra en el arte británico* (1990) by Tonia Raquejo, the chapter "Moorish Style" in Mariam Rosser-Owen's *Islamic Arts from Spain* (2010), and the exhibition catalogue *Owen Jones y la Alhambra* (2011).³¹

Diverse exhibitions and conferences were organized to promote international exchange between scholars as part of the research project *Mudejarismo and Moorish Revival in Europe*, led by Francine Giese at the University of Zurich between 2014 and 2019 and essentially dealing with the appropriation and reinterpretation of the Islamic heritage of al-Andalus in both the Middle Ages and the nineteenth century. Several publications have resulted from this project, including *Mythos Orient. Ein Berner Architekt in Kairo* (2015); *The Myth of the Orient. Architecture and Ornament in the Age of Orientalism* (2016); *A Fashionable Style. Carl von Diebitsch und das maurische Revival* (2017); *The Power of Symbols. The Alhambra in a Global Context* (2018); *Mudejarismo and Moorish Revival in Europe. The Photobook* (2019); *Der Orient in der Schweiz. Neo-islamische Architektur und Interieurs im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (2019); a special issue of the journal *Art in Translation* (2019); and *À l'orientale. Collecting, Displaying and Appropriating Islamic Art and Architecture in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (2020).³² The final results of the research project

the adjective "Alhambrist" (comparable to "Orientalist" or "exoticist") has been in use in past decades; see Navascués Palacio 1973; Raquejo [Grado] 1995.

26 See Conner 1979.

27 See Beauthac/Bouchart 1985; Koppelkamm 1987 (corresponds to the catalogue of the exhibition *Exotic Worlds – European Fantasies (Exotische Welten – Europäische Phantasien*, Stuttgart 1987)); MacKenzie 1995, 71–104; Cresti 1999; Bussmann 2012. For an introduction to the exotic in European art see Bandmann 1962.

28 See Dumont/Hammadi 1988; Giusti/Godoli 1999; Bertrand 2006; Oulebsir/Volait 2009; Calatrava/Zucconi 2012.

29 See Bernstein 1968; Darby 1983; Künzl 1984; Sweetman 1988; Marczoch 1989; Senn 1990; Danby 1995; Rodríguez Domingo 1997.

30 See Labrusse 2007, 2011.

31 See Raquejo Grado 1990; Rosser-Owen 2010, 108–145; Calatrava et al. 2011. Tonia Raquejo's book is based on her PhD dissertation *El arte árabe. Un aspecto de la visión romántica de España en la Inglaterra del siglo XIX*; see Raquejo Grado 1987.

32 See Giese et al. 2015; Giese/Varela Braga 2016, 2017a, 2018; Giese

are presented in *Mudejarismo and Moorish Revival in Europe* (2021), which includes a summary on Alhambrismo in St. Petersburg.³³

While the books mentioned above discuss numerous examples of Orientalizing architecture in Western Europe, examples from Eastern Europe are little known to English-, French-, and German-speaking researchers.³⁴ With regard to Russia, only Ludwig Marczoch can be credited for identifying several neo-Moorish examples in St. Petersburg and the “Turkish Bath” in Tsarskoe Selo (see Chapter 2.2), and for pointing out that Orientalizing architecture was also popular under the Tsarist Empire.³⁵ The book *A Taste for the Exotic. Orientalist Interiors* (2011) again features the Turkish Bath but includes not a single Russian example of neo-Moorish style.³⁶

Neither has the considerable phenomenon of Russian Alhambrismo received much attention in Russian scientific literature, although interest in Orientalizing architecture has increased significantly over the last two decades. Irina Andronova’s PhD dissertation *The Oriental Topic in Russian Interiors of the Second Half of the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries. An Attempt at Reconstruction (Vostochnaia tema v russkom inter’ere vtoroi poloviny XIX – nachala XX veka. Opyt rekonstruktsii, 2008)* is the most comprehensive work on the topic to date.³⁷ It gives a broad overview of architectural exoticism and its extent, covering a large number of interiors that allude both to the Islamic world and to China and Japan. Andronova distinguishes various tendencies among the former, and attributes the neo-Moorish style to the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Having only worked on interiors from the middle of that century, she does not take earlier examples of Russian Alhambrismo from the 1830s and 1840s into account. Likewise, the decisive connection between the training of architects and the neo-Moorish style is not considered.

Besides Andronova’s dissertation, single chapters of exhibition catalogues on historicism are dedicated to the Orient in Russian architecture and the applied arts.³⁸ Several papers resulting from the fifteenth Tsarskoe Selo Conference *Russia and the East. Worldviews in Contact and Conflict (Rossiia – Vostok. Kontakt i konflikt mirovozzrenii, 2009)* outline subjects such as the psychological components of Orientalizing interiors, neo-Moorish

style in Moscow and St. Petersburg, and “Turkish style” (i. e. architecture alluding to Ottoman aesthetics) in Russia,³⁹ while other contributions discuss single Orientalizing interiors, for example the Oriental Living Room in the Iusupov Palace mentioned earlier.⁴⁰ A few other Russian publications and articles deal with the Turkish style in general or a specific example of it.⁴¹ Finally, some studies of buildings with an Orientalizing interior provide historical images and other useful information;⁴² among these, Lev Lur’e and Aleksandr Kobak’s publications stand out. They present the results of their investigations into the history of the Muruzi House (Cat. nos 17–19), a building with neo-Moorish elements in its façades and interiors, but also convincingly outline the setting in which the building was commissioned.⁴³ In 2003, Sergei

2019; Giese et al. 2019; Giese et al. 2020. Research on Orientalizing architecture has recently also been conducted in Austria; see Maximilian Hartmuth’s project *Islamic Architecture and Orientalizing Style in Habsburg Bosnia, 1878–1918* (University of Vienna, 2018–2023).

33 See Giese 2021a; Kaufmann 2021a.

34 In contrast to architecture, Russian Orientalist painting has received more attention in Western Europe; see for example Schimmelpenninck van der Oye 2009; Wageman/Kouteinikova 2010.

35 See Marczoch 1989, 177–178, 183, 193–194, 196–197, 221–222.

36 See Gaillard/Walter 2011, 207–209. The Turkish Bath is the Russian Orientalizing building that is best known in Western Europe. Stefan Koppelkamm notes it as the only example, while Haydn Williams in his book *Turquerie. An Eighteenth-Century European Fantasy* addresses additional “Turkish” examples in Russia; see Koppelkamm 1987, 125; Williams 2014, 133–135, 204, 206–207. Haydn Williams (2014, 204) and Anna McSweeney (2015b, 45, 62) both mention a single neo-Moorish interior in Russia, the Bathroom at the Winter Palace (Cat. no. 4). However, these publications do not provide detailed information on the Russian buildings and interiors.

37 See Andronova 2008.

38 See Biriukova et al. 1996, 134–159; Guseva et al. 2014, 154–187; Guseva 2015, 84–97.

39 See Ioutsen 2009; Korobova 2009; Spashchanskii 2009. Andrei Spashchanskii’s text is based on his earlier article in the journal *Gatchina over the Centuries (Gatchina skvoz’ stoletii)*, 2004, 3.

40 See Toeseva 2009; Trubinov 2009; Zaitseva 2009.

41 See Stepanenko 2002; Grigorovich 2003; Toeseva 2014; Sosnina et al. 2017.

42 See for example Khmel’nitskaia 2007; Kukuruzova/Utochkina 2010; Krechmer 2012; Korneva et al. 2015; Trubinov 2018, 350–364.

43 See Kobak/Lur’e 1988a, 1988b. These articles from the journal

Iashchenko, then a high-school student, was the first to point out a possible connection between the neo-Moorish style in St. Petersburg and an extensive collection of models and plaster casts of the Alhambra at the Scientific-research Museum of the Russian Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg (NIMRAKh), a topic that Iulia Arutiunian addresses in a 2012 article.⁴⁴ A non-Russian-speaking audience first learned about this collection, documented in 2018 thanks to a collaboration between the University of Zurich and the NIMRAKh, at the conference *The Power of Symbols. The Alhambra in a Global Context* at the University of Zurich in 2016 (see Chapter 4.3).⁴⁵

The language barrier may have made it difficult to embed Russian Alhambrismo in the wider context. The existing literature is inaccessible to non-Russian speakers, which is probably the main reason why Russian Alhambrismo is almost unknown in Western Europe. Conversely, the abundant English, French, Spanish, and German publications on the Moorish Revival, its protagonists, and the importance of the Alhambra as an icon of Islamic architecture are almost ignored in Russian research. However, while Russian Alhambrismo may have its specifics, it should by no means be examined in isolation from concurrent developments in Western Europe. This study considers Russian Alhambrismo an important complementary field of research in the discussion on the Moorish Revival in Europe and aims to fill the gaps in knowledge and research on both sides. It addresses the history of Alhambrismo in St. Petersburg's architecture and its interconnection with the training of architects at the Imperial Academy of Arts, and provides the first extensive catalogue of St Petersburg's neo-Moorish-style buildings and interiors.

1.3 Research Questions and Methodology

This book retraces the history of architectural Alhambrismo in St. Petersburg through case studies by identifying decisive events and protagonists and contextualizing the phenomenon in art and cultural history. To this end four topics were explored, which are briefly presented below.

Collecting and Documenting

As a basis for the study, an inventory of projected, existing, and lost Orientalizing buildings and interiors in St. Petersburg and its surroundings was compiled. Scientific literature and nineteenth-century periodicals were consulted, archives researched, and information exchanged with Russian architectural historians. The result of this extensive work was a list of about seventy objects for which as much basic data as possible (location, year of construction, architect, builder-owner, images, etc.) was collected. The stylistics of each of these objects were then analyzed to determine which included neo-Moorish decoration and were therefore relevant to this study. Architecture in the neo-Moorish style always deviates from its Islamic models. While typical elements of the Alhambra were repeatedly copied, they were always remodeled, applied in different contexts, or mixed with elements alien to Spain's Islamic architectural heritage.

Archives, museums, and libraries were consulted on the most important of the approximately forty objects remaining, most of which are interiors. Visual (e. g. plans, drawings, photographs) and textual (e. g. contracts, correspondence, bills, restoration reports, and descriptions in architectural journals) sources and secondary literature were gathered, but there is limited information about many neo-Moorish designs and their creators. However, the preserved objects are valuable in their own right, making on-site examination and documentation essential to their evaluation. While gaining access to the interiors of private and semi-private buildings was time-consuming, it was always rewarding.

All the neo-Moorish interiors and buildings in St. Petersburg are briefly described in the catalogue at the end of this book, providing a comprehensive overview that can serve as a basis for further research.

Decorative Art (Dekorativnoe iskusstvo) were later supplemented with further details and published as monographs; see Kobak/Lurè 1990, 1996.

⁴⁴ See Iashchenko 2003; Arutiunian 2012.

⁴⁵ See Kondratenko/Savinova 2018; Kaufmann et al. 2021.

Analysis, Comparison, and Identification

As mentioned, the Alhambra was the main aesthetic model for the interiors and buildings discussed in this study. This connection between the palaces in Granada and Alhambresque architecture in St. Petersburg has not been analyzed to date. While publications on Orientalizing architecture may include references to a particular building or architectural style that is said to have served as the model for a neo-Moorish design, or to a book from which ornaments are said to have been copied, detailed comparisons are lacking, and such references remain vague and often do not stand up to scrutiny. The fact that several architectural styles may have served as models and that Orientalizing architecture may thus display a stylistic pluralism is also frequently neglected. A good example of this pluralism is the St. Petersburg Grand Choral Synagogue (Cat. no. 29), which today is usually considered a typical neo-Moorish example in Russia, although it incorporates clear references to Mamlūk and Persian architecture, as recorded several decades ago in American and German literature.⁴⁶

A major ambition of the *Mudejarismo and Moorish Revival in Europe* research project was to draw a differentiated picture of Orientalizing architecture by examining styles and ornaments in detail in order to identify architectural quotations and their filiation as precisely as possible, thus providing a solid basis for their further consideration. The present study, which examines and evaluates Russian neo-Moorish interiors as significant primary art-historical sources for the first time, also follows this approach.

In line with the global turn in cultural studies⁴⁷ – that is, interest in a theoretical perspective that relates to interconnected global dimensions – such investigations require an engagement with Islamic architecture not only on the Iberian Peninsula but also in North Africa and the Middle East. A detailed knowledge of the Alhambra's Nasrid palaces is necessary to compare their decorations with those of the Alhambresque interiors of St. Petersburg and identify artistic congruences and divergences. A visit to Granada was of great value in this respect.

Retracing the Knowledge Transfer Processes

Underlying this study is the premise that a transfer of knowledge had to take place before architects in Russia could adopt Nasrid architectural elements and ornaments. While little information about the Alhambra was available when the first Alhambresque interior was created in St. Petersburg, such knowledge increased greatly in the following decades. This book analyzes the mechanisms of cultural transfer that facilitated the artistic reception of Nasrid art in a city several thousand kilometers northeast of the former Emirate of Granada, and identifies the media and mediators of such processes. Transfer media include drawings, illustrated volumes, plaster casts, architectural models, and texts (e. g. written reports and descriptions by contemporaries); while authors, builder-owners, and architects, for example, could act as mediators. It retraces the transfer routes, which may have been direct or indirect depending on the media and the number of protagonists involved. The concept of cultural transfer (*transferts culturels*), formulated by Michel Espagne and Michael Werner in the 1980s for literary and cultural studies and further developed for other disciplines in the past decades, was useful here as it allows, for example, the drawing of conclusions about the architects' working methods.⁴⁸

Contextualization and Evaluation

The phenomenon of Alhambrismo in St. Petersburg was reflected in its historical, cultural, and sociopolitical contexts. The analysis of transfer processes, for example, revealed connections to the reception of the Alhambra in Western Europe, which, for the Russian case, required an understanding of how the Alhambra was perceived in the Tsarist Empire. Its depiction in contemporary literature, newspapers, and travelogues, for example, is therefore discussed, and the handful of nineteenth-century comments on Alhambrismo in St. Petersburg's architecture are cited and evaluated.

46 See Wischnitzer 1964, 209; Künzl 1984, 421–423.

47 See Elkins 2007; Casid/D'Souza 2014; Allerstorfer/Leisch-Kiesel 2017; Darian-Smith/McCarty 2017; and especially Shalem 2012.

48 See Espagne/Werner 1985, 1987; Gerogiorgakis et al. 2011.

A field of research that emerged with the academic establishment of postcolonial studies has proven central to the investigation of Orientalizing architecture. While not the focus of this art-historical work, it is nevertheless briefly touched upon. The Tsarist Empire, as a multi-ethnic empire lying between Europe and Asia,⁴⁹ adjacent to the Ottoman Empire, and a colonial power in the Caucasus and Central Asia, was in direct contact with cultures considered Oriental, which raises the question of whether this had an impact on Orientalizing architecture in St. Petersburg, and whether this architecture was politically or aesthetically motivated; what messages it conveyed; what function it had; and why, despite the examples of Islamic architecture in Russia, architects in St. Petersburg strongly related to the architecture of the former al-Andalus.

1.4 Structure of the Book

Apart from the catalogue, the four thematic fields described above are not reflected in the structure of the book but are interlinked in the chapters.

Some scientific publications on Orientalizing architecture are structured thematically, for example based on architectural typology, while others are organized geographically or in loose chronological order. The latter style was chosen for this study, which argues that there was no specific artistic development of neo-Moorish style in Russia but rather different phases of reception of the Alhambra connected to several transfer processes that were fundamental to the adoption of Nasrid architecture in St. Petersburg.

Since architectural Alhambrismo cannot be considered in complete isolation from similar Orientalizing-architecture phenomena in St. Petersburg, Chapter 2 is dedicated to the Turkish style, which was a precursor of and premised the neo-Moorish style. An introduction to and discussion of the major buildings and interiors that include allusions to Ottoman architecture is followed by an outline of the differences and similarities between the Turkish style and the neo-Moorish style in St. Petersburg.

Chapters 3 to 5 form the core of this book. They deal with three phases of Alhambrismo, each identifiable by

the decisive priorities and shifts in the reception of the Alhambra in Russia and different transfers of knowledge about Nasrid architecture to Russia, which were reflected to some extent in Russian architecture. These three chapters are structured similarly, with an introduction to relevant cultural and political events followed by representative case studies and a brief conclusion. Chapter 3 is dedicated to the earliest neo-Moorish examples and thus to the advent of architectural Alhambrismo in St. Petersburg. Chapter 4 is concerned not only with St. Petersburg but also with Granada, as it discusses a phase when Russian architects studied the Alhambra intensively on-site. Of central importance to the research, this aspect, which has hardly been addressed by art historians so far, is brought into focus here. Due to the abundance of unique material available it forms the main part of this extensive chapter. Chapter 5 covers the phase in which the neo-Moorish style became part of the Russian architects' artistic canon. Since a large number of Alhambresque interiors were created during this period, only the most significant can be considered as case studies.

Chapter 6 summarizes the results of this research and addresses some concluding questions, such as why the conquest of Central Asia had so little effect on architectural production in the capital. It is followed by the annex, the catalogue, the bibliography, the image credits, and an index of persons mentioned in this book.

⁴⁹ See Bassin 1991; Kappeler 1992.

2. Turkish Style as a Precursor of Neo-Moorish Style

Motifs from Islamic architecture were introduced into Russian architecture in the second half of the eighteenth century with the erection of garden pavilions in the “Turkish style” (*turetskii stil*). These small buildings inspired by Ottoman architecture were a late manifestation within the broader phenomenon known as “turquerie”.¹ Like chinoiserie – European reflections and adoptions of Chinese and East Asian culture, which had their heyday in the Rococo period – turquerie arose from an interest in Ottoman culture.² This interest had increased after the Ottoman Turks conquered Constantinople (1453) and expanded their empire to three continents, making the Ottomans a power with considerable geopolitical influence by the seventeenth century. Since most Western artists did not have first-hand knowledge of the Ottoman Empire, costume books and the accounts of travelers, diplomats, and merchants, sometimes including engravings, were the first, albeit unreliable, sources to inspire artistic works on the topic. After the Ottomans’ defeat at the Battle of Vienna (1683) and the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699), knowledge of Ottoman culture grew through closer diplomatic and commercial relations, and as the borders of the Ottoman Empire were pushed back and the threat from the Eastern world was subsided, the idea of an enchanted Orient took shape in Europe. Literary works such as *The Arabian Nights (Mille et une nuits*, 1704), a collection of Middle Eastern tales translated by the Orientalist Antoine Galland (1646–1715), were, although not of Ottoman origin, subsumed into the realm of turquerie.³

Turkish motifs appeared across all art disciplines in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the idea of turquerie was very present in, for example, literature, ballet, and opera.⁴ In painting, the Ottoman world was a theme in itself, while Western fashions such as dressing

à la Turque, consuming coffee and Turkish tobacco, and furnishing interiors with Ottoman fabrics, carpets, and weapons were captured in countless portraits. In the applied arts, tapestries and wallpapers were designed with Turkish motifs, and Ottoman artifacts, especially textiles and ceramics, were imitated; moreover Turks themselves were a popular motif for porcelain statuettes and pipe bowls. These objects and materials were frequently used in the eighteenth century to decorate Turkish “cabinets”⁵ and boudoirs, identified as such by nothing more than crescents, stars, turbans, or horsetail standards. Turquerie also appeared in the Orientalizing tents and pavilions that began to appear in the grounds of French residences and landscaped English gardens. These architectural follies were intended to compensate for the cer-

- 1 The term “turquerie” has been used since the eighteenth century to describe the manifold repercussions of the Ottoman world in the arts of Western countries, especially during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; see Avcioglu 2011; Williams 2014. In 2017, an exhibition on turquerie in the Tsarist Empire opened in Moscow; see Sosnina et al. 2017.
- 2 Chinese culture had become known in Europe mainly through the mediation of the Jesuits, who had gained considerable influence at the Chinese Imperial Court in the seventeenth century. Subsequently, Chinese motifs were reshaped in Europe for works *à la Chinoise*. As Günter Bandmann (1962, 342–344) points out, these appropriations did not necessarily imply an aesthetic appreciation of Chinese art from the outset, but could serve as, for example, a symbol of faraway lands in a baroque Gesamtkunstwerk.
- 3 See Williams 2014, 8.
- 4 The terms “Turkish” and “Ottoman” are used synonymously here, as they were in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For more on terminology, see Chapter 2.5.
- 5 The Russian term *kabinet* was commonly used in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for a private room in the manner of a study, which is why it is adopted here. As a counterpart to the boudoir, cabinets were usually inhabited by men.



15 G. Sergeev, Turkish Tent and Chesme Obelisk at Gatchina, 1798, ink and watercolor on paper, 62.5 × 48 cm. GMZ Gatchina, GDM-8-XI.

emonial monotony of court customs and were part of a renewal of European architecture that had begun in the Rococo period.⁶

There is little evidence of turquerie in eighteenth-century Russian architecture. An interior from the early 1770s at the Gatchina Palace, about 45 km south of St. Petersburg, is called a “Turkish Divan” (*turetskii divan*) in a 1796 inventory.⁷ In its most recent sense, the term “divan” described the seating arrangement of mattresses and cushions that was widespread in the Ottoman Empire. Usually placed against the walls on the floor or on raised frames, these couches were a key element of Orientalizing interiors in Europe. The Turkish Divan at Gatchina was an elevated sitting compartment that could be enclosed with curtains within a larger room next to the baths. It was equipped with some furniture and a Turkish pipe, and was used for relaxation after bathing.⁸

A tent erected in the park at Gatchina in the 1780s soon became known as the “Turkish Tent” (*turetskaia palatka*), although it had little in common with an Ottoman tent apart from the oval ground plan and supporting poles common to Ottoman tents (Fig. 15).⁹ Variations on the Turkish tent were a frequent theme of architectural turquerie and recalled the tents set up for the Ottoman sultans and their camps during military cam-

6 See Senn 1990, 14.

7 See Spashchanskii 2009, 165. Antonio Rinaldi (1710–1794) was the architect of the Gatchina Palace (1766–1781).

8 See Spashchanskii 2009, 164–165.

9 Henri François Gabriel Viollier (1752–1839), an architect and painter with Swiss roots, was responsible for the tent’s design; see Spashchanskii 2009, 166–167. The tent is depicted in the *Atlas of the Gatchina Palace (Atlas Gatchinskogo dvortsia)* (1798), GMZ Gatchina, GDM-33-XI.



16 Unknown author, Turkish Kiosk in the Catherine Park in Tsarskoe Selo, ca. 1911, photograph. TsGAKFFD SPB, G-17280.



17 Interior of the Turkish Kiosk in the Catherine Park in Tsarskoe Selo, Il'ia Neiolov, ca. 1780.

paigns.¹⁰ Certain Ottoman tents were richly decorated and made of precious materials, which is why they were considered trophies at the Battle of Vienna (1683), for example, or were later presented as diplomatic gifts by Turkish ambassadors.¹¹

The Turkish Divan and the Turkish Tent at Gatchina, both of which no longer exist, could also have referred to the biography of the estate's owner, Count Grigorii Orlov (1734–1783), a favorite of Catherine II. During the Russo-Turkish War of 1768–1774, he led a peace delegation to Focșani (now Romania). Although the talks failed, this direct contact with Ottoman diplomats and the Ottoman world may have been the motivation behind Orlov's later commissions. Like the Turkish Divan, the Turkish Tent at Gatchina was mainly used for recreation and entertainment, as evidenced by the swings set up beside it (Fig. 15).

2.1 The Turkish Kiosk in Tsarskoe Selo

Architect Il'ia Neiolov, ca. 1780

Around 1780 the “Turkish Kiosk” (*turetskii kiosk*) was erected in the residential park of Tsarskoe Selo (now Pushkin) near St. Petersburg. This structure has not survived either, but has fortunately been recorded in drawings and photographs (Fig. 16).¹² Built between 1779 and 1782 on an artificial island in one of the Upper Ponds of the newly-created landscape garden to plans by the architect Il'ia Neiolov (1745–1793), the small building is clearly reminiscent of an imperial Ottoman pavilion (*köşk*).¹³ Designed for leisure, such kiosks in Turkey were

10 Goodfrey Goodwin (1971, 339) emphasizes the importance of tents and kiosks in the daily life of Ottoman sultans. On Turkish tents in Western Europe see Marczoch 1989, 142–159; Williams 2014, 115–120.

11 An Ottoman tent is on display at the State Hermitage Museum's Staraya Derevnya Restoration and Storage Center in St. Petersburg. It was given to Catherine II in 1793 by the Ottoman delegation sent to St. Petersburg by Sultan Selim III after the Russo-Turkish War (1787–1792).

12 Already in poor condition at the beginning of the twentieth century, the wooden pavilion burned down during World War II.

13 The term “kiosk” is borrowed from the French *kiosque*, but originates from the Middle Persian *kūšk*, denoting a pavilion or gar-

18 I. Bugreev, *Visite du Mr. le Prince Repnin, Ambassadeur Extraordinaire de Sa Majesté Impériale de toutes les Russies, chez le Grand Visir le 28 Nov. 1775 à Constantinople*, plate in Iakov Bulgakov, *Rossiiskoe posol'stvo v Konstantinopol', 1776 goda*, St. Petersburg: Imp. Akad. nauk, 1777.



located in parks and on riverbanks, and many were single-storied, with a single room furnished with divans and a fountain and openings on some or all sides. Larger kiosks might have another floor, several rooms, a portico with columns, and surrounding arcades.¹⁴

The Turkish Kiosk in Tsarskoe Selo had a cruciform floor plan and tall windows on all sides that could be closed with window shutters that folded upwards or downwards.¹⁵ Additional windows with glazing bars arranged in a wheel design creating the illusion of circular windows decorated the façades, and the roof was cantilevered with rounded eaves.

A photograph and description in a travel guide from the beginning of the twentieth century confirm that the interior of the Turkish Kiosk was decorated with paintings of landscapes depicting areas surrounding Istanbul, and had twelve columns imitating the trunks of palm trees, decorated at the top with leaves cut from sheets of tin (Fig. 17).¹⁶ According to the description, the kiosk may have been modeled on a particular example in Istanbul, yet no exactly comparable Ottoman pavilion is known. An engraving from 1777, for example, shows a vaguely similar interior with tall windows and an additional row of windows above them (Fig. 18).¹⁷ The floor plan of the

structure in Tsarskoe Selo corresponded to that of Ottoman kiosks, and the roof resembled, for example, that of the fountain kiosk of Sultan Ahmed III (1729) at the Topkapi Palace's Imperial Gate (*Bâb-i Hümayûn*).¹⁸ Niches like those next to the entrance to the Turkish Kiosk also exist in a number of Ottoman kiosks.¹⁹

den house. The word was spelled this way in Ottoman Turkish and *köşk* in modern Turkish. For a brief cultural history of the kiosk from its beginnings to its present function, see Naumann 2003, 12–53. Along with the tent and the mosque, the kiosk was one of the types of building most frequently adopted from Ottoman culture; see Avcioglu 2011, 45–135; Williams 2014, 133–137.

14 Several larger kiosks dating from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries are located in, for example, the grounds of the Topkapi Palace in Istanbul.

15 See GMZ Tsarskoe Selo, ED-3841-XIII (floor plan from 1835).

16 See Vil'chkovskii 1911, 172.

17 Pictorial representations of Ottoman kiosks were rare at the time, and by 1880 only one Russian artist had brought back drawings from Istanbul; see Kaparulina 2009, 201. Since only a few kiosks from the eighteenth and earlier centuries have survived, there is very little information about buildings that could have served as a model for the Tsarskoe Selo kiosk.

18 On the fountains (*sebils*) and fountain-kiosks (*mevdâns*) of eighteenth-century Istanbul, see Hamadeh 2002.

19 As for example in the Baghdad Kiosk (after 1638) in the Fourth Courtyard of the Topkapi Palace.

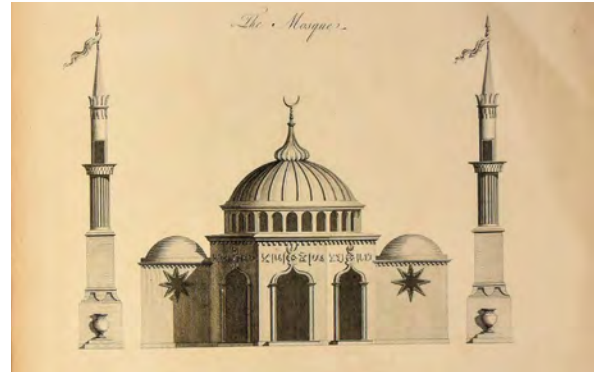


19 Mosque on the estate of Zakhar Chernyshiov in Iaropolets, completed ca. 1774/75.

Empress Catherine II (1729–1796, r. 1762–1796) commissioned the Turkish Kiosk for her favorite summer residence. Originally equipped with divans and carpets, the pavilion was conceived as a place where she could relax, spend time with guests, and put on concerts from time to time. It was built to commemorate the latest Russo-Turkish War (1768–1774), from which Russia had emerged victorious. Perhaps Catherine II had decided to build a pavilion alluding to Ottoman architecture after her visit in 1775 to the estate of her former War Minister, Count Zakhar Chernyshiov (1722–1784), in Iaropolets, who had a mosque-like pavilion with two free-standing minarets built following the 1774 Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, which became an important landmark in the park of his estate (Fig. 19).²⁰ It was an exact copy of William Chambers’s Mosque (1761) at Kew Gardens in London, the first leisure pavilion in a European landscape garden inspired by a Muslim house of prayer.²¹

Chambers depicts the Mosque in his *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Perspective Views of the Gardens and Buildings at Kew in Surry* (1863), in which he explains his intentions when designing the building and its components, for instance the minarets (Fig. 20):

In my design of [the minarets], as well as in the whole exterior decoration of the building itself, I have endeavoured to collect the principal particularities of the Turkish Architecture. With regard to the interior decoration, I have not so scrupulously adhered to their style in building, but have aimed at some thing uncommon, and at the same time pleasing.²²



20 William Chambers, *The Mosque* (detail), from idem., *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Perspective Views of the Gardens and Buildings at Kew in Surry* [sic], London: Haberkorn, 1763, pl. 27.

Clearly, Chambers’s Mosque does not imitate any particular model. By choosing distinctive motifs such as domes, minarets, a crescent, and Arabic script in combination with a fantastic interior, the architect instead created an idealized and appealing emblem of Ottoman architecture and the Ottoman Empire or, even more generally, of the Muslim Orient.

Chambers’s publication shows and describes the buildings and pavilions at Kew Gardens, many of which he designed himself around 1760, including a sham ruin, several small buildings reminiscent of Greek and Roman temples, and a Chinese pagoda.²³ The book, which was included in Catherine II’s library, has strongly stimulated the inclusion of historical and geographical references in

20 The pavilion in Iaropolets (Volokolamskii district, about 140 km west of Moscow) no longer exists. Zakhar Chernyshiov is believed to have commissioned it in 1774, after the Ottoman Empire signed the peace treaty of Küçük Kaynarca. On Iaropolets, see Chekmariov 2000; on the small buildings in Russian parks whose exotic architecture points to different regions of the world, see Evangulova 1999.

21 The Mosque was commissioned by Augusta, Dowager Princess of Wales (1719–1772). On buildings modeled on mosques in residential parks see Koppelkamm 1987, 28–39; Marczoich 1989, 160–171; Avcioglu 2011, 139–186; Williams 2014, 120–132.

22 Chambers 1763, 6.

23 The publication does include works by other architects, such as the “Alhambra” (which, however, did not yet resemble the Nasrid Alhambra), the “House of Confucius”, and a pavilion reminiscent of a Gothic cathedral, all by Johann Heinrich Müntz (1727–1798), who had worked at Kew both before and with Chambers. On Müntz’s Alhambra for Kew Gardens see also Galera Andreu 2018, 261–262.

garden design in Europe, making a walk in many parks a journey through time and continents.

Chambers describes the most striking element of the interior of his Mosque: the “palm-trees modeled in stucco, painted and varnished with various hues of green, in imitation of nature”, in each corner of the room.²⁴ As evidenced by the photograph from Tsarskoe Selo, the motif of palm trees, an architectural caprice that had nothing in common with Ottoman architecture, was also a key element in Catherine II’s Turkish Kiosk (Fig. 17).²⁵ Il’ia Neiolov adopted the same principle as Chambers in designing his interior, and must therefore have known of either his or a similar French publication with illustrations and proposals for kiosks and pavilions in exotic styles. He may also have seen such pavilions in situ during a study trip following his training at the Imperial Academy of Arts, for example at Kew itself or in Lunéville (Lorraine), where the architect Emmanuel Héré (1705–1763) built kiosks alluding to Ottoman architecture as early as the 1730s.²⁶ Héré later published his designs for the former Polish King Stanisław Leszczyński’s (1677–1766) residences in two volumes.²⁷

As several scholars have pointed out, such architecture was not only exotic and picturesque but also had an inherent associative value that illustrated a superordinate vision.²⁸ Besides providing entertainment and delight, it could be “charged with a more symbolic role, to emphasize status and magnificence”.²⁹ This is undoubtedly true of the Turkish Kiosk in Tsarskoe Selo, one of a series of monuments in the park commissioned by the Empress to honor the army’s achievements in the Russo-Turkish War of 1768–1774.³⁰ The most famous of these is the Chesme Column (*Chesmenskaia kolonna*, 1774–1778), designed by Antonio Rinaldi, which commemorates three naval battles, in particular that at Chesme (1770). Twenty-five meters high, the column is decorated with ships’ hulls and crowned by an eagle with a crescent moon in its claws. This clearly imperialist iconology was meant to symbolize Russia’s superiority over the Ottomans. Although the Turkish Kiosk in Tsarskoe Selo does not commemorate a battle, having been built following the Russian ambassador Nikolai Repnin’s (1734–1801) successful peace negotiations in Istanbul, it probably had political connotations nonetheless, as during her reign,

Catherine II went on to expand her empire into Muslim territory in the Caucasus and as far as the Black Sea. While the mosque-like pavilion in Iaropolets was based entirely on the idealized design of a Scottish architect, the Turkish Kiosk in Tsarskoe Selo was probably the first Russian building to imitate Ottoman architecture fairly closely, testifying to the increased contact between the Ottoman and Tsarist Empires during Catherine II’s reign. However, both the Turkish Kiosk and the Mosque in Iaropolets also mirrored a fashion in architecture and garden design originating in England and France.

2.2 The Turkish Bath in Tsarskoe Selo

Architect Ippolito Monighetti, 1850–1852

After the Russo-Turkish War of 1787–1792 ended with the Jassy Treaty, which recognized, among other territorial changes, Russia’s annexation of the Crimea, Catherine II planned the construction of another Orientalizing pavilion in the Tsarskoe Selo park. However, Giacomo Quarenghi’s (1744–1817) “Turkish Bath” project was not realized.³¹ Several decades later, after Russia’s victory in the Russo-Turkish War of 1828/29, Tsar Nicholas I

24 Chambers 1763, 6.

25 On this motif see also Williams 2014, 125.

26 Neiolov traveled around Western Europe in the early 1770s; see Kondakov 1915, 364.

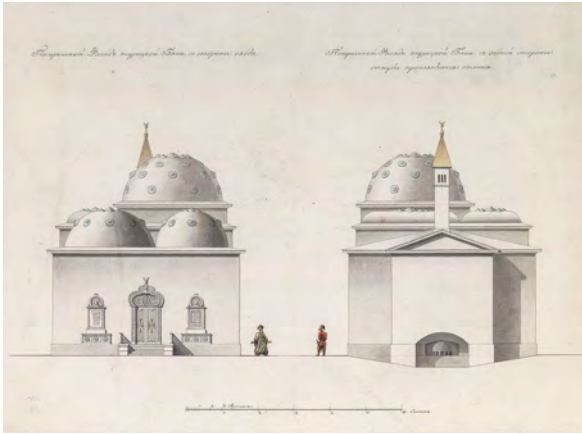
27 See Héré 1853, 1856. On the kiosks in Lunéville and their role in Leszczyński’s self-representation, see Avcioglu 2003, 2011.

28 See Bandmann 1962, 345.

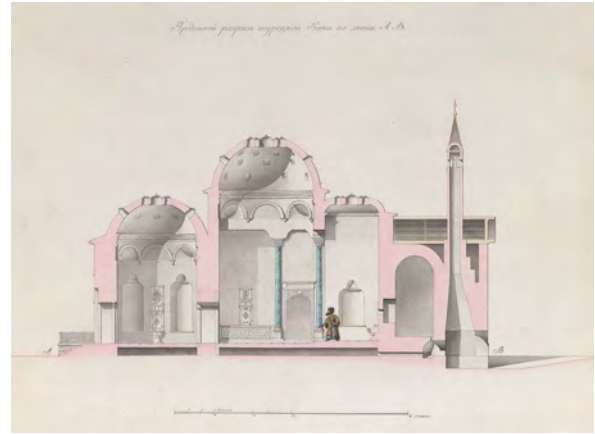
29 Williams 2014, 7; see also Avcioglu 2003. Some scholars consider architecture to be the most political of all arts, since it represents a theoretically transformed ideology and shapes the real space of the political public; see Hipp/Seidl 1996, 7. This does not fully apply to the garden architecture discussed here, as it was only accessible to selected visitors.

30 According to one of her letters to the philosopher Voltaire (1694–1778), Catherine II planned to erect a monument after each successful military action and expected that her park would soon resemble a “plaything” (*igrushechka*); see Sosnina et al. 2017, 42–43, 61, 77–81. On the artistic world of Catherine II’s park in Tsarskoe Selo, see Shvidkovsky 2003.

31 See Piliavskii 1981, 168, 170; Stepanenko 2002, 18–19. For an example of a so-called Turkish bath built in St. Petersburg in the eighteenth century, but known only from written sources, see Sosnina et al. 2017, 43.



21 Carlo Rossi, Project for the Turkish Bath in Tsarskoe Selo, early 1830s, ink and watercolor on paper, 47 × 64.6 cm. NIMRAKh, A-530.



22 Carlo Rossi, Project for the Turkish Bath in Tsarskoe Selo, section, early 1830s, ink and watercolor on paper, 47 × 64.6 cm. NIMRAKh, A-531.

(1796–1855) took up his grandmother’s idea. He rejected a design by Carlo Rossi (1775–1849) in the early 1830s (Figs 21 and 22) and the pavilion was finally built only in 1850–1852, based on the 1848 design of the much younger architect Ippolito Monighetti (1819–1878).³²

The Turkish Bath (*turretskaia bania*) was erected on a spit of land that extended into the large pond in the park, now named *Ekaterinskii park* after Catherine II.³³ It consists of rectangular and polygonal volumes covered by two gilded domes.³⁴ The filigree minaret gives the building the look of a mosque (Fig. 23). Since the pavilion has been described before,³⁵ only a few particularities of its architectural conception are highlighted below.

By 1850, more pictorial material on Ottoman architecture was available than at the time when the Turkish Kiosk was built. Moreover, since the end of the eighteenth century, the number of Russian architects and artists traveling to the Ottoman Empire, and Istanbul in particular, had increased significantly.³⁶ Among the most famous of the artists were Prince Grigorii Gagarin (1810–1893), Karl Briullov (1799–1852), Mikhail Skotti (1814–1861), and Ivan Aivazovskii (1817–1900), who visited the city between 1834 and 1845 and emphasized the picturesque aspects of Istanbul in romantic manner. Their sketches and drawings, executed in situ, showing views of the city and the Bosphorus, monuments, scenes from daily life, and portraits were later used as the basis for further paintings.

An album with fifty-five lithographs based on studies by the librarian Carl Sayger (life data unknown) and the artist Joseph Desarnod (1788–1840) after the Russian army captured Adrianople (now Edirne) shows a somewhat different approach (Fig. 24).³⁷ Commissioned by Nicholas I and published in the early 1830s, the album contains city views and battle scenes, depictions of an-

³² Two preliminary drawings by Monighetti can be found in the GNIMA (R I-5276) and in a private collection in the United States (see Getty images, 600045687). Ippolito Monighetti (the son of a merchant from Biasca, Switzerland, who had emigrated to Russia) trained as an architect at the Imperial Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg. Appointed court architect to Tsarskoe Selo in 1848, the Turkish Bath was one of his first constructions in this position. He became a well-known in Russia as an architect building in the various styles of the time. For Monighetti’s biography see Somov 1879, 33–36; Kondakov 1915, 361; Listov 1976; Martinoli 1998. On the extensive building activity of architects from Italian-speaking Switzerland in Russia in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, including Carlo Rossi, see Crivelli 1966; Navone 2007.

³³ On the Turkish Bath in Tsarskoe Selo see Listov 1976, 16–20; Stepanenko 2002; Punin 2011, 57–58; Toeseva 2014.

³⁴ The Turkish Bath was badly damaged during World War II. Between 2006 and 2009 it was extensively secured and restored. Large parts of the interior decoration have been reconstructed using historical photographs and the analysis of remaining fragments.

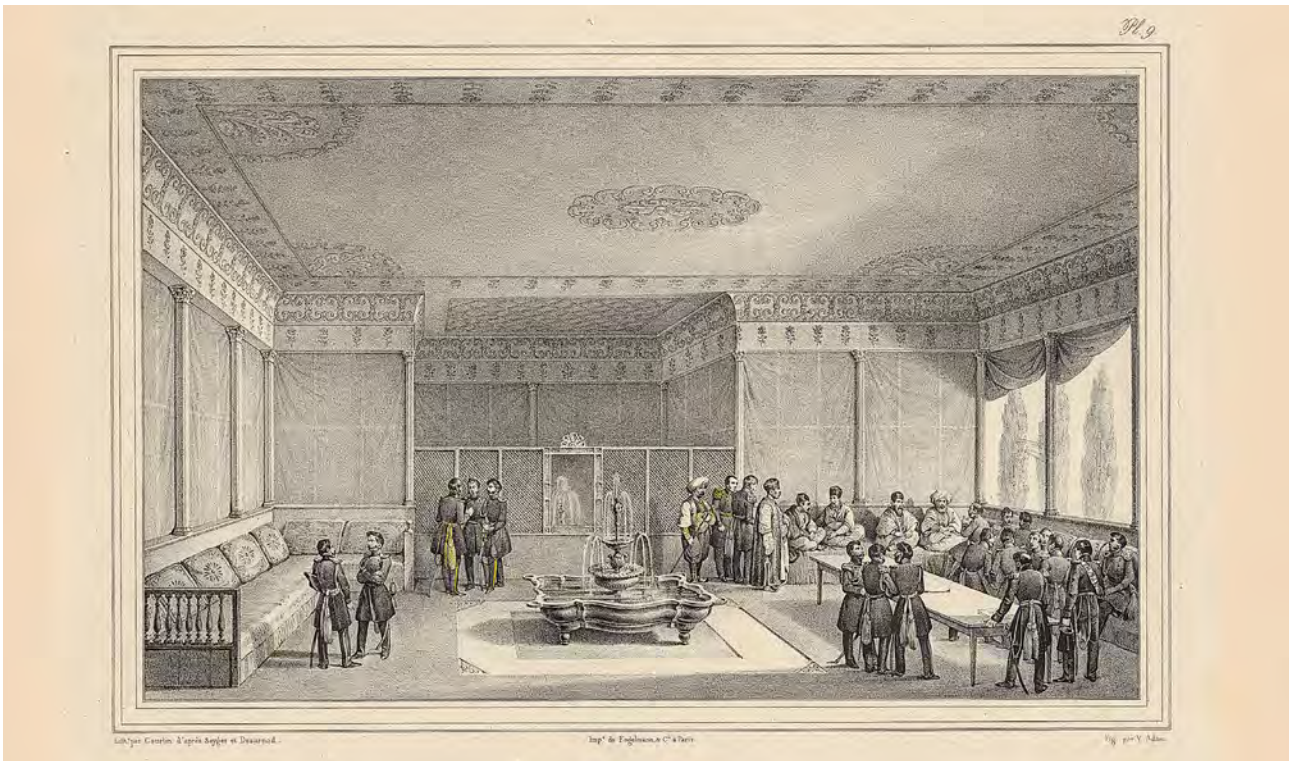
³⁵ See Giese et al. 2016, 1336–1339.

³⁶ See Kaparulina 2009; Sosnina et al. 2017, 87, 96–106, 112–123.

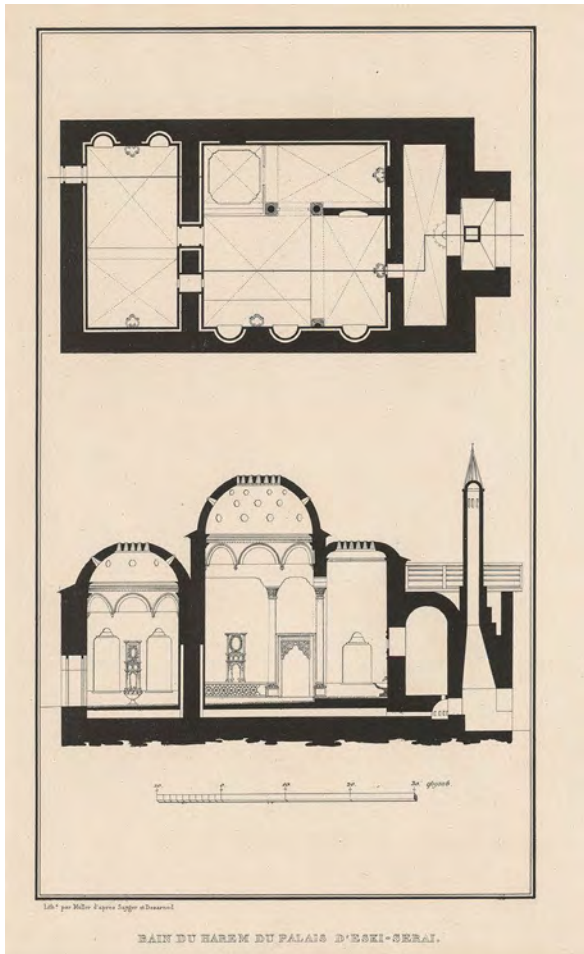
³⁷ See Sayger/Desarnod 1832.



23 Turkish Bath in the Catherine Park, Tsarskoe Selo, Ippolito Monighetti, 1850–1852.



24 Joseph Desarnod, *Echange des ratifications au Quartier-général à Eski-Serai*, from Carl Sayger and Auguste Joseph Desarnod, *Album d'un voyage en Turquie fait par ordre de sa majesté l'empereur Nicolas 1er en 1829 et 1830*, Paris: Engelmann et Cie., 1832, pl. 9.



25 Joseph Desarnod, *Porte du grand escalier & Bain du Harem du Palais d'Eski-Serai* (detail), from Carl Sayger and Auguste Joseph Desarnod, *Album d'un voyage en Turquie fait par ordre de sa majesté l'empereur Nicolas 1er en 1829 et 1830*, Paris: Engelmann et Cie., 1832, pl. 36.

tiquities in Thrace, and detailed floor plans and elevations of Islamic buildings such as the Selimiye Mosque (*Selimiye Camii*, sixteenth century) and Bayezid Mosque (*Beyazıt Camii*, fifteenth century), both in Edirne. Carlo Rossi used one of these plates as a model for his Turkish Bath project, which may have been rejected precisely because it was a rigid copy of the longitudinal section of a bath at the New Imperial Palace (*Saray-ı Cedid-i Amire*) in Edirne (Fig. 25).³⁸ Other books, mainly in English and French, circulated in Europe with descriptions of the Ottoman Empire, some of which were magnificently illustrated. Among them, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor Illustrated* (1838), by the Irish clergyman Robert Walsh (1772–1852) and the



26 Thomas Allom, *The Bath*, plate from Robert Walsh and Thomas Allom, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor Illustrated in a Series of Drawings from Nature by Thomas Allom*, Vol. 1, London/Paris: Fisher Son & Co., 1838.

British architect Thomas Allom (1804–1872), attracted much attention (Fig. 26).³⁹

Monighetti did not necessarily need such material to design the Turkish Bath in Tsarskoe Selo. He considered himself a specialist at this task, as he knew Islamic architecture first-hand from a trip to Turkey and another to Egypt following the completion of his studies.⁴⁰ The overall composition and structure of the façades of the Turkish Bath are indeed reminiscent of Ottoman architecture. The entrance door, set in a recess with *muqarnas* (a three-dimensional Islamic architectural motif often compared to stalactites), the shape of the main dome, and the minaret with an implied balcony and pointed conical roof topped with a crescent, likewise evoke Ottoman architecture (Figs 23 and 27). Monighetti, how-

38 See Stepanenko 2002, 19.

39 See Walsh/Allom 1838a; Walsh/Allom 1838b. Robert Walsh lived and worked in Istanbul for several years as a chaplain to the British Embassy. For his description of Turkish baths see Walsh/Allom 1838a, 35–37, 78–79.

40 Between 1839 and 1847, Ippolito Monighetti traveled through Italy, France, Greece, Egypt, and Turkey, first at his own expense and then on a scholarship from the Imperial Academy of Arts. In Rome, his watercolors attracted the attention of Tsar Nicholas I, resulting in his employment in Tsarskoe Selo upon his return to Russia; see Listov 1976, 11–13; Stepanenko 2002, 19.



27 Turkish Bath, Tsarskoe Selo, entrance, Ippolito Monighetti, 1850–1852.

ever, modified the typology of Ottoman baths and decorations. The vegetal ornaments framing the muqarnas recall Nasrid decorations such as those in the Alhambra, the splendid ornamentation of the dome differs from the plain Ottoman domes, and Monighetti must have known that Ottoman baths had no minarets. Mixing various architectural styles with his own inventions, the architect chose the motif of the minaret, probably a reinterpretation of a chimney at the baths in Edirne and in Rossi's project, as a distinctive symbol of Islamic architecture, thereby creating, as Patrick Conner unflatteringly puts it, an "architectural mongrel".⁴¹

The structure, which is called a bath but resembles a mosque, had neither a hygienic nor a religious function.⁴² Nevertheless, the ground plan follows the typology of a bathhouse (*ḥammām*) with a vestibule, a dress-

ing room, a washing room, and a main hall with a marble basin, illuminated by circular openings in the overlying dome (Figs 28–30). The interior decoration is even more eclectic than that of the façades, and includes references to the Islamic architecture of al-Andalus and *Mudéjar*⁴³ architecture.⁴⁴ Of interest is the integration of various marble *spolia* – repurposed elements from older buildings – including capitals, lintels and, most importantly, eight fountains, most of which were taken from the New Imperial Palace in Edirne and probably determined the building's theme (Fig. 28).⁴⁵ The original positions of the two fountains that are now in the washing room of the Turkish Bath are shown in the section of a bath at the Palace in Edirne mentioned earlier (Fig. 25).⁴⁶ Monighetti integrated these spolia by picking up their forms and ornaments in the design of the stuccowork and the painted decoration.⁴⁷ As a result, the spolia and the architecture present a convincing entity.

Archival material sheds light on the pavilion's furnishings: Monighetti bought a French Turkish-style car-

- 41 Conner 1979, 6. On the origin, evolution, and meanings of the minaret, see Bloom 1989.
- 42 While originally planned as a usable bath with a heating system, Nicholas I restricted the project to a summer pavilion without heating for financial reasons; see Toeseva 2014, 3.
- 43 In the discourse on Spanish nationalism and identity, the term *Mudéjar* was coined by José Amador de los Ríos in 1859 as a stylistic concept for the Christianized version of Ibero-Islamic architecture. Ever since then the term has been a subject of controversy; see Dodds et al. 2008, 323–329; Giese 2021b.
- 44 The columns, for example, have annulets similar to those on Nasrid columns but lack the matching capitals, and the painted decoration of the lower walls imitates *alicatados*. The pattern used in the lower walls of the main hall is typical of *Mudéjar* architecture and can be found, for example, in the part of the Royal Palace (*Alcázar*) of Seville that was built during the reign of Peter of Castile (1334–1369).
- 45 The spolia, for which a register exists, were stored in the Taurid Palace in St. Petersburg until 1851; see Toeseva 2014, 6, 13–16.
- 46 Irina Stepanenko (2002, 19) mentions this.
- 47 Monighetti apparently consulted Muḥammad 'Ayyād al-Ṭaṇṭāwī (1810–1861), an Egyptian philologist who taught Orientalists and diplomats Arabic at the University of St. Petersburg and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; see Ivannikov 1999, 196–197. Ṭaṇṭāwī probably translated the inscriptions on the spolia, which allowed the architect to place them in the appropriate area: for example a lintel with a benediction in the entrance area of the pavilion.



28 Turkish Bath, Tsarskoe Selo, dressing room with eighteenth-century Ottoman fountain, Ippolito Monighetti, 1850–1852.



29 Turkish Bath, Tsarskoe Selo, main hall with eighteenth-century Ottoman fountain, Ippolito Monighetti, 1850–1852.

pet in St. Petersburg, traveled to Moscow to buy Turkish artifacts including stools inlaid with mother-of-pearl, porcelain, gilded copper bowls and dishes, a water pipe, and smoking vessels, and had much of the furniture, including a divan, made in St. Petersburg to his own design.⁴⁸ Several metal objects such as vases and a clock were produced by the St. Petersburg Electroforming, Casting and Mechanical Plant (*Gal'vanoplasticheskoe zavedenie gertsoga Maksimiliana Leichtenbergskogo*) founded by Maximilian de Beauharnais (1817–1852), Duke of Leuchtenberg, a son-in-law of Nicholas I.⁴⁹ Similar so-called Alhambra Vases had been designed earlier by Monighetti's former teacher Aleksandr Briullov in 1838/39 (Fig. 59). For the gilded bronze clock, Monighetti adopted the shape of the Ottoman fountain in the apse of the octagonal main hall of the Turkish Bath in Tsarskoe Selo (Fig. 29).

Unlike most of the monuments built by Catherine II, the Turkish Bath did not have a commemorative inscrip-

tion, as it was primarily intended for the tsar's pleasure.⁵⁰ Nevertheless it can also be read as a statement of confidence in Russia's power in the run-up to the Crimean War of 1853–1856, which began in the same year that the furnishing of the Turkish Bath was completed. The appropriation of the vocabulary of Islamic architecture and the integration of trophies or spolia added an extra dimension to the building that embodied Russia's military supremacy over the Ottomans. Although most visitors remain unaware of this, the spolia recall a series of acts

⁴⁸ See Toeseva 2014, 7–9.

⁴⁹ See for example GMZ Tsarskoe Selo, ED-663-IV and ED-661-IV. On bronze objects of art in the collection of the GMZ Tsarskoe Selo, see Serpinskaia 2009.

⁵⁰ Monighetti's Turkish Bath was built in the romanticist tradition of older buildings in the park, such as the "Tower Ruin" (*Bashnia-ruina*, 1771–1773) by the architect Iurii Fel'ten (1730–1801), built in memory of the Russo-Turkish War of 1768–1774; see Lis-tov 1976, 19–21.



30 Turkish Bath, Tsarskoe Selo, dome of main hall, Ippolito Monighetti, 1850–1852.

of vandalism during the Russian occupation of 1829 that deprived the New Imperial Palace in Edirne of many of its treasures.⁵¹

While there is no evidence of other comparable pavilions in St. Petersburg, to complete this discussion of the setting from which the neo-Moorish style originated and evolved, two important Turkish-style interiors that were created almost simultaneously with the Turkish Bath are examined below.

2.3 The Turkish Cabinet at the Marble Palace

Architect Aleksandr Briullov, 1848–1850

Before the Marble Palace (*Mramornyi dvorets*) at 5/1 Millionnaya Street in St. Petersburg became the residence of the Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich (1827–1892), it was renovated by order of his father, Nicholas I.⁵² In 1844

the architect Aleksandr Briullov (1798–1877), who had worked for the Tsar’s family before, was entrusted with this extensive task, as part of which he redesigned one of the numerous rooms as a “Turkish Cabinet” (*turetskii kabinet*).⁵³ The project, confirmed by the Tsar in 1848, was realized by 1849, when Konstantin Nikolaevich moved into the Palace with his wife, the Grand Duchess Aleksandra Iosifovna (born Princess Alexandra of Saxe-Altenburg, 1830–1911), but the furnishing was not

51 The palace in Edirne was severely damaged in 1829 and was finally destroyed in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877/78, when a nearby ammunition depot was blown up as Russian forces approached.

52 The Marble Palace was built in the second half of the eighteenth century by the architect Antonio Rinaldi for Count Grigorii Orlov, who, however, died before the completion. For the history of the palace see Pavlova/Matveev 1996; Trubinov 2018.

53 The designation “Turkish Cabinet” is used on Briullov’s sketches, see for example RGIA, f. 485, op. 2, d. 102. On the



31 Studio Carl Bulla, Southeastern corner of the Turkish Cabinet at the Marble Palace, ca. 1904, photograph. TsGAKFFD SPB, E4965.

completed until 1850.⁵⁴ Archival material, several sketches by Briullov, and a few photographs from around 1900 testify to this interior, which no longer exists (Fig. 31).⁵⁵

Photographs of the Turkish Cabinet show that the walls were richly decorated with painted imitation marble and ornamentation using architectural and floral motifs. A shelf divided the walls horizontally, and both the upper and lower parts carried inscriptions in Arabic script. In the lower part these were aphorisms in gilded letters cut from metal. A fireplace, a mirror with a fountain, a chandelier, curtains, tassels and cushions, divans, a coffee table and stools, and artifacts such as vases, dishes, and saddlery completed the interior.⁵⁶ An important curiosity, however, is not captured in these photographs: a circle on the floor indicates the location of a

removable porcelain fountain with a marble basin, drafted by Briullov and missing today (Fig. 31).⁵⁷

Aleksandr Briullov designed most of the furniture himself. Interestingly, he was in contact with his colleague and former student Ippolito Monighetti, who was working on the Turkish Bath in Tsarskoe Selo at the time, and bought an Oriental cloth from him with which to upholster the divan but eventually used another fabric made in Moscow to his own design.⁵⁸

As Iurii Trubinov convincingly argues, there are two probable reasons why the Turkish Cabinet was created in the Marble Palace. First, the presence of artifacts from the Islamic world evidently awoke a desire to display them in an appropriate setting.⁵⁹ Objects such as carpets, garments, fabrics, tableware, pipes, weapons, and horse harnesses had arrived in Russia as diplomatic gifts, souvenirs, and trophies.⁶⁰ Grand Duke Konstantin Niko-

Turkish Cabinet see Pavlova/Matveev 1996, 99–101, and the publications of Iurii Trubinov (2009; 2018, 350–364), who has evaluated many sources at the RGIA and the NIMRAKh. Irina Andronova (2008, 112) mistakenly attributes the Turkish Cabinet to the architect Anton Dzhorguli (1857–after 1917), who redesigned some of the rooms on the first floor of the palace between 1884 and 1886.

54 See RGIA, f. 485, op. 2, d. 82 and Trubinov 2009, 206–207. The room was not originally designed in an Orientalizing style; see Trubinov 2018, 355.

55 In 1907, Konstantin Nikolaevich's son Konstantin Konstantinovich (1858–1915) passed the Turkish Cabinet and the adjacent rooms on to his son Gavriil (1887–1955). Gavriil Konstantinovich had much of the furniture removed or replaced, including the fountains, decorative objects, and fireplace. After 1936 at the latest, when the Marble Palace was turned into a branch of the Central Lenin Museum, the remaining decoration was eliminated; see Trubinov 2009, 212–214. Only the stucco ceiling is preserved today.

56 For a detailed description of the interior and the craftsmen and artists involved, see Trubinov 2009, 204–210; Trubinov 2018, 358–362.

57 See Trubinov 2018, 357. On the manufacture of the various parts of this fountain see RGIA, f. 468, op. 35, d. 446.

58 See Trubinov 2009, 207–210.

59 See Trubinov 2009, 200–201. This practice had already emerged in Europe at the end of the sixteenth century, see Williams 2014, 139–140.

60 As the photographs of the Turkish Cabinet show, exotic objects of different origins could be mixed in such interiors; for example vases from various countries of the Far East seem to have been displayed in the cabinet.



32 Ivan Aivazovskii, *Turkish coffee house*, 1846, oil on canvas, 45.5 × 37 cm. Museum object from the collections of the Peterhof State Museum Reserve, PDMP 945-zh.

laevich certainly owned such pieces, having visited the Ottoman Empire himself. Since November 1844 the Grand Duke, a naval officer, had been enthusiastically preparing for a sea voyage that would take him to Istanbul to explore its port facilities. On spending sixteen days there in June 1845 he was deeply impressed by what he saw and recorded his impressions in a diary, a notebook, letters, and drawings.⁶¹ When not engaging in diplomatic receptions, an audience with Sultan Abdulmejid I, and a feast at his Beylerbey Palace, the Grand Duke had time to explore the city, its monuments, and its surroundings, and to familiarize himself with local customs. Both Konstantin Nikolaevich and the marine painter Ivan Aivazovskii, mentioned earlier, who was part of his entourage, were enraptured by their visit. The painter commented that he had never seen anything more spectacular in the entire Mediterranean, and on his return he executed several paintings based on sketches made in Istanbul (Fig. 32).⁶² The Grand Duke, for his part, studied Turkish and Persian seriously between 1848 and 1851, the period during which the Turkish Cabinet was installed.⁶³ It is therefore quite possible that his par-

ticular interest and the memories of his trip were a second reason for commissioning the Cabinet.⁶⁴

The interior was not a copy of any particular model in the Ottoman Empire, although the fireplace with the pointed hood mimics the shape of Ottoman fireplaces (Fig. 31). Neither the decoration of the ceiling nor the inlaid parquet had an Orientalizing design, and the wall paintings “in Asiatic taste”⁶⁵ were a free interpretation of Islamic decorations by the artist in charge.⁶⁶ During his stay in Istanbul, Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich had commented several times on the interiors he had seen there. He was surprised to see that some were not furnished at all, and was disappointed by the interiors of the Topkapi Palace because he did not find in them “the oriental opulence of which the poets sing”.⁶⁷ He was therefore able to judge for himself the extent to which Briullov’s stylized, charming, and comfortable interior resembled the examples in Istanbul.

The renovation of the Marble Palace was Aleksandr Briullov’s last major building commission. Although he had neither visited the Ottoman Empire nor come into contact with Islamic architecture, he used Orientalizing styles several times in his oeuvre. In his lifetime he was admired for his mastery of a variety of styles, and today he is considered one of St. Petersburg’s last Neoclassicists and one of the first Eclecticists to break new ground.⁶⁸ As Chapter 3 shows, he was a key figure in St. Petersburg’s Moorish Revival.

61 Anna Sidorova (2009) has evaluated these sources.

62 See Sidorova 2009, 120. Aivazovskii had accompanied the Grand Duke on previous trips, but the 1845 journey was particularly decisive. The painter visited Turkey seven more times and was awarded several medals for his work by the Ottoman sultans.

63 See Trubinov 2018, 355.

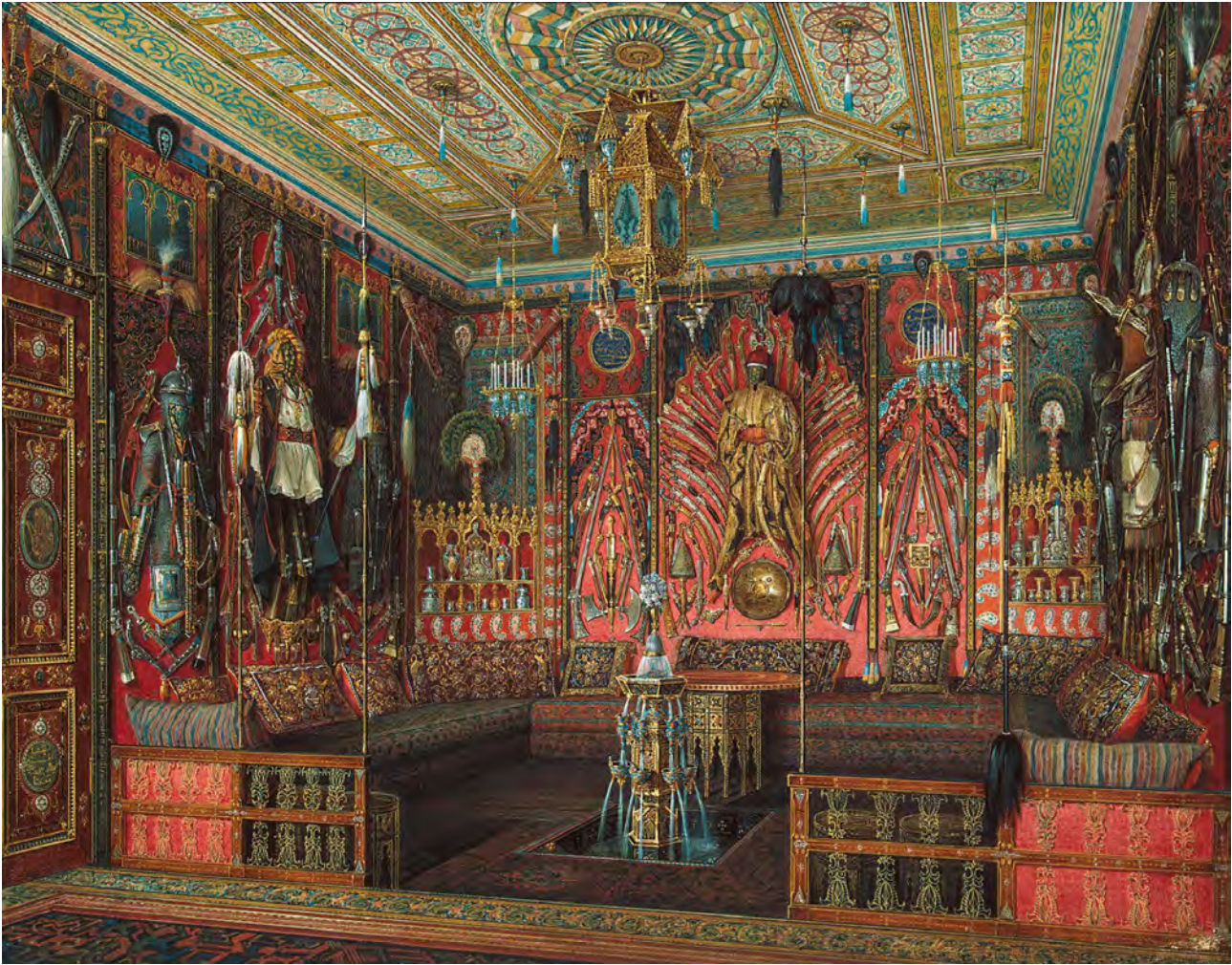
64 See Trubinov 2009, 202–203. The cabinet was located next to the three rooms that served as the Grand Duke’s library; see Pavlova/Matveev 1996, 90.

65 “[...] в Азиатском вкусе”, RGIA, f. 468, op. 35, d. 450, l. 82.

66 See Trubinov 2009, 205.

67 “[...] той восточной роскоши, которую воспевают поэты”, GARE, f. 649, op. 1, d. 462, l. 5. See also Sidorova 2009, 111–113.

68 See Punin 2011, 111.



33 Eduard Hau, Asiatic Room at the Catherine Palace in Tsarskoe Selo, 1853/54, watercolor on paper, 25.6 × 32.5 cm. GE, OR-26981.

2.4 The Asiatic Room at the Catherine Palace

Architect Heinrich von Mayr, 1852

Shortly after the completion of the Turkish Cabinet at the Marble Palace, the “Asiatic Room” (*Aziatskaia komnata*) was created in the Zubov Wing of the Catherine Palace in Tsarskoe Selo, then inhabited by the soon-to-be Tsar, Grand Duke Aleksandr Nikolaevich (1818–1881).⁶⁹ The furnishings removed from the Asiatic Room during World War II were not reinstalled after the war. What the interior – probably a smoking room – looked like is therefore known mainly from a watercolor by Eduard Hau (Éduard Gau, 1807–1887; Fig. 33).⁷⁰ The room was divided into two parts: an entrance area and a larger,

slightly sunken area enclosed by a balustrade within which divans were placed around a fountain. The walls were entirely covered with textiles, weapons, armor, and garments, while the ceiling, from which hung a striking chandelier and horsehair tassels, was colorfully painted. The wings of the doors, one of which can be seen on the left of the watercolor, had splendid decorative inlays.

The Asiatic Room, also referred to as the Turkish Room in historical sources, had long been attributed to

69 Built in 1779–1785 to a project by Iurii Fel'ten (Georg Friedrich Veldten, 1730–1801), this wing of the palace is named after Catherine II's last favorite, Platon Zubov (1767–1822).

70 For a 1917 photograph of the interior see Plaude 2013, 314–315.

Ippolito Monighetti.⁷¹ However, in 2009 Aleksandra Toeseva identified the actual author of the interior and discovered more valuable information about the Asiatic Room in the RGIA.⁷² The interior was refurnished “in oriental taste”⁷³ at the personal request of Grand Duke Aleksandr Nikolaevich, and although Monighetti oversaw the preparatory work (the removal of a fireplace, for example), it was the Bavarian artist Heinrich von Mayr (1806–1871) who was commissioned to design the room.⁷⁴ Having brought several craftsmen from Bavaria, he furnished most of the interior in the first half of 1852 and was generously rewarded for his work.⁷⁵ He had mirrors and lamps made in St. Petersburg to his own design⁷⁶ and acquired a large number of materials and objects such as Turkish fabrics, carpets, Egyptian pipes, ostrich eggs, and feather fans.⁷⁷ The inscriptions in Arabic script on round discs on the walls were selected and crafted according to the suggestions of the philologist Muḥammad ‘Ayyād al-Ṭanṭāwī.⁷⁸

Heinrich von Mayr, who had originally specialized in painting horses, was considered an expert on the Orient, as he had accompanied Duke Maximilian Joseph in Bavaria (1808–1888) on his journey to Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Malta in 1838/39, subsequently publishing two books of lithographs based on his sketches.⁷⁹ The Grand Duke’s contact with Mayr was established through his wife Maria Aleksandrovna (née Princess Marie of Hesse, 1824–1880), whose cousin Princess Ludovika of Bavaria (1808–1892) was married to Maximilian Joseph in Bavaria.⁸⁰

The Asiatic Room was created as a suitable setting in which to display a rich collection of mainly oriental weapons that had entered the arsenal of Tsarskoe Selo as diplomatic gifts and trophies.⁸¹ Although clearly an Orientalizing interior, its style is impossible to determine, as none of its architectural elements can be attributed to a particular style of Islamic architecture.⁸² Only the fountain basin set into the floor with beveled corners and mother-of-pearl and mosaic decoration is reminiscent of Egyptian fountains of the Mamlūk period, and testifies to the knowledge that Mayr acquired in Egypt.

The question of what prompted Grand Duke Aleksandr Nikolaevich to establish this interior cannot be answered conclusively. Did he have a particular preference for displaying items of Islamic craftsmanship, or

was the commission connected to nineteenth-century imperialism, as Haydn Williams assumes?⁸³ The borders of the Russian Empire with the Islamic world would soon be on Aleksandr Nikolaevich’s agenda. In the midst of the Crimean War (1853–1856), which ended in severe defeat for Russia, he took up his reign as Tsar Alexander II (r. 1855–1881), and until his death, he not only extended the Russian Empire into Central Asia but also engaged in another war with the Ottoman Empire. However, as is so often the case when an interior is being redesigned, it could be that visits to similar rooms, such as the Turkish Cabinet of his younger brother Konstantin Nikolaevich in the Marble Palace and those in the nearby Turkish Bath, triggered Aleksandr Nikolaevich’s desire for an Orientalizing interior of his own.

71 See for example Andronova 2008, 59.

72 See Toeseva 2009.

73 “[...] в восточном вкусе”, RGIA, f. 487, op. 5, d. 2044, l. 1.

74 See Toeseva 2009, 187–188. Ippolito Monighetti is often regarded as an architect who created a particularly large number of Orientalizing buildings and interiors in Russia (e. g. Stepanenko 2002, 22). This is true, even though in recent years he has been denied authorship of two of the most famous Orientalizing interiors: the Asiatic Room in Tsarskoe Selo, discussed here, and the Oriental Living Room at the Iusupov Palace (Cat. no. 9).

75 See Toeseva 2009, 192.

76 See Toeseva 2009, 189–190. For two Orientalizing vases from the Asiatic Room, made in 1851 at the Imperial Porcelain Factory, see Sosnina et al. 2017, 224. A set of seven chandeliers from the Asiatic Room is in the collection of the GMZ Tsarskoe Selo; see Grigorovich 2000. Natalia Grigorovich mistakes Mayr for an artist working at the St. Petersburg Electroforming, Casting and Mechanical Plant.

77 Transcriptions of the inventories are reproduced in the appendix of Toeseva’s article (2009, 196–200).

78 See Toeseva 2009, 192 and footnote 47 in this chapter.

79 See Mayr 1839; Mayr/Fischer 1846; Singer 1898, 149. For Duke Maximilian Joseph in Bavaria’s travelogue see Bayern 1839.

80 See Toeseva 2009, 188–189.

81 See also the early twentieth-century description of the interior by Sergei Viľchkovskii (1911, 138–139).

82 The term “Asiatic” used for the interior can be understood as synonymous with “Oriental” in the context of the time.

83 See Williams 2014, 206.



34 Topkapi Palace, Istanbul, baths of the Sultan and Queen Mother, 1580s, renovated ca. 1744.

2.5 Turkish Style and Neo-Moorish Style: Differences and Similarities

The Turkish kiosk, the earliest of the four examples described above, was built several decades before the appearance of the first Russian building with neo-Moorish elements. When the Turkish Bath, the Turkish Cabinet, and the Asiatic Room were created, there already were some neo-Moorish interiors, but the style's breakthrough was still to come. What was called "Turkish style" in nineteenth-century Russia was thus a precursor of neo-Moorish style and appeared synchronously with it, especially around 1850. It is therefore useful to briefly summarize some characteristics of these two phenomena, or styles, before turning to the main topic of this book: the Moorish Revival in St. Petersburg.

As mentioned in the introduction, one of the major concerns of this study is to identify the architectural traditions to which buildings, interiors, and architectural elements allude. Again, the terminology presents a challenge. Since the Turkish Kiosk and the Turkish Bath in Tsarskoe Selo clearly recall Ottoman building types and their architectural elements, it is not sufficient to simply describe them as "turquerie", as the term is also used, for example, for eighteenth-century Rococo interiors whose decoration incorporates only a few symbols representing

the Orient.⁸⁴ These designs did not result from an examination of Ottoman architecture, and this clearly distinguishes them from the examples discussed above. Catherine II's Turkish Kiosk can be described as a "pavilion reminiscent of an Ottoman kiosk", but it is difficult to find a shorter and more generic label for it. In her fundamental study of such buildings in France and Britain, Nebahat Avcioglu faces the same problem, using terms such as "Turkish-inspired architecture in the West", "Ottoman-inspired buildings", "the Turkish style of architecture", "practicing Ottoman architecture in the West", and, more problematically without context, "Ottoman/Turkish architecture in Europe".⁸⁵ While the term "Turkish style" is outdated, "Ottoman style" is neither common nor precisely defined, and thus causes scholarly discomfort. The prefix "neo", proposed in this study to precisely characterize the neo-Moorish style as a nineteenth-century phenomenon, should not be used here. In contrast to designs in the neo-Moorish style, the Turkish Kiosk and the Turkish Bath in Tsarskoe Selo did not reflect a historical style or the building tradition of a vanished dynasty. On the contrary, they spoke of a lively building culture, perhaps even of contemporary (or almost contemporary) architecture, as buildings similar to those in Tsarskoe Selo could still have been being built in eighteenth-century Istanbul.

The Turkish Bath, which Monighetti decorated with Ottoman spolia, is a particularly complicated case. Interestingly, the spolia include fountains from the mid-eighteenth century, examples of so-called "Ottoman Baroque" resembling those installed in a bath at the Topkapi Palace in Istanbul, which was otherwise sparsely decorated because, unlike the Russian pavilion, it was actually used for bathing (Fig. 34). Ottoman Baroque, an architectural style with ornamental vigor prevalent in the second half of the eighteenth century, resulted from an idiosyncratic adaptation of contemporary European forms.⁸⁶ Monighetti's design for the Turkish Bath in Tsar-

84 For such interiors see Williams 2014, 138–164.

85 Avcioglu 2011, 4–7.

86 The term "Ottoman Baroque" and its underlying historiographic concept are controversial; see Caygill 2011. The label was reclaimed a few years ago in a study on eighteenth-century architecture in Istanbul; see Rüstem 2019.



35 Studio Carl Bulla, Turkish Living Room at Vladimir Palace, ca. 1903, photograph. TsGAKFFD SPB, E5002.



36 The Moorish Boudoir at Vladimir Palace, from Gavriil Baranovskii, *Arkhitekturnaia éntsiklopediia vtoroi poloviny XIX veka*, Vol. 4, part I, Sankt Petersburg: Redaktsiia zhurnala Stroitel', 1904, 79.

skoe Selo, based on his direct knowledge of Ottoman architecture and testifying to increasing East-West contact with the integration of Ottoman fountains, embodies a dual process of intercultural borrowing and interaction. Unlike Russian neo-Moorish style, which resulted from a more linear cultural transfer, the Turkish Bath involved a more dynamic cultural exchange.⁸⁷ Therefore rather than subsuming all buildings such as the Turkish Bath under a single concept or term, it is necessary, especially in Russia, to examine and identify the characteristics of each design in detail.

While eighteenth-century turquerie was primarily a source of entertainment for aristocrats in France and Great Britain, its significance in countries such as Russia and Austria, which shared borders and were repeatedly at war with the Ottoman Empire, is likely to have been more substantial. As with the Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich's Turkish Cabinet in the Marble Palace, personal experience and direct contact with the Ottoman Empire may have shaped Russian careers and eventually sparked such commissions. This could also explain why buildings and interiors in the so-called Turkish style were still being created in Russia when their popularity had waned elsewhere.

Cultural encounters between Russia and the Ottoman Empire in times of both peace and war can make the appearance of Ottoman motifs in Russian architecture and interiors seem more plausible at first glance than that of motifs from the Islamic architecture of al-Andalus, and the popularity of the neo-Moorish style in Tsarist Russia may seem surprising. In retrospect, it is difficult to determine which of these styles was the more popular. Little is known of the number and appearance of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century buildings and interiors in St. Petersburg that related to Ottoman architecture. Because most interiors evoking the Ottoman Empire were decorated only with corresponding furniture and textiles and rarely contained fixed or lasting details, while the stucco decoration in rooms in the

87 On the many terms and concepts used to describe such processes and their results, see Burke 2009, 34–65. Burke's essay was first published in 2000 in a German translation entitled *Kultureller Austausch* (*Cultural Exchange*).

neo-Moorish style remained even when their furniture was replaced, more of the latter have been preserved. It is significant, for example, that in the Vladimir Palace, the neo-Moorish-style Boudoir (Cat. no. 15) has survived but the Turkish Living Room has not, although both interiors retain their fixed furnishings (Figs 35 and 36).⁸⁸ While there is no longer evidence of an Orientalizing design in the former Turkish Living Room, the Boudoir's elaborate stucco decorations and marble fireplace are clearly neo-Moorish in style; and while such neo-Moorish interiors were used for completely different purposes after the Russian Revolution of 1917, their stucco decoration surprisingly remained in many cases, prompting the later restoration of the interiors.

Another difference between the two stylistic phenomena lies in the number and accuracy of the available templates from which architects drew their designs. As discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, the widespread use of ornamental decoration was characteristic of the Nasrid palaces of the Alhambra in Granada, and such ornamentation was adopted in nineteenth-century neo-Moorish designs thanks to extensive publications on the Islamic architecture of al-Andalus and a rich collection of models and plaster casts of the Alhambra. Ornamentation was also important and widespread in Ottoman architecture, for instance in the form of ornate tiles and painted ceilings, but Russian architects were neither prepared to appropriate such elements nor had access to substantial publications on Ottoman architecture when they began designing Turkish kiosks and interiors. Although Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach describes Ottoman architecture in his *Entwurf einer historischen Architectur* (third book, 1721), and one of his plates showing a bathhouse probably served as the model for Chambers's Mosque at Kew, the book does not provide detailed depictions of Ottoman building ornamentation. It was not until 1839 and 1849 that the first two volumes of Charles Texier's *Description de l'Asie mineure* filled this gap.⁸⁹ The fact that more detailed information was available about the Alhambra than about Ottoman architecture around 1850 could explain both why various ornamental motifs borrowed from the Alhambra can be found in the Turkish Bath in Tsarskoe Selo, and why the design of the Turkish Cabinet in the Marble Palace was not so Turkish

after all. Such rooms were part of a genre rather than exact adoptions of Ottoman interiors, their design stemming from the architects' imagination rather than from Ottoman models. Comparable interiors, although more modestly furnished and often realized without architectural intervention, had been common in middle-class apartments since the end of the eighteenth century (Fig. 37), mostly as men's smoking rooms. They appeared in particularly large numbers in the 1820s and 1830s during the time of the Caucasian War (1817–1864).⁹⁰ Mikhail Lermontov describes a comparable interior in his unfinished novel *Princess Ligovskaia*:

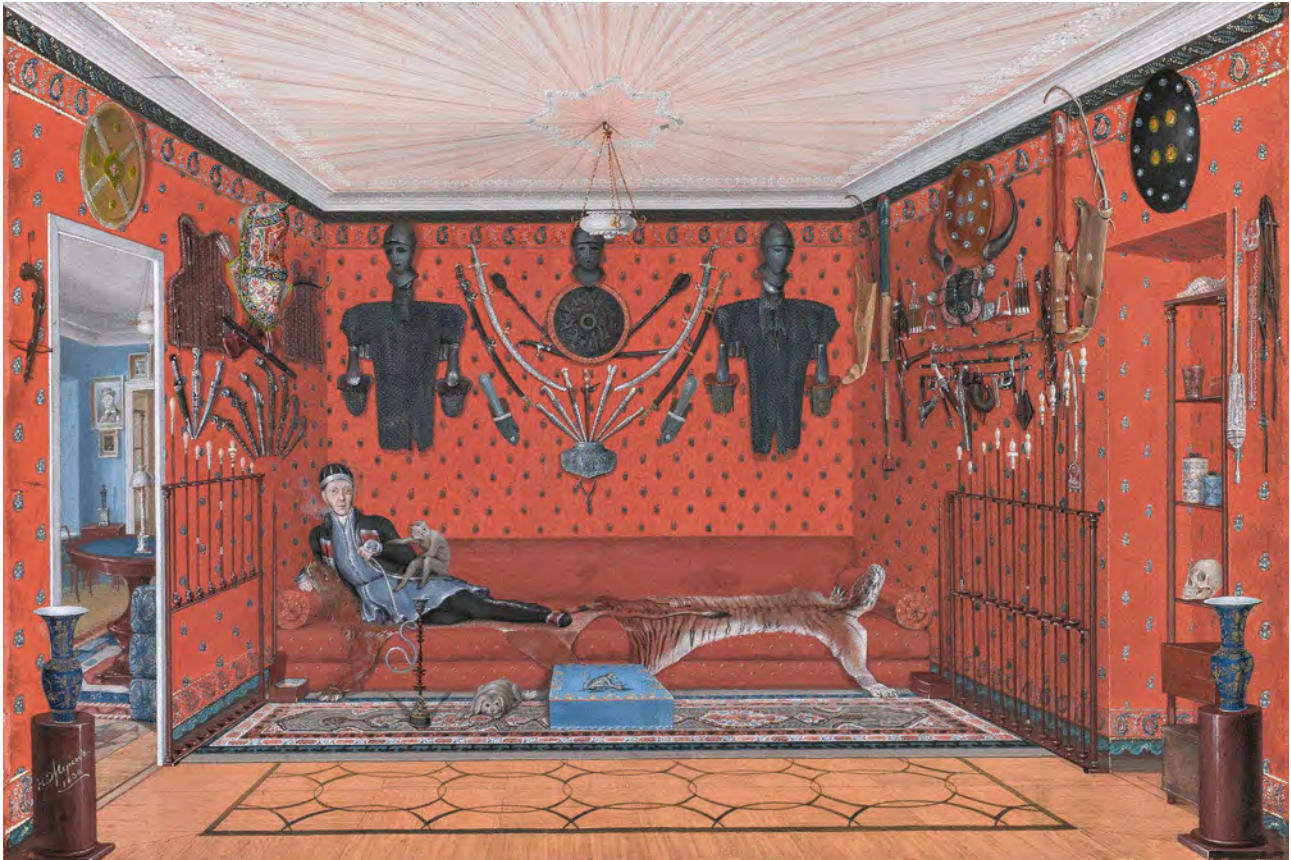
The [room was] both a study and living room. [...] The drapery on the windows was in the Chinese fashion. [...] A desk stood opposite the window. [...] The floor beneath it was covered with a wide carpet, patterned with colorful arabesques. Another Persian carpet hung on the wall [...], adorned with pistols, two Turkish rifles, and Circassian sabers and daggers – gifts of colleagues who had once caroused beyond the Balkans.⁹¹

88 The Vladimir Palace was built for Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich (1847–1909) by Aleksander Rezanov (1817–1887) between 1867 and 1874.

89 See Fischer von Erlach 1721; Texier 1839; Texier 1849. Léon Parvillée's comprehensive work *Architecture et décoration Turques au XVe siècle*, which included many color plates that could have served as templates for architects and designers, did not appear until 1874; see Parvillée 1874. For early texts and images on Islamic architecture see Marczoeh 1989, 10–138.

90 See Sosnina et al. 2017, 152–169.

91 “Она была вместе и кабинет и гостиная [...]. Драпировка над окнами была в китайском вкусе [...]. Против окна стоял письменный стол [...]. На полу под ним разостлан был широкий ковер, разрисованный пестрыми арабесками; – другой персидский ковер висел на стене [...] и на нем развешаны были пистолеты, два турецких ружья, черкесские шапки и кинжалы, подарки сослуживцев, погулявших когда-то за Балканом [...]”, Mikhail Lermontov, excerpt from the novel *Princess Ligovskaya* (*Kniaginia Ligovskaia*, 1836/37) first printed posthumously in the *Russian Messenger* (*Russkii Vestnik* 1, January 1882); as cited in <http://dugward.ru/library/lermont/lermontov_knagina.html> (accessed May 6, 2023).



37 Nikolai Zheren, *Interior*, 1830, watercolor, bronze and silver paint on paper, 23.5 × 33.5 cm. GTG, 10529 KRTG-3393.

Haydn Williams’s observation that *turquerie* was not a style but rather a theme that “sparked varied responses in different places” also applies to the Turkish interior, which was “more a reflection of the cultural milieu that conceived it than a representation of the supposed subject.”⁹²

Another difference between the Turkish and neo-Moorish styles is that the latter was free of direct political connotations in Russia. However, there were also many overlaps between the two styles. Both were rarely used to design entire buildings, and both were more common in interiors, and especially intimate spaces, and were fitted according to the same principle: some of the furnishings were designed and produced in Russia,⁹³ while others – Western and Oriental artifacts – were purchased in Moscow or Paris, for example. The clients’ exotic collections of, for instance, Persian carpets, Caucasian weapons, and Turkish pipes adorned the interiors. These objects gained prestige and new *habitus* through their displacement and

integration into a new context.⁹⁴ Both Turkish and neo-Moorish interiors were associated with the notion of oriental indulgence offering a world of fantasy and adventure. Here one could sit on a divan in oriental costume and smoke or drink coffee, while a fountain babbled in the center of a room whose atmosphere was created using plants, lighting, and exotic scents. Abandoning these beautiful spaces, we now turn to the art-historical exploration of the neo-Moorish style.

⁹² Williams 2014, 7.

⁹³ Glassware, ceramics, textiles, and metalwork in various Orientalizing styles were produced in nineteenth-century Russia, for example at the Imperial Glass Factory in St. Petersburg. For such examples see Biriukova et al. 1996, 138, 152–155, 157; Guseva et al. 2014, 179, 183–186; Guseva 2015, 94–96; Sosnina et al. 2017, 72–73, 156–158, 165, 167–168, 218–224.

⁹⁴ See Roeck 2007, 13.

3. Early Neo-Moorish Architecture, 1830–1845

This chapter outlines the factors that contributed to the emergence of the neo-Moorish style and discusses early examples of the first phase of Russian architectural Alhambrismo. An introduction to the historical and cultural context of the early nineteenth century is followed by sections on the rediscovery of the Alhambra, Russian perceptions of Spain, and the training of architects at the Imperial Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg.



38 August von Kloeber, *Lalla Rûkh. Aliris* (Grand Duchess Aleksandra Fiodorovna and Grand Duke Nikolai Pavlovich), from Karl Friedrich Schinkel et al., *Lalla Rûkh. Ein Festspiel mit Gesang und Tanz*, Berlin: L. W. Wittich, 1822, pl. 6.

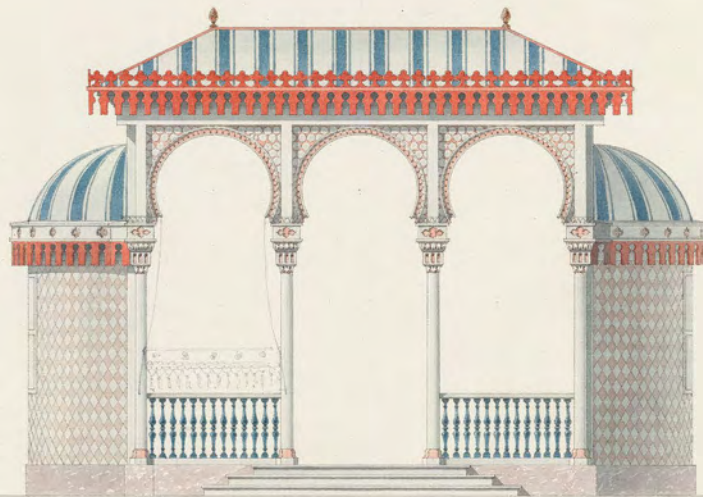
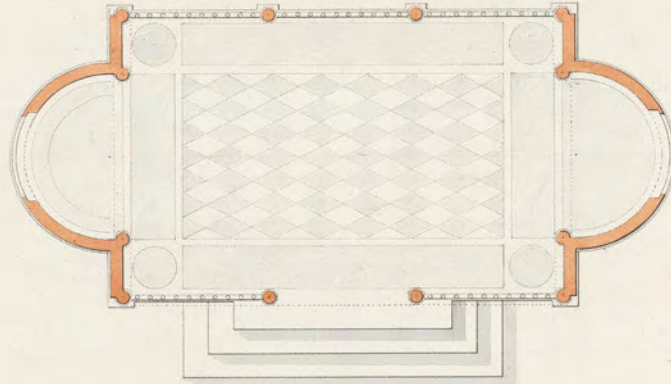
The Orient was an omnipresent topic in nineteenth-century Europe and Russia. During the reign of Tsar Alexander I (1777–1825; r. 1801–1825) Russia's power grew considerably; wars against the Ottomans (1806–1812) and Persia (1804–1813) brought Bessarabia and parts of present-day Georgia and Azerbaijan under its rule, and in 1817 it began a military campaign to gain complete control of the Northern Caucasus that continued into the 1860s and had a strong impact on Russian culture. Although located at the edge of Russia, the Caucasus holds a vital place in literature, for example in works produced in the 1820s and 1830s by Aleksander Pushkin (1799–1837), Aleksander Bestuzheva-Marlinskogo (1797–1837) and Mikhail Lermontov (1814–1841), all of whom visited it and became transmitters of ideas about the region and its culture.¹ As this chapter shows, contemporary literature was essential to the popularity of Orientalizing designs in nineteenth-century Russian architecture. French and English writers including Victor Hugo (1802–1885) and Lord (George) Byron (1788–1824) reflected their countries' romantic taste for oriental color and were popular in Russia.

The feast held in early 1821 in Berlin by Frederick William III of Prussia (1770–1840) in honor of his daughter Princess Charlotte (1798–1860), then Grand Duchess Aleksandra Fiodorovna, and her husband Grand Duke Nikolai Pavlovich (1796–1855), the future Tsar Nicholas I, who were visiting Prussia for the first time after their wedding in 1817, caused a Europe-wide sensation.² The celebration was based on the theme of Thomas Moore's (1779–1852) *Lalla Rookh. An Oriental Romance* (1817), a

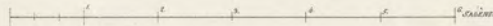
¹ On this topic see, for example, Layton 1994.

² See Polaschegg 2005, 521–530; Pashkova 2014a, 60–65.

PAVILLON MORESQUE À CATHÉRIHOFF.



Aug. de Montferrand



39 Auguste de Montferrand, *Pavillon moresque à Cathérinoff*, ca. 1823, ink and watercolor on paper, 57.4 × 46.5 cm. NIMRAKh, A-5848.

poem about the fate of a Mughal princess. The young couple led the festive procession dressed as Lalla Rookh and Prince Aliris, the poem's main characters.³ Later Karl Schinkel (1781–1841) staged several *tableaux vivants* accompanied by the music of Gaspare Spontini (1774–1851). A splendid album shows the participants in their oriental costumes (Fig. 38).⁴ Reports from the feast and Moore's poem attracted considerable attention in Russia, reflected mainly in literature, and the name Lalla Rookh remained associated with Aleksandra Fiodorovna.⁵

Russia was highly receptive to Oriental themes when, more than four decades after the construction of the Turkish Kiosk in Tsarskoe Selo, a motif inspired by the Islamic architecture of al-Andalus appeared in Russia for the first time in a garden pavilion in St. Petersburg. Designed and built by Auguste de Montferrand (1786–1858) in 1823/24, the "Moorish Pavilion" (*Pavillon Moresque*; Cat. no. 1) in St. Petersburg's Catherinehof Park featured horseshoe-shaped arches like those that were widely used in the medieval mosque in Córdoba (Fig. 39).

The park, in southwest St. Petersburg, was originally closed to the public, but by the nineteenth century it was an accessible and popular vacation spot for city residents.⁶ In particular the traditional May 1 holiday celebrating spring attracted many people every year. In 1823 Tsar Alexander I approved Count Mikhail Miloradovich's (1771–1825, then Governor of St. Petersburg) initiative to transform the park into a pleasure garden.⁷ By 1825 the park had been landscaped according to the principles of English garden design, with Montferrand responsible for equipping it with various buildings for the visitors' entertainment. His Moorish Pavilion was an arbor next to a small area of the park reserved for children. It was based on a rectangular floor plan with a flat, hipped roof and an exedra covered by a half-dome on each of the short sides. Only the shape of the tripartite arcades on the long sides of the pavilion was reminiscent of Islamic architecture, giving the building its oriental twist. The design of all the other elements, such as the capitals, seems to have been invented by the architect. It is difficult to estimate Montferrand's contribution to the Moorish Revival in Russia because there is little information about the works concerned (see also p. 72).⁸ The art historian Andrei Punin, who specializes in nineteenth-cen-

tury Russian architectural history, sees Montferrand's work for the Catherinehof Park as the first manifestation of the new creative eclecticism that would replace neoclassicism in Russia in the years to come.⁹ Besides the small Moorish Pavilion, Montferrand designed several pavilions in the neo-Gothic style and early wooden houses in the so-called "Russian style" (*Russkii stil'*) for the park.¹⁰

Montferrand's first adoption of a neo-Moorish motif must be seen in connection with the rediscovery and re-evaluation of the Islamic heritage on the Iberian Peninsula by European audiences, which was a key factor in the emergence of the Moorish Revival. Since many scholars, as referred to below, have already addressed this topic, only the main events of this rediscovery are summarized here.

- 3 Andrea Polaschegg (2005, 523) interprets the festival as an Orientalist allegory of the connection between Russia and Prussia, established through the marriage of Charlotte of Prussia and Nikolai Pavlovich.
- 4 See Schinkel et al. 1822. Frederick William III of Prussia also had vases depicting the procession made and sent as souvenirs to the guests (designed by Karl Friedrich Schinkel, drawing by August von Kloeber (1793–1864), produced 1824 in the Royal Porcelain Factory, Berlin; see GE, ZF-24846, ZF-24847 and ZF-24848).
- 5 The poet and translator Vasilii Zhukovskii (1783–1852), for example, who had accompanied the Grand Duchess to Berlin as her Russian language tutor, recorded his impressions in poems and translated parts of Moore's text into Russian. These translations were published in 1827 in the *Moskovskii Telegraf*; see Pashkova 2014a, 61, 63.
- 6 The park, with a small palace, was originally a wedding present from Tsar Peter I (1672–1725) to his wife Catherine I (1684–1727) in 1711. Located in an area wrested from the Swedes by the Tsar in May 1703 during the Great Nordic War (1700–1721), it commemorated his conquest of the Neva Delta. For the history of the area in the eighteenth century see Andreev 1995.
- 7 On the park and Miloradovich's possible political motivation for initiating the project, see Kuznetsov 2017.
- 8 Auguste de Montferrand is best known as the architect of St. Isaac's Cathedral (1818–1858) and the Alexander Column (1829–1834) in St. Petersburg.
- 9 See Punin 2011, 41–45.
- 10 The Russian Revival style was inspired by pre-Petrine Russian architecture and elements of Byzantine architecture.



40 *Perfil del Palacio árabe por la línea E.X. que demuestra el Patio de los Leones*, from Pablo Lozano y Casela and Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (eds.), *Antigüedades árabes de España*, Vol. 1, Madrid: Imprenta real, 1787, pl. VIII.

3.1 The Rediscovery of the Islamic Architecture of al-Andalus

Interest in the Islamic architecture of al-Andalus, which had been largely ignored after the Christian reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula, grew palpably from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards. In 1756 the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando decided to document Islamic architecture in Spain, commissioning detailed drawings of buildings in Córdoba and Granada. The result of this pioneering work is the two-volume *Antigüedades árabes de España* (1787/1804), which mainly contains detailed engravings of the mosque in Córdoba and the Alhambra in Granada (Fig. 40).¹¹ The first depictions of the Nasrid palaces had already been published in the 1770s in the travelogues of two Britons, Richard Twiss (1747–1821) and Henry Swinburne (1743–1803).¹² Alexandre de Laborde (1773–1842) copied some plates from the *Antigüedades árabes* for his *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne* (1812, Vol. 2, part I), which gave

a more vivid and complete overall picture of the Alhambra's premises with many additional perspectives of the courtyards and Nasrid palace interiors (Fig. 41).¹³ The *Antigüedades árabes* also served as a model for the Irish architect James Cavanah Murphy (1760–1814), who spent several years in Spain in the first decade of the nineteenth century and whose *Arabian Antiquities of Spain* (1815) was published after his death (Fig. 42).¹⁴ The volume is characterized by an extensive text section and more than a hundred plates which, while they have their own charm, are rather schematic, eliciting criticism of their quality from Murphy's contemporaries.

11 See Lozano y Casela/Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando 1787, 1804; also Scholz-Hänsel 1989; Rodríguez Ruiz 2010; Almagro Gorbea 2015.

12 See Twiss 1775; Swinburne 1779.

13 See Laborde 1812.

14 See Murphy 1815; see also Mulvin 2018, 2019. On the publications mentioned in this section, see especially Galera Andreu 1992.



41 Alexandre de Laborde, *Cour des Lions dans l'Alhambra*, from idem., *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne*, Vol. 2, Part I, Paris: Didot l'Aîné, 1812, pl. XXXIV.

Such descriptions and depictions of Islamic monuments in Spain attracted an influx of foreign travelers to the country, fascinated by the erstwhile cultural diversity of a region where the Orient and the Occident had met, and idealizing Spain as an authentic and unspoiled place.¹⁵ Among them was the American writer Washington Irving (1783–1859), who, after spending a few years in Madrid as a diplomatic attaché, published first his *Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada* (1829) and shortly afterwards his most influential *The Alhambra* (1832), which popularized the romantic idea of the Alhambra as a dream palace.¹⁶ This two-volume book, now better known as *Tales of the Alhambra*, is, according to Irving, the result of his “reveries and researches.”¹⁷ During a brief stay in the Alhambra in 1829, Irving collected historical information and legends with the aim of reproducing them in a compendium of stories and essays along with

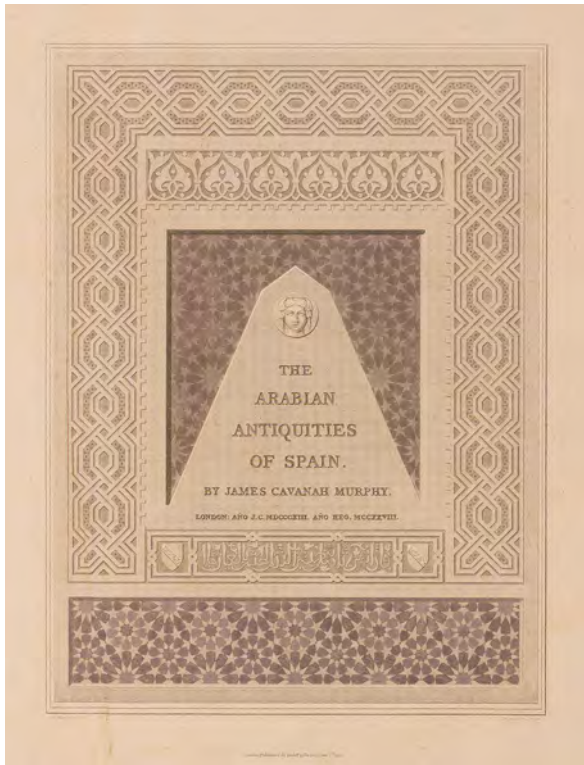
descriptions of the Nasrid palaces. In the introduction he summarizes what, besides its architecture, made the legendary palace city the main destination for foreign visitors to Spain in the nineteenth century:¹⁸

15 For perceptions of the Alhambra in nineteenth-century British travelogues see Eggleton 2011, 118–157.

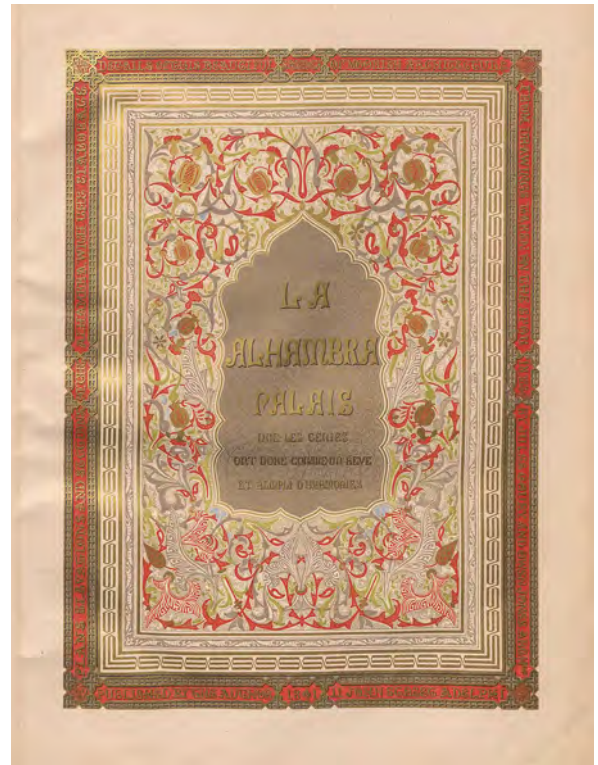
16 The book was published under Irving’s pseudonym Geoffrey Crayon in England (London: Colburn and Bentley) and in the same year in the United States (Philadelphia: Lea & Carey) with the subtitle *A Series of Tales and Sketches of the Moors and Spaniards*. See also González Alcantud et al. 2009.

17 Crayon [= Irving] 1832, 37. *Tales of the Alhambra* is the title of the 1851 edition revised by Irving.

18 The literature on this subject is extensive; see, for example, Viñes Millet 1982; Krauel Heredia 1986; Galera Andreu 1992, 2018; Calvo Serraller 1995; López Guzmán 1995; García Mercadal 1999; Calatrava 2008; Méndez Rodríguez 2008.



42 Frontispiece to James Cavanah Murphy's *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, London: Cadell & Davies, 1815.



43 Frontispiece to Jules Gourey and Owen Jones's *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*, Vol. 1, London: Owen Jones, 1842.

To the traveller imbued with a feeling for the historical and poetical, the Alhambra of Granada is as much an object of veneration, as is the Kaaba, or sacred house of Mecca, to all true Moslem pilgrims. How many legends and traditions, true and fabulous; how many songs and romances, Spanish and Arabian, of love, and war, and chivalry, are associated with this romantic pile!¹⁹

Shortly after this literary adaptation of the subject, the artists John Frederick Lewis (1805–1876) and David Roberts (1796–1864) published their picturesque drawings of the Alhambra.²⁰ Lewis's depictions in particular present an intimate picture of the Nasrid palaces, whose former splendor could only be imagined as large parts of them were in a ruinous state, triggering visitors' romantic sentiment and melancholy about the perished Nasrid culture.

From the mid-1830s, several books dealing with the architecture and ornamentation of the Alhambra were published, including the French draughtsman Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey's (1804–1892) *Monuments*

Arabes et Moresques de Cordoue, Séville et Grenade (1836–1839) and *Choix d'ornements moresques de l'Alhambra* (1842).²¹ The most important protagonist in the Moorish Revival was Owen Jones (1809–1874), who released his *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra* between 1836 and 1845 in a continuous series that was published in two volumes (Fig. 43).²² Based on studies in Granada in 1834 with Jules Gourey (1803–1834), who died there of cholera, and a further visit in 1837, Jones created what remained the most important standard work on the Alhambra until the twentieth

19 Crayon [= Irving] 1832, 36–37.

20 See Lewis 1835; Roberts 1837.

21 See Girault de Prangey's publications (1839, 1841, 1842); and for Girault de Prangey's travels and work see Bornet et al. 1998; Aubenas 2013.

22 See Gourey/Jones 1842, 1845. A fragment of Victor Hugo's *Grenade* (1828) from his collection of poems *Les Orientales* (1829) is on the frontispiece of the first volume; see Hugo 1829, 183–188.

century.²³ Although colored editions of Prangey's works were available, Jones developed chromolithography, a groundbreaking multicolor printing technique, for his publications.²⁴ As this and the following chapters show, they inspired architects almost worldwide and awakened interest in the Alhambra, whose reception by artists prompted the Spanish government to preserve and restore the historic Nasrid palaces.

After the completion of Montferrand's Moorish Pavilion it was several years until the first neo-Moorish interiors were realized in Russia, spurred by the studies of the Alhambra's architecture and a strong Russian interest in Spain, which was also reflected in Russian culture.

3.2 Spain, Andalusia, and the Alhambra in Russian Culture

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) attacked both Spain and Russia, sparking Russian solidarity with Spain and a first wave of Hispanophilia.²⁵ After the withdrawal of French troops from Russia in 1812 the Russians followed the Peninsular War, in which Spain fought against the French occupation until 1814, with interest. In the early 1820s, the Russian press discussed the revolutionary turmoil in Spain, and in the 1830s Russian journals covered a wide range of Spanish topics. In 1832 alone, the Moscow *Teleskop* printed a translation of part of Prosper Mérimée's (1803–1870) *Lettres d'Espagne*,²⁶ a lecture on Spanish literature by Antonio Alcalá Galiano (1789–1865) at University College London, and an article on Spanish theatre, to name just a few examples.²⁷ In 1838, a first (incomplete) Russian translation of Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (1605/1615) was published, followed by a Spanish-language textbook in 1840.²⁸

Europe's enthusiasm for Spain and its culture in the nineteenth century was particularly pronounced in Russia, which can probably be explained by certain similarities in the histories of the two countries, their position on Europe's periphery, and their proximity to the Orient.²⁹ Spanish motifs can be found in Russian literature, music, and art, but the romantic image of Spain conveyed by writers in the 1820s and 1830s may have caused

the biggest stir.³⁰ In this context, some descriptions of Andalusia and the Alhambra are briefly discussed below.

A Russian friend of Washington Irving, the diplomat Prince Dmitrii Dolgorukov (1797–1867), who was Secretary at the Russian Embassy in Madrid from 1826 to 1830, joined him on his journey from Seville to Granada and stayed with him at the Alhambra between May and June 1829.³¹ Dolgorukov published his poem *I Knew Him (Ia znal ego*, 1863) after Irving's death, commemorating both the writer and the Alhambra:

I knew him! –
 Fate brought us together by chance from far lands;
 I from Russia's broad expanse,
 He from the new realms of the Occident.
 [...]
 Inside the Alhambra's walls
 The two of us shared our passion for bygone ages,
 A fellowship of thoughts, of feelings.

23 On Owen Jones and the Alhambra see, for example, Darby 1974; Calatrava et al. 2011.

24 See Ferry 2003.

25 See Dodolev 1989; Amel'chenkova 2008.

26 This collection of stories about Iberian culture was first published in the *Revue de Paris* in 1831.

27 For more examples see Gin'ko 2012, 9–10. Valentina Gin'ko has compiled a selection of nineteenth-century written testimonies from Russian diplomats, scientists, artists, and travelers to Spain, and offers a comprehensive introduction to Russian interest in Spain.

28 See Gin'ko 2012, 21, footnote 20. Miguel de Cervantes's *Don Quixote* was a very important character in nineteenth-century Russia; see for example Bagno 2009; Bagno/Burlaka 2011; Barkovets et al. 2015.

29 See Amel'chenkova 2008, 8–11.

30 Aleksandr Pushkin and Mikhail Lermontov addressed the subject although they had never been to Spain; see Alekseev 1864; Bagno 2006; Amel'chenkova 2008, 58–60.

31 Irving recalls his Russian friend at the beginning of his book: "Accident had thrown us together from distant regions of the globe, and a similarity of taste led us to wander together among the romantic mountains of Andalusia. Should these pages meet his eye, [...] may they recall the scenes of our adventurous companionship, and with them the remembrance of one, in whom neither time or distance will obliterate the remembrance of his gentleness and worth", Crayon [= Irving] 1832, 3–4.

In a magnificent universe,
 In the crown of creation, a marvelous pearl –
 Granada!
 Land of charm,
 Fatherland of songs and love –
 Happy is the man who can meld your glory
 With the memory of a friend in his heart,
 And such an enviable fate,
 To crown old age's brow!
 [...]

Golden letters and patterns of astonishing glamour
 On fields of azure along the walls
 Enchant the eyes like incantations,
 Guarding the Quran's hidden meaning.

Here is the Ambassadors' Hall, there the Caliph's,
 The Abencerrages', the Two Sisters';
 A fragrant breeze blows
 From the golden heights of the Generalife
 So sweetly! The fountains splash,
 And over all, the silvery moon,
 Mysterious and strange.
 The view is magnificent!
 You and I dreamt here, Irving,
 Summoning stern Moors
 And Catholic kings
 From the depths of ancient times [...].³²

In 1829, in response to the proliferation of graffiti left by visitors on the walls of the Nasrid palaces, Dolgorukov, with the intention of avoiding further desecration and contributing to an understanding of the Alhambra as a monument to be preserved, donated a large blank visitors' book or *libro de firmas* in which travelers could record their names.³³ Neither the visitors' book nor Dolgorukov's poem had any impact on the early phase of Alhambrismo in Russia, but Irving was already a popular author in Russia in the 1820s and his texts were met with great excitement, with some of his *Tales of the Alhambra* being translated almost immediately. After the initial edition was published in England and the U.S. in May and June 1832 respectively, Russian translations of two of the tales were printed in the periodicals *Moskovskii Tele-*

graf and *Teleskop* that same year, with seven more following by 1834, the year in which Aleksander Pushkin wrote a fairytale inspired by one of the tales.³⁴

A description of the Alhambra printed in the *Literary Gazette* (*Khudozhestvennaia gazeta*) in 1838 illustrates how Russians were inclined to imagine it as an enchanted castle in line with Irving's Romanticism:

The palaces of the Alhambra, which could only be described in a fairy tale, differ from all the landmarks of antiquity and the Middle Ages in terms of their

32 "Я знал Эго! – Из стран далеких / Судьба нас невзначай свела; / Меня с полей Руси широких, / Его из новых света стран. [...] / В стенах Алгамбры мы вдвоем / К векам минувшим страсть делили / И в сходстве дум, и в сходстве чувств. / В великольном мироздании, / В венце творенья дивный перл, / Гранада! край очарований, / Отчизна песен и любви, – / Счастлив, кто мог с твоей красою / О дружге память в сердце слить, / И столь завидною судьбою / Венчать на старости чело! [...] / Златые буквы и узоры / В лазурном поле, по стенам, / Дивят своим / волшебством взоры, / Храня корана тайный смысл. / Послов здесь зала, там Халифа, / Абенсерахов, двух сестер; / С высот златых Хенералифа / Душистый веет ветерок. / Как сладок он! Шумят фонтаны / И серебристая луна / Во всем таинственный и странный / Великолепья кажет вид! / Здесь, Ервин, мы с тобой мечтали, / Из недр железной старины / Суровых мавров вызывали / И католических царей [...]" Dolgorukov 1863 (as cited in Gin'ko 2012, 107–109), English translation by Thomas Campbell.

33 See Dolgorukov's dedication text. The book's cover states: "Given to the Alhambra by Prince Dolgorouki" and it contains about 700 pages of visitors' signatures and poems inscribed between 1829 and 1872; see <<https://www.alhambra-patronato.es/ria/handle/10514/813>> (accessed May 6, 2023) and Galera Andreu 1992, 24–25; Méndez Rodríguez 2008, 131.

34 Aleksandr Pushkin wrote *The Tale of the Golden Cockerel* (*Skazka o zolotom petushke*) in 1834 and the following year it was published by the literary journal *Library for Reading* (*Biblioteka dlia chteniia*); see Pushkin 1835. As Anna Akhmatova (1933) points out, it was partly inspired by Irving's *Legend of the Arabian Astrologer*. According to Akhmatova, Pushkin owned seven books by Irving including a French translation of the *Tales of the Alhambra*. Based on Pushkin's story, Nikolai Rimskii-Korsakov (1844–1908) wrote the opera *The Golden Cockerel* in 1906/07 and it was premiered in 1909. As well as Russian translations of certain tales, a French translation of Irving's book also circulated; see Sergei Tiurin's dissertation on the reception of Washington Irving's texts in the 1820s and 1830s in Russia, especially Tiurin 2007, 26, 29–30, 36, 99–117.

immense splendor and unique character. You see in them the creation of an intelligent nation, endowed with imagination and fine taste [...].³⁵

According to the anonymous author, the Alhambra is an icon of the Moorish art as the Pyramids, the Colosseum, and Versailles are icons of Egyptian, Roman, and French art. He or she repeatedly pays tribute to the culture from which it originates:

[... the Alhambra] was clearly a reflection of the condition of the people contemporary to its building, the people to whom it owes its existence. It encompasses the folkways, spirit, and even part of the history of this intelligent, passionate nation.³⁶

For further reading on the Alhambra and the Islamic architecture of al-Andalus, the author of this article in the *Literary Gazette* recommends Murphy's *Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, whose Plate XXXIII, a view of the Court of the Lions, served as the model for the image illustrating his article.³⁷

Until the 1840s almost no Russians traveled to Spain except for the diplomats who had been deployed there since the eighteenth century. Mikhail Zagoskin (1789–1852), who had never visited the country himself, had enough information to write detailed and convincing descriptions of Spanish cities including Granada, the architecture and gardens of the Alhambra, and the nearby summer palace of the Nasrid sultans (the Generalife Palace) for his novel *Homesickness (Toska po rodine)*, published in 1839.³⁸ The book is another example of the appeal of Spain and its Islamic heritage in Russia at the time. The story begins with Zagoskin's hero dreaming of exploring the Orient. To the astonishment of his friends he decides to travel to Andalusia – a choice he justifies by telling them that while he speaks no oriental languages, he does speak Spanish, which he had learned in order to read Don Quixote in the original. He adds:

Besides, I regard Spain as in every wise a new land like Persia, India, and China. Without leaving Europe, I shall see a wealth of things of which I hadn't the foggiest notion. And what weather, my friend. What

women! And the ruins of the Moorish castles! And the orange groves!³⁹

The notion of Spain as an unexplored and partially oriental European country was widespread at that time, as were many other clichés about the country. In conclusion, the Russians appreciated the Alhambra as much as they did the whole of the rest of Spain's culture, despite the geographical distance between the two countries.

3.3 Lectures on Islamic Architecture at the Imperial Academy of Arts

By 1830 the Imperial Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg had added Islamic architecture as a study subject. What is known about the teaching during this early period of Russian Alhambriism is briefly outlined here, while Chapter 4 discusses the Academy's later role in the transmission of knowledge about Ibero-Islamic architecture in detail.

35 “Эти Альхамрские чертоги, которые только бы и описывать, что в волшебной сказке, отличны от всех памятников древности и средних веков, своим безмерным великолепием и характером, только ему одному принадлежат. Вы видите в них создание народа умного, одаренного воображением и тонким вкусом [...]”, *Khudozhestvennaia gazeta*, no. 4, 1838, 136–139 (here 138).

36 “[...] она явственно отразила в себе современное ей построению состояние того народа, которому одолжена своим существованием; в ней весь быт, вес дух, даже часть истории этого умного и пылкого народа”, *Khudozhestvennaia gazeta*, no. 4, 1838, 136.

37 Islamic art is often discussed in the 1838 issues of the *Khudozhestvennaia gazeta*, and the title page of the yearbook shows a horseshoe arch similar to those on the façades of the mosque in Córdoba. Most probably Plate X (*Porte d'une des faces latérales de la Mosquée de Cordoue*) of Laborde's *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne* (1812) served as the model for this illustration.

38 See Zagoskin 1839, 148–155, 173–178, 203–206.

39 “К тому ж, Испания будет для меня точно такой-же новой землю, как Персия, Индия, Китай, и я, не выезжая из Европы, увижу тьму вещей, о которых не имею понятия. А какой климат, мой друг! Какие женщины!...А эти развалины Мавританских замков! Эти померанцовые рощи!”, Zagoskin 1839, 14. I am grateful to Aleksandr Kobak for this reference.

It is difficult to discover what was taught to architecture students at the Imperial Academy of Arts about the Islamic architecture of al-Andalus. Iulia Arutiunian points out that “Moorish” architecture was already part of the curriculum for future architects around 1830,⁴⁰ as confirmed by the architectural theory program published in 1831 by Aleksei Olenin (1763–1843), then president of the Academy. Olenin proposes a three-part course comprising mathematical and aesthetic principles, general architectural theory, and the theory of civil architecture,⁴¹ the second part covering “A survey of architecture from its primitive state to the present time, with a description of the different national architectures and their principal distinguishing precepts [...]”.⁴² Olenin then lists the building traditions he considers relevant in chronological and geographical order.⁴³ In the section on medieval architecture he identifies Byzantine, Gothic, Italian, Moorish, and Mexican/Peruvian architecture, testifying to the art-historical view of the time, which was not then based on the sophisticated history of styles that developed later. Olenin uses the term “Moorish architecture” (*mavritanskaia arkhitektura*) as a synonym for Islamic architecture in general and without distinguishing between the different Islamic styles: according to his scheme, Moorish architecture represents the medieval Islamic architecture found in “Asia, Africa and a part of Southern Europe”.⁴⁴ Olenin’s program describes the lecture on architecture from antiquity to the present day as including medieval Islamic architecture and its characteristics. Since several detailed illustrated publications on the Islamic architecture of al-Andalus had been published by the 1830s, it is possible that the Alhambra was used as one of the main examples in such lectures. The earliest examples of Russian architectural Alhambrismo were created in St. Petersburg in the 1830s, as discussed below.

3.4 Two Interiors at the Grafskaiia Slavianka Manor

Architect Aleksandr Briullov, 1830–1835

At the beginning of the 1830s Nikolai Gogol (1809–1852), who had just moved to St. Petersburg, made an interesting suggestion in his essay *On Present-Day Architecture*

(*Ob arkhitekture nyneshnego vremeni*) while imagining what the city would look like in the future:

There is a mine whose existence hardly anyone suspects. It is an utterly unique, special world whence Europe has taken the least of all. I mean oriental architecture. [...] It is an architecture conceived for a life given over to pleasure, for providing man with cheerful, luminous abodes. [...] Why would we not want to transplant them into our soil?⁴⁵

Gogol’s controversial text harshly criticized contemporary Russian architecture.⁴⁶ Its publication in 1835 coincided with Russia beginning to exploit the mentioned “mine” more intensively. In a note added to the text shortly before its publication, Gogol stated that aesthetic sensibilities throughout Europe had recently improved and that there were now Russian architects whose buildings were distinguished with good taste and originality.⁴⁷ He particularly mentions the architect Aleksandr Briullov (1798–1877) who, as discussed here, was the first Russian architect to use structural elements and ornamenta-

40 See Arutiunian 2012.

41 See Olenin 1831, 30.

42 “Взгляд на Зодчество от первобытного его состояния до нынешних времен, с показанием характеристики разных народных Архитектур и главных их отличительных правил [...]”, Olenin 1831, 43.

43 See Olenin 1831, 43–45.

44 “Азии, в Африке и частью в Южной Европе”, Olenin 1831, 44.

45 “Есть рудник, о котором едва только знают, что он существует; есть мир совершенно особенный, отдельный, из которого менее всего черпала Европа. Это – архитектура восточная. [...] Эта архитектура как-то именно создавалась для жизни, отданной наслаждениям, для веселых, светлых жилищ человека. [...] Почему бы, казалось, нам не перенести их на свою почву?”, Nikolai Gogol’ in *Ob arkhitekture nyneshnego vremeni*, from the anthology *Arabesques (Arabeski)*, published in 1835 <[https://ru.wikisource.org/wiki/Об_архитектуре_нынешнего_времени_\(Гоголь\)](https://ru.wikisource.org/wiki/Об_архитектуре_нынешнего_времени_(Гоголь))> (accessed May 6, 2023). The year in which Gogol wrote the text is disputed, with 1831 to 1834 cited by different authors. See Moore 2014, 42.

46 For detailed comments on Gogol’s essay see Keyes 2010; Moore 2014.

47 See [https://ru.wikisource.org/wiki/Об_архитектуре_нынешнего_времени_\(Гоголь\)](https://ru.wikisource.org/wiki/Об_архитектуре_нынешнего_времени_(Гоголь)) (accessed May 6, 2023).



44 Aleksandr Briullov, Project for the Graftskaia Slavianka Manor of Countess Samoiloiva, façade facing the street, 1830, ink on paper, 62.4 × 81.3. NIMRAKh, A-1328.



45 Aleksandr Briullov, Project for the Graftskaia Slavianka Manor of Countess Samoiloiva, façade facing the garden, 1830, ink on paper, 62.4 × 81.3. NIMRAKh, A-1333.

tion that clearly evoked the Islamic architecture of al-Andalus, and was thus one of the most important protagonists of Russian Alhambrismo.⁴⁸

In 1830 Briullov, who had recently returned to Russia after several years in Italy and France, began working on his first assignment: redesigning the Graftskaia Slavianka⁴⁹ manor in Pavlovsk, near St. Petersburg.⁵⁰ The owner of the estate, Countess Iulia Samoiloiva (1803–1875), had commissioned him on the recommendation of his brother, her companion Karl Briullov (1799–1852).⁵¹ The architect designed a two-story building with a neoclassical main façade and a more plastic and romantic garden façade, an early example of eclecticism reminiscent of Italian Renaissance villas and the Tower of the Winds in Athens (Figs 44 and 45).⁵² The construction was completed in 1835, and as a novelty the manor included two rooms with elements in neo-Moorish style. Today three paintings by an unknown artist, now held by the State Hermitage Museum, recall these interiors.

Two of the paintings show an octagonal living room from different viewpoints shortly after its completion (Figs 46 and 47; Cat. no. 2).⁵³ The room is on the first floor of one of the belvedere towers and has three tall windows facing the garden. It is flooded with light, decorated in red, blue, and gold, and divided by a three-part arcade. This motif is repeated on a smaller scale in the frames of two large mirrors and the lambrequins that cover the curtain rods above the doors. The structure of the gilded arcade as a combination of lobed arches and

rectangles is reminiscent of similar arcades in the Alhambra palaces, for example in the Court of the Mosque (*Patio de la Mezquita*, Fig. 6).⁵⁴ The central arch is slightly larger than the lateral arches, and the spandrels are dec-

48 On Briullov's role as a pioneer of neo-Moorish style, see also Kaufmann 2019a.

49 "Graftskaia" is an adjective derived from the word "Count", while "Slavianka" is the name of the nearby river.

50 Aleksandr Briullov was born in St. Petersburg into a family of French artists (his family name was changed for Russian pronunciation from Bruleau to Briullov in 1821/22). With his younger brother Karl, he attended the Imperial Academy of Arts from 1810 to 1820. Karl specialized in painting, Aleksandr in architecture. After graduating with honors, the brothers were sent to Europe in 1822 to continue their studies with a grant from the Society for the Encouragement of Artists (*Obshchestvo pooshchreniia khudozhnikov*). On Aleksandr Briullov's biography and works see Somov 1879, 9–12; Ol' 1955; Kirikov/Ginzburg 1996, 61–62; Shuiskii 1998, 313–324.

51 See a letter from Iulia Samoiloiva to Aleksandr Briullov from 1929: "Vous ne me connaissez pas, et sans doute, vous n'avez jamais entendu parler de moi, mais je viens me recommander comme l'amie sincère de votre frère Charles. [...] C'est le titre d'amie de votre frère qui m'engage à vous écrire pour vous prier de vouloir bien être l'architecte d'un château de campagne que je veux faire construire", GRM, Manuscripts Department (Scientific Archive), Briullov files, f. 31, op. 1, d. 97, l. 4–5.

52 See Ol' 1955, 36–37; Mikishat'ev 2012, 41–44. World War II having left the building in ruins, the mansion was reconstructed in 2014–2016. Its original appearance is known from Briullov's drawings and other pictorial representations.

53 See Guseva et al. 2014, 165–167.

54 Briullov's design omitted the columns that support the arcades in the Alhambra.



46 Unknown author, Living room in the Grafaskaia Slavianka Manor of Countess Samoilova, late 1830/early 1840s, oil on paper on canvas, 50 × 32 cm. GE, ÉRZh-1972.



47 Unknown author, Living room in the Grafaskaia Slavianka Manor of Countess Samoilova, late 1830s/early 1840s, oil on paper on canvas, 50 × 32 cm. GE, ÉRZh-1971.

orated with a pattern of leaves similar to the *ataurique* ornamentation using foliar and floral designs on the walls, friezes, and spandrels of the Alhambra's palaces. The arcade at Grafskaiia Slavianka looks very light, as its ornaments are open-worked. The painted decoration on the ceiling shows the same foliage pattern and a frieze with an Arabic inscription.⁵⁵ A large white-tiled stove, a chandelier, a lantern with tassels, and textiles and furniture in various styles complete the room. The third painting shows a smaller room in the manor: a boudoir furnished with various chairs and tables, with objets d'art such as a marble statue and Chinese vases (Fig. 48; Cat. no. 3). The walls are covered in red and dark-blue fabric with a lozenge pattern that is slightly reminiscent of the *sebka*, a repeated rhomboid pattern derived from superimposed arches such as those at the Mosque of Córdoba and often used in the Alhambra's stuccowork, for example in the Court of the Lions (*Patio de los Leones*).⁵⁶ As in the living room, a painted frieze with an inscription in Arabic frames the ceiling, which is decorated with a repetitive pattern of stars similar to that of the *armaduras*, the decorative ceilings composed of wooden pieces in complex geometrical patterns found in some rooms at the Alhambra.⁵⁷

The design of the boudoir is less elaborate than that of the living room with the neo-Moorish arcade. Here the neo-Moorish element is reduced to fabrics and painted decoration on flat surfaces that could have served as backgrounds for any other design. In both interiors the neo-Moorish aspect is strong but not homogeneous, which is why both can be described as eclectic, being furnished with objects in multiple styles that recall several geographical regions and periods of time.

It is not known whether Iulia Samoilova explicitly ordered interiors inspired by the Alhambra. However, she was persuaded by Aleksandr Briullov's design and wrote him on June 20, 1835 "*La chambre moresque devient un bijou*."⁵⁸ In their correspondence they discussed the furnishing of several rooms, with the Countess contributing materials and artwork and selecting workshops to be commissioned for certain works.⁵⁹ Two portraits painted by her companion Karl Briullov in the 1830s suggest that her interest in the Orient and Orientalist fashions shaped various areas of her life.⁶⁰

The question of how Briullov came to design the first Russian interiors in neo-Moorish style remains unanswered. Although no examples from the 1820s are known so far, one wonders if he might have seen such an interior during his stay in France or on his visit to London.⁶¹ While in Western Europe, his reputation as a skilled portraitist brought him into contact with artists, writers, and noble families, and he thus moved in social circles that responded to the latest fashionable trends.⁶² Since Briullov had not visited the Alhambra himself, he must at least have seen visual depictions of it that enabled him to design the Grafskaiia Slavianka interiors. He probably knew James Cavanah Murphy's book *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain* (1815), which contains not only a view of the Court of the Myrtles (*Patio de los Arrayanes*) with a tripartite arcade in the foreground but also representations of architectural details and ornaments at the Alhambra (Fig. 49). The two Grafskaiia Slavianka interiors were very early examples of the neo-Moorish style not

55 Briullov often structured walls and ceilings by means of painted decoration, see Bartenev/Batazhkova 1984, 124.

56 The same fabric was used to cover the divans and some of the cushions in the living room. On the ornament of the *sebka* as a leitmotif of the Moorish Revival, see Giese/Varela Braga 2021.

57 For other ceilings in St. Petersburg imitating *armaduras*, see Kaufmann 2021b.

58 GRM, f. 31, op. 1, d. 97, l. 22–23.

59 See GRM, f. 31, op. 1, d. 97.

60 One portrait depicts Iulia Samoilova with one of her adopted daughters and a dark-skinned servant holding her scarf, possibly made of an expensive Middle Eastern textile (Karl Briullov, *Portrait of Iulia Pavlovna Samoilova with Giovannina Pacini, and an Arab Boy*, 1832–1834, oil on canvas, 268 × 200 cm, private collection, Hillwood Museum, Washington, D.C.). Another portrait shows her with her second adopted daughter who, like the people in the background, is dressed in an Orientalizing costume (Karl Briullov, *Portrait of Countess Iulia Pavlovna Samoilova Withdrawing from a Ball with Amacilia Pacini, her Adopted Daughter*, 1839–1840, oil on canvas, 249 × 176 cm, GRM). At that time guests at masquerades often wore exotic costumes; see Andronova 2008, 44 (footnote 87), 47.

61 Briullov lived in Paris from 1826 until his return to Russia, and according to his letters, spent the second half of 1827 in England; see GRM, f. 31, op. 1, d. 6.

62 Among others, he drew a portrait of the writer Walter Scott in Paris (Aleksandr Briullov, *Portrait of W. Scott*, 1826, The National Pushkin Museum, St. Petersburg); see GRM, f. 31, op. 1, d. 5; Kubasov 1900, 114; Zhatkin/Kruglova 2013.

48 Unknown author, Boudoir in the Grafskaja Slavianka Manor of Countess Samoiloova, late 1830s/early 1840s, oil on paper on canvas, 41 × 31 cm. GE, ÉRZh-1973.



only in Russia but also throughout Europe. This and other examples of his work show Briullov's great interest in historical styles.⁶³

Rediscovery of Furnishings in Germany

As the Grafskaja Slavianka manor had been destroyed during World War II, it was assumed that its furnishings no longer existed. Research for this study discovered part of the decor in Germany, whence it had been moved in the mid-nineteenth century.⁶⁴ Based on visual analysis of the paintings described above and the furnishings of the

Alhambra Hall (*Alhambraaal*) at Arolsen Castle in Bad Arolsen, it can be assumed that the latter was composed

63 Briullov had studied the thermal baths of Pompeii in the 1820s and wrote in his study *Thermes de Pompéi*, published in Paris in 1829: "Tout ce qui nous reste des travaux, des usages, du génie des anciens peuples, doit exciter notre curiosité" (Brulloff 1829, preface). Later he created several interiors in the neo-Pompeian style. For Samoiloova's manor, he planned not only the above-mentioned neo-Moorish interiors, but also, for example, a room in neo-Gothic style; see GRM, f. 31, op. 1, d. 97, l. 2, 11–12, 18–19, 22–23.

64 See Kaufmann 2019a.



49 James Cavanah Murphy, *View of the South Side of the Pateo del Agua*, from idem., *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, London: Cadell & Davies, 1815, pl. XXXI.

using elements of Briullov's interior in Pavlovsk (Fig. 50).⁶⁵ The comparison of paintings of Grafskaja Slavianka at the State Heritage Museum with the interior in Germany reveals the artist's accuracy in depicting the Russian interior. The arcade, the mirrors, the big chandelier, the lantern, and the furniture shown in the paintings are easily identified at Arolsen.⁶⁶ The design of the Alhambra Hall in Arolsen, however, differs significantly from the original arrangement in Russia, planned by Briullov as a Gesamtkunstwerk including the painted ceiling, textiles, and furniture. In Arolsen the mirrors cover part of some paneling not designed for this arrangement. The delicate carved and gilded wooden arcade has been disassembled into three parts, which have been placed separately over a door, a window, and a divan, and the open-work ornaments are now backed with opaque red fabric that prevents the passage of light through them.⁶⁷

Based on the discovery of the objects in Arolsen, further observations regarding the furnishings of the living room at Grafskaja Slavianka can be made. The lantern with tassels shows a stylized neo-Moorish design with polylobed arches and a sebka pattern (Fig. 50). The chairs adorned with lobed arches and various lacquer furniture

from Briullov's interior can also be seen in Arolsen today (compare Figs 47 and 50). The black chairs with wicker-work seats follow design principles common in Europe at that time but are decorated with an East Asian lacquer design (Figs 47 and 50). A lacquer box with a Japanese emblem, set on a stand whose legs are decorated with gilded crocodiles, also belongs to the Russian corpus (Fig. 51).⁶⁸ The stand differs in design from the box, and is possibly a product of Western exoticism. A specialist would have to verify whether these items were made in Russia, another European country, or East Asia.⁶⁹ The

⁶⁵ Archive material confirming this assumption yet to be found.

⁶⁶ Two gilded wooden panels shown on the right of one of the Russian paintings (Fig. 47) are now mounted on a wall in Arolsen. They seem to have originally served as a decoration on a door or closet.

⁶⁷ The use of wood is unusual in this context. Later, similar neo-Moorish elements were made of stucco on wood, which made them heavier and less filigreed.

⁶⁸ This box is probably depicted at the right edge of one of the paintings (Fig. 47), almost completely covered by a curtain.

⁶⁹ Lacquered objects from China and Japan first arrived in Europe in the sixteenth century. Demand for these valuable artifacts rapidly increased and they were soon being produced in East



50 Arolsen Castle, Bad Arolsen, Alhambra Hall, ca. 1853, with furnishings from Russia, ca. 1835.

same goes for the fabrics and carpets used in the Russian interior, which might have been made in Europe or imported from the East. Overall the living room at Grafskaja Slavianka must have contained a potpourri of Orientalizing furnishings and was as elaborately decorated as the other rooms of the manor. Aleksandr Pushkin's parents wrote to their daughter after a visit in 1835: "It is a treasure. It is impossible to imagine anything more elegant in terms of furniture and all manner of embellishment."⁷⁰

Countess Iulia Samoilova spent little time in Russia and left the country in the early 1840s, selling the Grafskaja Slavianka estate in 1846 to Tsar Nicholas I, who renamed it Tsarskaia Slavianka. Its Orientalizing furnishings had arrived in Arolsen by the mid-nineteenth century, said to have been brought from the *Paulinenschlösschen* in Wiesbaden in 1853 and installed in the Alhambra Hall of Arolsen Castle for the wedding of Princess Helene von Nassau (1831–1888) and Prince Georg Viktor von Waldeck and Pyrmont (1831–1893).⁷¹

Two paintings held at Arolsen show some of the Russian furnishings. The black chairs and lacquer boxes on stands described above can be identified in one of these, which depicts a private room belonging to Pauline von Württemberg (1810–1856), Helene's mother (Fig. 52). On the back of the painting a note states that the room is in

Asia, primarily for the European market and following European taste in style and form. At the same time craftsmen in Europe imitated and appropriated the lacquer technique and became highly skilled at it. The 2017/18 exhibition *Lustrous Surfaces* at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London highlighted the imprint of East Asian lacquerware on European furniture; see <<https://www.vam.ac.uk/articles/east-asian-lacquer-influence>> (accessed May 6, 2023).

70 "Это сокровище; невозможно представить себе ничего более элегантного в смысле мебели и всевозможных украшений", Sergei Pushkin and Nadezhda Pushkina to Olga Pavlishcheva, as cited in Slonimskoi 1993, 290.

71 See Weinitz 1907, 29; Marczoich 1989, 193. No archival records have been found to confirm this.



51 Arolsen Castle, Bad Arolsen, detail of a box on stand, ca. 1835.

either the *Paulinenschlösschen* at Wiesbaden or the former residence of Pauline von Württemberg, Biebrich Palace, and that all the objects shown were brought to Arolsen after Pauline's death in 1856.⁷² Interestingly, the painting shows an arcade in neo-Moorish style whose form, dimensions, and color differ from the Russian arcade, raising the question of whether it was made in the Duchy of Nassau to complement the Russian furniture. The second painting is an 1853 portrait of Duke Adolph von Nassau (1817–1905), the stepson of Pauline von Württemberg and half-brother of Helene von Nassau (Fig. 53). It shows the Chinese vase (and perhaps the marble statue and textiles) seen in the painting of the boudoir at Grafskaja Slaviana. The Russian components of the room had thus reached Germany in 1853 at the latest, probably thanks to the dynastic connection between the Nassau and the Tsarist courts. Pauline von Württemberg's sister Charlotte (later Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna, 1807–1873) married Grand Duke



52 Unknown author, Living room of Pauline von Württemberg (in Wiesbaden or Biebrich), ca. 1855, oil on cardboard, 33 × 40.5 cm. Bad Arolsen, Arolsen Castle, FM LA 3916/54.

Mikhail Pavlovich (1798–1849), the brother of Tsar Nikolai I, in 1824,⁷³ and in 1844 Adolph von Nassau married their daughter Elizaveta Mikhailovna (1826–1845), who died in childbirth in Wiesbaden the following year.⁷⁴ He wed his second wife, Princess Adelheid-Marie of Anhalt-Dessau (1833–1916) in 1851, which is probably why he appears with the Anhalt House Order of Albert the Bear in the 1853 painting, in which von Nassau is standing next to the portrait of a woman with a letter in his hand. Is it possible that he had himself portrayed as the provider of the gifts from Russia depicted in the painting for his half-sister Helene's wedding? Or are they presents for her niece's wedding from his step-aunt and former mother-in-law, Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna, with whom he had a trusting relationship throughout his life? So far these questions remain unanswered.

72 If the barely legible year on the front of the painting reads 1855, then it should show a room in the *Paulinenschlösschen* where Pauline von Württemberg lived at that time.

73 From 1828 to 1849 the couple resided in Pavlovsk, not far from Grafskaja Slaviana.

74 The Russian Orthodox Church in Wiesbaden, consecrated in 1855, was commissioned by Adolph von Nassau as burial place for his first wife.



53 Ludwig Knaus, Duke Adolph von Nassau, 1853, oil on canvas, 91.5 × 66 cm. Bad Arolsen, Arolsen Castle, FM LA 3939/35.

3.5 Aleksandra Fiodorovna's Bathroom at the Winter Palace

Architect Aleksandr Briullov, 1838/39

Only a few years after Aleksandr Briullov designed the Grafskaiia Slavianka manor, he created another neo-Moorish-style interior, this time for the Tsar's family.⁷⁵

On December 17, 1837, a fire broke out in the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg and burned for three days, destroying large parts of the Tsar's residence. The Prussian architect Wilhelm Stier (1799–1856) submitted a proposal for the reconstruction of the palace that included Orientalizing architectural details (Fig. 54).⁷⁶ His 1838 draft shows, for example, polylobed arches and windows similar in shape to those of the mausoleums of the Mamlūks, who reigned in Egypt until 1517. Tsar Nicholas I had probably already decided to rebuild the palace according to Bartolomeo Francesco Rastrelli's (1700–1771) original de-

sign, however. The reconstruction was started immediately using several thousand construction workers laboring under the toughest conditions, who completed the job in just two years.⁷⁷ Unlike the façades, the palace interior underwent major changes and was technically and aesthetically adapted to current needs and tastes. The advent of historicism led to the design of several rooms in various neo-styles inspired by Baroque, Rococo, Gothic, and Renaissance art and architectural epochs, as well as by the Islamic architecture of al-Andalus.⁷⁸

Aleksandr Briullov was one of the three main architects involved in the reconstruction of the palace. He was responsible for the new look of Nicholas I and his family's private rooms.⁷⁹ His work is acknowledged in detail in an account of the renovated Winter Palace by the writer and publicist Aleksander Bashutskii (1803–1876), who enthuses:

It is impossible to describe Briullov's works in the Winter Palace. Try describing the colors of a spectral rainbow, the outlines made by the branches of a slender maple, or the crystalline ribbons produced by a waterfall.⁸⁰

Among Briullov's designs for the palace was a bathroom in neo-Moorish style for Empress Aleksandra

75 After his return to Russia, Briullov quickly made a brilliant career. He was appointed architect to the Imperial Court in 1831 and Professor of the Imperial Academy of the Arts in 1832, a position he held for forty years. In the 1830s he created many of his most famous buildings, including the Mikhailovskii Theatre (1831–1833), the Lutheran Church of Saint Peter and Saint Paul on Nevsky Avenue (1833–1835), and the Pulkovo Observatory (1834–1839).

76 See Senn 1990, 44–46; Nägelke 2017, 24.

77 See Ol' 1955, 70; Zimin 2012, 293–305.

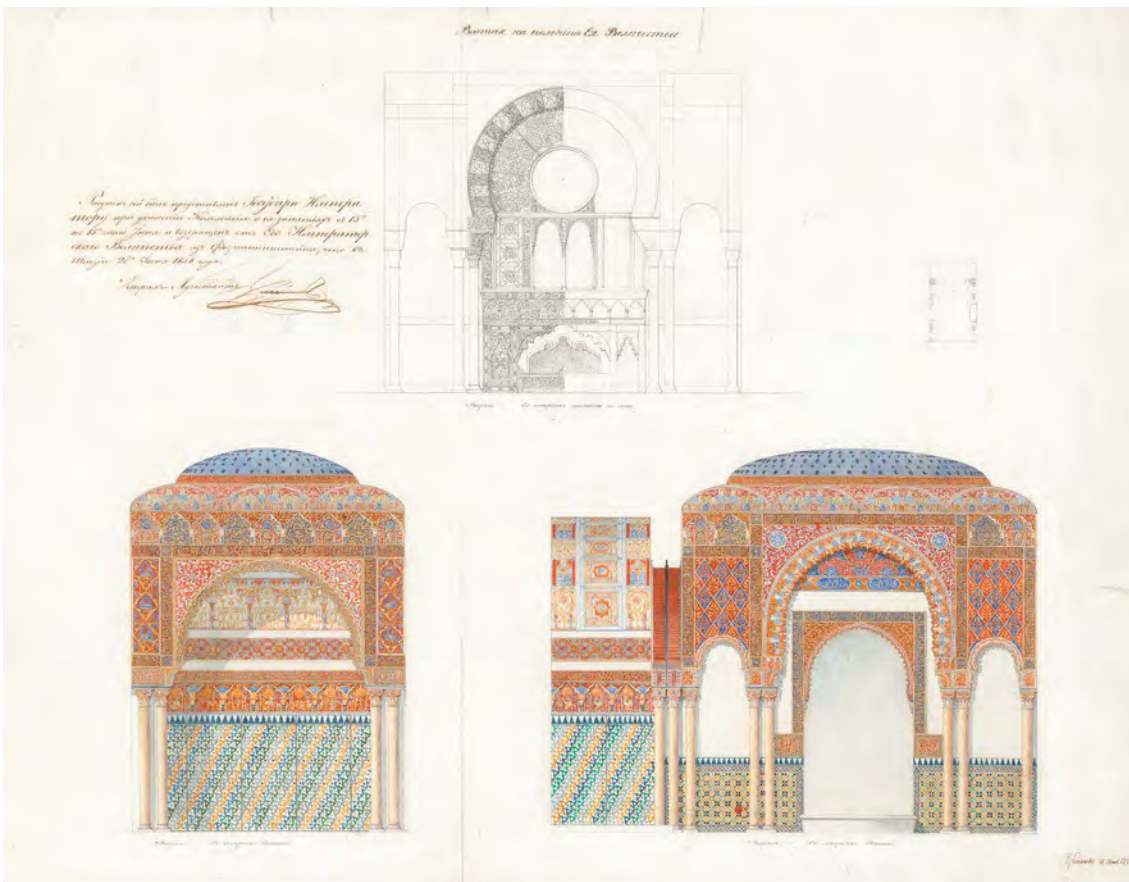
78 See Zimin 2012, 126.

79 Briullov was the youngest of the three architects. Vasiliï Stasov (1769–1848) reconstructed the façades of the palace and its most important halls, while Alexander Staubert (Aleksandr Shtaubert, 1780–1843) supervised all the construction work; see Bashutskii 1839, 65–66.

80 “Описать работы Брюллова в Зимнем-Дворце невозможно; попробуйте описать цвета радужного призрака, или очертания ветвей стройного клена, или движения хрустальных лент водопада”, Bashutskii 1839, 104.

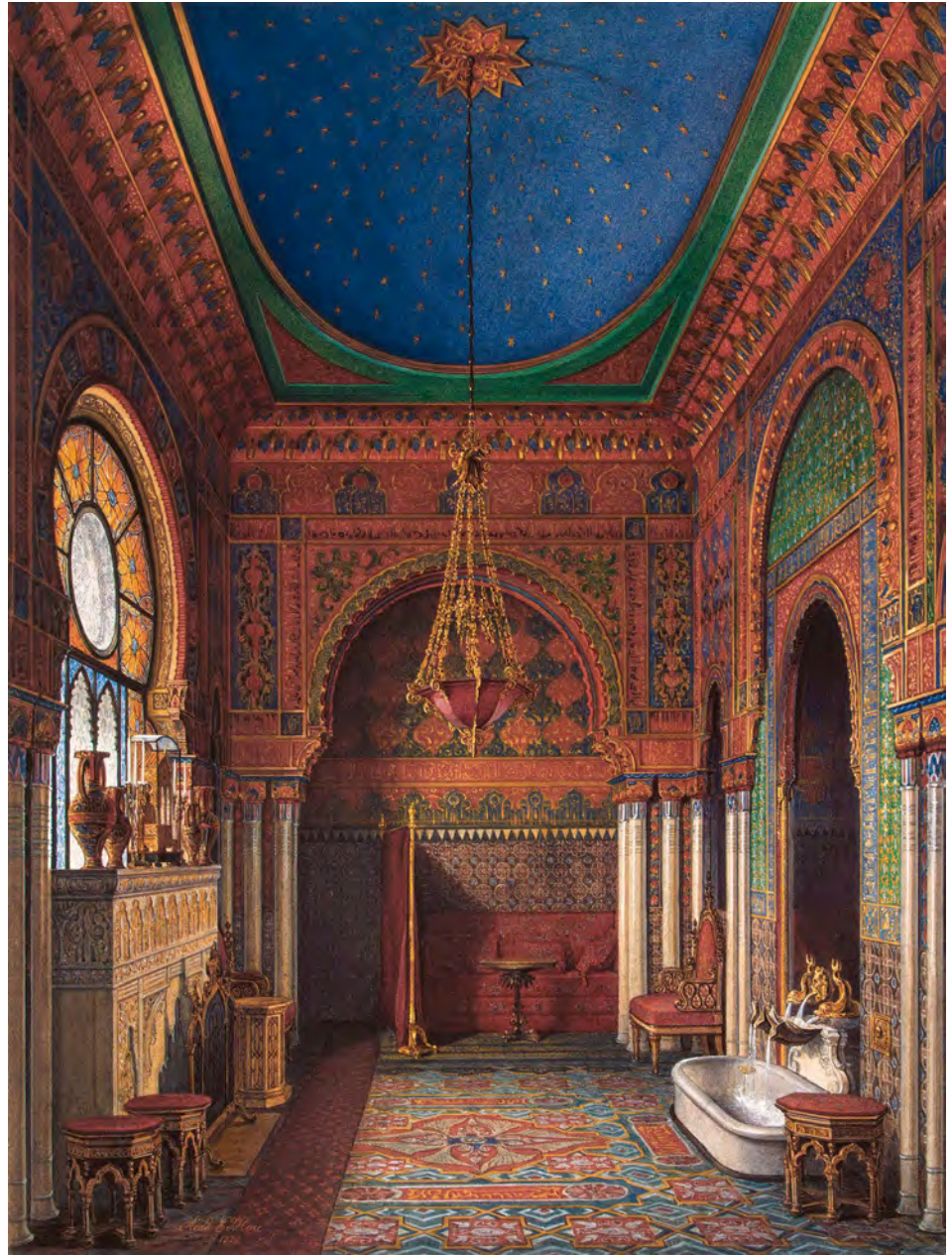


54 Wilhelm Stier, *Entwurf zur Wiederherstellung des Winter-Palais zu St. Petersburg, Façade gegen die Neva*, 1838, ink and watercolor on cardboard, 65.1 x 100.9 cm. Berlin, Architecture Museum of the Technical University of Berlin, 7254.



55 Aleksander Briullov, *Bathroom of her Majesty*, 1838, pencil and watercolor on paper, 64 x 79 cm. NIMRAKh, A-20621.

56 Eduard Hau, *Interiors of the Winter Palace. The bathroom of Empress Aleksandra Fiodorovna*, 1870, watercolor on paper, 41.5 × 31.5 cm. GE, OR-14389.



Fiodorovna⁸¹ (1798–1860). Two drawings, from 1838 and 1870, show this interior on the second floor of the north-western avant-corps, which was redesigned at the end of the nineteenth century (Figs 55 and 56; Cat. no. 4). Since the drawings have already been described,⁸² only the most important results are summarized and supplemented here.

The design for the bathroom reproduces Nasrid decor in much greater detail than is found in the two interiors at Grafskaja Slavjanka. Briullov's 1838 draft of

three elevations shows polylobed arches, columns with annulets and capitals typical of Nasrid columns, and densely ornamented and colored walls, in homage to Islamic aesthetics.⁸³

81 The Russian name of Charlotte of Prussia, wife of Tsar Nikolai I.

82 See Kaufmann 2018, 2019a.

83 According to the handwritten notes on the sheet, Briullov drew it on June 11, 1838 and showed it to the Tsar at Fürstenstein Castle in Silesia between June 13 and 15. It was returned to him on June 28 of the same year; see NIMRAKh, A-20621.



57 Alhambra, Granada, niche in the Court of the Myrtles, fourteenth century.



58 Jules Gourey and Owen Jones, *Divan, Court of the Fish Pond*, from idem., *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*, Vol. 1, London: Owen Jones, 1842, pl. IX.

Briullov seems to have had more detailed information about the architecture and decoration of the Alhambra than when he designed the Grafskaiia Slavianka interiors. His elevation of a wall, on the left side of his draft, shows a niche very similar to one in the Alhambra's Court of the Myrtles (Fig. 57). Murphy had published an engraving of this niche in 1815, but his drawing is more stylized than Briullov's draft.⁸⁴ Briullov added some elements and simplified others, in particular replacing the muqarnaş vault with a simple barrel vault, but parts of his decoration are almost identical in shape and color to those in the Alhambra.⁸⁵ Briullov apparently had at his disposal Plate IX of Jules Gourey and Owen Jones's *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*, which shows the mentioned niche more accurately than Murphy's engraving (Fig. 58). While the two complete volumes of Gourey and Jones's book were not published until

1842 and 1845,⁸⁶ the first three parts had been issued in 1836, including Plate IX, as its caption confirms.⁸⁷ Detailed comparison of Briullov's drawings with Gourey and Jones's publications confirms that the Russian architect also based his design on Plates X, XI and XVI, likewise published in 1836.

⁸⁴ See Murphy 1815, Plate XXXII.

⁸⁵ See for example the tilework with slanted stripes in the lower wall zone, a frieze at the back of the niche, the ornamentation of the spandrels, and the frequently repeated Nasrid dynasty motto.

⁸⁶ See Gourey/Jones 1842, 1845.

⁸⁷ It has not yet been possible to reconstruct the order of the publication of all the plates as not all sheets are dated; see Darby 1983, 46–48.

⁸⁸ Such large lusterware vases, similar in shape to Greek neck amphorae but with eye-catching vertical handles, were manufactured in al-Andalus in the fourteenth century during the Nasrid



59 Imperial Porcelain Factory, Vase in neo-Moorish style, ca. 1838, porcelain, overglaze painting, and gilding, 57 × 30 cm. GE, ÉRF-5367.



60 James Cavanah Murphy, *An Arabian vase and niche, preserved in the Alhambra* [sic] (detail), from idem., *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, London: Cadell & Davies, 1815, pl. XLVII.



61 Diego Sánchez Sarabia, *Jarrón nazari de los escudos*, 1762, ink and watercolor on paper, 47.5 × 34.8 cm. Madrid, Museum of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando, MA/523.

Briullov also found Murphy’s publication useful, as is clear from the vases in the style of the “Alhambra Vases” arranged on the mantelpiece by the window (Figs 56 and 59).⁸⁸ These were made around 1838 at the Imperial Porcelain Factory after an engraving of a vase in Murphy’s *Arabian Antiquities* (Fig. 60). The first engraving of this Nasrid vase was published in 1787 in the *Antigüedades Árabes de España*, based on a 1762/63 drawing by Diego Sánchez Sarabia (Fig. 61).⁸⁹ Alexandre de Laborde published a copy of it in 1812,⁹⁰ but only Murphy’s 1815 version shows the foliage ornamentation on the vase simplified exactly as it appears on the Russian vase.⁹¹

Besides this appropriation of Nasrid art and architecture from prints, Briullov contributed his own designs, including for the marble fireplace and the horse-shoe-shaped window with stained glass above, to which he gave an Oriental twist.⁹² The colored glass in the window reinforced the particular ambience of the room: “[...] a colorful light mysteriously floods the enchanting edifice,” Bashutskii, who also praised the bathroom as a space that embodied “all the luxury of the Moors from Granada,” commented.⁹³ Here the visitor could get a

rule; see Kenesson 1992. They are larger than most of their popular Moorish Revival replicas; see for example, Plinval de Guil-lebon 2004.

⁸⁹ See Almagro Gorbea 2015, 204–205. Today only the neck of this vase is preserved at the Hispanic Society of America in New York; see Kenesson 1992, 110–112.

⁹⁰ See Laborde 1812, Plate LXV.

⁹¹ Briullov replaced the Nasrid coat of arms on the vase with the coat of arms of the Russian Empire. Like the vase, the neo-Moorish clock, which stood on the mantelpiece next to the vases, is now part of the State Hermitage Museum collection (GE, É-4912); see Biriukova et al. 1996, 137, 337.

⁹² The Gothic Revival stimulated a desire for colored windows in St. Petersburg in the 1820s. Stained glass had to be imported, since the manufacturing technique was not known in Russia at the time. Having first seen stained glass in Gothic cathedrals in Germany in the 1820s, Aleksandr Briullov used it in his early works, for example in the Grafskaja Slavianka manor (see Sergei Pushkin and Nadezhda Pushkina’s 1835 letter to Olga Pavlishcheva, cited in Slonimskoi 1993, 290) and the Peter and Paul church in Pargolovo. The Briullov family made modest attempts to open a trade in stained glass; see Kuznetsov 1998.

⁹³ “[...] цветистый свет таинственно льётся в эту очарованную храмину”; “[...] вся роскошь гренадских Мавров”, Bashutskii 1839, 116–117. On stained glass in al-Andalus and in nineteenth-century neo-Moorish buildings and interiors, see the publications of Sarah Keller (2018, 2019, 2021).

“genuine idea of the brilliance and splendor of the Caliphs’ dwellings”, reproduced “with the utmost fidelity”.⁹⁴ Indeed, the interior was a highly convincing application of decorative elements found in the medieval Nasrid palaces of the Alhambra. One can agree with Bashutskii’s amusing résumé of the Empress’s bathroom: “Yes, the artist stole all this from the Alhambra, and probably no one will blame him for the theft.”⁹⁵

A drawing by Eduard Hau, made more than thirty years after the bathroom was completed, indicates that not all of its elements had been executed as Briullov planned in 1838 (Fig. 56).⁹⁶ Although Hau’s drawing does not seem to be accurate in every detail, it clearly shows that some elements were executed differently or modified by 1870. The proposed tiles have been replaced with more conventional ones, probably ordered from a manufacturer’s catalogue and not designed specifically for this bathroom. The design of the back of the niche has been simplified, and the undecorated portions of the walls seen in Briullov’s draft (based on Jones’s Plate IX; Fig. 58) have been ornamented to create a more convincing ensemble. The carpet covering the entire floor of the room is unique, and was probably designed by Briullov or one of his assistants: it has a fantastic colorful design inspired by Nasrid forms, and inscriptions in Arabic script.⁹⁷

An 1839 inventory of the bathroom briefly describes the decor and contains a list of all the furnishings with information on the materials and techniques used.⁹⁸ It states that the walls were decorated with painted stucco with gold and silver plating “in Asiatic style” (*v aziatskom vkuse*). Some ornamentation had been stenciled on panels attached to the walls. The twenty-two half-columns had capitals and bases of white artificial marble, and the fireplace and the bathtub were of Italian marble.⁹⁹ According to the inventory, the furnishings included screens with Persian carpets, four porcelain vases “in Byzantine style” (*v vizantiiskom vkuse*), and “furniture produced from Swiss spruce (Moresque), adorned with mother-of-pearl, Persian fabric, and stuff”,¹⁰⁰ to name but a few examples. Several conclusions can be drawn from the inventory: first, the exotic style of the room and its furnishings was novel, and therefore hard for the author to describe. He turned to terms such as

“Asiatic”, “Moresque”, and “Byzantine” for the vases described above without explicitly referring to the Alhambra or using the Russian term *mavritanskii* (Moorish), which would soon come into use.¹⁰¹ Second, while most of the decor was designed in Russia, the materials had been purchased throughout Europe. Except for some Persian fabrics for chairs and screens, no authentic material was used. The chairs, stools, fire screen, and log bucket came from the previous bathroom, designed in the 1830s by Auguste de Montferrand and saved from the devastating fire of 1837.¹⁰² It is assumed that Montferrand’s bathroom already had an Orientalizing design, probably due to the slightly Orientalizing style of the stools with mother-of-pearl inlay.¹⁰³

Briullov’s spectacular bathroom was one of the earliest neo-Moorish interiors in Europe, and perhaps the first interior in Europe clearly inspired by the plates of Goury and Jones, whose detailed analysis of the decorations in the Alhambra’s Nasrid palaces would have a decisive impact on the Moorish Revival. The bathroom in the Winter Palace illustrates how quickly new informa-

94 “[...] настоящую идею о блеск и великолепии жилищ халифских”; “[...] с полнейшею верностью”, Bashutskii 1839, 117.

95 “Да, художник похитил всё это из Альямбры, и верно никто не поставит ему в вину этого похищения”, Bashutskii 1839, 117. Briullov apparently suggested a craftsman who had spent several years in Spain and knew its architecture to realize the interior decoration; see Arutiunian 2012, 17.

96 On the drawing, see Guseva et al. 2014, 163–164.

97 In contrast, floors and floor coverings in Islamic buildings never carry inscriptions.

98 The document is held at the RGIA and has been transcribed by Tatiana Pashkova (2014b, 261).

99 Documents preserved at the RGIA indicate that Nicholas I had also ordered a more functional copper bathtub set into the floor that could be hidden by pulling the divan over it, as it did not match the rest of the decoration; see Zimin 2012, 402–404.

100 “[...] мебели из Белого Швейцарского дерева (Moresque) украшенной перламутром с персидскою материею и вещицей”; see the inventory as transcribed in Pashkova 2014b, 261.

101 The French term “Moresque” was and is used analogously to the term “Moorish”, but has an even broader meaning than the latter.

102 Tatiana Pashkova (2014b, 259) includes a plan from the GMI SPB showing the planned reinstallation of this furniture in 1839.

103 See Punin 2011, 56, footnote 18; Guseva et al. 2014, 163.



62 Villa of Aleksei L'vov, St. Petersburg, neo-Moorish interior, Alberto Cavos, 1841.

tion about the Alhambra became available in Russia, and how Briullov, who had previously shown interest in the Islamic architecture of al-Andalus, was just as quick to adopt and implement it in his designs.

3.6 The Neo-Moorish Interior at the Villa of Aleksei L'vov

Architect Alberto Cavos, 1841

The observations above reflect the main characteristics of early Russian Alhambriзм and neo-Moorish style. Romantic literature shaped the popular image of the Alhambra while profound knowledge of Nasrid decor was transmitted through the illustrated publications that architects used as models for their neo-Moorish drafts. These principles also apply to the earliest extant example of a neo-Moorish interior in St. Petersburg, on the sec-

ond floor of the former villa of Aleksei L'vov (1798–1870) at 22 Karavannaia Street, which was probably created in 1841 when the architect Alberto Cavos (Al'bert Kavos 1800–1863) remodeled the main wing of the mansion after L'vov acquired the property in 1840 (Cat. no. 5).¹⁰⁴

Although much of the room's decor has been preserved, parts of the walls have been painted over, the

¹⁰⁴ The violinist and composer Aleksei L'vov may have met Cavos through his father, a renowned composer and conductor from Venice who had settled in St. Petersburg as the music director of the Imperial Theatres. Alberto Cavos was born in St. Petersburg and studied at the University of Padua. After his return to Russia, he worked as an assistant to Carlo Rossi before specializing in theatre construction and acoustics. In 1847 he published his *Traité de la construction des théâtres* in Paris (see Cavos 1847). Among his works are the Mariinskii Theatre in St. Petersburg and the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow; see Kirikov/Ginzburg 1996, 148–149; Isachenko et al. 1998, 999.



63 Villa of Aleksei L'vov, St. Petersburg, ceiling of the neo-Moorish interior, Alberto Cavos, 1841.

original doors are missing, and an additional door has been added (Figs 62 and 63). The room is now used as a college classroom and its lower walls are concealed behind protective paneling. Despite these changes, the interior, painted blue, green, red, and gold, seems authentic as it has not been renovated, unlike most other surviving neo-Moorish interiors.

The Nasrid decorative style was adopted for this room and applied according to nineteenth-century design principles common in Western Europe and Russia. The ceiling, for example, is structured with circular elements recalling Briullov's design at Grafskaja Slavianka, and the desired Alhambresque touch is achieved by the simple integration of eight-pointed stars and ataurique ornamentation. Some sections of this leaf decoration are worked in stucco, while others are simply painted (Fig. 63). The decorative elements on the walls are based on simplified versions of Nasrid models; they include narrow columns with neo-Nasrid capitals, imitations of

Islamic transennae windows, a circular decorative element in the spandrels of the central arcade, and a muqarnaš frieze.

It is difficult to estimate the original atmosphere of the room, but the infinite reflections in the mirrors set into the walls (an element alien to the Islamic architecture of al-Andalus) give it a lightness and vastness whereby it may have resembled Nasrid courtyards with arcades (Figs 64 and 65). According to nineteenth-century floor plans of the building, only this interior has a circular element in the center of the room where a fountain had once stood.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ See TsGIA SPB, f. 513, op. 102, d. 9785, l. 18. Fountains were an important element of many Orientalizing and Alhambresque interiors, reflecting the fundamental importance of water in Islamic culture and architecture. The numerous fountains and water basins in the Nasrid palaces of the Alhambra had not only practical but also symbolic value.

64 Villa of Aleksei L'vov, St. Petersburg, stucco decoration and mirror in the neo-Moorish interior, Alberto Cavos, 1841.



65 Alhambra, Granada, Court of the Lions, fourteenth century.





66 *Maison du Département des Apanages à St. Pétersbourg (Ancien Hôtel Pachkow), from *Zodchii*, 1882, pl. 53.*

This interior, probably inspired by contemporary publications about the Alhambra, can be considered a more original interpretation of Nasrid decor than Briullov's bathroom in the Winter Palace discussed earlier. As the maestro of the Imperial Chapel, Lvov was probably familiar with the bathroom in the Winter Palace, and it may have prompted him to commission a similar interior for his own villa. In 1834, he had attended a reception in Empress Aleksandra Fiodorovna's bathroom – an unusual venue from today's perspective – which was occasionally used for intimate get-togethers.¹⁰⁶ It is therefore likely that he had also seen the decoration in the bathroom designed by Briullov in 1838/39. The composer was a frequent guest of the Tsar's family and hosted many musical evenings at his home on Karavannaia Street, which the family visited as guests on several occasions.¹⁰⁷

3.7 The Neo-Moorish Bedroom at the Villa of Ivan Pashkov

Architect Harald Bosse, 1843–1845

The architect Harald Julius von Bosse (Garald Bosse, 1812–1894) was another author of several rather early

Russian interiors in neo-Moorish style. Born in Lievburg, near St. Petersburg, Bosse studied in Dresden and Darmstadt and then settled in St. Petersburg in 1831. He worked as an assistant to Aleksandr Briullov before specializing in the construction and furnishing of residential houses as an independent architect.¹⁰⁸ The earliest of his surviving mansions was designed between 1841 and 1845 for Cavalry Staff Captain Ivan Pashkov (1805–1869) at 39 Liteyniy Avenue, and its generously proportioned façade and projecting portico with caryatids are still impressive (Fig. 66). The interior decoration is an early example of eclecticism, which saw neoclassical

¹⁰⁶ Lvov mentions this evening in his memoirs; see Zimin 2012, 402; Pashkova 2014b, 259.

¹⁰⁷ See Aleksei Lvov's obituary in the journal *World Illustrated (Vsemirnaia illiustratsiia)* 5 (107), 1871, 47–48. Today Lvov is best known for composing the music for the Russian Empire's national anthem, *God save the Tsar! (Bozhe, Tsaria chrani!)* in 1833. For his biography, see *Imperatorskoe Russkoe Istoricheskoe Obschestvo* et al. 1914, 765–769.

¹⁰⁸ Since the training period in Germany was shorter than that in Russia, Bosse was able to catch up with many older Russian colleagues. On the biography and work of Bosse, see the two monographs by Vera Andreeva (2009, 2012), as well as Kirikov/Ginzburg 1996, 54–56; Isachenko et al. 1998, 341–359; NIMRAKh 2012.



67 Villa of Ivan Pashkov, St. Petersburg, doorway in the former neo-Moorish bedroom, Harald Bosse, 1843–1845.



68 Villa of Ivan Pashkov, St. Petersburg, detail of the carved door in the former neo-Moorish bedroom, Harald Bosse, 1843–1845.

uniformity abandoned in favor of a variety of styles, including Greek Revival, Renaissance Revival, and neo-Pompeian. On the second floor Bosse created an Alhambresque bedroom, of which only a few elements have survived (Cat. no. 6).

According to a 1857 description, the ceiling of the bedroom was painted in neo-Moorish style and then partially gilded, the walls were covered with fabrics ordered from Paris, the windows were crowned with carved lambrequins, and the upper part of the alcove was decorated with a geometric pattern in white and brown. Elsewhere light greens dominated the interior, which was fitted with carpets and a white marble fireplace with a mirror on top.¹⁰⁹ Today the last relics of this decoration are a polylobed arch on columns in front of the alcove, a few ceiling beams, and a carved door (Figs 67 and 68). Except for some decorative paintings on the door wings, all of these elements have been covered with layer after layer of paint over time.

Several prints may have served Bosse as inspiration for his neo-Nasrid columns and capitals: for example, Plate XVI of *Antigüedades árabes de España*, already published in 1787, and Plate XXXIV of Goury and Jones's *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*, published no later than 1842.¹¹⁰ The carved and painted

star ornamentation on the door suggest that Bosse modeled them on Goury and Jones's Plate XXXIII showing details of the door to the Hall of the Abencerrages.¹¹¹

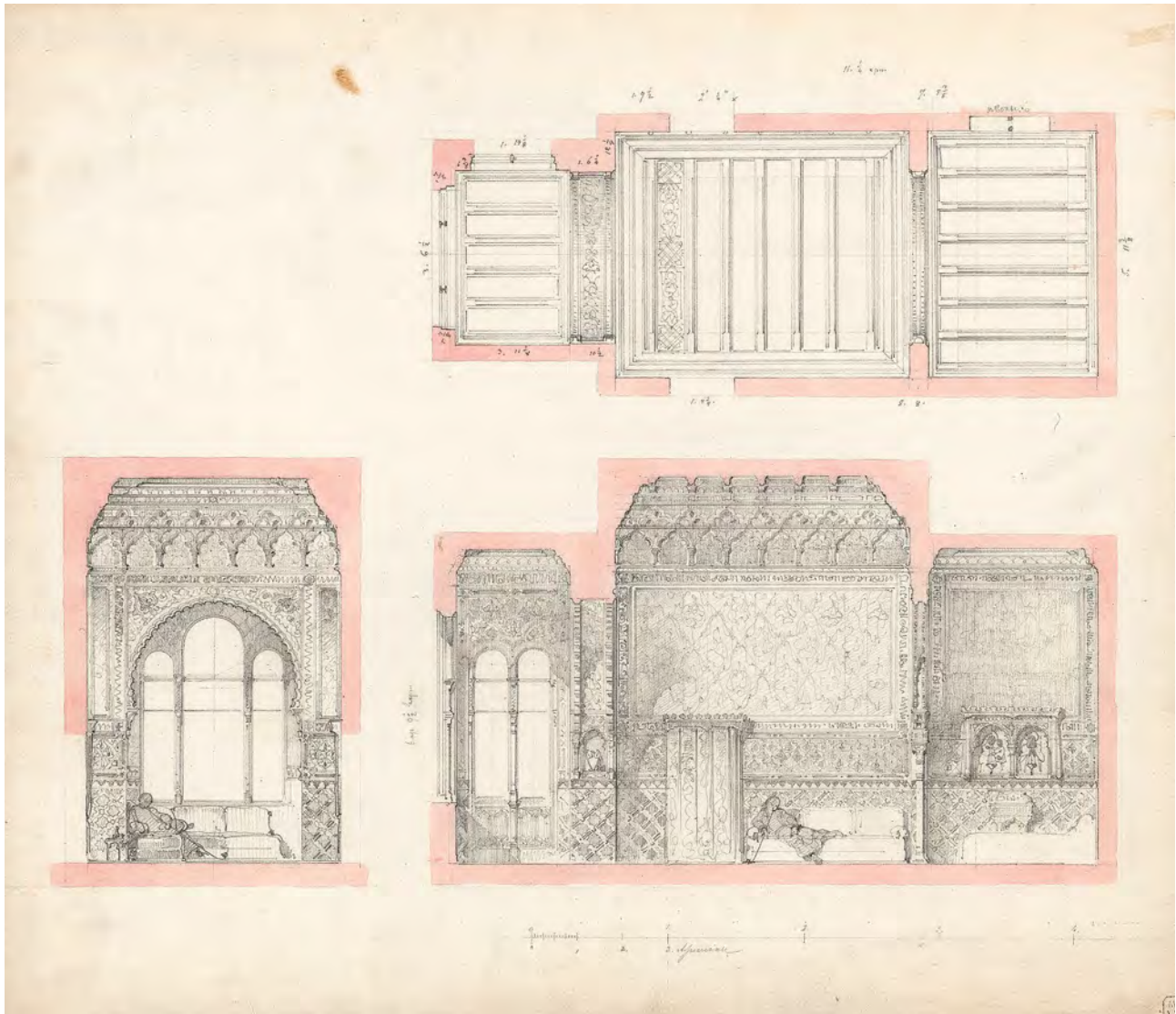
The ceiling may have been similar in design to that of an interior in the villa of Prince Lev Kochubei (1810–1890) at 30 Tchaikovsky Street, which Bosse designed a few years later (Cat. no. 7),¹¹² and whose ceiling alone, structured using round beams on brackets and decorated with ataurique foliage, testifies to the room's former Orientalizing decoration. While the ataurique is typical of Nasrid decoration, the beams are more characteristic of Mamlük ceilings in Egypt, several of which Pascal Coste (1787–1879) documented in his *Architecture arabe ou*

¹⁰⁹ See Andronova 2008, 71–72. Irina Andronova credits the interior to the architect Aleksandr Rezanov, who made some changes within the building around 1857, when it was adapted for use by the Department of Appanage. However, these changes concerned structural adaptations rather than new interior fittings.

¹¹⁰ See Lozano y Casela/Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando 1787; Goury/Jones 1842.

¹¹¹ See Goury/Jones 1842.

¹¹² The construction of the building was started in 1844/45 under the direction of Roman Kuz'min (1811–1867) and completed by Bosse between 1846 and 1849; see Andreeva 2009, 109–111, 2012, 100–109.



69 Harald Bosse, Draft for an interior in neo-Moorish style in the Villa of Mikhail Kochubei, ca. 1855, pencil and watercolor on paper, 44.5 × 48.5 cm. NIMRAKh, A-6401.

monuments du Kaire (1837).¹¹³ Nevertheless, the Orientalizing interior of Kochubei's villa was probably neo-Moorish in design, as a draft by Bosse for another Orientalizing interior in the mansion of Prince Lev Kochubei's brother Mikhail Kochubei (1816–1874), built between 1853 and 1857 at 7 Konnogvardeyskiy Boulevard (Fig. 69), suggests.¹¹⁴ Although this design was not realized, it shows a similar ceiling in a room with lavish decoration including arches, niches, friezes, bands with inscriptions, patterns, and tiles clearly evoking the Alhambra. It was to serve as a smoking room, as the drawing, which shows two men sitting on divans with long pipes, makes clear.¹¹⁵

This drawing by Bosse and the remnants of his Alhambresque interiors in the villas of Pashkov and Lev Kochubei confirm that the neo-Moorish style had its place in his work, perhaps because he was well-ac-

¹¹³ Coste's publications on Egypt and Persia were important works of reference for architects; see Coste 1837, 1867; also Brignoli 2006; Jasmin 2006.

¹¹⁴ Lev and Mikhail Kochubei were sons of Viktor Kochubei (1768–1834), who had been Russia's Minister of the Interior. On Mikhail Kochubei's mansion see Andreeva 2009, 116, 144–155, 2012, 110–121.

¹¹⁵ Although the Orientalizing interior was not realized, the villa

acquainted with Briullov's Orientalizing interiors from the 1830s through their earlier collaboration. Bosse was a prolific architect and a master of interior design, working in a variety of styles, whose talent led to his appointment as professor of the Imperial Academy of Arts (1854) and later architect to the Imperial Court (1858).¹¹⁶ He would create his most interesting neo-Moorish interior around 1860 (see Cat. no. 11).

3.8 Books as Transfer Media, and Briullov as a Pioneer of the Moorish Revival

The case studies examined in this chapter show how architects in St. Petersburg, none of whom had first-hand experience of the Alhambra, created neo-Moorish designs in the 1830s and 1840s based on illustrated volumes about the Islamic architecture of al-Andalus. The most important of these publications, the key sources of knowledge about the Nasrid palaces and their ornamental details in the first half of the nineteenth century, were published before 1845. They were available in Russia and were probably accessible to architects in the extensive library of the Imperial Academy of Arts, which was founded in the eighteenth century and holds the most relevant nineteenth-century volumes on the Islamic architecture of al-Andalus.

Briullov's works at Grafskaja Slavianka and the Winter Palace mirror the rising quality of printed templates in the 1830s, including Prangey and Goury/Jones's novel color illustrations of the Alhambra. Bosse's examples, on the other hand, testify to the wide variety of pictorial material used as models, not necessarily reflecting only a single architectural tradition. The fact that Briullov, Bosse, L'vov, and the Tsar's family were acquainted indicates how important networks were for the spread of new decorative forms. Briullov and Bosse, two of St. Petersburg's most important nineteenth-century architects, were key figures in the development of the neo-Moorish style, although it was a rather marginal phenomenon in their oeuvres, which are characterized by stylistic diversity.¹¹⁷

It must be emphasized that Briullov's Alhambresque interiors from the 1830s onwards were pioneering and

may have been the first neo-Moorish style interiors anywhere in the world. In France, Orientalizing decorations were fashionable in Parisian cafés around 1830, but whether they included Alhambresque designs is not known.¹¹⁸ In Great Britain, John Foster's (1786–1846) Moorish Arch over the Liverpool & Manchester Railway line at Edge Hill in Liverpool can be traced to the 1830s, as can an entrance arch to Richard Ford's (1796–1858) residence Heavitree House in Exeter, which was decorated in neo-Moorish style around 1835.¹¹⁹ In Germany, several larger buildings with neo-Moorish elements were constructed starting in 1837,¹²⁰ while in Spain, Alhambresque interiors have been documented from the 1840s onwards.

became known as the "House of Moors" because of the busts of four dark-skinned men placed along the railing supports in front of the house, several of which were lost in the twentieth century and replaced with copies; see Andreeva 2012, 121.

116 One of his most famous works is the boudoir of Maria Aleksandrovna (née Marie of Hesse, 1824–1880) in the Winter Palace, designed in 1853 in neo-Rococo (or Rococo Revival) style.

117 Although Briullov's training was based on neoclassical principles, he is considered one of the first architects of Russian eclecticism as he had used multiple historicist styles in the same building since his earliest project; see Ol' 1955; Mikisha'ev 2012. On the bicentenary of Bosse's birth, a conference on historicism was held in St. Petersburg; see KGIOP 2012. For more on historicism and eclecticism in Russian architecture see, for example, Kirichenko 1978 and the three-volume opus by Andrei Punin (2011, 2014, 2020).

118 See Dumont/Hammadi 1988, 22–30.

119 See Barrios Rozúa 2010, 286–288. For more on Ford, see footnote 124 in Chapter 4.

120 These include the "Moorish Countryhouse" (*Maurisches Landhaus*, architect Ludwig von Zanth, 1837–1846) at the Wilhelma in Stuttgart (see pp. 172–174), the synagogue in Dresden (Gottfried Semper, 1838–1840) and the steam-engine house in Potsdam (Ludwig Persius, 1841–1843).

4. Studying the Alhambra On-site, 1845–1865

In the 1840s, the number of Russian travelers to Spain increased, marking the beginning of the second phase of Tsarist Russia's reception of the Alhambra. The Russians were especially fond of southern Spain, and Andalusia was one of their favorite destinations. The painter Ivan Aivasovskii, for example, visited Granada in 1843 or 1844 while traveling on a scholarship from the Imperial Academy of Arts. Prince Aleksei Saltykov (1806–1859), who had worked in the diplomatic service before becoming known as an artist and traveler following his early retirement in 1840, stopped in Granada in November 1844 before continuing his journey to India via North Africa.¹ Although he was impressed by the flowers, orange trees, and grapevines on the palace hill, he did not find the Alhambra's architecture as impressive as he had imagined it based on the accounts of other travelers, and concluded: "*Ce n'est qu'une faible et mesquine imitation en plâtre des féeriques palais que j'ai vus aux Indes.*"² Above all he criticized the small scale of the Nasrid palaces and the less valuable building materials used for their construction compared to those of the Islamic buildings he had seen in India, Egypt, and Persia.³

However, most Russian visitors gave a positive and even enthusiastic picture of Granada and the Alhambra, including Vasilii Botkin (1812–1869) in his famous *Letters on Spain (Pis'ma ob Ispanii)*.⁴ Having returned from his trip through Spain from August to October 1845, over the next six years the writer, critic, and translator published seven essays in the journal *The Contemporary (Sovremennik)*, in which he reported his experiences, described various cities, and discussed Spanish history and literature.⁵ Botkin was overwhelmed by Granada's climate and rich vegetation, and struck by the city's past. Taking lodgings for several weeks in a building located between the Alhambra and the Generalife, he visited the Nasrid palaces

daily. His descriptions of the halls and courtyards attest to his recognition of Nasrid architecture:

The East has scarcely produced anything better than the Court of Lions when it comes to lightness, grace, and delicacy of taste. I cannot give even a rough idea of the airy impression produced by the whole [...].⁶

Botkin repeatedly discusses the characteristics of Nasrid architecture, highlighting the stark contrast be-

- 1 Saltykov had already traveled extensively as a state employee stationed in Istanbul, Navplion, London, Florence, Rome, and Tehran. His great interest in India led him to visit it twice, in 1841–1843 and 1845/46. He published several books about his journeys, some of which he illustrated himself.
- 2 Soltykoff 1848, 319.
- 3 See Soltykoff 1848, 319–320.
- 4 See Botkin 1857, 359–448.
- 5 See *Sovremennik*, nos 3, 10, and 12, 1847; no. 11, 1848; nos 1 and 11, 1849, and no. 1, 1851. Botkin was celebrated as the Russian discoverer of Spain, which, according to Vissarion Belinskii (1811–1848), a literary critic and employee at the *Sovremennik*, was still *terra incognita* to Russia at that time (see Belinskii's *A View of Russian Literature in 1847 (Vzgliad na russkuiu literaturu 1847 goda)* in *Sovremennik*, no. 3, 1848). Botkin's *Letters on Spain* were received with enthusiasm, although some critics pointed out that his texts were not based exclusively on his own observations and contained information from other sources. Since Botkin, who spoke Spanish, had also translated various Spanish texts and poems, his letters were nevertheless the most comprehensive Russian publication on Spain at the time. A complete edition of Botkin's *Letters on Spain* was published in 1976; see Botkin 1857, 1976; and for more on Botkin's perceptions of Spain, Kataeva-Miakinen 1999, 16–42; Offord 2005, 143–165, for example.
- 6 "Едва ли восток произвел что-нибудь лучшее этого 'двора львов' по легкости, грации и деликатности вкуса. Я не могу дать даже приблизительного понятия о воздушности впечатления целого [...]", Botkin 1857, 418.

tween the austere design of the façades and the richly decorated interiors with their filigree work, lightness, and playfulness.⁷ While he was in Granada, a French daguerreotypist and a Swiss painter were working in the Nasrid palaces; the Alhambra was already a hub for artists and architects.⁸

In November 1845, probably only a few days or weeks after Botkin's departure, the composer Mikhail Glinka (1804–1857) visited Granada and stayed for about four months.⁹ In letters to his mother, Glinka told her that the Alhambra reminded him of a “magical castle” (*volzhebny zamok*).¹⁰ Somewhat later he wrote:

A few days ago, a Russian architect and his English friend with whom I had recently spent time in Madrid arrived. They are quite lovely, educated people. They have come to draw the various buildings here, in particular the palace of the Moorish kings inside the fortress of the Alhambra. The filigree work on the ceilings and walls in the palace is beyond description. In our free time we stroll around the city's charming outskirts and spend most of the evening together.¹¹

The identity of the Englishman mentioned is not known, but the Russian was Karl Beine (1815–1858), probably the first architecture graduate from the Imperial Academy of Arts to study the Alhambra on the spot, as many others did in the following decades.¹²

4.1 Russian Architects in Granada

Russian architects who traveled to Spain and studied Islamic architecture in situ played an important role in the spread of the neo-Moorish style in Russia. Most had been sent abroad on a government scholarship following training at the Imperial Academy of Arts. Such funded trips (*pensionerstvo*) were part of a sophisticated educational system that had been promoting the Academy's top painting, sculpture and architecture graduates since the eighteenth century.¹³ The imperial decree *On Artists Kept On at the Academy to Hone Their Skills, and Scholarship Recipients Dispatched to Foreign Lands*¹⁴ of December 19, 1830, stipulated that every three years, up to

six graduates who had won a Major Gold Medal should be awarded a six-year travel grant.¹⁵ The scholarship allowed its holders (*pensionery*) to continue their studies abroad. For many decades the main destinations for graduate architects were Rome and Italy, where they pri-

- 7 See for example Botkin 1857, 414–415, 428–429. Since Nasrid arches are not supportive but purely decorative, they could be designed very elegantly and even perforated, contributing to the lightness mentioned by Botkin.
- 8 See Botkin 1857, 444. The Swiss painter was probably Wilhelm Meyer (1806–1848) from Zurich, who visited Spain in 1845/46. A virtual exhibition (*Wilhelm Meyer and the Dream of al-Andalus*, 2016–2019) of Meyer's drawings of the Alhambra, held at the Kunsthaus Zürich, and the significance of al-Andalus in nineteenth-century art and architecture was realized as part of the University of Zurich's research project *Mudejarismo and Moorish Revival in Europe*.
- 9 Glinka, who had studied folklore music and dance in Spain for two years, composed the overtures *Aragonese Jota (Aragonskaia khota*, 1845) and *Summer Night in Madrid (Noch' v Madride*, 1848), which introduced Spanish motifs into Russian music. For his correspondence from Spain, see Alvarez Cañibano 1996. A virtual exhibition on Glinka and Spain was launched in 2014 by the Manuscripts Department of the RNB, based on Glinka's written legacy; see <http://expositions.nlr.ru/ex_manus/Glinka> (accessed May 6, 2023).
- 10 See Glinka's letter of December 5, 1845, cited in Gin'ko 2012, 139; Manuscripts Department of the RNB, f. 190, d. 112.
- 11 “На днях приехали сюда русский архитектор с товарищем англичанином, с коими я провел последнее время в Мадриде. Они очень милые и образованные люди. Приехали сюда рисовать разные здесь находящиеся здания и, в особенности, дворец мавританских королей, находящийся в крепости Аламбра. Потолки и стены в этом дворце – филигранной работы – превосходят всякое описание. В свободное время гуляем по очаровательным окрестностям города и вечера большую частью проводим вместе”, Mikhail Glinka, January 29, 1846, in a letter from Granada (as cited in Gin'ko 2012, 144; Manuscripts Department of the RNB, f. 190, d. 113).
- 12 Beine gave Glinka a watercolor entitled *Granada* (1846), showing two palm trees and the city in the background (see Manuscripts Department of the RNB, f. 190, d. 246).
- 13 On the pensionerstvo at the Imperial Academy of the Arts see Gavrichkov 1993; Bogdan/Shuiskii 2000; Alekseeva et al. 2007; Serova 2008.
- 14 See *О художниках, оставляемых в Академии для усовершенствования, и пенсионерах, посылаемых в чужие края*, in Olenin 2010, 97–99. The scholarship amounted to 300 chervonets per year plus 200 chervonets for the outward and return journeys.
- 15 Each year the students had to compete for several awards and scholarships.



70 Karl Beine, Interior of the Mosque of Cordoba, 1845, watercolor on paper, 36.8 × 26.4 cm. NIMRAKh, A-7569.

marily studied ancient architecture, and Paris, where they attended lectures at the art academies and learned about new architectural types, styles, and techniques. The stay abroad was divided into several phases: first the architects traveled extensively, studying architectural monuments in different countries, and then they focused on one landmark and documented its floor plans, elevations, and sections. The final project was dedicated to the graphic restoration or reconstruction of the landmark and was intended to reflect the architect's entire range of theoretical and practical knowledge and skills. To prepare for this task they had to collect historical information and, in rare cases, conduct excavations.¹⁶

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century, as eclecticism displaced neoclassicism, it became possible for the pensionery to travel more extensively and broaden their interests.¹⁷ The study of ancient Greek and Roman monuments decreased in favor of lesser-known architectural styles from different epochs. Due to the great enthusiasm for Spain and the Alhambra, which had become an icon of Islamic architecture and thus of the

Orient within Europe, the Iberian Peninsula, and particularly Andalusia, were among the new destinations.¹⁸ At least eight Russian architects visited Granada between 1845 and 1865; a few of their drawings of the Alhambra were acquired for the Imperial Academy of Arts, while others remained in private ownership. Nevertheless the NIMRAKh holds an extensive but little-known collection on Islamic monuments in Spain, consisting of drawings, models, and plaster casts of the Alhambra, as discussed later in this chapter.¹⁹ In addition to these, the pensionery's regular reports to the Academy's Council and the minutes of the Council's meetings provide information about their activities abroad.²⁰ The brief overview of the architects who visited Granada up until 1865 and their activities in the Alhambra, below, is followed by a detailed discussion of the work of a few selected pensionery before turning to the Moorish Revival interiors created in St. Petersburg at that time.

Karl Beine

Karl Beine, who visited Spain in 1845/46, graduated from the Imperial Academy of Arts in 1836 and then worked as an assistant to Aleksandr Briullov.²¹ He successfully participated in various competitions and taught at the Academy before being sent abroad on a scholarship in

¹⁶ See Gavrichkov 1993, 6.

¹⁷ See Lisovskii 1982, 96–98.

¹⁸ The destinations and tasks of the nineteenth-century pensionerstvo changed constantly. While for a long time the pensionery traveled mainly to Western Europe, Russia itself attracted their attention from the 1870s as interest in pre-Petrine Russian architecture increased and the Russian Revival style emerged.

¹⁹ The museum's collection includes several thousand works by pensionery, of which those relevant to this study have been consulted.

²⁰ A valuable compilation of excerpts from the minutes of the Council's meetings was published in three volumes by the art historian and writer Piotr Petrov (1827–1891) on the centenary of the Imperial Academy of Arts; see Petrov 1864, 1865, 1866. The pensionery's letters are held at the RGIA in the Imperial Academy of Arts collection (f. 789).

²¹ As he was involved in the reconstruction of the Winter Palace, he may also have worked on the design of the bathroom in neo-Moorish style (Cat. no. 4); see Bashutskii 1839, 109.

1841.²² Beine's interest in the Islamic architecture of al-Andalus is reflected in, for example, his watercolor of the former Mosque of Córdoba, which was the building most often sketched by Russian architects in Andalusia after the Alhambra in Granada. It depicts the area in front of the *mihrāb* (a niche facing Mecca in a mosque) with its distinctive intersected arches (Fig. 70). His drawings of the Alhambra from his early 1846 visit are not known.²³

Aleksandr Kol'b

Aleksander Kol'b (1819–1887) visited Granada during his pensionerstvo, probably towards the end of the 1840s.²⁴ He suggested measuring and drawing the Alhambra to the Council of the Imperial Academy of Arts in order to earn himself the title of academician, and his application was accepted on September 22, 1849.²⁵ Yet Kol'b appears to have changed his plans. When given his title in 1853, it was not for a survey of the Alhambra but for drawings of the Capella Palatina in Palermo and the Cathedral of Vasily the Blessed (*Sobor Vasiliia Blazhennovo*), commonly known as Saint Basil's Cathedral, in Moscow.²⁶ His Spanish drawings, held at the NIMRAKh, show architectural details of the *alcázares* of Toledo and Segovia, and of the former synagogues of Santa María la Blanca and El Tránsito in Toledo, built in the Mudéjar style in the thirteenth and fourteenth century respectively, but include no representations of the Alhambra.²⁷

Aleksandr Rezanov and Aleksander Krakau

The architects Aleksandr Rezanov (1817–1887) and Aleksander Krakau (1817–1888) stayed in Granada between 1848 and 1850. The two former fellow-students were sent abroad for six years in 1842 and dedicated their final project as pensionery to a survey and visual reconstruction of Orvieto Cathedral in Italy, on which they worked for four years in collaboration with Nikolai Benua (Nicolas Benois, 1813–1898).²⁸ They then applied to the Council of the Imperial Academy of Arts for an extension of their stay abroad, as noted in the minutes of the Council's meeting of September 30, 1848: "they wish to study the monuments of Moorish architecture in Granada and Córdoba."²⁹ As they were considered accomplished and hard-working architects, their request was granted.

Rezanov and Krakau were already in Spain, as the supervisor of the pensionery in Rome, Lev Kil' (Lev Kiel, 1793–1851), had given them permission to travel there in March 1848.³⁰ After visiting the Alhambra, the two architects concluded in a report:

Despite the numerous renovations [undertaken] at various times, [the castle] still has vast reserves of beauty. The layout is incomparable. The Hall of the Ambassadors, the large and small courtyards, and the middle section of the façade are enchanting. The richness, variety, and interplay of colors and shapes, so new and so original, make one venerate the memory of their creators!³¹

- 22 Beine spent much time in Italy but also visited France, Greece, Turkey, Syria, and Egypt; see Petrov 1866, 49; Alekseeva et al. 2007, 146–151. After returning to Russia in 1849, he received further commissions abroad, for example in Florence and in London, where he participated in setting up the Russian section at the Great Exhibition (1851). Beine's work as a scholarship holder was highly appreciated by the Council of the Imperial Academy of Arts. In the 1850s he was appointed first as an academician, then as a professor of perspective drawing, and finally as a professor of architecture. On Beine's biography see Imperatorskoe Russkoe Istoricheskoe Obschestvo/Polovtsov 1900, 660; Kondakov 1915, 292.
- 23 During his visits to the Alhambra he would certainly have met other artists studying Nasrid architecture. The above-mentioned Swiss painter Wilhelm Meyer and the Prussian architect Carl von Diebitsch (see footnotes 8 and 38 in this chapter) were in Granada for this purpose in the same year.
- 24 On Kolb's biography see Kondakov 1915, 342; Kirikov/Ginzburg 1996, 165; Isachenko et al. 1998, 1001.
- 25 See Petrov 1866, 108.
- 26 See Petrov 1866, 202.
- 27 See NIMRAKh, A-10067, A-10068, A-10070, A-10072 to A-10075. The drawings are part of an album acquired for the Imperial Academy of Arts in 1894 (see note on the album; also RGIA, f. 789, op. 34, d. 53).
- 28 See Petrov 1865, 417, and Krakau's necrologue in the journal *Zodchii*, no. 3/4, 1889, 20–22. The three architects' study of Orvieto Cathedral was published much later in a book with thirty plates; see Benois et al. 1877. For Krakau's drawings of Italy see Alekseeva et al. 2007, 193–199.
- 29 "[...] они желают исследовать памятники мавританской архитектуры в Гранаде и Кордобе", Petrov 1866, 93.
- 30 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 1, ch. 2 1841, d. 2611, l. 23.
- 31 "Несмотря на многие и разновременных возобновления, он всё ещё сохранил в себе бездну прекрасного. План бесподоб-

Like most visitors, Krakau and Rezanov were impressed by the architecture of the Nasrid palaces and the variety of their unusual ornamentation. While there is no information on Aleksandr Rezanov's Spanish drawings, the NIMRAKh holds a large album of Aleksandr Krakau's drawings and sketches, and two watercolors of the Alhambra. Krakau may have been the first Russian architect to study the Alhambra in detail (see Chapter 4.2). Both he and Rezanov later created their own neo-Moorish interiors, although not immediately after their return to Russia (see Cat. nos 12 and 15).

Pavel Notbek

In the following years another four graduate architects from the Imperial Academy of Arts traveled to Granada, three of whom dedicated their final project as pensionery to the Alhambra. The most enigmatic of these was Pavel Notbek (Paul Nottbeck, 1824–1877), who left St. Petersburg in 1850 with an assignment from the Council of the Academy of Arts to study Islamic architectural heritage in Spain. Arriving in Granada in 1852, he spent ten years studying the Alhambra and producing drawings and a vast number of plaster casts of architectural details and ornamentation, as well as architectural models of some of the Nasrid palaces' most famous rooms. In 1862 he shipped his entire collection to St. Petersburg, where it was acquired for the Imperial Academy of Arts and contributed to the dissemination of detailed knowledge on the Islamic architecture of al-Andalus in St. Petersburg (see Chapter 4.3).

Nikolai Briullov

The somewhat younger architect Nikolai Briullov (1826–1885) must have met Notbek in Granada, but did not report the encounter. On February 3, 1857 he wrote to the Council of the Imperial Academy of Arts that he had been “studying Moorish architecture in the Alhambra” since November 1856 and that his current address was “the Tower of Justice in the Alhambra, Granada.”³² Unlike his uncle, Aleksandr Briullov, who knew the Nasrid palaces only from publications, Nikolai Briullov had the chance to study them in situ.³³ He later created a neo-Moorish interior in St. Petersburg and sketched an Alhambresque design for a hall in the Winter Palace that was never realized (see Cat. no. 16 and p. 177).

Karl Rakhau and Karl Kol'man

Towards the end of Notbek's extended stay in Granada, the architects Karl Rakhau (Karl Rachau, 1830–1880) and Karl Kol'man (Karl Kollmann, 1835–1889) took up their work in the Alhambra, dedicating their final scholarship project to a graphic survey and reconstruction of the Tower of the Princesses (*Torre de las Infantas*), for which they were awarded a medal at the 1863 Paris Salon (see Chapter 4.4). Once back in St. Petersburg, Rakhau occasionally made use of the stylistic vocabulary he had acquired in Spain. He was one of the most important architects of the Russian Moorish Revival in the second half of the nineteenth century (see Cat. nos 14, 21, and 22).³⁴

The years 1852 to 1863 saw Russian architects' most intense exploration of the Alhambra. The Imperial Academy of Arts exhibited selected works by scholarship holders returning from abroad or purchased them for its museum. Although it is difficult to determine how the presence of this material influenced the design of neo-Moorish architecture in St. Petersburg, it is reasonable to assume that the Academy's growing Alhambra Collection provided architects creating neo-Moorish designs with visual material. The most important works in this collection are those of Krakau, Notbek, Rakhau and Kol'man.

ный, зала посланников, большой и малый двор и средняя часть фасада очаровательны. Богатство, разнообразие, игра красок и форм, которые так новы, так оригинальны, заставляют благоговеть перед памятью их создателей”, RGIA, f. 789, op. 1, ch. 2 1848, d. 3407, l. 2.

32 “[...] занимаюсь изучением мавританской архитектуры в Альгамбре”; “Адрес мой Torre de la Justicia en la Alhambra, Granada”, RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1857, d. 7, l. 7. Nikolai Briullov had been sent abroad in 1852, and after his return in 1860 was given the title of academician based on the drawings he had made during his pensionerstvo; see Petrov 1866, 172, 353.

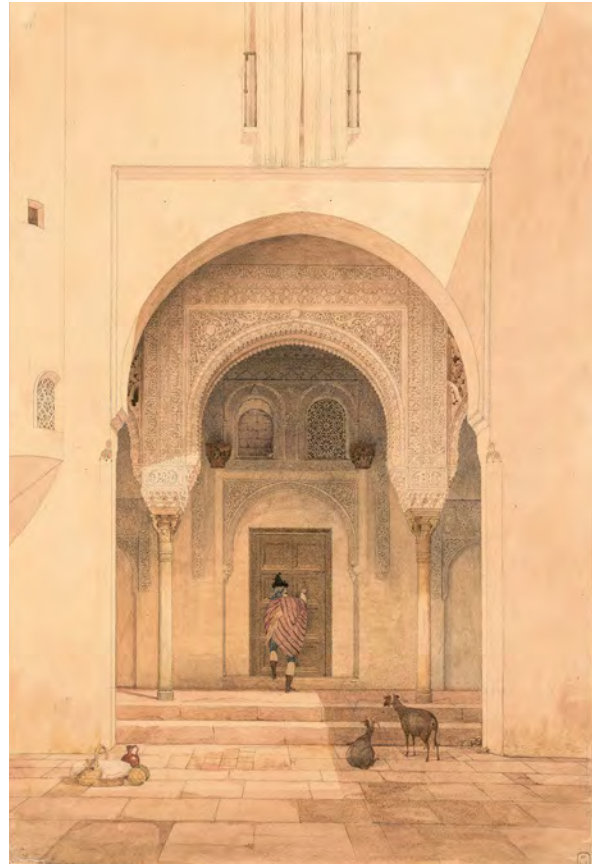
33 An album by Nikolai Briullov with drawings of the Alhambra is held at the State Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow.

34 See also Kaufmann 2023.

4.2 Aleksandr Krakau's Alhambra Album, ca. 1849

One of Krakau's watercolors from Granada, titled *Court of the Governor in Granada (Patio del Gobernador a Granada)*, shows the entrance to the Golden Room (*Cuarto Dorado*; Fig. 71). As in the Middle Ages, when it was used by Muslim court officials and secretaries, this area of the Nasrid palaces was later reserved for Granada's Christian officials. When it was transformed into a Christian palace at the end of the fifteenth century, the arcades in front of the Golden Room were partially obscured by a new wall, which was only removed some time between 1965 and 1978.³⁵ Comparing Krakau's drawing with a recent photograph of this part of the building one can see which parts of the decoration have been added or removed since he was there (Fig. 6). Unlike John Frederick Lewis, who drew the same view unadorned in the early 1830s (Fig. 72), Krakau focused on a precise depiction of the Nasrid elements, representing later additions rather schematically and glossing over their poor condition.³⁶ Both artists enlivened their representations with people wearing traditional dress.

Krakau's Alhambra album, produced around 1849, contains 61 glued-in studies and a loose sheet.³⁷ The architect documented the most famous halls and courtyards including the Hall of the Ambassadors (*Sala de los Embajadores*), the Hall of the Ship (*Sala de la Barca*), the Hall of the Kings (*Sala de los Reyes*), the Hall of the Two Sisters (*Sala de las Dos Hermanas*), the Court of the Myrtles, and the Court of the Lions. He drew, for example, a floor plan of the Court of the Lions and an elevation of the Hall of the Two Sisters, as well as plans, elevations, and details of architectural elements such as stalactite vaults, arches, capitals, corbels, alicatados, armaduras and, of course, the *yaserías*: stucco decorations and ornamented stucco panels (see Figs 73–75). The drawings have captions and comments in Russian and Spanish and are executed in various techniques, mostly in ink and watercolor with some in pencil only. Krakau used frottage for about a fifth of the sheets, placing the paper directly on the ornamentation and rubbing over it with graphite before reworking and coloring the rubbing pro-



71 Aleksandr Krakau, *Patio del Gobernador a Granada*, ca. 1849, watercolor on paper, 56.6 × 36.6 cm. NIMRAKh, A-7584.

duced (see Fig. 75). Most of his drawings show only the essential information necessary to understand a motif, an elevation, or a floor plan in its entirety, for example only half of an ornament or a quarter of a floor plan is executed in detail, leaving the viewer to derive the rest from this. Krakau intentionally recorded information without aiming for an atmospheric representation of the Alhambra's architecture. His drawings are more manifold and precise than, for example, the sketches of the

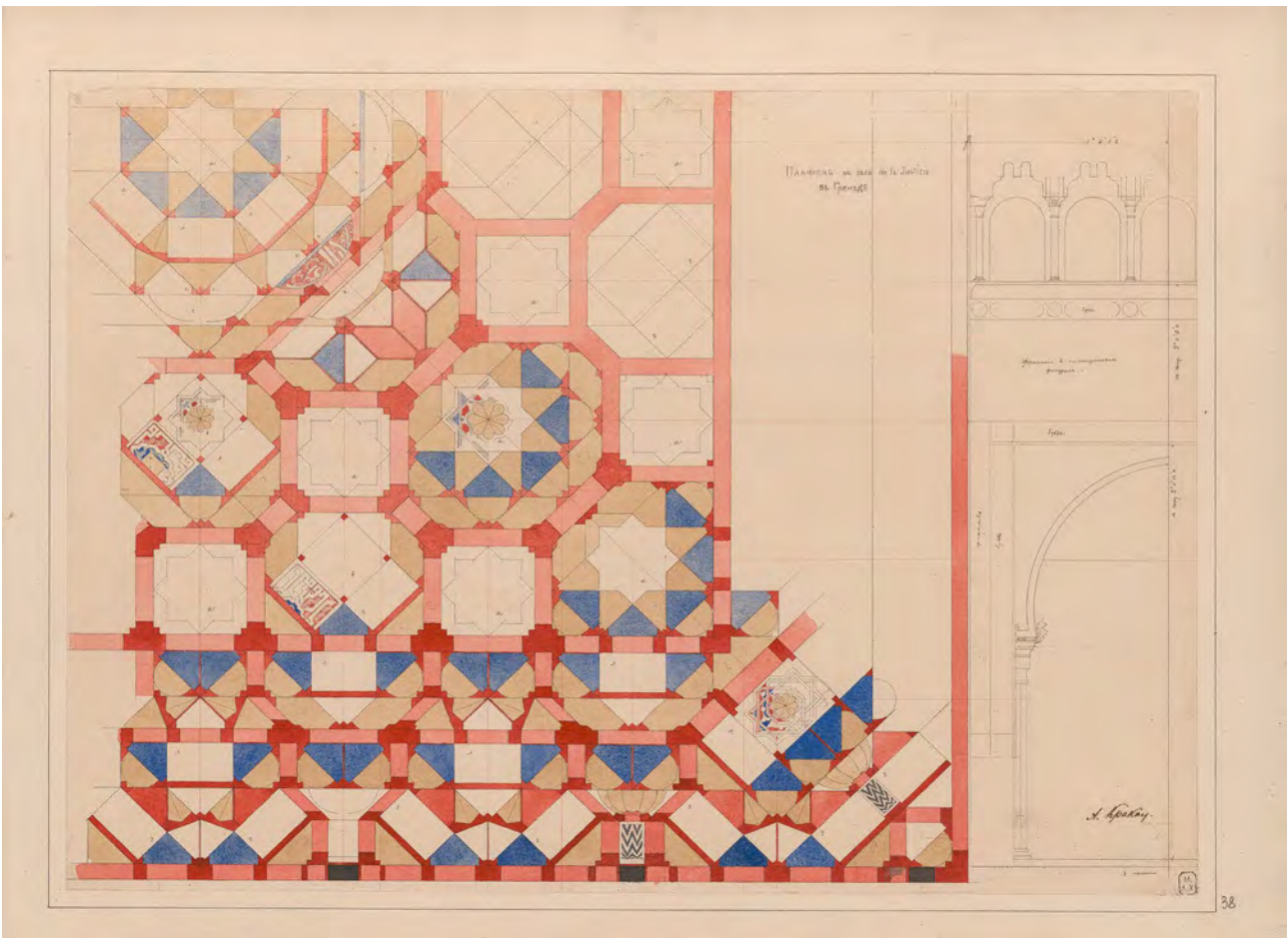
35 See Fernández-Puertas 1980, 10–11.

36 The second of Krakau's two watercolors, a *View of the Catholic Chapel in One of the Halls of the Alhambra*, gives an idea of how the monument was used in the mid-nineteenth century. It shows a mihrāb used as a doorway to an adjoining Catholic chapel (probably the Oratory (*Oratorio*) next to the Mexuar, where a chapel had been installed after 1492); see NIMRAKh, A-7583.

37 See NIMRAKh, A-25174 to A-25235.



72 John Frederick Lewis, *Entrance to the Mosque*, from idem., *Sketches and Drawings of the Alhambra, made during a Residence in Granada, in the Years 1833–1834*, London: Hodgson & Graves, 1835, pl. 21.



73 Aleksandr Krakau, *Ceiling of the Hall of Justice in Granada*, ca. 1849, ink and watercolor on paper, 36.9 × 50.2 cm. NIMRAKh, A-25211.



74 Aleksandr Krakau, *Doorway at the entry to the Mirador de la Lindaraja*, ca. 1849, ink and watercolor on paper, 42.3 × 27.1 cm. NIMRAKh, A-25199.



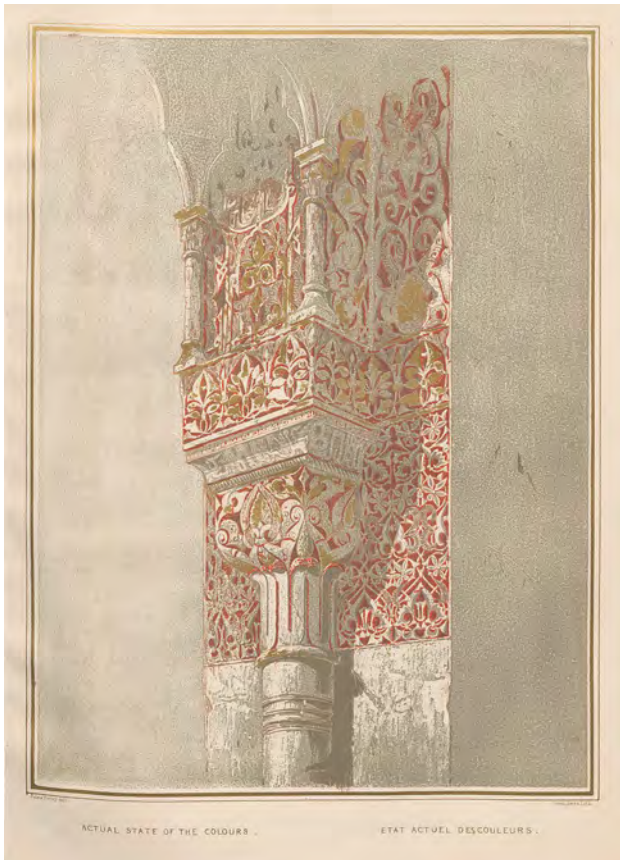
75 Aleksandr Krakau, *Adornamiento de la Antesala de Comarech [sic]*, ca. 1849, ink and watercolor on paper, 44.2 × 35 cm. NIMRAKh, A-25181.

Prussian Carl von Diebitsch (1819–1869), one of the first German architects to study the Alhambra on site a few years earlier.³⁸ Krakau colored his drawings of the stucco ornamentation in blue, red, beige, and sometimes green, completing them with fine drawing in black and white. His range of colors is slightly wider than the blue, red, gold, and white which Owen Jones used for his copies of stucco ornaments and which had a tremendous impact on the coloring of many Moorish Revival interiors. The original colorful paintwork on the actual stucco decorations at the Alhambra has largely faded and in places disappeared altogether over the centuries, making it difficult to imagine the original appearance of the halls. Jones portrays the state of the coloration in the 1830s in one of his plates, describing in the accompanying text how the secondary colors, violet, green and orange, were found only on the alicatados, while the stucco decoration

was painted exclusively in the primary colors, blue, red, and yellow (gold), although the metallic blue had turned green over time (Fig. 76).³⁹ Although some colors have indeed changed due to oxidation, examination of the remaining paint has shown that the coloring of the stucco ornamentation at the Alhambra was more varied than Jones, whose concept was the result of idealization, sug-

³⁸ Diebitsch's sketches of the Alhambra are held at the Architecture Museum of the Technical University of Berlin (*Architekturmuseum der Technischen Universität Berlin*), where the exhibition *A Fashionable Style. Carl von Diebitsch und das Maurische Revival* was held in 2017/18; see Giese/Varela Braga 2017a.

³⁹ See Goury/Jones 1842, text to Plate XXXVIII. Jones claims that the increasing use of secondary colors in Nasrid art should be seen as a sign of decadence and that the same development – in the sense of abandoning pure primary colors – can also be observed in the art of ancient cultures such as Greek and Egyptian.



76 Jules Goury and Owen Jones, *Actual state of the colours*, from idem., *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*, Vol. 1, London: Owen Jones, 1842, pl. XXXVIII.



77 Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey, *Antesala, ou Salle de la Barca*, from idem., *Choix d'ornements moresques de l'Alhambra. Ouvrage faisant suite à l'Atlas in folio Monuments arabes et moresques de Cordoue, Séville et Grenade*, Paris: A. Hauser, 1842, pl. 10.

gests.⁴⁰ Like Krakau's drawings, those of Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey similarly reflect a different conception of color to that of Jones. The hand-colored copy of his *Choix d'ornements moresques de l'Alhambra* from 1842, now held at the Library of the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg, depicts an ornament in the Hall of the Ship (Fig. 77, lower right), with coloring similar to that in Krakau's representation.

Drawings such as those of Aleksandr Krakau are important sources when it comes to retracing the history of the restoration and reconstruction of the Alhambra. For example Krakau documented the *mirador* (a covered viewpoint) of the Partal Palace (*Palacio del Partal*) more extensively than all the other authors of nineteenth-century publications on the Alhambra. The Palace was built, as its decorative style suggests, in the early fourteenth century during the reign of Sultan Muḥammad III

(r. 1302–1309/701–708 AH); the *mirador* was probably added later. What remained of this early palace was substantially altered in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries due to changes of use, restorations, and sometimes falsifying reconstructions (Fig. 78).⁴¹ An unparalleled

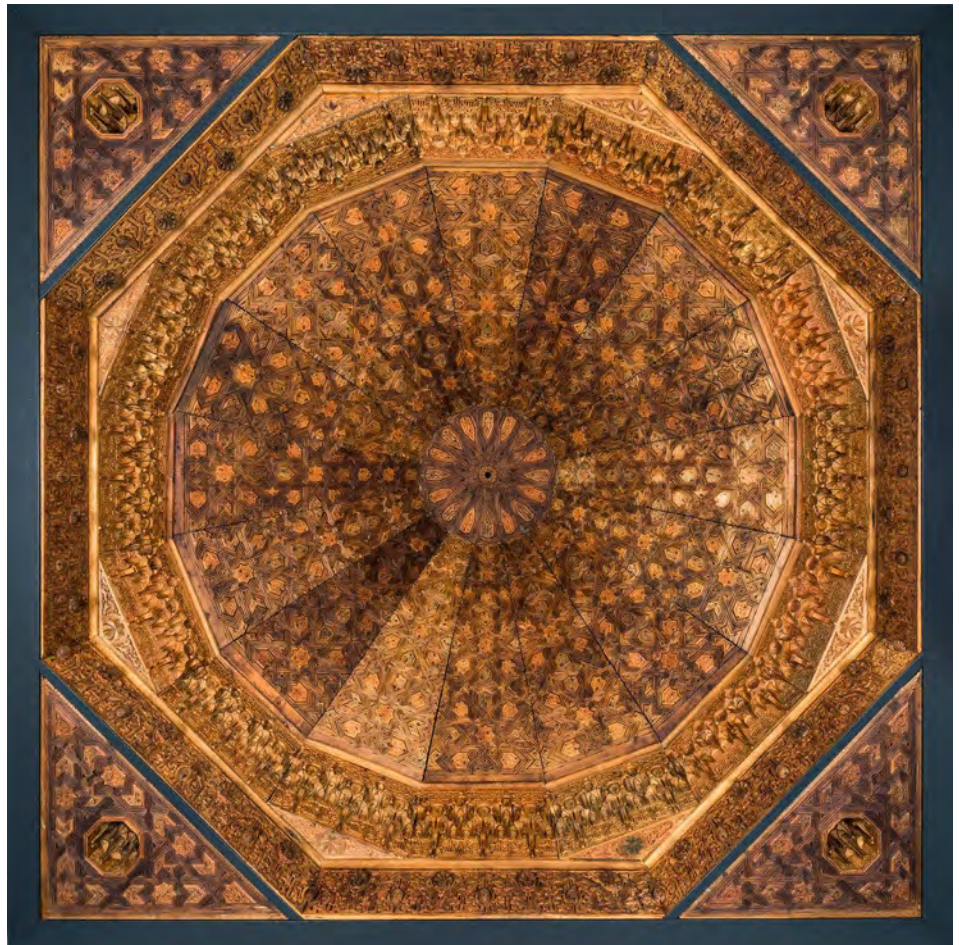
⁴⁰ Besides a wide range of colors, gold leaf was used to decorate the stucco ornamentation; see García Bueno 2015.

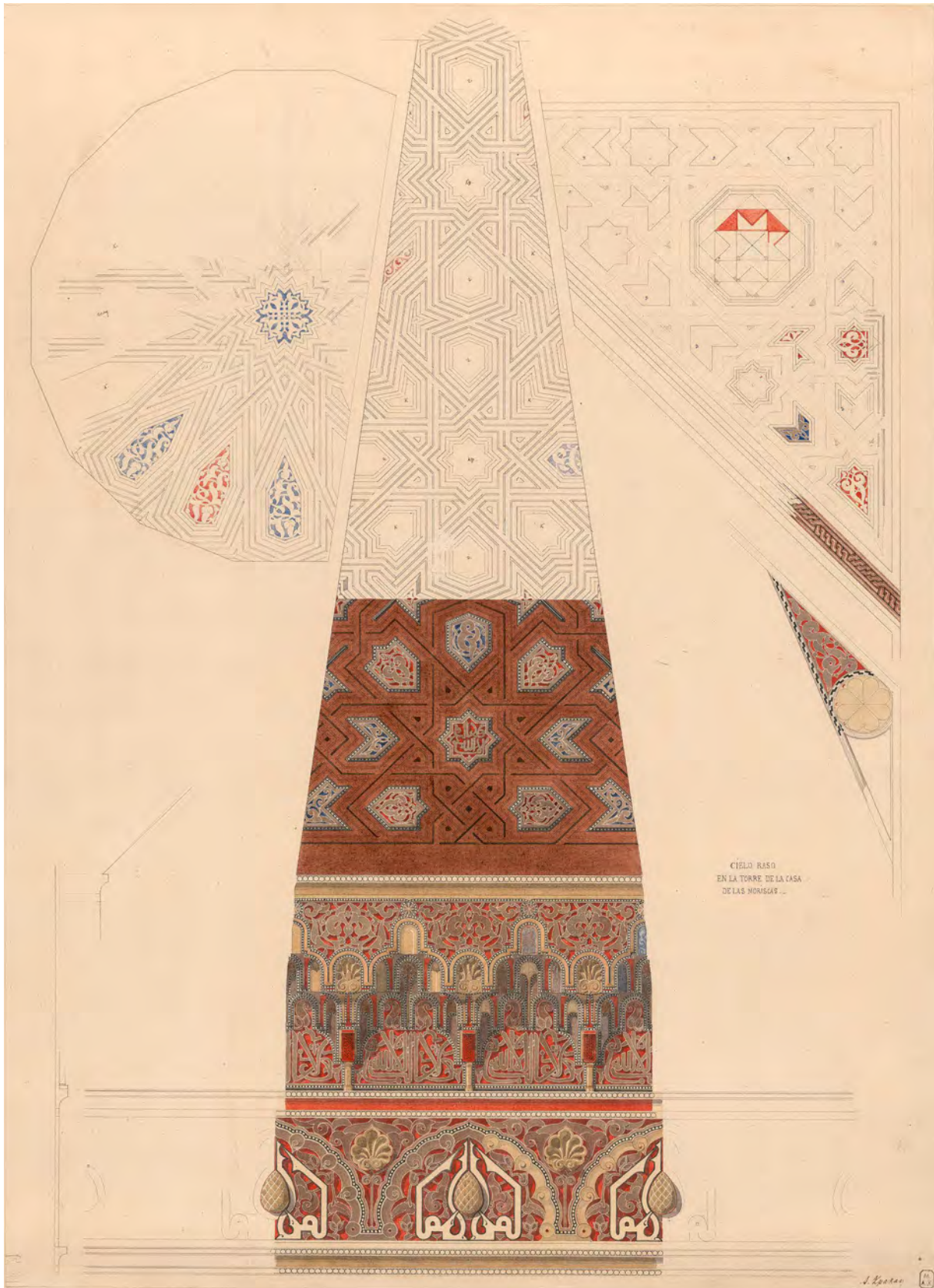
⁴¹ See Orihuela Uzal 1996, 57–58, 68–70; Giese 2014, 5–6. Regarding the Partal Palace, Owen Jones commented on a major intervention carried out in the second quarter of the nineteenth century: “The ‘Casa de Sanchez’ no longer possesses the picturesque appearance shewn in the wood-cut. In 1837, the whole front was restored and beautified, and the pond converted into a garden by one of the resident military officers of the fortress”, Goury/Jones 1842, footnote to text regarding Plate LI. The building had more than one name at that time: while John Frederick Lewis and Owen Jones referred to it as *Casa Sanchez*, Krakau called it *Casa de las moriscas*.

78 John Frederick Lewis, *Casa de Sanchez, an old House in the Alhambra*, from idem., *Sketches and Drawings of the Alhambra, made during a Residence in Granada, in the Years 1833–1834*, London: Hodgson & Graves, 1835, pl. 5.



79 Nasrid cupola from the Partal Palace in Granada, fourteenth century, carved cedar and poplar wood, remains of red, blue, and green paint, 355 × 355 × 190 cm. Berlin, Museum of Islamic Art, l. 5/78.





80 Aleksandr Krakau, *Cielo raso en la torre de la Casa de las moriscas*, ca. 1849, ink and watercolor on paper, 72.6 × 50.8 cm. NIMRAKh, A-25232.

drawing by Krakau shows the wooden cupola that once covered the *mirador* of the Partal Palace. The German banker Arthur von Gwinner, who owned the Partal, donated it to the City of Granada on condition that this outstanding and early testimony to Nasrid woodcarving was dismantled in 1891/92, with the permission of the Spanish authorities, and taken to Berlin.⁴² Currently the dome is a prominent exhibit at the Museum of Islamic Art (*Museum für Islamische Kunst*) in Berlin, which acquired it from Gwinner's descendants in 1978 (Fig. 79). Although not on site, it has fortunately been preserved, and Krakau's drawings attest to its original situation and its condition in the mid-nineteenth century, some 40 years before it was removed to Germany.⁴³ Again, Krakau drew not the entire cupola but each of its components, covering several sheets (Fig. 80).⁴⁴

It is likely that he made more drawings in Spain than those now held in the Academy's museum, as an obituary implies: "Currently in the possession of his relatives, the folders contain numerous drawings of the interiors of the Alhambra, the palaces of Seville, and other landmarks of ancient Moorish art [...]"⁴⁵

4.3 Pavel Notbek's Alhambra Models and Plaster Casts, 1852–1862

As mentioned, Pavel Notbek, who was some years younger than Krakau, was a central figure in the Moorish Revival in St. Petersburg. He produced a vast and unique collection of models and plaster casts of the Alhambra that was displayed at the Imperial Academy of Arts from 1863 onwards, allowing Russian architects to familiarize themselves with Nasrid art. Notbek's oeuvre survived the turmoil of both the October Revolution and World War II. Although it ranks among the most important collections now held at the Scientific-research Museum of the Russian Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg, it has not been on public display for decades.⁴⁶ As a result it has received little attention from scholars, which is why this chapter discusses Notbek's collection, its history, and its contextualization in detail.⁴⁷

Notbek, who came from a family of wealthy Baltic Germans, trained as an architect at the Imperial Academy

of Art in St. Petersburg and graduated in 1849 with a Major Gold Medal.⁴⁸ In August the following year, Tsar Nicholas I gave permission for Notbek, David Grimm (1823–1898), another architect, and the painters Konstantin Grigorovich (1823–1855) and Evgraf Sorokin (1821–1892) to "be sent for four years at state expense to Holland, England, and Spain, but not to Italy, to hone their skills in architecture and painting [...]"⁴⁹ Further records reveal that Spain was to be the artists' main destination.⁵⁰ While Notbek, Grigorovich and Sorokin left St. Petersburg in November 1850 and spent several years in Spain,

42 Gwinner incorporated the ceiling as spolia in a neo-Moorish interior of his private house in Berlin, first at Rauchstrasse 1 and later at Sophienstrasse 25 (Charlottenburg). For the history of this dome since the nineteenth century, see McSweeney 2015a. On Nasrid woodwork see Nuere Matauco 2003; López Pertíñez 2006.

43 A replica of the cupola was installed in the Partal Palace in the 1960s; see Orihuela Uzal 1996, 64.

44 See also NIMRAKh, A-25224, A-25225 and A-25231.

45 "В папках, составляющих собственность его близких, сохранилась масса рисунков внутренностей Альгамбры, дворцов Севильи и других памятников древнего мавританского искусство [...]", *Zodchii*, no. 3/4, 1889, 21. A drawing by Krakau showing the interior of the Cathedral within the former Mosque of Córdoba was among the drawings and plans acquired for architecture classes at the Imperial Academy of Arts. It is no longer in the NIMRAKh collection; see Imperatorskaia Akademiia Khudozhestv 1901, 61.

46 The few Alhambra models that were shown in two exhibitions at the NIMRAKh in 2000 and 2003 were made by Spanish artists, but were erroneously attributed to Notbek; see Bogdan/Shuiskii 2000, 83–84; Alekseeva et al. 2003, 132–134.

47 Sergei Kondakov provided a brief description of the collection; see Kondakov 1914, 104–105. Interest in Notbek's collection has increased recently; see Arutiunian 2012; Kondratenko/Savinova 2018. Its documentation has been advanced thanks to a collaboration between the NIMRAKh and the University of Zurich; see Kaufmann 2019b; Kaufmann et al. 2021. The present book offers the most comprehensive study of the Russian Alhambra Collection so far.

48 For Notbek's biography and a list of his works, see TsGIA SPB, f. 8, op. 3, d. 225, l. 15–20, 38–47; Kondakov 1915, 366; Somov 1879, 40–42; Kirikov/Ginzburg 1996, 233; Kaufmann et al. 2021, 239–240.

49 "[...] отправить, для усовершенствования в архитектуре и живописи, на казенный счёт, за границу, в Голландию, Англию и Испанию, но не в Италию, на четыре года [...]", RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1850, d. 79, l. 3.

50 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1850, d. 79, l. 9–10, 23.



81 William Simpson, *Interior of the Crystal Palace*, 1850, watercolor on paper, 71 × 99 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 546-1897.

Grimm, who was already working in the Caucasus at the time, specialized in a study of early Christian churches in Georgia and Armenia.⁵¹

Pensionery usually took their time about arriving at their destinations, visiting museums, academies, libraries, and monuments along the way. Although they had allowed themselves seven months to reach Madrid, Notbek, Grigorovich, and Sorokin traveled faster, apparently because the cold and rainy weather made it impossible to draw outside.⁵² The three young men reached Cologne via Kaunas, Warsaw, Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig, and Hanover in December, and after a detour to Arnhem and Amsterdam, traveled southwards via The Hague, Antwerp, Brussels, Paris, Lyon, and Avignon to Marseille, where they boarded a ship bound for Barcelona. On February 7, 1851, just over two months after their departure, they arrived in Madrid.⁵³

Before they left Russia the Council of the Imperial Academy of Arts had drawn up a directive describing their obligations as scholarship holders:

[...] the architects must study during their travels by inspecting architectural landmarks in all manners and styles, taking from each what is most necessary and useful for subsequent application to buildings in

51 David Grimm was initially told to travel to Spain via Constantinople, Greece, and Egypt. Although he later visited several countries in Western Europe, he never seems to have been in Spain (see RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1850, d. 79, l. 6, 8, 10, 18–20, 31–36; Petrov 1866, 152; *Zodchii*, no. 11, 1898, 81–82). Many years after his return to Russia he published the results of his studies in Georgia and Armenia; see Grimm 1866.

52 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1850, d. 79, l. 10, 24.

53 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1850, d. 79, l. 29.



82 Hugh Owen, *Panel from the Alhambra*, 1851, photograph, salted paper print, 16.5 × 21.5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-F-F25214-Al.

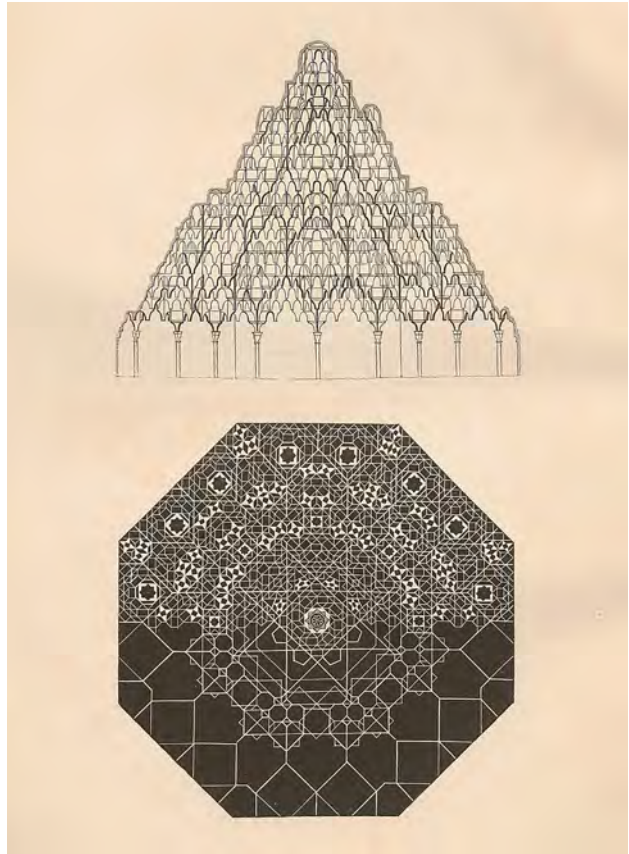
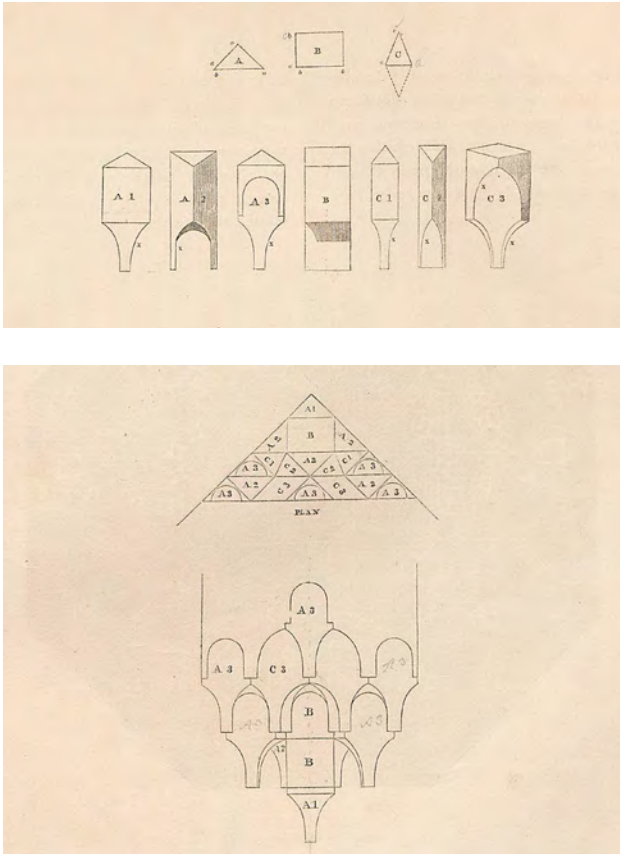
the Fatherland in keeping with their purpose, needs, and climatic conditions.⁵⁴

Notbek and Grimm were specifically instructed to study the “monuments of Moorish Architecture”⁵⁵ – a mission that fell to Pavel Notbek alone, as Grimm did not join him in Spain. This particular assignment must have been the reason why the former soon journeyed on to Toledo, leaving the painters in Madrid.⁵⁶ In the summer of 1851 Notbek visited the Great Exhibition in London and reported to the IAKh Council that he had learned a lot about building materials, a new way of vaulting, and machines for use in construction.⁵⁷ Two topics that would have been of particular interest in connection with Notbek’s mission were not mentioned: Owen Jones had reinterpreted the Alhambra’s polychrome decorative system for the interior of the Crystal Palace,⁵⁸ and there had been architectural models and ornamented plaster panels of the Alhambra on display in the Spanish section (Figs 81 and 82).⁵⁹ Back in Toledo, Notbek decided to travel to Seville, where he stayed from January 1852 at the latest before finally leaving for Granada in June.⁶⁰ There is no information about his activities in Toledo and Seville, but his casts, models, and various written sources attest that in Granada he promptly set about making a model of the Hall of the Two Sisters at a quarter of its size, at the same time busily “studying and making accurate measurements of the Alhambra.”⁶¹

Notbek appears to have been very committed to his work and submitted an application for a one-year extension to his scholarship before his Imperial Academy of Arts funding ran out at the end of 1854.⁶² In this revealing document, reproduced in full in Annex A, the architect highlighted what he considered the main characteristics of Nasrid architecture – the abundance of ornamentation and the intricate muqarnaš vaulting:

[...] given the large amount of ornamentation that constitutes the beauty of Moorish architecture and distinguishes it from other architectures, and the complexity and variety of its vaults, which no-one has yet delineated, I am forced to stay in Granada despite having been constantly busy making drawings.⁶³

- 54 “[...] именно Архитекторы должны учиться в переездах, осматривать памятники всех родов и стилей зодчества, извлекать для себя в каждом нужнейшее и полезнейшее, чтобы в последствии применить к построениям, сообразно назначению, потребностям и условиям зданий и климату в отечестве”, RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1850, d. 79, l. 9. The statement that “all styles” were to be studied can be understood as a consequence of the replacement of neoclassicism by eclecticism.
- 55 “[...] памятники Мавританской Архитектуры”, RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1850, d. 79, l. 10.
- 56 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1850, d. 79, l. 29. Konstantin Grigorovich never returned to Russia: he died in Rome in 1855.
- 57 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1850, d. 79, l. 37–38.
- 58 See Raquejo Grado 1990, 94–100. William Simpson’s watercolor shows Jones’s design concept, which suggests the use of primary colors on the iron structure of the Crystal Palace. The arcades made of fabric suspended along the center of the large exhibition space and reminiscent in design of the spandrels in the Alhambra were not realized.
- 59 The models had been made in the workshop of Rafael Contreras; see González Pérez 2017a, 248–250.
- 60 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1851, d. 128, l. 18; RGIA, f. 789, op. 14-N, d. 33, l. 1.
- 61 “[...] занимается изучением и снятием верных планов Альгамбры”, Petrov 1866, 189; RGIA, f. 789, op. 14-N, d. 33, l. 1.
- 62 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1854, d. 66, l. 1–2 (see Annex A).
- 63 “[...] по многочисленности орнаментов, входящие в состав красоты Мавританского зодчества, и отличающие его от прочих архитектур, как и по многосложности и разнообразию его сводов, коих система никем ещё не была изложена до сих пор, нахожусь я в принуждении пребывать ещё в Гренаде, не смотря на то что, постоянно занимаюсь составлением рисунков”, RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1854, d. 66, l. 1 (see Annex A).



83 Jules Goury and Owen Jones, Figures to Plate X from idem., *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*, Vol. 1, London: Owen Jones, 1842.

Owen Jones had already addressed the subject of the Alhambra's muqarnaş vaults when Notbek applied to the Council for an extension to his pensionerstvo, and while he must have been aware of Jones's publications, he withheld his knowledge from the Council (Fig. 83).⁶⁴ Notbek's letter stated that he was occupied with the production of casts and models. Having completed a model of the Hall of the Abencerrages (*Sala de los Abencerrajes*), he was now working on another model of the Hall of the Two Sisters, as well as models of other halls and the Court of the Lions.⁶⁵ He stressed his "particular affection for Moorish architecture"⁶⁶ and claimed to have already spent 25,000 francs on making the models and buying casts and capitals. Tsar Nicholas I approved his request to remain in Granada, and when Notbek applied for a second extension in May 1856, this time for another two years at his own expense, it was Tsar Alexander II who granted his request.⁶⁷ Notbek returned to St. Petersburg

64 Using the example of the pendentives in the Hall of the Ship, Jones showed that the most diverse vaults, such as that of the Hall of the Two Sisters, could be assembled from various prisms using three ground plans; see Goury/Jones 1842, text and figures to Plate X.

65 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1854, d. 66, l. 1–2 (see Annex A).

66 "[...] особенное расположение мое к мавританской архитектуре", RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1854, d. 66, l. 2 (see Annex A).

67 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1854, d. 66, l. 6; RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1856, d. 75, l. 1, 5, 7; RGIA, f. 515, op. 3, d. 420, l. 1; Petrov 1866, 189–190, 264. According to his applications to the IAKh and the Tsar in 1856, Notbek had planned to travel to Italy and North Africa; however, there is no evidence of this happening. In connection with the second extension of his stay in Spain, it should be mentioned that Pavel's older brother, Wilhelm von Nottbeck (1816–1890), had close connections to the Russian Court through his wife Marie Constance Elise Mengden (1824–1888), a Baltic-German countess. In 1856, the year Alexander II granted Notbek's request, the Tsar had visited the Nottbecks at their villa in Tampere, Finland, which at that time was a Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire.

only in 1862. He shipped three boxes of material to St. Petersburg via New York, but had the bulk of his models and plaster casts transported on the Danish ship *Elias*.⁶⁸ Having passed through St. Petersburg's customs office, 49 boxes containing 258 "plaster items"⁶⁹ with a total weight of 500 pood (8,18 tons) were unloaded on the bank of the Neva River in front of the Imperial Academy of Arts on June 9, 1862.⁷⁰ Notbek's sojourn in Granada and his working methods are discussed below before turning to his exceptional collection and its fate in St. Petersburg.

Living and Working in Granada

Although no personal diaries containing descriptions of Pavel Notbek's activities in Granada have been found, information from various sources contributes to a fuller, albeit incomplete, picture of how the Russian architect worked and lived in Granada, and make it possible to partly trace how he gathered his extensive Alhambra collection.⁷¹ Only a few months after his arrival in Granada in mid-1852, Notbek was busy producing drawings and his first model, although it is not clear whether he had permission to do so from the Spanish authorities.⁷² Since neither the making of scaled-down models nor drawing involved any interference with the medieval originals, such activities were generally unproblematic as they did not harm them. The situation was different with the reproduction of ornamentation and architectural details by means of clay molds taken directly from the originals, a technique that had only recently been introduced for restorations in the Alhambra.⁷³ Due to the potential damage that such casting could cause to the original stucco decoration and the remaining paint, this technique was controversial. Notbek, aware of this issue, pursued his goal illegally, as he reported to the Council of the IAKh in 1854: "I have lately succeeded, at considerable cost and no otherwise than clandestinely, in making large casts of the walls of the Alhambra."⁷⁴ His repeated requests to the Royal Patrimony (*Real Patrimonio*) at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando (*Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*), which administered the Spanish Crown's properties, for official permission to make casts of Nasrid decorations were all rejected. Notbek was not the only one whose attempts were

unsuccessful – other such applications, for example from the Academy of Fine Arts of Granada (*Academia de Bellas Artes de Granada*), were also turned down.⁷⁵

Notbek's acquaintance with Rafael Contreras Muñoz (1824–1890), who was responsible for the restoration of the Alhambra from 1847, may have given him some advantages. Several members of the Contreras family were closely linked to the fate of the Alhambra in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the most influential and well-known of these was Rafael, who carried out several large interventions in the 1850s and 1860s.⁷⁶

68 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 14-N, d. 33, l. 4, 6, 15.

69 "[...] гипсовые вещи", RGIA, f. 789, op. 14-N, d. 33, l. 7.

70 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 14-N, d. 33, l. 4, 6–7.

71 Most of the relevant former Imperial Academy of Arts files were transferred to the Archive of Culture and Life (*Arkhiv kul'tury i byta*) in 1930 and are now in the RGIA.

72 José Rodríguez Domingo (1997, 322, footnote 86) assumes that Notbek had not had permission to make the model of the Hall of the Two Sisters, and a Notbek obituary mentions that it had been difficult for him to obtain permission to make drawings and measurements of the Nasrid palaces; see Somov 1879, 40–41.

73 This technique was called clay stamping (*apretón de barro*). The Nasrid motif to be copied was first coated with a powder to prevent the clay from sticking to it. Then clay was pressed onto it, and once the motif and all its recesses were thickly covered with clay, a layer of plaster was applied to this and reinforced with wooden slats. Once the plaster had dried the entire block could be removed. Pouring liquid plaster into this mold created a positive copy, which was then retouched and improved; see González Pérez 2017a, 206–215, 2017c, 32–34. For more information on the use of plaster in Granada and the processing techniques, see the publications of Ramón Rubio Domene, head restorer of the plaster works at the Alhambra, and in particular Rubio Domene 2010.

74 "[...] в последнее время успел наконец, посредством значительных издержек, и не иначе как тайным образом снять большие слепки со стен Альгамбры [...]", RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1854, d. 66, l. 1–2 (see Annex A).

75 See Rodríguez Domingo 1997, 321–323; González Pérez 2017a, 180, footnote 435.

76 José Contreras Osorio (1794/95–ca. 1874), the father of Rafael Contreras, was entrusted with the restoration of the Alhambra in 1840. With his reconstruction work in the Nasrid palaces (1841–1843), which were severely criticized by contemporaries, and the rebuilding of the *Alcaicería* in Granada (1843/44), the covered market from the al-Andalus period that fell victim to a fire, he nevertheless paved the way for the neo-Nasrid or Alhambresque style in Spain; see Barrios Rozúa 2010. Rafael Contreras's son Mariano Contreras Granja (1851–1912) first worked

He focused on reconstructing parts of the Alhambra rather than preserving the monument as a whole, seeking to create an idealized, romanticized and more “Oriental” image of the palaces that was at odds with medieval Nasrid architecture. His controversial interventions were characterized by exoticizing additions, some of which were dismantled in the twentieth century.⁷⁷ Contreras founded the Workshop of Arabesques (*taller de arabescos*), which specialized in reproducing Nasrid decorations, to carry out his restorations and decorative reconstructions in the palaces. He was an active member of the *Cuerda Granadina*, an intellectual society of writers, artists, and musicians that was mainly active between 1850 and 1854, to which Pavel Notbek had been introduced by the Arabist Pascual de Gayangos y Arce (1809–1897).⁷⁸ Although Contreras practiced the technique of taking molds directly from the walls of the Alhambra and was a friend of Notbek, he did not officially support his making of such casts. He did, however, sell him sixteen molds of wall decorations, capitals, and arches, and twelve models, including those shown at the Universal Exhibition in Paris (1855), for a total of 60,000 reales.⁷⁹ Notbek thus assembled his large collection of full-size reproductions in several ways: he made some molds himself illegally, he used molds purchased from Contreras, and it is likely that he had further copies carved directly from gypsum.⁸⁰ Due to the good relations between Notbek and Contreras – it is assumed that they both worked in Contreras’s workshop⁸¹ – and based on the 1868 travel report *A Winter Tour in Spain*, by Caroline H. Pemberton, which states that the Russian Tsar commissioned Contreras to supervise the construction of a palace in the style of the Alhambra in St. Petersburg, José Rodríguez Domingo suspects that Contreras carried out various commissions in Russia, although this could not be confirmed.⁸²

According to Spanish sources, Notbek had a strong reputation in Granada. Almost ten years after he left Spain, one of his acquaintances, the Spanish writer and journalist José Castro y Serrano (1829–1896), who was a member of the *Cuerda Grandina* and who wrote about Granada’s artistic society in 1871, described Notbek as a major protagonist of the *Cuerda Grandina* group:

At the time he was the center of the artistic society [...], an outstanding artist and a remarkable architect from the St. Petersburg Academy, who had been sent by the Tsar of Russia to make a survey of the Alhambra fortress in its entirety.⁸³

Castro y Serrano portrays Notbek as an illustrious personality with a generous character who was known by the people of Granada as *Pablo* or *Don Pablo, el ruso*:

He was a tall young man with an elegant figure, extremely rich and extraordinarily generous. With great benevolence he would give away his fortune to artists, literati and the poor. He led the joyful life of the common knight, the converted foreigner, the cosmopolitan and polyglot artist. His popularity, extraordinary at the time and still legendary in Granada even today, reached out to all social classes; no gypsy in the Albaicín was not baptized by him, no washerwoman on the Darro whose wedding he did

with his father as an assistant architect, and in 1890 he succeeded him as the head of the conservation work at the Alhambra until his dismissal in 1907.

- 77 These additions included a small dome on the roof of the northern gallery of the Court of the Myrtles and a larger dome with glazed colored tiles that replaced the roof of the eastern pavilion of the Court of the Lions. On Rafael Contreras, his interventions in the Alhambra, and the changing ideology regarding the restoration of the Nasrid palaces in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Rodríguez Domingo 1997, 235–283, 2007; Serrano Espinosa 2012, 2014; Giese 2014; González Pérez 2017a, 123–225, 2017c, 2018.
- 78 See Rodríguez Domingo 1997, 322. For more on the *Cuerda Granadina* see Sánchez/Cascales Muñoz 1928; Gallego Roca 1991.
- 79 See Serrano Espinosa 2014, 358; González Pérez 2017a, 180.
- 80 The Nasrids used both direct carving (already practiced by the Almohads) and the technique of casting molds to produce the Alhambra’s plaster decoration; see Rubio Domene 2010, 34.
- 81 See Gallego Roca 1991, 20.
- 82 See Pemberton 1868, 222; Rodríguez Domingo 1997, 322, footnote 86.
- 83 “*Era á la sazón centro de toda aquella sociedad artística [...], un artista singular, arquitecto notable de la Academia de San Petersburgo, á quien el Czar de Rusia habia enviado para que redujese y se llevase entero el alcázar de la Alhambra*”, Castro y Serrano 1871, 247.

not attend, and no art apprentice does not remember the presents he gave them. He was a bachelor visited by middle-class women; he was a foreigner consulted on state affairs; he was a plaster artist, but everyone confided in him as if he were a priest. In one word: this strange architect – why should we search for more definitions? – was Paul the Russian [*Pablo el ruso*]. Every person in Spain who understands something about art or talks about it knows him.⁸⁴

Unlike many other Russian pensioners, Notbek was financially comfortable.⁸⁵ Apart from the modest scholarship grant for his first years in Granada, he seems to have lived on the wealth of his family, who were successful industrialists.⁸⁶ Not only was he able to stay in Granada for seven years at his own expense, pay for the illegal production of molds, acquire a collection of models and molds, and act as a generous patron, as described above, he also temporarily rented an entire inn,⁸⁷ em-

ployed a personal valet,⁸⁸ and ran a small workshop, as described below.⁸⁹

A photograph of Notbek, whose physical appearance had been unknown in Russia up to this point, was found while researching his connection to the *Cuerda* for this book (Fig. 84).⁹⁰ Up until the twentieth century, anecdotes about him had circulated in Spanish literature and newspapers, for instance about his carefully planned performance at the local carnival, a first public appearance that made him an instant celebrity in Granada.⁹¹ While Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, a writer and former member of the *Cuerda*, remembered him as “Pablo Notbeck (the great Pablo!), architect, painter, sculptor, and quasi prince,”⁹² Natalio Rivas, who studied the *Cuerda*’s social history, saw him as a “combination of Croesus and Montecristo.”⁹³

The *Cuerda*’s modest meetings changed considerably with the arrival of two patrons: Giorgio Ronconi (1810–1890), a famous Italian singer, and Pavel Notbek, in 1850 and 1852.⁹⁴ From then on the group met at the luxurious

84 “Era hombre joven, alto, de figura distinguida, excesivamente rico y excesivamente generoso. Gastaba su fortuna con especial donaire entre artistas, literatos y pobres: hacia la vida alegre del caballero llano, del extranjero convertido, del artista cosmopolita y poligloto. Su popularidad, que entonces era indescriptible, y que es hoy en Granada legendaria, alcanzaba á todas las clases sociales; pues no hay hoy gitanillo en el Albahicín á quien no hubiese sacado de pila, ni lavandera en el Darro de cuyas bodas no hubiese sido padrino, ni aprendiz de arte que no recuerde sus dadas cuando las merecía. Era soltero y lo visitaban las señoras de la clase media; era extranjero y se le consultaba para asuntos del país; era artista de yesos y escayolas, y todos, sin embargo, se descubrían cuando pasaba, como si fuera una especie de sacerdote. En una palabra: aquel arquitecto extraño, ¿á qué le buscamos más definiciones? era Pablo el ruso. Todo el que habla ó entiende algo de artes en España, lo conoce”, Castro y Serrano 1871, 247–248.

85 Yet Notbek did face other challenges, as diplomatic relations between Spain and Russia were not restored until 1856 after a long interruption (see Gin’ko 2012, 26–27, footnote 62). At a certain time between 1854 and 1856, when Russia was at war with France and Great Britain during the Crimean War, Notbek was forced to stop his work on the Alhambra and a guard was stationed in front of his house. The architect feared losing his latest works; moreover a cholera epidemic raged in Spain in 1857 posing a serious threat to life, although he escaped infection; see Somov 1879, 41.

86 Pavel Notbek’s father, Carl Nottbeck (1779–1847), from Reval (Tallinn, Estonia), established a paper mill on the Izhora River in the village of Annolovo near St. Petersburg before buying the Finlayson cotton mills in Tampere (Finland), which were managed by his elder sons after his death. Founded in 1820, the Finlayson cotton mills were the first large-scale factory in Finland and rapidly evolved into the largest industrial cooperation in Northern Europe; see Kaufmann et al. 2021, 239–240.

87 See Palacio 1902; Rivas 1934b, 11.

88 See Castro y Serrano 1871, 249.

89 Notbek’s generosity is mentioned only in one Russian source, which says that he helped the inhabitants of Granada by paying for medication and doctors when the cholera epidemic reached the city; see RGIA, f. 789, op. 14-N, d. 33, l. 13–14.

90 The photograph appears to be held in a Spanish collection and has been published at least twice; see Rivas 1934b, 10; Gallego Roca 1991, 32.

91 See Palacio 1902.

92 “Pablo Notbeck (¡el gran Pablo!), arquitecto, pintor, escultor y casi príncipe”, Alarcón 1891, 172–173.

93 “[...] hombre mezcla de Creso y Montecristo”, Rivas 1934b, 11.

94 Ronconi was appointed president and Notbek vice-president of the *Cuerda*, but according to Rivas it was rather Notbek who carried out the president’s duties due to his active nature and because Ronconi was often absent from Granada; see Rivas 1934b, 10.



84 Portrait of Pavel Notbek, from *ABC MADRID*, May 5, 1934, 10.



85 Eduardo García Guerra, Caricature of Pavel Notbek from *El Álbum de La Cuerda*, Vol. 2, 1854.

Carmen de Ronconi, the singer's refuge near the Alhambra, and at Notbek's lodgings, the *Fonda de San Francisco de la Alhambra*.⁹⁵ The palace hill and the Alhambra became the domicile of these romantic Bohemians, who were "rapt in ecstasy in front of ruins and monuments, where they found infinite sources of inspiration", as Rivas ironically reported.⁹⁶ All of the members of the *Cuerda* had nicknames, many of which expressed the opposite of his personal characteristics.⁹⁷ The fact that Pavel Notbek was called Brick (*Brique*) or *Maestro Brique* could therefore have been not only an allusion to his profession but also an expression of the fact that he worked not with bricks but mostly with plaster, which is why he is dubbed "Plaster Master" (*Maestro Yeso*) in a caricature by Eduardo García Guerra (1827–1893), another member of the *Cuerda* (Fig. 85).

Notbek's wealth, reputation, and connections appear to have literally opened doors for him, and he soon had free access to the Alhambra: "At that time, the keys of the Arab palace were in the possession of the Russian."⁹⁸ The architect, obviously a bon vivant, used this privilege not

only to conduct his studies but also for leisure activities with his friends. Castro y Serrano describes one of the legendary feasts that he put on in detail, briefly summarized here:⁹⁹ the evening began with a dinner for Granada's artistic and literary conclave at the *San Francisco de la Alhambra inn*, where Notbek was the only guest at the time. Later the group strolled through the Nasrid palaces,

95 The *Fonda de San Francisco de la Alhambra* was one of the first inns on the palace hill. It was in the former Convent of St. Francis, built in the sixteenth century over a small Muslim palace and abandoned by the Franciscans in 1835; see Barrios Rozúa 2006; Piñar Samos/Giménez Yanguas 2019, 213.

96 "[...] se extasiaban ante ruinas y monumentos, donde hallaban fuentes inagotables de inspiración", Rivas 1934a, 7.

97 See Rivas 1934a, 8.

98 "Las llaves del palacio árabe estaban en esta época en poder del Ruso", Castro y Serrano 1871, 249. According to Manuel del Palacio, a former member of the *Cuerda*, Rafael Contreras also granted the *Cuerda* access to the Alhambra; see Palacio 1902.

99 See Castro y Serrano 1871, 248–252. The evening was held in 1853 or 1854 to bid farewell to the artist José González Bande († 1859), who died in Madrid a few years later.

where a piano had been set up in the Court of the Lions and Bengal lights decorated the Hall of the Kings. Back at the inn, servants lit the room with candles and distributed pillows for sitting on the floor, Notbek served punch during a spectacular ritual, and, “dressed in his latest antique costume, he gave the order that all the dinner guests should dress in his archeological accessories”.¹⁰⁰ Castro y Serrano’s description of the evening shows how Notbek not only approached the Alhambra from an architect’s scientific point of view but also immersed himself in the romanticism surrounding Granada’s Islamic heritage, dressing in fancy dress and creating an oriental atmosphere in his home, and sharing this *mise-en-scène* with other *aficionados*, including Russian colleagues. Along with Notbek, Alarcón also mentions Sorokin and Mikhailov, “who no longer knew how to live far from the Alhambra”.¹⁰¹

Returning to the question of how Notbek worked in Granada, it is interesting to read his report to the Imperial Academy of Arts after his return, in which he lists his expenses for the years when he had no financial support from the Russian state.¹⁰² He claims to have employed seven craftsmen over seven years and spent money on wages, which means that he did not work alone but collaborated with local craftsmen in making his casts and models. According to other written sources, these craftsmen carved parts of Notbek’s models and ornaments following his drawings, and as it was difficult to find skilled artisans, the architect had to teach them first and in most cases work with them.¹⁰³ Furthermore, Notbek spent money on materials such as 800 pood (13 tons) of plaster, and equipment such as scaffolding, which he probably used to study and make molds of ornaments several meters above the ground. He also rented a building where he could place and store his works. Including the transportation of his collection to St. Petersburg, Notbek listed a total cost of 182,700 francs (52,200 rubles), an enormous sum at the time.¹⁰⁴

Notbek’s Collection in St. Petersburg

Back in St. Petersburg, Notbek was awarded the title of honorary free associate (*pochiotnyi vol’nyi obshchnik*) of the Imperial Academy of Arts for outstanding achievement in the arts.¹⁰⁵ In October 1862, the IAKh Council

unanimously petitioned Tsar Alexander II to purchase Notbek’s collection of drawings, models, and plaster casts, describing it as follows:

Having returned from abroad, P. Notbek, a former recipient of the Imperial Academy of Arts travel scholarship, has brought back models of halls of the Alhambra Palace that he made in Granada. The numerous ornaments decorating this historic landmark of Moorish architecture and the variety of its vaults, whose system has been unknown to us until now, are of high artistic value. An excellent artist, Notbek has executed the models with striking perfection. Working on them for ten years, he spent his private funds to make the plaster casts of the walls of the Alhambra and create a complete set of drawings of the elegant landmark, which is becoming more and more dilapidated. The models that Mr. Notbek has brought with him thus might be called the only reproductions of the Moorish style in Europe.¹⁰⁶

100 “[...] *vestido con el último traje antiguo que había comprado, y hecho vestir á todos los comensales con su guarda-ropía arqueológica*”, Castro y Serrano 1871, 251.

101 “[...] *que ya no sabían vivir lejos de la Alhambra*”, Alarcón 1891, 172. Grigorii Mikhailov (1814–1867) worked in Spain in the mid-nineteenth century making copies of paintings by great masters. Evgraf Sorokin and Iulii Diutel’ (1824–1908), an architect of French origin who had obtained part of his training at the Imperial Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg, were also members of the Cuerda. Manuel del Palacio (1902) described Diutel’ as an exceptional artist who had studied Islamic architecture intensively. The NIMRAKh holds only one of his drawings of the Alhambra, which shows a wall in the Mirador de Lindaraja; see NIMRAKh, A-7574.

102 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 14-N, d. 33, l. 15–16.

103 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 14-N, d. 33, l. 13; Somov 1879, 40.

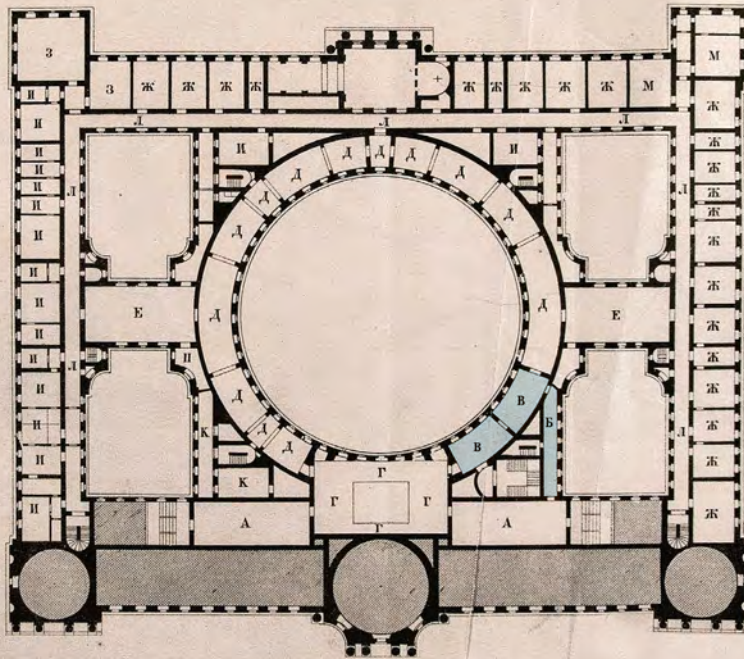
104 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 14-N, d. 33, l. 15–16; Petrov 1866, 412. Of this sum, 72% was spent on wages, 8% on rents and equipment, and 20% on packaging and transportation.

105 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 14-N, d. 33, l. 8.

106 “*Бывший пенсионер ИАХ П. Нотбек, возвратись из-за границы привёз сделанные им в Гранаде модели зал дворца Альгамбры. Многочисленность орнаментов, входящие в состав украшений этого исторического памятника мавританского зодчества и разнообразие его сводов, коих система у нас до сего времени не была известна, представляют особенный интерес в художественном отношении. Г. Нотбек как отличный художник исполнил привезённые им модели с изуми-*

ПЛАНЪ ТРЕТЬЯГО ЭТАЖА.

- А Залы для выставокъ
 Б Корридоръ въ Альгамбру
 В Альгамбра
 Г Хоры между залами
 Д Архитектурный классъ
 Е Модельная зала
 Ж Мастерскія конкурентовъ
 З Гостиный классъ
 И Квартитры суржащихся
 К Архивъ
 Л Корридоры
 М Квартитра и мастерская
 реставратора.



86 Map of the third floor of the Imperial Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg, late nineteenth century, engraving. NIMRAKh, AG-2315.

In December the Tsar decreed that Notbek's collection would be acquired for the Imperial Academy of Arts, and awarded the architect a third-class Order of Saint Anna and a lifelong income of 2,500 rubles per year.¹⁰⁷ By January 1863, Notbek had handed over the collection and a full inventory to the curator of the Acade-

my's museum, Ignatii Spitz (1797–1873).¹⁰⁸ Notbek's reproductions were installed in the northeast of the building on the second floor for a temporary exhibition that opened to the public in the spring.¹⁰⁹ In the major remodeling and renovation of the Imperial Academy of Arts building, it was finally decided that the large Alhambra

тельным совершенством. Он при десятилетних своих трудах затрачивал свой личный капитал, чтобы снять с натуры слепки со стен Альгамбры и составить полную коллекцию рисунков изящного памятника, который больше и больше приходит в разрушение, так что привезённые модели Г. Нотбеком могут назваться единственным в Европе образцам мавританского стиля," RGIA, f. 789, op. 14-N, d. 33, l. 9–10.

¹⁰⁷ See RGIA, f. 789, op. 14-N, d. 33, l. 20–21; Somov 1879, 42. This pension would allow Notbek to recover the amount he spent in Granada within twenty years.

¹⁰⁸ See RGIA, f. 789, op. 14-N, d. 33, l. 22–23, 25. The *Catalogue of Models and Plaster Casts of the Moorish Palace Alhambra in*

Spain (Katalog modelei i slepkov mavritanskogo dvortsa Al-gambry v Ispanii) is held in the archives of the NIMRAKh; see Savinova 2021. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there was no functional difference between the Academy as a museum and the Academy as an educational institution.

¹⁰⁹ The location of this exhibition is known from later documents; see RGIA, f. 789, op. 5 1865, d. 182, l. 1. As reported in a journal, Notbek did not grant all visitors access to the exhibition: "As for the other exhibition, Mr. Notbek's 'Alhambra', then perhaps people could have been found who would look for free at the marvels of Moorish leisure in miniature, but their proprietor himself wished to entertain a select audience with this luxurious treat. People who were not entirely properly dressed thus risked not

Collection should be permanently housed in two rooms between the architectural classrooms on the third floor (Fig. 86).¹¹⁰ The conversion of these rooms and the adjacent corridor began in 1865, but due to various difficulties the permanent exhibition was not ready until early 1868.¹¹¹ Before the exhibition could open, four models had to be sheathed in wood, stands and panels fastened with screws, iron loops nailed to the casts, and 280 items hung on the walls.¹¹² Notbek was not entirely satisfied with how his collection was displayed and wrote to the Council of the Imperial Academy of Arts in March 1868: “I consider it my duty to inform you that without showcases the models will fall apart within five years.”¹¹³ When asked to carry out some repairs to the models the following year, he refused.¹¹⁴

Sergei Kondakov’s volume on the history of the IAKh includes two photographs of the exhibition at the beginning of the twentieth century (Figs 87 and 88).¹¹⁵ The two rooms are connected by an arched doorway, whose abstract decoration is reminiscent of the large gates of the Alhambra, for instance the Western façade of the Gate of Wine. The plaster casts are framed and hang close together on the walls. Models and a column with a capital have been installed on pedestals in both rooms. The large model of the Façade of Comares (*Fachada de Comares*) is set in a broad white frame to display its full visual appeal. The largest model of all, that of the Hall of the Two Sisters, appears in the background of one of the photographs (Fig. 87), and one wonders if access to the exhibition was perhaps through this life-size replica of one of the Alhambra’s most important halls.

gaining admittance. Many people are said to have been utterly discouraged from seeking the honor of looking at ‘Alhambra’, (“Что касается до другой выставки – ‘Альгамбры’ г. Нотбека, то может быть нашлись бы люди даром посмотреть на чудеса мавританской досушливости в миниатюре, да сам-то хозяин желал тешить этим роскошным угощением одну избранную публику; потому не совсем исправно одетые рисковали и не получить позволения. У многих такое опасение, говорят, отбило и совсем охоту добиваться чести смотреть на ‘Альгамбру’”); *Library for Reading (Biblioteka dlia chteniia)*, May 1863, part XIV, 60.

110 In the plan of the Academy of Arts building (Fig. 86) the Alhambra Rooms and the corridor leading to them are marked with the letters B and Б (highlighted in blue), with further exhi-



87 The Alhambra Collection at the Imperial Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg, ca. 1910.

Although the Alhambra Collection survived the October Revolution, the Siege of Leningrad, the Soviet period, and Perestroika, events of the twentieth century left their mark on the models and plaster casts. The Imperial Academy of Arts was abolished by the Council of People’s Commissars of the Soviet Union (*Sovnarkom*) on April 12, 1918 and its museum closed, the collections gradually farmed out to other museums.¹¹⁶ The Academy’s collection of plaster casts, which, according to the director of the Institute of Proletarian Fine Art (*Institut proletarskikh izobrazitel’nykh iskusstv*), had “no ideolog-

bition rooms (A) and the classrooms of the Architecture Department (Д) nearby.

111 See RGIA, f. 480, op. 1, d. 287; RGIA, f. 480, op. 1, d. 300; RGIA, f. 480, op. 1, d. 314; RGIA, f. 789, op. 5 1865, d. 182, l. 6–29; RGIA, f. 789, op. 36, d. 54; Kaufmann et al. 2021, 245–246.

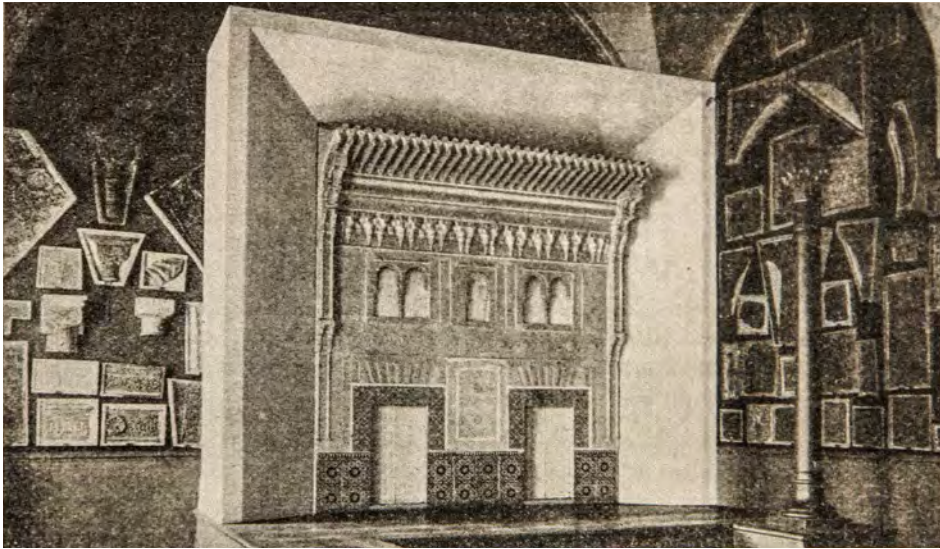
112 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 5 1865, d. 182, l. 18–27.

113 “[...] долгом считаю заявить, что модели без витрин в течении пять лет разрушаются,” RGIA, f. 789, op. 5 1865, d. 182, l. 17.

114 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 5 1865, d. 182, l. 36.

115 See Kondakov 1914, 104–105.

116 For the history of the museum from its foundation in the eighteenth century to the 1990s and its architectural collection, see Tselishcheva/Bogdan 2009.



88 The Alhambra Collection at the Imperial Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg, ca. 1910.

ical or other value¹¹⁷, would have been destroyed in the early 1930s had the Hermitage not adopted and stored it for several years.¹¹⁸ Most of the casts and small models were returned in 1935 to be displayed in the museum on the second floor, with the large models following in 1953.¹¹⁹ The Alhambra exhibition as it was in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was never restored, for several reasons. There was a fundamental lack of exhibition space in the building, and the doorway between the two original Alhambra rooms on the third floor had been sealed at some point after the Revolution, formally allocating one room to the museum and the other to the educational institution.¹²⁰ Today the models of the Alhambra are stowed away near the architectural exhibi-

tion on the third floor and the plaster casts are held in a sculpture-department storage room on the first floor. The Alhambra Collection thus shares the fate of most other European cast and model collections: constant devaluation, mainly due to decisive changes in the methods of architectural education, and the simultaneous stigmatization of plaster casts as inferior copies of the originals.¹²¹ Before discussing Notbek's models and plaster casts in detail, a summary of what is known about his drawings follows.

Drawings

In Granada, Notbek decided to make a detailed survey of the palaces of the Alhambra, which at that time were

117 “[...] не имеющих идеологической и прочей ценности”, Archive of the State Hermitage Museum, f. 1, op. 5, d. 1193, l. 51. For more details on the fate of the Alhambra Collection in the twentieth century, see Kaufmann et al. 2021, 248–250.

118 The former Imperial Academy of Arts was renamed several times before the Soviet government reintroduced it in 1933 as the Russian Academy of Arts. Since 1947 the educational institution in St. Petersburg (then Leningrad) has been called the Repin Institute of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture.

119 See Kaufmann et al. 2021, 249. In 1935, the architectural collection was the museum's largest collection and was displayed in an exhibition with seven sections; see Tselishcheva/Bogdan 2009, 100, 102.

120 The connection that had once existed between the institution

and its museum has not been reestablished. Today one room is used for the NIMRAKh's architectural exhibition while the other serves as a lecture hall for the Repin Institute's Architectural Department's engineering and construction program; see Kaufmann et al. 2021, 250, 264.

121 Scholarly interest in plaster casts increased again at the end of the twentieth century, and especially in recent years. Various conferences have been held on the subject, and the exhibition *A World of Fragile Parts*, curated by the Victoria and Albert Museum, dedicated to the question of the use of reproductions today, was presented at the 2016 Venice Biennale of Architecture. For further reading see Cain 1995; Frederiksen/Marchand 2010; Schreiter 2012; Lochman 2013; Lending 2015, 2017; Haak/Helfrich 2016.

known in Russia mainly through the publications of Alexandre de Laborde, James Cavanah Murphy, John Frederick Lewis, Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey, as well as Jules Goury and Owen Jones (see Chapter 3.1):

My goal is to produce a collection of drawings of the entire Palace of the Alhambra with the aim of later publishing a book of illustrations of this elegant historical landmark, which is crumbling more every day due to the complete lack of both maintenance and its custodians' education.¹²²

By the mid-nineteenth century large parts of the palaces had deteriorated alarmingly. The Alhambra had not only suffered considerable destruction at the hands of Napoleon's troops but also been neglected for years, an omission that could not be compensated for quickly. Consolidation work to safeguard the architectural structures was completed at the end of the 1820s, followed by the first restoration and completion of Nasrid decorations in the late 1830s, which continued under Rafael Contreras from the end of the 1840s.¹²³ However, the Alhambra suffered further losses even during this period, as the custodians had no understanding of the need to preserve its medieval architecture.¹²⁴

While Pavel Notbek's Granada drawings are often mentioned in documents related to his stay in Spain, he never published his studies as planned, and whether or where the drawings still exist today is not known.¹²⁵ Apparently they included restoration drawings (*restavra-*

tsionnye chertezhei) – that is, proposals for the restoration of parts of the palace complex – as well as studies of its architectural details and decoration, some of which the craftsmen used as templates for both small-scale models and life-size reproductions.¹²⁶ García Guerra's caricature of Notbek (Fig. 85) shows him with a pen and a sketchbook in which a text in Arabic letters and a detail of the Hall of the Ambassadors can be seen. Since the architect drew constantly during his sojourn in Spain, his graphic oeuvre must have been extensive; in 1858 he had already been awarded the title of academician for these drawings.¹²⁷

Models

According to an obituary of Pavel Notbek, he turned to creating three-dimensional architectural models because he could more effectively depict the qualities of Nasrid architecture in the models than in his drawings:

In Granada, he was so captivated by the beauty and originality of the Alhambra Palace that, not satisfied with producing drawings of the building's various parts and detailed ornamentation, he conceived the idea of making a model of one of its best rooms, known as the Hall of the Two Sisters (*de las dos hermanas*).¹²⁸

Notbek produced five models of some of the most important sections of the Nasrid palaces (Fig. 89), all of which are now held at the NIMRAKh. A record from the nineteenth century lists them as follows:¹²⁹

122 “Цель моя составить коллекцию рисунков всего Дворца Альгамбры, дабы иметь возможность, издать в последствии увраж этого исторического и столь изящного памятника, который ежедневно разрушается более и более, причина чему, всякое отсутствие в поддержание оногo и необразованность управляющих”, RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1854, d. 66, l. 1 (see Annex A).

123 The early restoration works were thus carried out before the 1844 institutionalization of the protection of historical monuments in Spain; see Giese 2014, 3. On the preservation of the Alhambra in the first half of the nineteenth century and its protagonists, see Barrios Rozúa 2008a, 2008b, 2010, 2016.

124 Richard Ford, the English writer and expert on Spain, reported very prominently on the “decay” of the Alhambra and addresses

the topic in his description of the Alhambra; see Ford 1845, 364–382.

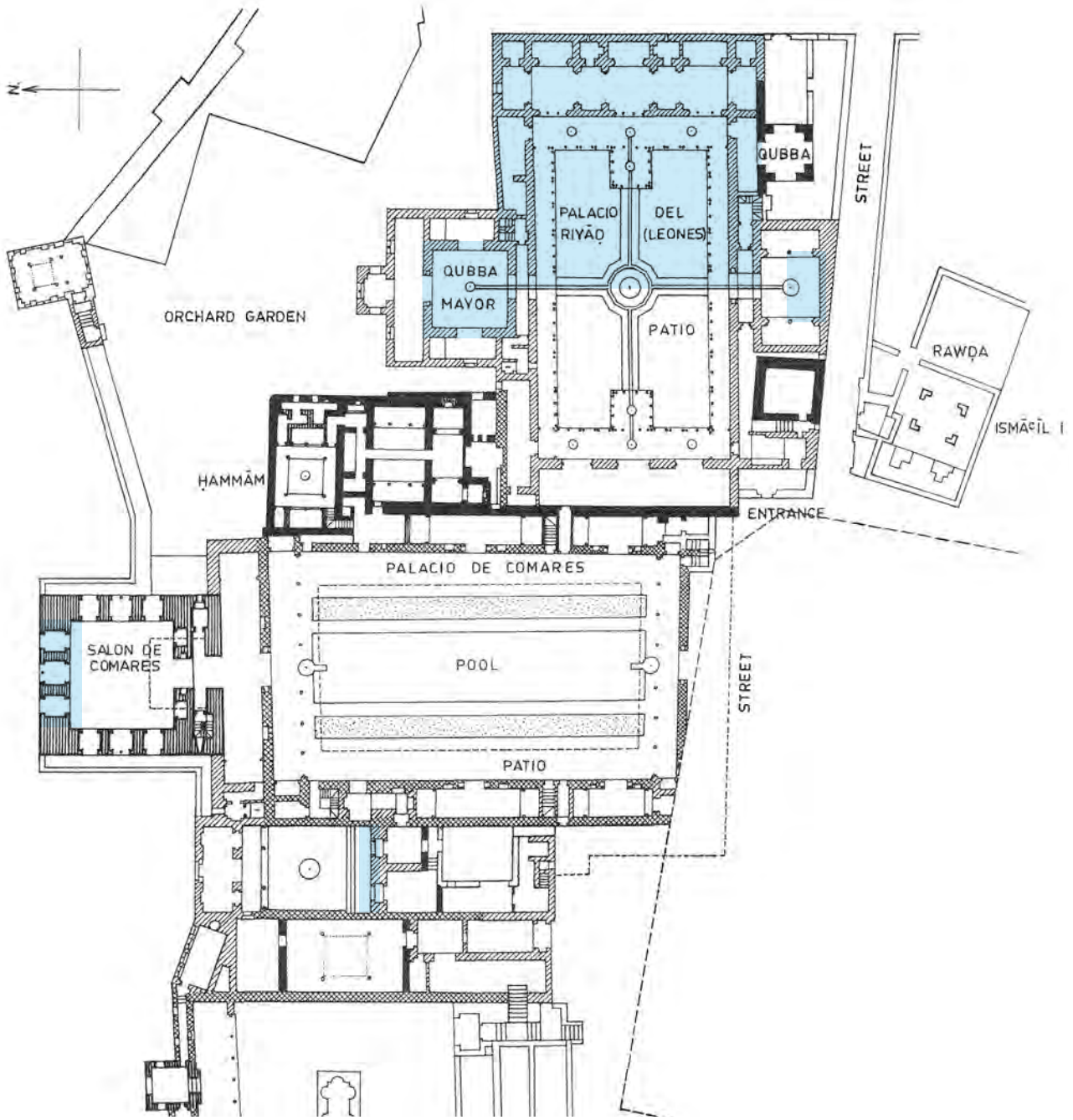
125 The drawings have not been found at the NIMRAKh or in any other museum or archive; see also Kaufmann et al. 2021, 245, footnote 50.

126 See Somov 1879, 40–41.

127 See Petrov 1866, 311; Kondakov 1915, 366.

128 “В Гранаде он до такой степени пленился красотою и своеобразностью дворца Альгамбры, что, не довольствуясь изготовлением рисунков разных частей и детальных украшений этого здания, задумал сделать модель одной из лучших его зал, известной под названием залы двух сестёр (*de las dos hermanas*)”, Somov 1879, 40.

129 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 14-N, d. 33, l. 13.



89 Alhambra, Granada, Floor plan of the Comares Palace and the Palace of the Lions; the parts of the buildings of which Pavel Notbek made large-scale models are highlighted in blue.



90 Alhambra, Granada, muqarnas dome of the Hall of the Two Sisters, second half of the fourteenth century.

1. Model of the *Sala de las Dos Hermanas* at a quarter of actual size
2. Model of the *Sala de los Abencerrajes* at a twelfth of actual size
3. Model of one wall of the *Sala de los Embajadores* at an eighth of actual size
4. Model of one half of the *Patio de los Leones* at a twelfth of actual size
5. Model of the *Façade to the Patio de la Mezquita* at a quarter of actual size.

Pavel Notbek's models have not been discussed in detail in art historical literature.¹³⁰ Below they are examined and contextualized to establish their significance by comparing them with their templates in the Alhambra and with other models produced in Granada since the 1840s.¹³¹ Notbek's models are outstanding for their dimensions and detailed rendering of Nasrid architecture and deco-

ration. They do not represent the actual condition of the Alhambra at the time but ideal, "restored" versions of the palaces.¹³² Where parts were missing and zones had obviously been altered since 1492, Notbek developed proposals on how they might have looked originally.

130 Brief descriptions of only three models have been published so far; see Savinova 2021, 565–567. These were photographed in 2018 as part of the collaboration between between the NIM-RAKh and the Institute of Art History of the University of Zurich.

131 The observations made here are based on information collected during several visits to the museum's storage rooms since 2016 and photographs taken in 2018. Detailed analysis in St. Petersburg would be necessary before the production techniques and material-technological aspects can be discussed.

132 At that time, the term "restore" was used for not only actual interventions on the monument but also for purely theoretical, for example graphic, "restoration".



91 Pavel Notbek, Model of the Hall of the Two Sisters, Palace of the Lions, lower part, 1850s, plaster, wood, mastic, 247 × 247 × ca. 308 cm. NIMRAKh, AM-501.



92



93

94



92 Pavel Notbek, Model of the Hall of the Two Sisters, Palace of the Lions, part of the window zone, 1850s, plaster, wood. NIMRAKh, AM-501.

93 Pavel Notbek, Model of the Hall of the Two Sisters, Palace of the Lions, part of the muqarnas dome, 1850s, plaster, wood. NIMRAKh, AM-501.

94 Pavel Notbek, Model of the Hall of the Two Sisters, Palace of the Lions, part of the muqarnas dome, 1850s, plaster, wood. NIMRAKh, AM-501.

The Model of the Sala de las Dos Hermanas

The Hall of the Two Sisters, the main hall of the Palace of the Lions, was built during the second reign of Muhammad V (r. 1354–1359 and 1362–1391/755–760 and 763–793 AH) in the early 1370s.¹³³ The Palace of the Lions (*Palacio de los Leones*) was planned by a single architect during what art historians call the third period of Nasrid art, and represents the final evolution of Nasrid architecture and decoration, which is characterized by a mannerist and baroque style.¹³⁴ The intricate muqarnaš vaulting in some of its halls is a good example of the technical and decorative mastery achieved in this period. The center of the palace is defined by a rectangular courtyard with pavilions at the western and eastern ends and *qubba* dwellings appended to its north and south sides; the main hall in the northern building is the Hall of the Two Sisters, notable for its rich decoration and one of the most spectacular muqarnaš vaults in Islamic art (Fig. 90).¹³⁵

Notbek's model of the hall, reduced to a quarter of the original size, is the largest of his Alhambra models (Figs 91–94). As the floor plan of the Hall of the Two Sisters measures almost 10 × 10 meters, that of the model measures almost 2.5 × 2.5 meters. The model, made of plaster components mounted on wooden scaffolding, is thus a small room that one can enter to admire this scaled-down version one of the most famous halls of the Alhambra. Since the model is currently kept in a small space, the drum and dome have had to be disassembled for storage. Two large circular plaster units form the upper part of the muqarnaš dome (Figs 93 and 94). The four elements forming the octagonal drum with sixteen windows, including the lowest zone of the muqarnaš vault, are in particularly poor condition, because the window zone with its many large openings is very fragile and has suffered badly (Fig. 92).

Since Notbek's model is not fully documented in photographs, it is not possible to compare all of its components with the original at the Alhambra. Two juxtapositions of the model and its template in the Alhambra, however, show that Notbek recreated it almost to the last detail (Figs 95–98), noting, for example, the subtle differences in the designs on the four sides of the room, such as the differing layout of the alicatados with the ribbon

interlace, and the twenty-four verses inscribed around the walls. The architect used colored mastic to imitate the ceramic tiles but refrained from reconstructing a colored version of the plaster decoration, although the wall panels and muqarnaš in the Hall of the Two Sisters still showed traces of paint. Thanks to the large scale of his model, Notbek was able to reproduce the intricacies of the original, far surpassing not only the best drawings of the hall available at the time, for example Owen Jones's,¹³⁶ but also other models.

In his reports to the IAKh Council, Notbek never mentioned that he was not the first and only one to produce models of the Alhambra. It is most likely that he had seen the model of the Hall of the Two Sisters made by Rafael Contreras and his brothers, Francisco (born 1826) and José Marcelo (born 1827), between 1842 and 1847 before starting work on his own model. Contreras's model had been on display at the National Museum of Painting and Sculpture (*Museo Nacional de Pintura y Escultura*, now the *Museo del Prado*) in Madrid since the early 1850s, where Notbek may have seen it.¹³⁷ It is the earliest, most complex, and most meticulous of the many models Contreras later created in his workshop, and was decisive for his career (Fig. 99).¹³⁸ Queen Isabella II of Spain purchased it in 1847, commissioned Contreras to realize the Arab Cabinet (*Gabinete Árabe*; 1847–1851) at

133 The Hall of the Two Sisters is named after two large marble flagstones that form part of the floor. The entire building of which the Hall is the center is called *Qubba Mayor*. The Arabic term *qubba* is derived from the Latin word *cupula*. Initially used as a simple term for a cupola, it acquired a more complex meaning over time and was used to describe not only a room covered by a cupola or vault but also a whole complex of rooms arranged around a central vaulted space; see Fernández-Puertas 1997, 84.

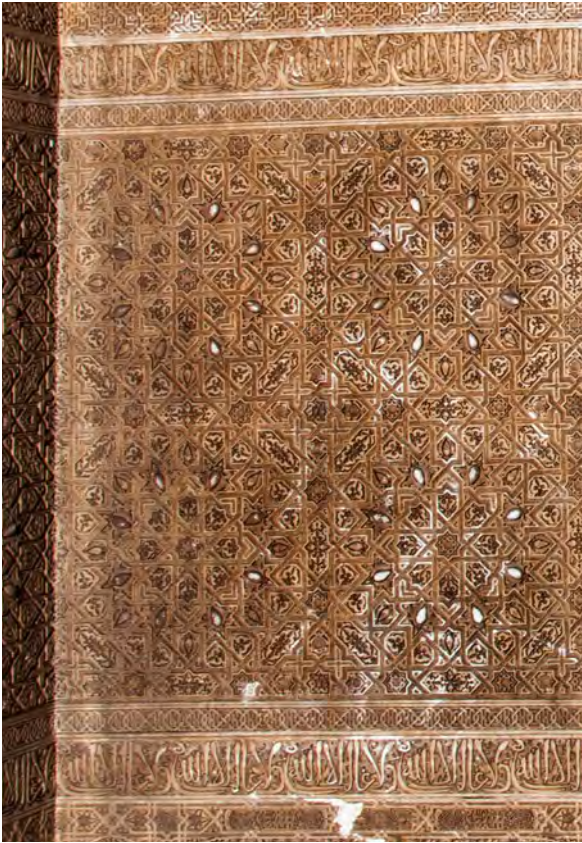
134 See Fernández-Puertas 1997, 5–6, 16. On the Palace of the Lions, originally known as *Riyāḍ* Palace (meaning Garden Palace), see Orihuela Uzal 1996, 103–116.

135 On the term *qubba* see footnote 133 in this chapter.

136 See Goury/Jones 1842, Plate XV.

137 In 1873 the model was transferred to the National Archaeological Museum (*Museo Arqueológico Nacional*) in Madrid.

138 See González Pérez 2017a, 162–164, 2017b, 82–89. On Contreras's models of the Alhambra see also Raquejo [Grado] 1988; Serrano Espinosa 2012, 2014; Giese/Varela Braga 2017b; González Pérez 2017c.



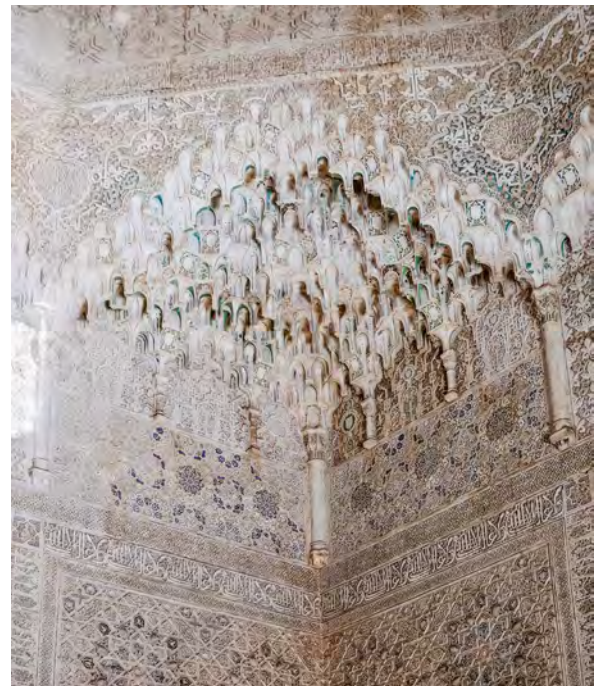
95 Pavel Notbek, Model of the Hall of the Two Sisters, Palace of the Lions, detail of the lower part, 1850s. NIMRAKh, AM-501.



96 Alhambra, Granada, detail of the wall decoration in the Hall of the Two Sisters, second half of the fourteenth century.

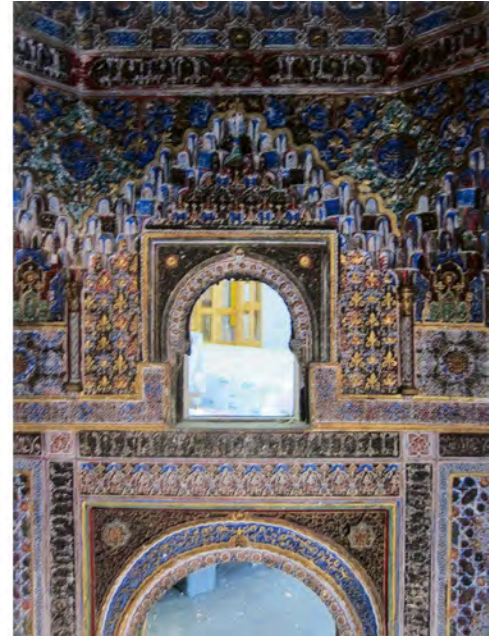


97 Pavel Notbek, Model of the Hall of the Two Sisters, Palace of the Lions, detail of the lower part, 1850s. NIMRAKh, AM-501.



98 Alhambra, Granada, muqarnas and ornaments decorating the Hall of the Two Sisters, second half of the fourteenth century.

99 Rafael, Francisco, and José Contreras, Model of the Hall of the Two Sisters, Palace of the Lions, 1842–1847, plaster, wood, paper, paint, ca. 100 × 100 × 140 cm. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, 50555.



the Royal Palace of Aranjuez, and appointed him the Alhambra's "restorer-decorator" (*restaurador-adornista*) in that same year.¹³⁹

Contreras's model is a ninth of the original size of the Hall of the Two Sisters, and thus considerably smaller than Notbek's. To allow contemplation of the interior, Contreras had to open one side of the model. Of excellent technical quality, the model was mainly carved from plaster boards and then painted green, white, blue, red, gold, brown, and purple, and gilded.¹⁴⁰ The alabaster floor simulates the marble floor of the original room, and painted wallpaper imitates the ceramic tiles on the lowest wall zone. Although the model is a fairly accurate replica of the Hall of the Two Sisters, some details, such as the *muqarnaş* vault, had to be slightly simplified due to the smaller scale. As Asunción González Pérez points out in her PhD dissertation on nineteenth-century Alhambra models, not all the decorative motifs correspond to those in the Hall of the Two Sisters, and some, such as the inscriptions, are poorly executed. These small errors could be due to the Contreras brothers' as-yet-limited knowledge of the Alhambra and written Arabic; and the model, made in the family workshop in downtown Granada, was possibly based on inaccurate drawings.¹⁴¹

Besides the pioneering work of Rafael Contreras and his brothers, another outstanding model can be com-

pared to Notbek's. It was made by Tomás Pérez, one of the craftsmen at Rafael Contreras's workshop, and shows the eastern wall of the Hall of the Two Sisters at about one fifth of the original size (Fig. 100).¹⁴² Probably dating from the late 1840s, it lies both chronologically and in its dimensions between Contreras and Notbek's reproductions. Pérez proved his skill by meticulously carving the entire model from plaster without using casting techniques to produce the repetitive parts, as soon became common practice for architectural models. While the *muqarnaş* vault is rendered in a highly stretched form that deviates from the original, the rest of the decoration is faithfully depicted. Pérez, too, applied colors to his

139 See Panadero Peropadre 1994; Rodríguez Domingo 1997, 336–340. The initial project for the Arab Cabinet was based on the design of the Hall of the Two Sisters. Notbek is said to have visited the Palace of Aranjuez in 1856; see Serrano Espinosa 2014, 358; González Pérez 2017a, 180.

140 See González Pérez 2017b, 86.

141 See González Pérez 2017b, 85–86. The illustrated catalogue of models of the Alhambra compiled by Asunción González Pérez contains almost a hundred models from the Contreras workshop, and about seventy from other workshops. It proved most useful for the study of the models in St. Petersburg and comparison with Alhambra models preserved in other countries.

142 See González Pérez 2017b, 90–95.



100 Tomás Pérez (Workshop of Rafael Contreras), Model of the eastern wall of the Hall of the Two Sisters, Palace of the Lions, late 1840s, plaster, wood, mastic, paint, 423 × 207 cm. Granada, Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, R6601.

model, but unlike Contreras he adopted the color scheme promoted by Jones in which red, blue, gold, and white predominate.

Notbek had probably seen both models at the National Museum of Painting and Sculpture, today's Prado Museum, in Madrid in the early 1850s, whereupon he tried to surpass them by producing his even larger model of the Hall of the Two Sisters.¹⁴³ Due to the regrettable condition of his model, its original *grandeur* is no longer obvious today.

The Model of the Sala de los Abencerrajes

The Hall of the Abencerrages is the main room of the qubba to the south of the Palace of the Lions (Fig. 89).¹⁴⁴ It is somewhat smaller and less elaborately designed than the Hall of the Two Sisters. The complex muqarnaş vault, which evolves from a star-shaped drum supported by muqarnaş-squinches, is an ingenious feature (Fig. 101). Notbek's model resembles a box, and as in the Alhambra, only the drum and the tiled roof of the Hall of the Abencerrages are visible from the outside (Figs 102 and 103). Completed in 1854, at a twelfth of its original size it is the smallest of Notbek's models, and one can only get a glimpse of the interior through a doorway in the lower part.¹⁴⁵ In the absence of evidence of what is inside the model, it cannot be directly compared with the Hall of the Abencerrages itself. What can be said is that the floor and the twelve-sided fountain basin are carved from alabaster, imitating marble, and that rather than reproducing the Sevillian tiles that have covered the lowest wall zone since the sixteenth century, Notbek replaced them with a design in the style of Nasrid alicatados.

Two other models of the Hall of the Abencerrages are known. One was in the collection of the *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* in Brussels in the twentieth century, but its current location is unknown.¹⁴⁶ Produced in Contreras's workshop, it showed half of the Hall of the Abencerrages and, like Notbek's model, at a twelfth of the actual size. The second model, which can also be attributed to Contreras's workshop based on its similarity to the model just mentioned, is at the NIMRAKh in St. Petersburg (Fig. 104). While the model in Brussels was painted and gilded, in the one in St. Petersburg only the alicatados are colored. It is not known how the model entered the Russian collection; Notbek may have bought

¹⁴³ From 1894, both models were exhibited in the Arab Court (*Patio Árabe*) of the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid; see Revilla Vielva 1932, 44–45; González Pérez 2017b, 87, 93.

¹⁴⁴ The current name of this hall stems from a sixteenth-century legend according to which it was where the members of the noble family of the Abencerrages were murdered.

¹⁴⁵ See RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1854, d. 66, l. 1 (see Annex A). It is possible that the model can be opened up.

¹⁴⁶ See González Pérez 2017b, 15, 106–107.



101 Alhambra, Granada, drum and muqarnas dome of the Hall of the Abencerrages, second half of the fourteenth century.

102 Pavel Notbek, Model of the Hall of the Abencerrages, Palace of the Lions, ca. 1854, plaster, alabaster, wood, mastic. NIMRAKh, KP-769/47.



103 Alhambra, Granada, drum and roof of the Hall of the Abencerrages, second half of the fourteenth century.





104 Rafael Contreras (attr.), Model of one half of the Hall of the Abencerrages, Palace of the Lions, second half of the nineteenth century, plaster, alabaster, wood, paint, 135.3 × 68 × 33.5 cm. NIMRAKh, AM-508.

it in Spain or someone else bought it later, for example at one of the world exhibitions.¹⁴⁷

The Model of the Patio de los Leones

A third model by Notbek shows, again at a twelfth of the original size, the eastern half of the Court of the Lions with its surrounding galleries and their stilted arches on slender columns, the tiled roofs, the pavilion, and, according to Notbek's report, the adjacent Hall of the Kings.¹⁴⁸ The model, on which the architect worked as early as 1854, is today kept disassembled and is badly

damaged, which is why it could not be documented.¹⁴⁹ Based on the limited information available, it can only be stated here that the model is unique. Although certain elements of the courtyard, such as the arcades and the pavilions, were popular motifs that were often reproduced on a smaller scale,¹⁵⁰ Notbek's model stands out because it represents not only a single element, but an entire half of the Court of the Lions.

The fact that three of Notbek's models are dedicated to the Palace of the Lions testifies to this palace's fame in the nineteenth century. Like the Comares Palace, it never passed into private hands, which is why today these are the two best-preserved Alhambra palaces.¹⁵¹ However, both have undergone numerous modifications and restorations since the Christian conquest.

The Model of a Wall in the Sala de los Embajadores

Notbek's two remaining models, created after 1854, show parts of the Comares Palace to the northwest of the Palace of the Lions (Fig. 89).¹⁵² It was largely built during the reign of Sultan Yūsuf I (r. 1333–1354/733–755 AH) and replaced a smaller palace that his father Ismā'īl I (r. 1314–1325/713–725 AH) had built on the same spot.¹⁵³ Distinguished by its monumentality and splendor, art historians consider it the pinnacle of the second period of Nasrid art, which is said to have begun with the reign of Sultan Ismā'īl I, and during which the classical Nasrid palace structure took shape.¹⁵⁴ This period saw the hey-

147 Other Alhambra models in the NIMRAKh collection that are not attributed to Notbek are discussed on pp. 131–135.

148 Notbek uses the designation Hall of Justice (*Sala de la Justicia*), which is also common for this room; see RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1854, d. 66, l. 1 (Annex A).

149 The model may also include a replica of the famous fountain with twelve marble lions, to which the palace owes its current name.

150 See González Pérez 2017b, 104–105, 114–125, 276–281.

151 See Orihuela Uzal 1996, 81.

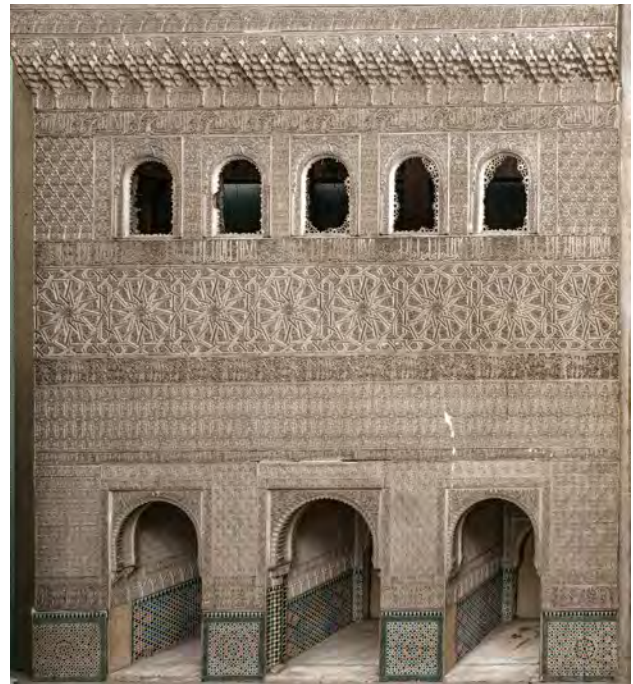
152 The name of the palace derives from an Arabic word in the Granada dialect: *Kmrš* (*Kumariš*). Despite several hypotheses, the meaning of this word is not known; see Fernández-Puertas 2011, 130.

153 On the Comares Palace see Orihuela Uzal 1996, 81–102.

154 See Fernández-Puertas 1997, 5, 15–16.



105 Alhambra, Granada, Hall of the Ambassadors, 1333–1354.



106 Pavel Notbek, Model of the Hall of the Ambassadors, Comares Palace, 1850s, plaster, wood, mastic, 158 × 157.5 × 38 cm. NIMRAKh, AM-503 (image artificially enhanced).

day of the magnificent decorative armaduras, masterpieces of Nasrid woodworking.¹⁵⁵

The Hall of the Ambassadors, which is in a tower to the north of the large courtyard, is the main hall of the palace. It is a square room measuring about 11.3 × 11.3 meters with a height of more than 18 meters, covered by an elaborate armadura (Fig. 105).¹⁵⁶ Three alcoves are embedded under arches in each of the thick walls on the west, north, and east sides of the hall. For receptions and other solemn state ceremonies, the sultan's throne was placed in the lavishly decorated central alcove in the northern wall opposite the entrance.

Notbek reproduced the northern wall of the room at an eighth of its original size, measuring about 1.5 meters in width and height (Fig. 106). The model shows the alicatados in the lowest part of the wall, the alcoves framed with epigraphic friezes, and the adjoining areas with geometric and vegetal ornamentation. Above them follow several horizontal decorative friezes with five *transennae* (latticed windows). The surfaces next to these windows are decorated with a *sebka* pattern. The cornice with *muqarnaş*, placed above one last frieze with inscriptions,

is also reproduced in plaster; in the Alhambra this element is carved in wood.

Notbek's model is a very accurate replica of the wall in the Hall of the Ambassadors and, apart from the missing *transennae*, is the least damaged of the five, which must be due to its compact shape. At first glance it follows the original faithfully. However, perhaps for reasons of symmetry, the architect has only reproduced some of the various designs of the alicatados.

No comparable replicas of this wall are known, although some of its details were reproduced in Rafael Contreras's workshop.¹⁵⁷ Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Diego Fernández Castro made two models of a vertical section of the wall, but his decorative, idealized depiction differs greatly from the original.¹⁵⁸

155 On the reception of Nasrid armaduras in Russian neo-Moorish interiors, see Kaufmann 2021b.

156 On this armadura see Cabanelas Rodríguez 1988; Fernández-Puertas 1997, 390–406; Nuere Matauco 2003, 242–251.

157 See González Pérez 2017b, 152–171.

158 These models are held in a private collection in Madrid; see González Pérez 2017b, 282–285.



107 Pavel Notbek, Model of the Façade of Comares, the Alhambra, 1850s, plaster, wood, mastic, 270 × 245 × 70 cm. NIMRAKh, AM-500.



108 Alhambra, Granada, Façade of Comares, 1370.



109 John Frederick Lewis, *Patio de la Mezquita; or Court of the Mosque*, from idem., *Sketches and Drawings of the Alhambra, made during a Residence in Granada, in the Years 1833–1834*, London: Hodgson & Graves, 1835, pl. 22.

The Model of the Façade of the Patio de la Mezquita

The fifth and last of Notbek's models shows the façade of the Court of the Mosque, which is better known today as the Façade of Comares, as it houses the entrance to the Comares Palace (Figs 107 and 108).¹⁵⁹ This façade does not date back to the reign of Sultan Yūsuf I but was built in 1370 at the behest of his son, Sultan Muḥammad V, to commemorate the conquest of Algeciras (1369/770 AH).¹⁶⁰ It marked the boundary between the administrative area (*Mexuar*), used for public receptions, and the Sultan's family residence, where more intimate gatherings and celebrations took place.¹⁶¹ Sometimes the Sultan also gave audiences while sitting on the platform in front of the Façade of Comares.

A drawing from the early 1830s by John Frederick Lewis shows that large portions of the original decoration of the façade are missing or damaged, especially in the lower part and around the windows, and to their left,

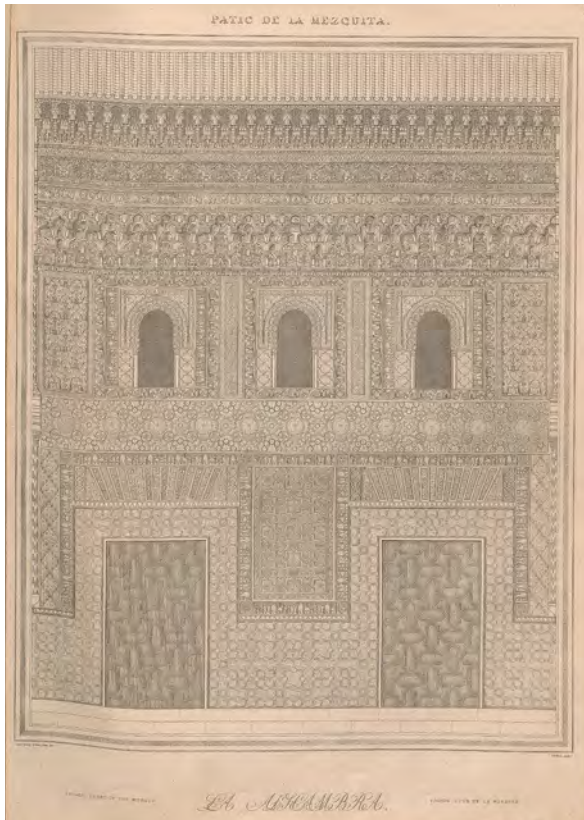
where a gallery overhangs a new doorway into the Façade of Comares (Fig. 109). Owen Jones, who captured the same aspect a little later in a small drawing, explains that this doorway on the upper floor leads to the apartment of the Governor of the Alhambra, while the courtyard is used for keeping poultry.¹⁶² Based on the decorative remains, Jones suggests how the Façade of Comares might

159 The Court of the Mosque, on the other hand, is better known today as the Court of the Golden Room, named after the room opening onto it. For the various historical designations, see Fernández-Puertas 1980, 3, footnote 1.

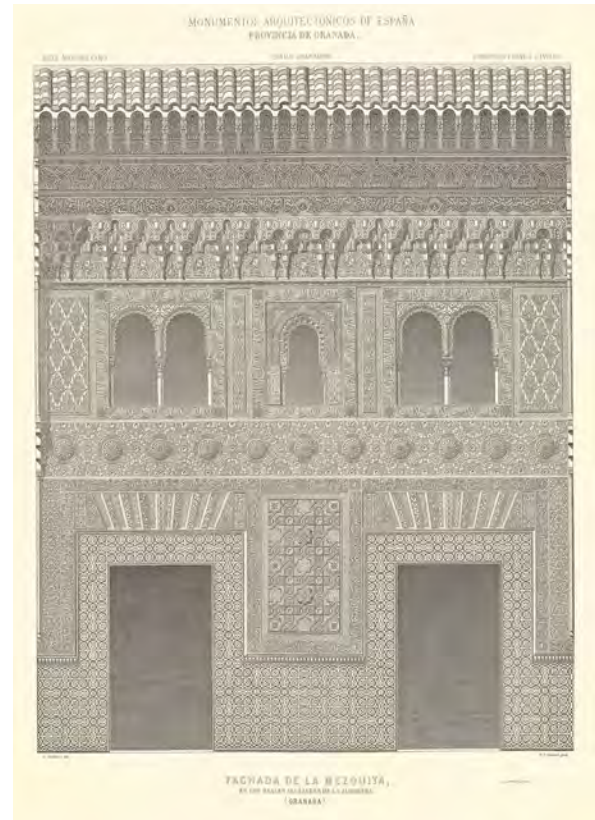
160 See Fernández-Puertas 1980, 27, 30.

161 A façade with two entrances is unusual in Nasrid architecture. While the eastern door gave access to the residence, it is believed that the western door led to rooms used for the maintenance of the palace; see Orihuela Uzal 1996, 86.

162 See Goury/Jones 1842, text and drawing to Plate XXIII. For more historical representations of the façade, see Fernández-Puertas 1980.



110 Jules Gourey and Owen Jones, *Façade, Court of the Mosque*, from idem., *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*, Vol. 1, London: Owen Jones, 1842, pl. XXIII.



111 Francisco Pérez Baquero, *Fachada de la Mezquita, en los Reales Alcázares de la Alhambra*, plate from José Gil Dorregaray (ed.), *Monumentos arquitectónicos de España*, Vol. 4, Madrid: Imprenta y Calcografía Nacional, 1881.

have looked originally (Fig. 110). He assumes that the entire lower area had been covered with alicatados with a ribbon interlace, of which remnants survived above the doorways. He completed the window zone with copies of the remaining central window to its right and left.

Notbek reproduced the façade at a quarter of the original size; at 2.5×2.7 meters it is the second-largest of his models. Like his model of the northern wall in the Hall of the Ambassadors, he modeled the wooden cornice of the façade and the projecting eaves with their magnificent rafters, another masterpiece of Nasrid carpentry, in plaster.¹⁶³ Unlike Jones, Notbek chose to reconstruct the two missing Nasrid windows as twin windows (*ajimez*).¹⁶⁴ His model thus shows the Façade of Comares almost exactly as it is known today, apart from the alicatados. Notbek made his model between 1854 and 1862, and the Contreras workshop restored and partially rebuilt the Façade of Comares at an unknown point between 1875 and 1892,¹⁶⁵

begging the question of whether there was an exchange about the later restoration between Notbek and Contreras: had Rafael Contreras already designed the project in the 1850s, or did he rely on Notbek's model or reconstruction drawings? Francisco Pérez Baquero's engraving of the Façade of Comares, first published around 1870 in the *Monumentos Arquitectónicos de España*, is based on a preliminary drawing by Francisco Contreras Muñoz from 1863 and adopts Jones's proposal for the lower wall zone, while the upper floor shows twin windows that correspond exactly to those in Notbek's model (Figs 111 and

¹⁶³ On these rafters and Nasrid rafters in general, see López Pertíñez 2006, 151–207.

¹⁶⁴ The twin windows seem to match the width of the original framing, which still partially existed in the nineteenth century and was larger than that of the central window, better.

¹⁶⁵ See Fernández-Puertas 1980, 36–37.



112 Pavel Notbek, Model of the Façade of Comares (detail), the Alhambra, 1850s. NIMRAKh, AM-500.

112).¹⁶⁶ A further model, the large bipartite model of part of the Façade of Comares produced in Contreras's workshop, shows one of the gateways and the twin window above it (Fig. 113).¹⁶⁷ The double window in this model is identical both to the one proposed by Notbek and to that in Pérez Baquero's engraving in the *Monumentos Arquitectónicos*. Even the smallest details, such as the motif in the spandrel between the two windows, correspond in these three examples (Figs 111–113).¹⁶⁸ In addition, in Notbek and Contreras's models an identical double-winged door represents a wooden door with a *lazo* decoration: complex geometric patterns of interwoven lines or rib-

¹⁶⁶ See Almagro Gorbea 2015, 300–301.

¹⁶⁷ The model is today in the collection of the Council of the Alhambra and the Generalife (*Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife*) in Granada. Like Notbek's model, it too reproduces the façade's decoration at a quarter of the original size. Asunción González Pérez dates this split model to about 1870, and argues plausibly that such models were created almost simultaneously with the respective restorations at the Alhambra itself (2017b, 144–151, 185). However, the observations above suggest that some were made much earlier.

¹⁶⁸ In the restoration of the façade, however, the decoration of the spandrel has not been executed according to Notbek and Contreras's models or Pérez Baquero's engraving.



113 Workshop of Rafael Contreras, Model of a doorway and an ajimez in the Façade of Comares, the Alhambra, ca. 1870 (?), plaster, wood, paint, gilding, 135 × 87 cm and 92 × 87 cm. Granada, Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, R6599 and R6596.

bons (Figs 107 and 113). This door does not match the metal-clad door found today in the Alhambra, whose design Owen Jones reproduced in his drawing, albeit exaggerating the proportions of its decorations (Fig. 110). The connection between the Russian model, the Spanish model, the drawing by Francisco Contreras, and the restoration of the façade awaits clarification by further research in the future.

Notbek's is the only known model that replicates the Façade of Comares in its entirety. Thus four of his five models are unique in that they show parts of the Alhambra more comprehensively than any other Alhambra models, in some cases on a very large scale. All five clearly reflect the architect's intention to reproduce the most important parts of the Nasrid palaces as accurately as possible, while complementing them where their medieval appearance had been altered or damaged. In this way Notbek's work stands out from the bulk of nineteenth-century Alhambra models, many of which depict only single details of the Nasrid palaces, for example a portion of a wall with an arcade or a window, and most of which were manufactured as commercial goods.¹⁶⁹ It also appears that Notbek did not do the laborious work on these large, fantastically detailed architectural models alone, but ran a small workshop where he supervised his workers. The caricature in which Notbek is described as "Plaster Master" (Fig. 85) suggests that he had acquired great ability to work with plaster. Although he claimed to be unable to find decent craftsmen in Granada, it seems more likely that he benefited from the knowledge and skills of Rafael Contreras and his craftsmen and collaborated with them. His close contact with Contreras's workshop is evidenced by the similarities between several of the two architect's models, as described above, with Notbek's models anticipating Contreras's later restoration projects. Detailed comparison and examination of the manufacturing techniques and materials used for the models would be likely to provide further information about this connection.

Plaster Casts

In addition to his models, Pavel Notbek brought "around 300 plaster casts of the most remarkable fine details and ornamentation in the Alhambra"¹⁷⁰ to St. Petersburg, 274

of which he lists in his *Catalogue of Models and Plaster Casts of the Moorish Palace Alhambra in Spain* (1863).¹⁷¹ In contrast to the models, the full-size casts are of single structural elements and ornamentations at the Alhambra. Since the original numbering on the plaster casts is lacking, it is not clear which parts of the building they represent. However, Notbek is known to have completed casts of the various decorations in the Tower of the Princesses and a large proportion of those in the Captive's Tower (*Torre de la Cautiva*), the *Mirador de Lindaraja* (a small covered viewpoint with distinctive decoration to the north of the Hall of the Two Sisters), and the Court of the Myrtles as early as 1854.¹⁷² More information can be found in his 1863 catalogue, which records the locations of the templates in the Nasrid palaces from which the plaster casts were taken: it lists 91 plaster casts of decorations in the Palace of the Lions, 78 from the Comares Palace and its *ḥammām*, and another 66 from the royal dwellings of the Partal Palace, the Tower of the Princesses, and the Captive's Tower (see Table 4.1).

Notbek's catalogue can also be evaluated based on the motifs depicted. About 50 percent of his plaster casts show Nasrid ornamentation, mostly on the walls of the Alhambra, 20 percent of which includes inscriptions in Kufic or Arabic letters, often interwoven with ornaments. Another 25 percent reproduces Nasrid decoration on arches and their spandrels, while the remaining 25 percent shows architectural components such as capitals, corbels, cornices, and windows, and a few wooden cornices and rafters. This indicates that Notbek mainly reproduced decorations and elements from the upper two thirds of the Alhambra palace walls. The tiles in the lower wall zone are hardly represented, probably because their geometric patterns are not in relief, so reproducing them in plaster would make little sense. Neither did Notbek reproduce the decorative wooden ceilings and

169 See, for example, the models listed in Table 4.2 (except NIMRAKh, AM-508).

170 "[...] около трехсот слепков с наиболее замечательных мелких деталей и орнаментов Альгамбры", Somov 1879, 41; RGIA, f. 789, op. 14-N, d. 33, l. 13.

171 See Savinova 2021.

172 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1854, d. 66, l. 1–2 (see Annex A).

Building	Location	Number of plaster casts
Comares Palace	Court of the Myrtles	29
	Hall of the Ambassadors	23
	Hall of the Ship	5
	Ḥammām	21
Palace of the Lions	Court of the Lions	33
	Hall of the Two Sisters	27
	Mirador de Lindaraja	24
	Hall of the Abencerrages	7
Partal Palace		14
Tower of the Princesses		32
The Captive's Tower		20

Table 4.1 Plaster casts made by Pavel Notbek in the palaces and buildings of the Alhambra in Granada, according to his 1863 catalogue.

muqarnaş vaults at their original size: the armaduras are better rendered in drawings, and making molds of the muqarnaş vaults was technically difficult.

The vast collection of more than 300 reproductions of Nasrid decoration stored at the NIMRAKh today would be worth a detailed study in its own right, and can be discussed only briefly here. As mentioned, not all were cast from plaster: some were carved from gypsum boards.¹⁷³ The terms “plaster cast” and “reproduction” are used synonymously in the following.

Many of Notbek's plaster casts are set in wooden frames. They are uncolored and vary greatly in size. The smallest measures less than 20 × 20 cm, the largest about 114 × 163 cm. Since it is difficult to say much more about reproductions that cannot be ascribed to a particular template, casts from the halls, palaces, and towers mentioned frequently in Notbek's catalogue were identified for the present publication, and some of these are discussed below, in chronological order following the evolution of the Alhambra's Nasrid Palaces.

The Partal Palace, built at the beginning of the fourteenth century under Muḥammad III, is the Alhambra's oldest building in which Nasrid architectural decoration has survived.¹⁷⁴ Notbek studied the ornamentation of the mirador in the tower to the north of the palace known since the nineteenth century as The Ladies' Tower (*Torre*

de las Damas). One of his reproductions shows a square element with a star with a protruding center, a pinecone within each of its eight points, and interlaced ribbons surrounding four other peripheral stars with inscriptions, which was part of a frieze running horizontally above the mirador's arcades (Fig. 114).¹⁷⁵ Notbek made a substantial number of plaster casts of the second mirador in the southwestern part of the palace, and several of those surviving can be ascribed to the decorative elements of this room (Figs 115 and 116). The replica of half a lobed arch with a distinctive ataurique decoration is the largest of Notbek's casts (Fig. 116 A),¹⁷⁶ and two further plaster casts of wall ornamentations are also exceptionally large (B and C). While Notbek usually reproduced ornamentations separately, various elements are combined in these two plaster casts, with one showing several different friezes, and the other, two individual geometric wall decorations.¹⁷⁷

173 Examination of the objects in St. Petersburg could shed light on the techniques used to produce these.

174 See Orihuela Uzal 1996, 57–58.

175 This frieze in the Alhambra is badly damaged today.

176 The reproduction of the second part of this arch is also held at the NIMRAKh (S-1939).

177 Notbek's reproductions of this mirador include a cast of a wooden cornice.



114 Pavel Notbek, Reproduction of a Nasrid wall decoration in the mirador of the Ladies' Tower, the Alhambra, ca. 1855–1862, plaster, wood, 86.5 × 86.5 × 9 cm. NIMRAKh, S-1845.

The ḥammām in the Comares Palace was built at the time of Ismā'īl I and his son Yūsuf I in the first half of the fourteenth century.¹⁷⁸ The only part of the bathhouse that was richly decorated was the *bayt al-maslakh* (the *apodyterium* or dressing room), which was not exposed to heat or damp (Fig. 117). Here, guests prepared to bathe, and later rested on walled benches (*maṣṭaba*).¹⁷⁹ The dressing room was widely modified in three phases between 1849 and 1866 in the most controversial of Rafael Contreras's "decorative restorations" (*restauraciones adornistas*), during part of which time Pavel Notbek was in Granada.¹⁸⁰ Several of Notbek's plaster casts show side views of corbels with an undulating inside edge and an ataurique ornament, and an epigraphic cartouche in the spandrels on the second floor of the dressing room (Fig. 118). Since José Contreras had already dismantled the Nasrid decoration in the 1840s, keeping only some of its elements as specimens, it is not clear whether Notbek copied a Nasrid original, a later copy, or a reinterpretation by Rafael Contreras.

A more detailed analysis to determine the extent to which Notbek reproduced the decoration of the famous Hall of the Ambassadors, built during the reign of Sultan Yūsuf I (r. 1333–1354/733–755 AH), identified twenty plaster casts. Interestingly he appears not to have docu-

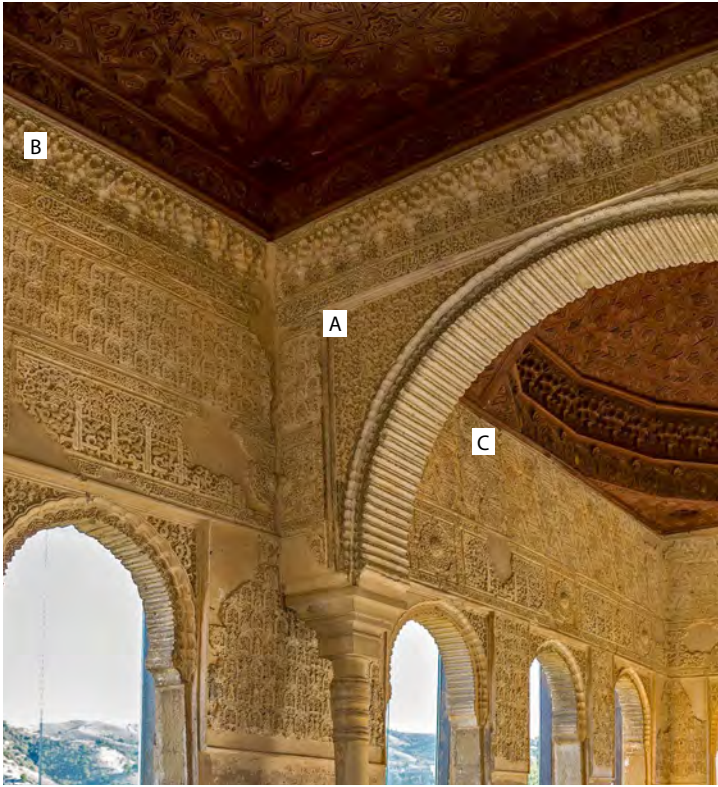
mented the decoration in the main hall. His casts mainly reproduce the decoration of the alcoves in the northern wall of the Hall of the Ambassadors (Figs 105 and 119): a corbel with muqarnaṣ (Fig. 120 A); the panel with an arch, ataurique, and inscriptions in Arabic and Kufic letters just below the corbel (B); and the ornamentation on the walls, including a frieze with muqarnaṣ and arches with two alternating designs (C),¹⁸¹ a sebka pattern (D), and a square panel with overlapping quatrefoils (E). Notbek also reproduced the northern wall of the central alcove, which housed the sultan's throne (Fig. 121): the decoration between the two windows (A), a *transenna* (a latticed window; B), and a frieze with a sebka pattern (C). Besides the alcoves, he turned his attention to the *ṭāqas*, small niches set into the walls on either side of the hall entrance (Fig. 122). He copied one of these: the arch

178 On the Comares ḥammām see Fernández-Puertas 1997, 269–282.

179 The benches gave rise to the current Spanish name for the room: the Hall of the Beds (*Sala de las Camas*).

180 On this intervention see González Pérez/Rubio Domene 2018.

181 The Kufic inscription in one of the two designs reads "Eternity belongs to God" (*al-baqā' li-llāh*); see Fernández-Puertas 1997, 408.



115 Alhambra, Granada, northern wall of the mirador in the Partal Palace, fourteenth century.



116 Pavel Notbek, Three reproductions of Nasrid decorations in the mirador of the Partal Palace, ca. 1855–1862, plaster, wood. NIMRAKh, S-1940, S-1843, S-1645.



117 John Frederick Lewis, *Entrance to the Baños; or Baths*, from idem., *Sketches and Drawings of the Alhambra, made during a Residence in Granada, in the Years 1833–1834*, London: Hodgson & Graves, 1835, pl. 13.



118 Pavel Notbek, Reproduction of one side of a corbel in the hammām in Comares Palace, the Alhambra, ca. 1855–1862, plaster, wood, 42 × 65 × 4 cm. NIMRAKh, S-1689.

with ataurique decoration in its spandrels (Fig. 123 A), the muqarnaṣ frieze inside the niche (B), and the adjoining ornamented panel surrounded with inscriptions, including a poem and the Nasrid dynasty motto (C).¹⁸²

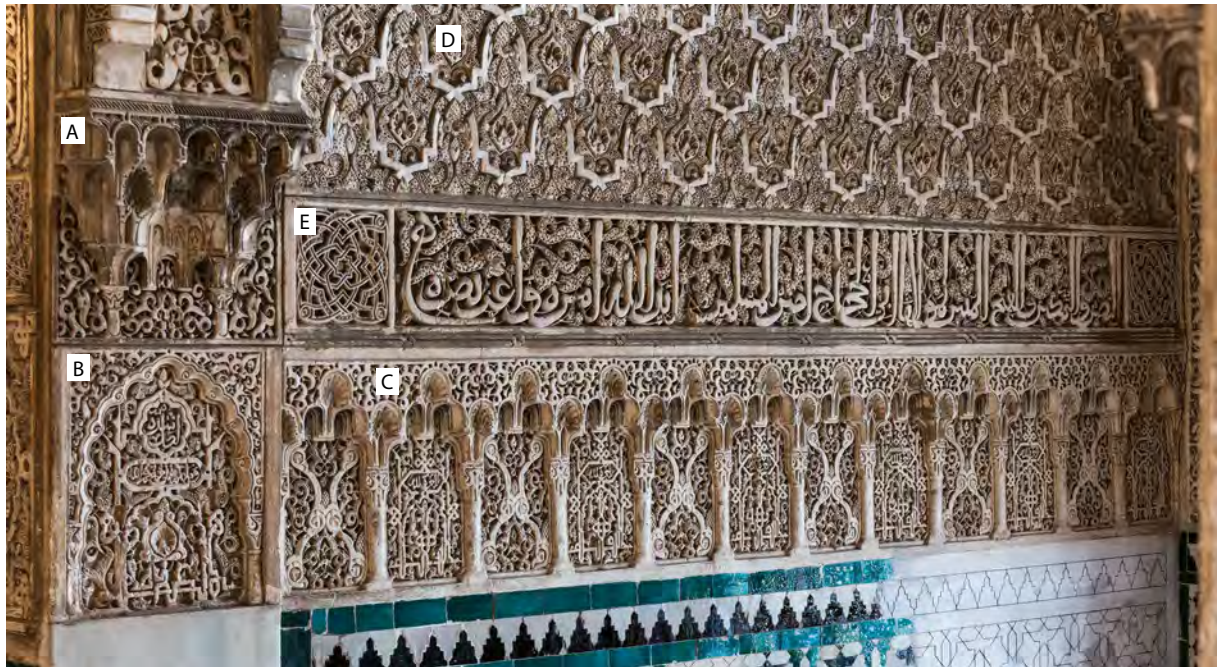
Several conclusions can be drawn based on the plaster casts that match elements of the Hall of the Ambassadors. Notbek focused on the smaller decorative elements on the lower third of the walls in the alcoves and in the entrance area, clearly for practical reasons. On the one hand these areas were easy to access and studying them did not require scaffolding, while on the other, the decorative elements on the upper walls of the spacious hall were proportionally larger. Copying such elements in plaster met the limits for handling: while reproducing the transenna of a window in an alcove was manageable, one of the upper windows in the main room would have been challenging and would have resulted in a very heavy large but fragile object (see Fig. 105).

The descriptions in Notbek’s catalogue are simplistic, which is why only a few objects from the NIMRAKh collection can be ascribed to them. Thus the “Ornamentation between windows on middle balcony in hall *de los embajadores*”, mentioned in the catalogue as no. 74/18, must be the plaster cast with today’s inventory number S-1832 (Fig. 121 A), while no. 170/114, “Ornamentation to the sides of niche in *Torre de Comares*”, probably describes the current S-1646 (Fig. 123 C).¹⁸³

The fact that four plaster casts, S-1707, S-1710, S-1722, and S-1784, show the same motif while the matching de-

¹⁸² For a detailed description of these ṭāqas and the surrounding epigraphs, see Fernández-Puertas 1997, 326–330.

¹⁸³ “Украшение между окнами в среднем балконе залы *de los embajadores*”; “Украшение по бокам ниши *Torre de Comares*”, Pavel Notbek, *Catalogue of Models and Plaster Casts of the Moorish Palace Alhambra in Spain*, 1863 (NIMRAKh); Savinova 2021, 555, 558.



119 Alhambra, Granada, detail of an alcove in the Hall of the Ambassadors, mid-fourteenth century.



120 Pavel Notbek, Five reproductions of Nasrid decorations in an alcove of the Hall of the Ambassadors, Comares Palace, ca. 1855–1862, plaster. NIMRAKh, S-1910, S-2019, S-1629, S-1675, S-1669.



121 Pavel Notbek, Three reproductions of Nasrid decorations in the central alcove of the Hall of the Ambassadors, Comares Palace, ca. 1855–1862, plaster, wood. NIMRAKh, S-1832, S-1946, S-1660.

scription appears against only one number in the catalogue indicates that Notbek did not assign each reproduction an individual number. This could explain why more than the 274 casts listed in Notbek’s catalogue are stored at the NIMRAKh today. While there are several versions of some motifs, others mentioned in the catalogue seem to be missing.¹⁸⁴ Despite its large size, Pavel Notbek’s collection of plaster casts is no longer complete. Based on Notbek’s replicas, the Alhambra’s buildings and their construction history are further traced below.

A plaster cast of a frieze with inscription shows a detail of the decoration in the Hall of the Ship, located to the south of the Hall of the Ambassadors.¹⁸⁵ Notbek’s collection also includes several elements of the adjacent Court of the Myrtles, which was only completed during the reign of Muḥammad V; for example a rectangular panel with a cartouche bearing an inscription in Kufic script

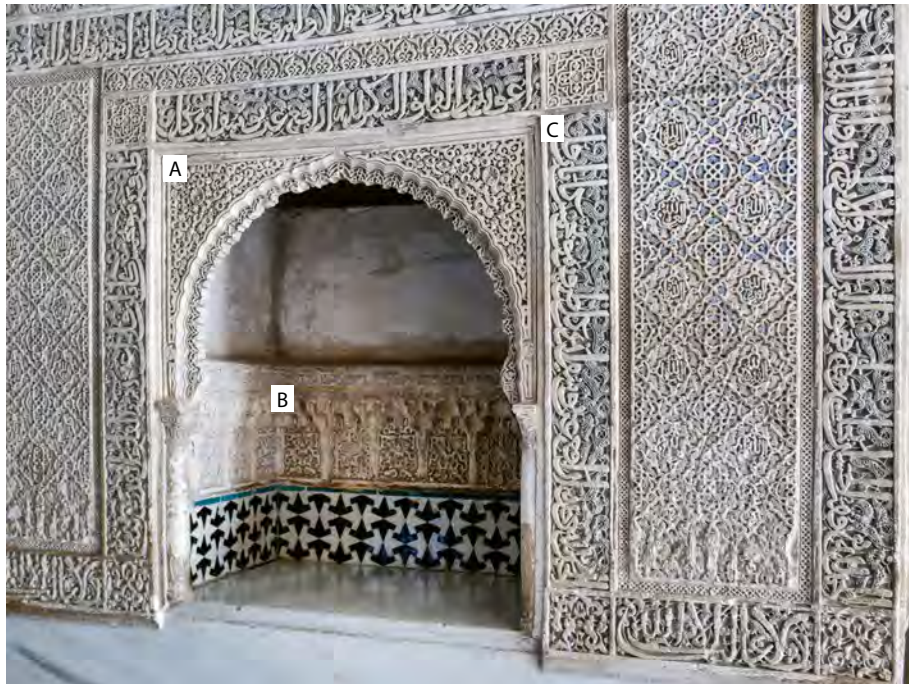
above the *abaci* (pl. of *abacus*, a flat slab on the top of a capital) of several capitals (Figs 124 and 125), and a span-drel over the niche that Owen Jones depicted so prominently (Figs 126 and 58).

Notbek also reproduced twenty motifs from the decoration of the Captive’s Tower, a *qalahurra* (defensive tower containing a royal dwelling) erected under Yūsuf I in the northeastern wall of the fortress. The plaster casts identified show several sebka patterns dating from the same period as those in the Hall of the Ambassadors (Fig. 127).¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ For example a photograph from the 1934 exhibition shows a plaster cast of a sebka ornament, which is no longer in the collection, see NIMRAKh, F-3497/2. Further, five windows (transennae) are listed in the catalogue, but only four are present in the collection today.

¹⁸⁵ See NIMRAKh, S-1790.

¹⁸⁶ On the tower and its decoration, see Pavón Maldonado 1977, 21–31; Orihuela Uzal 1996, 129–136; Fernández-Puertas 1997, 312–314.



122 Alhambra, Granada, taqa at the entrance to the Hall of the Ambassadors, mid-fourteenth century.



123 Pavel Notbek, Three reproductions of Nasrid decorations of a taqa at the entrance to the Hall of the Ambassadors, Comares Palace, ca. 1855–1862, plaster, wood. NIMRAKh, S-1870, S-1912, S-1646.



10 cm
1:7.5

124 Pavel Notbek, Reproduction of a Nasrid stucco panel in the Court of the Myrtles, Comares Palace, ca. 1854, plaster, wood, 53 × 34 × 6 cm. NIMRAKh, S-1643.



125 Alhambra, Granada, capitals of the portico in the Court of the Myrtles, fourteenth century.



10 cm
1:10

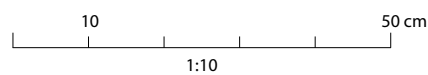
126 Pavel Notbek, Reproduction of a Nasrid spandrel in the Court of the Myrtles, Comares Palace, ca. 1854, plaster, wood, 67 × 86 × 8 cm. NIMRAKh, S-1885.



10 cm
1:10

127 Pavel Notbek, Reproduction of a Nasrid wall decoration in the Captive's Tower, the Alhambra, ca. 1854, plaster, wood, 63 × 61 × 7.5 cm. NIMRAKh, S-1794.

128 Alhambra, Granada, ajimez in the Mirador de Lindaraja, second half of the fourteenth century.



129 Pavel Notbek, Three reproductions of Nasrid decorations in the Mirador de Lindaraja, Palace of the Lions, ca. 1854, plaster, wood. NIMRAKh, S-1820, S-1723, S-1636.



130 Alhambra, Granada, capital in the Court of the Lions, second half of the fourteenth century.



131 Pavel Notbek, Reproduction of a Nasrid capital in the Court of the Lions, ca. 1855–1862, plaster, wood, 59 × 46 × 17 cm. NIMRAKh, S-1852.



132 Pavel Notbek, Reproduction of Nasrid sebka patterns in the Court of the Lions, ca. 1855–1862, plaster, wood, 66.5 × 87 × 9 cm. NIMRAKh, S-1828.



133 Pavel Notbek, Reproduction of a Nasrid wall decoration in the Palace of the Lions (probably Hall of the Two Sisters), ca. 1855–1862, plaster, wood, 77 × 67 × 5 cm. NIMRAKh, S-1854.



134 Pavel Notbek, Reproduction of a Nasrid wall decoration in the Tower of the Princesses, the Alhambra, ca. 1854, plaster, wood, 55 × 38 × 7 cm. NIMRAKh, S-1652.

As mentioned, Notbek made the largest number of his casts in the Palace of the Lions, built under Muḥammad V in the second half of the fourteenth century. The reproductions of the Mirador de Lindaraja are easily recognizable. One shows part of the ornamentation above one of the side windows, while at least three others depict the decoration of the ajimez in the northern wall (Figs 128 and 129). Certain elements characteristic of the Court of the Lions are equally easy to identify in Notbek's collection: a sebka pattern used on several of the palace's walls,¹⁸⁷ a capital with an inscription on the abacus, and the various openwork sebka patterns on the arcades in the courtyard galleries and pavilions (Figs 130–132). The precise identification of plaster casts of ornaments in the Hall of the Two Sisters and the Hall of the Abencerrages is more difficult, because some decorations are found in both halls as well as in other areas of the palace (Fig. 133).

Finally, Notbek made thirty-two reproductions from the interior decoration of the Tower of the Princesses, another qalahurra in the northeastern wall of the Alhambra, erected at the beginning of the reign of Muḥammad VII (r. 1392–1408/794–810 AH) (Fig. 134).¹⁸⁸ He thus worked in all of the Alhambra's palaces and dwellings that still contained Nasrid decoration, achieving his goal of documenting it as comprehensively as possible. However, he almost completely neglected the nearby Gene-

ralife Palace, whose northern nucleus was rebuilt after 1319 under Ismā'īl I.¹⁸⁹

Several of Notbek's plaster casts match the plates in Jules Gouroy and Owen Jones's *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra* (Figs 120 B and 135). Jones's chromolithographic plates were most decisive for the Moorish Revival, but plaster casts such as Notbek's give a more accurate, haptic, and visual impression of Nasrid decoration, as they correspond to the originals in both size and materiality. Reproductions of popular motifs such as the panel in the alcove of the Hall of the Ambassadors exist in various collections, including in Geneva and London.¹⁹⁰ The panel in London is better preserved than Notbek's but is in lower relief. It is probably a reproduction cast from a mold, while Notbek's sharper-edged replica may have been carved directly into plaster.

As part of this investigation, more than eighty of Notbek's plaster casts – that is, a quarter of his collection – were ascribed to specific templates in the Alhambra. It

¹⁸⁷ See NIMRAKh, S-1654.

¹⁸⁸ On this tower see Orihuela Uzal 1996, 137–144.

¹⁸⁹ Notbek's 1863 catalogue mentions the Generalife only once.

¹⁹⁰ See Varela Braga 2019, 173–174; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, REPRO.1883-241.



135 Jules Gouroy and Owen Jones, *Small panel in jamb of a window, Hall of the Ambassadors*, from idem., *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*, Vol. 2, London: Owen Jones, 1845, pl. XXVI, no. 38.



136 Gustave Doré, *Les voleurs d'azulejos, à l'Alhambra*, from Charles Davillier, *L'Espagne*, Paris: Hachette, 1874, 162.

would probably be possible to identify the templates of up to 90 percent of the plaster casts, as many of the Nasrid motifs have characteristic details that were often used in only one specific location in the Alhambra.

Nasrid Artifacts

There is no evidence that Notbek removed medieval Nasrid stucco panels or tiles from the Alhambra. This was a frequent occurrence in the nineteenth century that was witnessed most prominently by the French travelers Jean-Charles Davillier (1823–1883) and Gustave Doré (1832–1883) in the early 1860s (Fig. 136).¹⁹¹ However, Notbek did take five Nasrid marble capitals back to St. Petersburg, claiming to have acquired them from private houses.¹⁹² According to his 1863 catalogue, he had found two of these “near the Alhambra”, one “in the garden of the Mosque”, and the remaining two in two buildings that were privately owned at the time: the *Casa de Chapiz* in Granada’s oldest district *Albaicín*, and the former Monastery of St. Francis of the Alhambra.¹⁹³ As Manuel del Palacio reports, Notbek did indeed discover one of the capitals at his lodgings at the San Francisco de la Alhambra inn, and purchased it in an unorthodox manner:

One morning, when climbing the stairs of the guest-house, he noticed that an Arabic capital was built into the wall; he called the landlord, and since the latter refused to sell it to him and the stairs were old and damaged, he proposed building him a new staircase in exchange for the capital, which is what he did.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹ See Davillier 1874, 161–162.

¹⁹² See RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1854, d. 66, l. 2 (see Annex A).

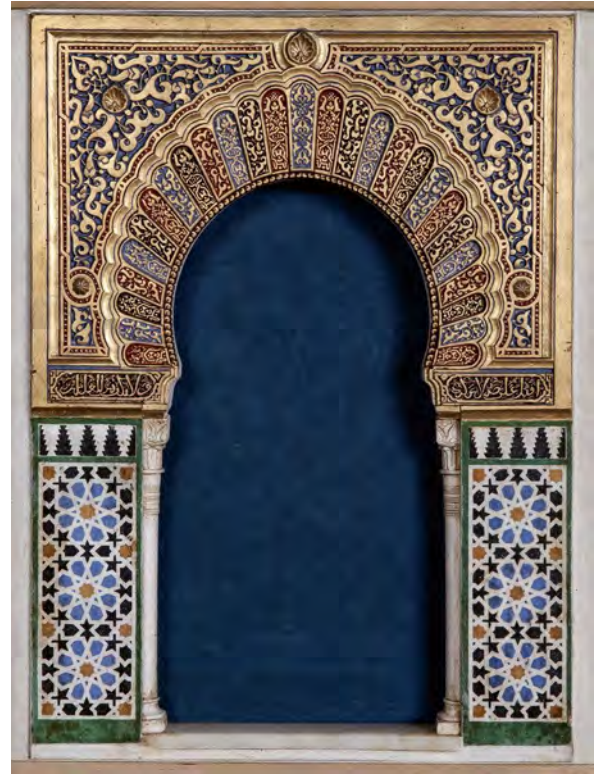
¹⁹³ “[...] близ Альгамбры”; “[...] в саду мечети”, Pavel Notbek, *Catalogue of Models and Plaster Casts of the Moorish Palace Alhambra in Spain* (Inv. nos 66/10, 68/12, 70/14, 71/15), 1863 (NIMRAKh); Savinova 2021, 555. By the “garden of the mosque” Notbek meant either the courtyard to the west of the Mexuar or the courtyard of the mosque, which was integrated into the Comares Palace in the 1360s and of which only the foundations remain.

¹⁹⁴ “Una mañana, al subir la escalera de la fonda, notó que en el muro había empotrado un capitel árabe; llamó al dueño, y como éste se negara á vendérselo, y la escalera estuviese ya vieja y deteriorada, le propuso hacerle una nueva á cambio del capitel, y se la hizo”, Palacio 1902.



137 Rafael Contreras (attr.), Model of the mihrāb in the Oratory of the Mexuar, the Alhambra, mid-nineteenth century, plaster, wood, 61 × 32 × 2.5 cm. NIMRAKh, AM-513.

138 Rafael Contreras (attr.), Model of the mihrāb arch in the Oratory of the Mexuar, the Alhambra, late nineteenth century, plaster, mastic, alabaster, paint, gilding, wood, 46 × 37 × 9 cm; with case 34.2 × 26.5 × 3.2 cm. NIMRAKh, AM-502.



All five capitals were transferred to the State Hermitage Museum in 1931, where four are on display today.¹⁹⁵

Other Items

In addition to the model of the Hall of the Abencerrages mentioned above (Fig. 104; see p. 112), the NIMRAKh collection includes further models, not made by Notbek, of parts of the Alhambra from the second half of the nineteenth century. These relatively small and flat models show various parts of the palaces and single ornaments (see Table 4.2).

¹⁹⁵ See GE, EG-806, EG-808, EG-809 and EG-810. The State Hermitage Museum also holds two carved wooden rafters believed to have originated in the Court of the Lions (GE, EG-814 and EG-815). The fact that they were transferred from the former Imperial Academy of Arts to the Hermitage in 1931 suggests that they had been acquired in Granada by one of the Russian pensionery. Further artifacts from al-Andalus on display at the State Hermitage Museum include coins of the Caliphates of Córdoba and Granada, and luster-painted ceramics. Many of these ceramics, including the famous fourteenth-century Fortuny Vase, were part of the Bazilevskii collection on medieval art acquired by Alexander III in 1885. The Fortuny Vase (GE, F-317) is one of the so-called Alhambra Vases, although it was made in Málaga. It was discovered in 1871 by the Spanish artist Mariano Fortuny

NIMRAKh Model no.	Subject	Workshop	Similar Models in Other Collections
AM-513 (Fig. 137)	Miḥrāb in the Mexuar oratory	Rafael Contreras	Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, inv. no. 1553/2; see González Pérez 2017b, 32–33 London, private collection; see González Pérez 2017b, 30–31 London, private collection; see González Pérez 2017b, 34–35
AM-502 (Fig. 138)	Miḥrāb arch in the Mexuar oratory	Rafael Contreras	Madrid, Museo Cerralbo, inv. no. 0542; see González Pérez 2017b, 40–43
AM-509			Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica – Palazzo Barberini, inv. no. 3784; see Varela Braga 2021, 184
AM-511	Side wall of the Mirador de Lindaraja	Rafael Contreras	London, private collection; see González Pérez 2017b, 52–53
AM-515			London, private collection; see González Pérez 2017b, 54–55
AM-516 (Fig. 139)			
AM-514	Windows above the entrance to the Mirador de Lindaraja	Rafael Contreras	London, Horniman Museum, inv. no. 4434a; see González Pérez 2017b, 202–203
S-1789			New York, Metropolitan Museum, inv. no. 85.15.1; see González Pérez 2017b, 204–205
AM-499	Mirador on the upper floor of the Hall of the Two Sisters	Rafael Contreras	Madrid, Museo Cerralbo, inv. no. MC 602; see González Pérez 2017b, 74–75
AM-506 (Fig. 140)			Florence, Museo Stibbert, inv. no. 5518; see Giese/Varela Braga 2017b, 107
AM-507 (Fig. 141)	Façade of the eastern pavilion in the Court of the Lions	Rafael Contreras	Florence, Museo Stibbert, inv. no. 5515; see Giese/Varela Braga 2017b, 102
			Madrid, Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura, inv. no. 410269 (Fig. 142); see González Pérez 2017b, 114–117
			Madrid, private collection, Pascua Ortega; see González Pérez 2017b, 118–119
			London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 927:1, 2-1900; see González Pérez 2017b, 120–121
AM-510	Ornamentation of the Hall of the Two Sisters	Rafael Contreras	London, private collection; see González Pérez 2017b, 208–209
AM-512	Ornamentation of the Façade of Comares	Rafael Contreras	Granada, private collection; see González Pérez 2017b, 210–211
AM-505	Ornamentation in the Court of the Golden Room	Not known	–
AM-498 (Fig. 143)	Doorway in the Alhambra	Rafael Contreras	New York, Metropolitan Museum (missing); see González Pérez 2017b, 200–201
AM-504 (Fig. 144)	Model of a wall with an ajimez	Diego Fernández Castro	Granada, Museo Casas de los Tiros, inv. no. E. 3294 (photograph); see González Pérez 2017b, 266–267

Table 4.2 Alhambra models originating from Spanish workshops in the NIMRAKh collection.

Most of these models can be attributed to the workshop of Rafael Contreras because they have its label on the back, or because comparable models from this workshop exist in other collections. A specific template in the Alhambra can be identified for most of them, even if it is not always accurately reproduced; the models' lower wall zones, which in the Alhambra are usually decorated with alicatados, often differ from the originals. For example, the design of the tiles varies across all three models showing parts of the façade of the mihrāb in the Mexuar oratory (Figs 137 and 138; see also Table 4.2). Since the original decoration of this zone no longer exists, it comes as no surprise that various options were chosen to complete it on the models.

When interest in Granada's Islamic architecture increased Rafael Contreras began to produce these small models, providing his workshop with an additional source of income.¹⁹⁶ While his first models were carved from plaster, he soon developed casting techniques that allowed him to mass-produce individual parts of the models in series, and later entire models in series.¹⁹⁷ Small-scale reproductions of the Mirador de Lindaraja, of whose side walls three models exist in the NIMRAK collection (Fig. 139), and of the mirador on the upper floor of the Hall of the Two Sisters (Fig. 140) were very popular, as were representations of the pavilions of the Court of the Lions. A model of the façade of the eastern pavilion preserved in the NIMRAK (Fig. 141) corresponds to other models of the same façade or the entire pavilion from the Contreras workshop, examples of which are held in the collections of the Stibbert Museum in Florence and the Higher Technical School of Architecture of Madrid (*Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de Madrid*) (Fig. 142; see also Table 4.2).¹⁹⁸ The model in Madrid shows the eastern pavilion with a hemispherical dome of colored and glazed tiles, freely invented by Contreras in the 1850s to replace the pavilion's earlier pyramidal roof.¹⁹⁹ All three of the models in St. Petersburg, Florence, and Madrid have the same colored and stepped merlons.

The NIMRAK also holds two further models by Contreras. These are scaled-down reproductions of stucco decorations in the Hall of the Two Sisters and the Façade of Comares.²⁰⁰ All of Contreras's models at the

NIMRAK can be ascribed to a specific template in the Alhambra apart from one of a doorway (Fig. 143). Comparable portals exist, for example in the Court of the Myrtles, but the model differs from each of them in one way or another. It is likely that several templates were combined to create this model, a method practiced not only in Contreras's workshop but also in other, later workshops such as that of Fernández Castro, mentioned earlier.²⁰¹ The latter's model at the NIMRAK took partiche to the extremes (Fig. 144). Although it shows architectural elements of the Comares Palace and the Palace of the Lions, it does not represent any specific spot.²⁰²

y Marsal (1838–1874) in the church of Salar in the province of Granada, and bought by Aleksandr Bazilevskii (1829–1899) in 1875 when the Fortuny collection was auctioned in Paris. The vase was exhibited at the 1878 Paris World's Fair. See Dodds 1992, 356–357; Pritula et al. 2008, 64–71, 2015, 96–101.

196 By the end of the eighteenth century, aristocratic collectors and travelers had acquired Nasrid artifacts such as parts of stucco panels and tiles from Granada, but in the nineteenth century, when the upper and middle classes could also afford to travel and collect, the trade in reproductions grew due to the lack of originals; see Raquejo [Grado] 1988.

197 See González Pérez 2017b, 214–217, 2017c, 37–39.

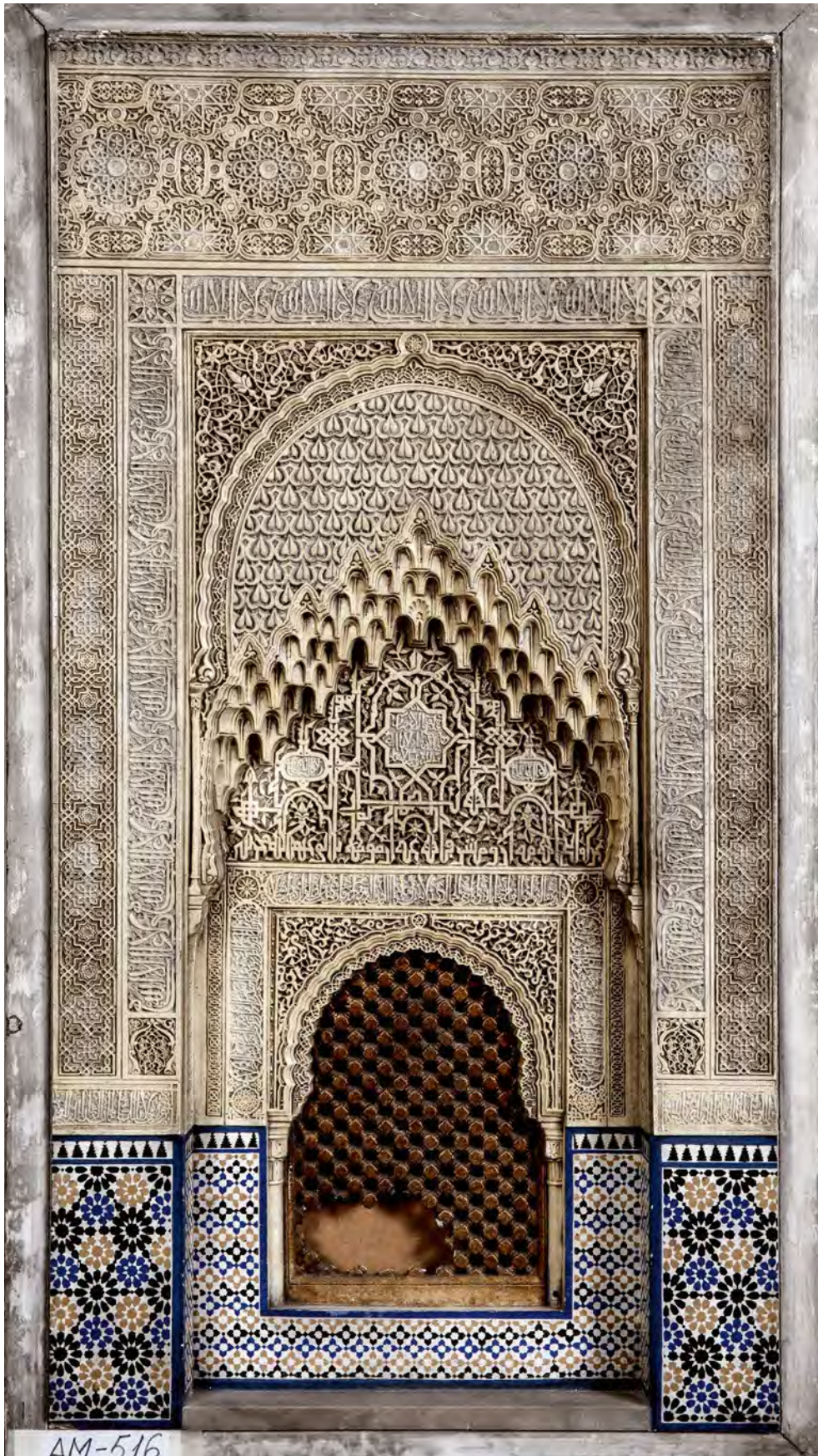
198 On the art collector Frederick Stibbert (1838–1906), the Alhambra models he acquired from Contreras in 1861, and the decoration of the “Moorish Room” in his house in Florence (1889), see Varela Braga 2016. On the collections of models and plaster casts of the Alhambra at the ETSAM and the conservation of the model of the pavilion in the Court of the Lions, see Sobrino González 2007; Herráez Martín/Gómez 2015.

199 The dome, added in 1859, was dismantled in 1934 by Leopoldo Torres Balbás (1888–1960), who restored the roof of the pavilion to the original design; see Torres Balbás 1929; Muñoz Cosme 1991; Giese/Varela Braga 2017b, 99–103.

200 See Table 4.2, AM-510 and AM-512. A third such model (AM-505) cannot be clearly attributed to Contreras, as no comparable example from his workshop is known.

201 From the 1880s onwards, several workshops specializing in the production of the popular Alhambra replicas were founded in Granada. In addition to Diego Fernández Castro's workshop, those of Enrique Linares and Rafael Rus Acosta were among the better-known. Their products were affordable even for less-well-off tourists, but their quality differed from that of Contreras's models; see González Pérez 2017b, 232–361. For the 1901 catalogue of Fernández Castro's Alhambra models, see González Pérez 2017a, 524–533.

202 Asunción González Pérez (2017b, 266–267) attributes a similar model, known only from a photograph, to Rafael Rus Acosta.



AM-516

139 Rafael Contreras (attr.), Model of a side wall of the Mirador de Lindaraja, Palace of the Lions, second half of the nineteenth century, plaster, mastic, paint, wood, 60.7 × 33.5 × 5 cm. NIMRAKh, AM-516.



140 Rafael Contreras (attr.), Model of the mirador of the upper floor of the Hall of the Two Sisters, Palace of the Lions, second half of the nineteenth century, plaster, alabaster, wood, 32.5 × 32.5 cm. NIMRAKh, AM-506.

The small-scale models entered the academy's collection via different routes that cannot be traced individually. Several had been acquired by Notbek, while nine models owned by Karl Rakhau were donated to the IAKh in 1881 by his brother Ivan (born in 1817, also a professor of architecture) after Karl's death.²⁰³ The model by Fernández Castro must have been added after 1874, as his workshop was active only from then onwards.

In contrast to Notbek's large models, which testify to a documentary and didactic ambition, the models discussed in this section are primarily decorative and were produced by the workshops in series for sale.²⁰⁴ They were often framed, to be hung on a wall like a painting, and were easy to transport, making them popular souvenirs for visitors to the Alhambra.²⁰⁵ They were sometimes incorporated into Orientalizing interiors, for example in Germany, Italy, and Spain.²⁰⁶ A late and little-known Dutch example of this practice can be found in the Tuschinski Theater, a cinema built in Amsterdam between 1919 and 1921, in which a small room is equipped with a three-dimensional model of the oratory of the Partial Palace (Fig. 145).²⁰⁷ This eclectic interior may have been designed specifically to display the model: it is decorated with Art Deco paintings typical of the time and, with its

red coloring and a few neo-Nasrid motifs in the form of capitals and lobed arches, is reminiscent of both East Asia and the Alhambra.

The Imperial Academy of Arts's Alhambra Collection continued to grow: besides these small models, other plaster casts and photographs were added until the early twentieth century.

A single plaster cast in the NIMRAKh's Alhambra Collection bears the label "A. Vanni. Frankfurt."²⁰⁸ Little is known about the plaster molder Antonio Vanni and his workshop in Frankfurt am Main, apart from the fact that he delivered casts to various academies and was active from the end of the 1850s at the latest until 1890, when all his materials were sold to a gallery in Cologne.²⁰⁹ His extensive 1868 catalogue shows that he specialized in the reproduction of sculptures.²¹⁰ While the section enti-

203 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 14-R, d. 5, l. 92–100; Kondakov 1914, 104.

204 Some models that stand out from this serial production have been mentioned above. Other such examples were created towards the end of the nineteenth century: Diego Fernández Castro made sizeable three-dimensional models of the Mirador de Lindaraja and the Hall of the Beds in the Comares hammām, and Enrique Linares created a model of the interior of the Captive Tower; see González Pérez 2017b, 258–261, 298–303, 306–309.

205 See Raquejo [Grado] 1988. The GMIR in St. Petersburg also holds at least three small-format models from the workshops of Contreras and Linares, one of which was added to the collection only towards the end of the twentieth century. Nothing is known about the provenance of the other two (information provided by Irina Osmanova in 2017).

206 See the "Moorish Bathroom" in the Schwerin Palace (Schwerin), the "Moorish Room" in the Villa Stibbert (Florence) and the "Arab Room" in the Cerralbo Palace (Madrid); Pflugrad-Abdel Aziz 2017, Fig. 1; Varela Braga 2016, Fig. 2, 2017b, Figs 4 and 9.

207 The cinema at 26–34 Reguliersbree Street was designed by the architects Hijman Louis de Jong (1882–1944) and Willem Kromhout (1864–1940) for Abraham Icke Tuschinski (1886–1942). No signature is evident on the visible parts of the model. Based on comparisons (see González Pérez 2017b, 242–251, 254–255), it can be assumed that it was made by either Enrique Linares or Rafael Rus Acosta in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century.

208 See NIMRAKh, S-1982.

209 See *Kunstchronik, Wochenschrift für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe*, no. 18, 1891, 315.

210 See Vanni 1868.



141 Rafael Contreras (attr.), Model of the façade of the eastern pavilion of the Court of the Lions, the Alhambra, mid-nineteenth century, plaster, alabaster, mastic, oil paint, varnish, wood, 63.5 × 46 × 5.5 cm. NIMRAKh, AM-507.



142 Rafael Contreras, Model of the eastern pavilion of the Court of the Lions, the Alhambra, second half of the nineteenth century (probably 1852), plaster, alabaster, mastic, oil paint, varnish, wood, 85.5 × 39 × 38 cm. Madrid, Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura, 410269.

tled *Antique Fragments of Architecture and Decoration* (*Antike Fragmente der Architektur und Verzierungen*) does not include any reproductions of Islamic buildings or of the Alhambra, Vanni's plaster cast at the NIMRAKh shows a vertical frieze with a sebka pattern that can be found, for example, in the Alhambra's Hall of the Abencerrages.

The IAKh acquired twelve plaster casts from the Central Union of Decorative Arts (*Union centrale des arts décoratifs*) in Paris.²¹¹ From 1884, this society operated a plaster-cast workshop at 57 Avenue de la Motte-Picquet headed by Léonard Mathivet, and the society's Museum of Decorative Arts (*Musée des Arts décoratifs*) exhibited its casts in the *Palais de l'Industrie*, north of the Seine.²¹² The casts at the IAKh, identifiable by the small metal

plates attached, must have been purchased between 1884 and 1896, for example at the 1889 Paris World Exhibition.²¹³ They are mainly reproductions of ornamentation on the walls of the Alhambra (Fig. 146), but there are also

²¹¹ See NIMRAKh, S-1639, S-1676, S-1699, S-1703, S-1778, S-1799, S-1856, S-1890, S-1983, S-2013, S-2018, S-2025. The *Union centrale des arts décoratifs* resulted from a merger between the *Union centrale des beaux-arts appliqués à l'industrie* and the *Société du musée des Arts décoratifs* in 1882.

²¹² See Possémé 1994. The *Palais de l'Industrie* was erected for the first world exhibition in Paris in 1855 and demolished after 1896.

²¹³ The engraved text on the plates reads as follows: "Union centrale des arts décoratifs, Palais de l'Industrie, Porte 7, Atelier Moulages, Avenue de la Motte Picquet 57". World fairs were essential in promoting trade and exchange of plaster casts; see Mendonça 2016.



143 Rafael Contreras, Model of a doorway, the Alhambra, mid-nineteenth century, plaster, paint, wood, 42.9 × 24.8 × 2.5 cm. NIMRAK, AM-498.



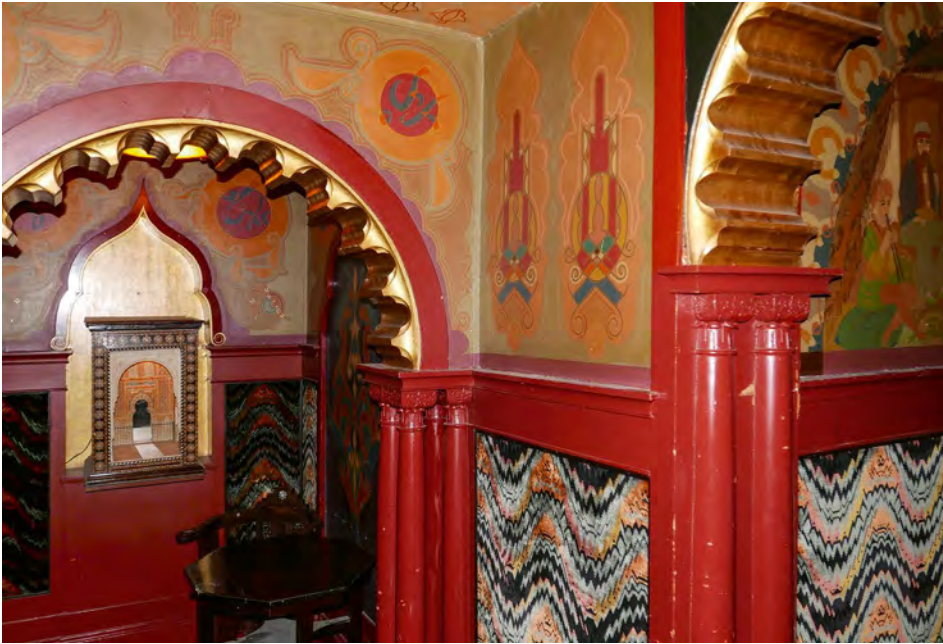
144 Diego Fernández Castro, Model of a wall with an ajimez, the Alhambra, late nineteenth century, plaster, paint, wood, 68.7 × 44.3 × 2.9 cm. NIMRAK, AM-504.

casts of a capital and details of arches. Again, it would probably be possible to attribute each one to a particular template in the Alhambra: the cast of half an arch and its spandrel framed by a large frieze with inscriptions, for example, is clearly a reproduction of a fragment of one of the *ṭāqas* at the entrance to the Hall of the Ship (Fig. 147). While these French casts may have been of great interest to other art schools, their significance in the collection of the Imperial Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg can be regarded as minor. An abundance of comparable casts had been available since the 1863 arrival of Notbek's plaster casts, some even depicting the same decorations as those on the French casts.²¹⁴

The NIMRAK's Alhambra Collection also includes photographs dating from 1850 to 1930, most of which are interior views of the Nasrid palaces, either taken at the Alhambra itself or reproduced by photographing images in architectural books.²¹⁵ Like the casts and the models, they were used as explanatory teaching material.

²¹⁴ The Alhambra Collection of the NIMRAK also includes a plaster cast that was probably made in connection with the furnishing of a neo-Moorish interior in St. Petersburg during the 1880s; see Kaufmann et al. 2021, 248, 262–263.

²¹⁵ More than a hundred historical photographs of the Alhambra are in the NIMRAK's collection today; see Stanulevich 2017, 2018.



145 Tuschinski Cinema, Amsterdam, interior from ca. 1920, with a model of the oratory in the Partal Palace made by Enrique Linares or Rafael Rus Acosta in the late nineteenth/early twentieth century.



146 *Union centrale des arts décoratifs*, Reproduction of Nasrid ornamentation, the Alhambra, ca. 1890, plaster, 26.5 × 30 × 8 cm. NIMRAKh, S-1778.



147 *Union centrale des arts décoratifs*, Reproduction of the framing of a taqa at the entrance to the Hall of the Ship, Comares Palace, ca. 1890, plaster, 66 × 43 × 3 cm. NIMRAKh, S-1799.

The Collection as a Didactic Device

In the second half of the nineteenth century, institutions such as schools, art academies, and museums of the decorative arts showed an increasing interest in replicas of the Alhambra's decor. Its acquisition of Notbek's collection in 1862 meant that the Imperial Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg had a large collection on Nasrid art much earlier than, for example, the pioneering South Kensington Museum in London and the closely associated Government School of Design.²¹⁶

After the School of Design was founded in London in 1837 it assembled a collection of plaster casts, as it considered illustrations and photographs insufficient for the study of works of art that could not be visited in situ. This concept was reaffirmed in 1867 when, on the initiative of Henry Cole (1808–1882), the director of the South Kensington Museum, the *Convention for Promoting Universally Reproductions of Works of Art for the Benefit of Museums of all Countries* was signed by eleven countries at the Universal Exhibition in Paris.²¹⁷ The aim of the convention was to encourage the distribution of plaster casts. Each participating country was to make casts of its main artistic monuments for exchange with those of other countries, in the conviction that “[t]he knowledge of such monuments is necessary to the progress of art, and the reproduction of them would be of a high value to all Museums for public instruction.”²¹⁸ By the early 1870s, however, the South Kensington Museum, which had absorbed the School of Design's collection, possessed only a few Nasrid artifacts: a collection of twenty-six Alhambra models from Rafael Contreras's workshop acquired in 1865, and probably four plaster casts made by Owen Jones in 1838.²¹⁹ Therefore in 1873, the historian and art historian Juan Facundo Riaño y Montero (1829–1901), the museum's advisor on the acquisition of Spanish works of art, suggested that the museum should buy full-sized plaster reproductions of the Alhambra, which in his opinion would be “more useful” than Contreras's models.²²⁰ Ten years later, in an exchange with the Royal Academy of History (*Real Academia de la Historia*) in Madrid, a collection of more than fifty such plaster casts was finally acquired.²²¹

The Council of the Imperial Academy of Arts emphasized the didactic potential of Notbek's collection of plas-

ter casts and models several times in the prelude to its acquisition in 1862: “During his ten-year sojourn in Spain, Mr. N. [Notbek] has assembled these models with such zeal and accuracy that they can serve as aids for the study of Moorish architecture in its finest detail [...]”²²² Displayed at the Academy of Arts, the collection was accessible to students and was intended to further their education. Yet how exactly it was used in class is not known: it may have served as visual material for lectures on architectural history (see Chapter 3.3), and it was cer-

216 Today's Victoria and Albert Museum was founded in 1852 as the Museum of Manufactures and was renamed the Museum of Ornamental Art in 1853 and South Kensington Museum in 1857.

217 The convention was signed by members of the reigning families of Great Britain, France, and Russia for example, but for unknown reasons not by any Spanish representative. The Césarevitch and Nicolas Duc de Leuchtenberg signed for Russia: the former must have been the later Tsar Alexander III, while the latter was his cousin Nikolai Maksimilianovich (1843–1891), Duke of Leuchtenberg, whose mother, Maria Nikolaevna (1819–1876), was then President of the Imperial Academy of Arts (1852–1876). She had taken over this function from her late husband.

218 *Convention for Promoting Universally Reproductions of Works of Art for the Benefit of Museums of all Countries* (1867); see <<https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1345874/convention-for-promoting-universally-reproductions-printed-copy>> (accessed May 6, 2023).

219 See Riaño 1872, 1–3; Raquejo [Grado] 1988; Leslie 2004, 172; Rosser-Owen 2011, 46, 54; Kaufmann et al. 2021, 236–237. For the models by Contreras, see especially Raquejo [Grado] 1988, 225–228 (Cat. nos 3–28). Jones's Alhambra casts are not mentioned in the museum's 1855 and 1872 catalogues; see Robinson 1855; Riaño 1872.

220 See Trusted 2006, 229. Born in Granada, Riaño was, like Pavel Notbek, a member of the *Cuerda Granadina* in the early 1850s. In 1878, he was appointed director of the National Museum of Artistic Reproductions (*Museo de Reproducciones Artísticas*) in Madrid. Riaño considered the role of plaster-cast collections analogous to that of libraries, inasmuch as they made works accessible. In 1884 he published a critical study on ancient and modern descriptions of the Alhambra; see Riaño 1884 (reprinted in Gallego Roca 1991, 187–204).

221 For these casts see Raquejo [Grado] 1988, 229–234 (Cat. nos 43–95).

222 “Составление этих моделей исполнил Г. Н. [Нотбек] в продолжении юти летнего пребывания своего в Испании, с таким усердием и точностью, что могут служить эти модели для изучения мавританской Архитектуру в самых ея подробности [...]” RGIA, f. 789, op. 14–N, d. 33, l. 13.

tainly used in practical lessons, where the students studied and drafted the specimens. The study of outstanding historical buildings and analysis of architectural forms based on drawings, plans, models, and casts had been part of architectural education since the neoclassical period.²²³ Notbek's oeuvre has undoubtedly contributed to a detailed knowledge of Nasrid architecture and the dissemination of the neo-Moorish style in Russia. As early as 1854, when Notbek reported to the IAKh Council that he had begun working on models in Granada, he referred to the neo-Moorish style when mentioning the "artisans' difficulties in reproducing this architecture in Russia because they do not have the proper skills in this regard".²²⁴ His models would therefore "ease the artisans' labors considerably by precisely conveying the character of the architecture here".²²⁵

There is no indication that the Academy's own molding workshop traded in duplications of Notbek's casts for the furnishing of neo-Moorish interiors.²²⁶ While the museum and the Alhambra exhibition were open to the public, whether craftsmen studied the collection is not known, although it certainly served as a model for local architects, as described earlier.²²⁷

Notbek created his collection at a time when European plaster-cast collections were rapidly being enlarged and reevaluated in new, monumentalized presentations. The Architectural Courts at the Crystal Palace in Sydenham (1854) and the Cast Courts at the South Kensington Museum (1873) reflected new interests and aesthetic perspectives that had emerged with the rise of historicism.²²⁸ As encyclopedias of world art, they were intended to educate the public, while as a source of style and ornament they responded to the creative challenges of the serial production of art and other objects by the growing industry.²²⁹ The diversification of reproductive techniques contributed to the increasing visibility and popularization of architectural monuments, including previously little-known examples of Islamic art. Models and plaster casts of the Alhambra and artifacts from al-Andalus were added to the collections of museums, academies, and schools of decorative and applied arts, placing Ibero-Islamic art and its most popular motifs in the universal canon of art history and contributing to the spread of the Moorish Revival across Europe.²³⁰

It has long been recognized that plaster casts are not simply copies: many become primary sources because they are better preserved than the originals. This may be the case with some of Notbek's plaster casts. After a long period of dwindling interest in his collection, it is now time to underline its value, not only through art historical research but also by restoring its fragile specimens to preserve them for the future.

The Council of the Imperial Academy of Arts actively promoted the neo-Moorish style when it commissioned Pavel Notbek to study Islamic architecture in Spain. Notbek's commitment to Granada's architectural heritage went beyond this commission: his collection of models and plaster casts is unique both in its extent and in the range of motifs depicted, and it is not only Russia's largest collection dedicated to the Islamic architecture of al-Andalus, but also the largest coherent collection of reproductions of Nasrid style worldwide.

After a trip to Spain in 1840, the French writer Théophile Gautier (1811–1872) stated: "Nothing would be easier than to exactly reproduce a hall in the Alhambra: all that would be necessary would be to take casts of all the

223 The Museum of the Imperial Academy of Arts, now the NIM-RAKh, holds a large collection of architectural models, mainly of Russian architecture, as well as more than thirty cork models of ancient Roman architecture by Antonio Chichi (1743–1816). Little is known about the Museum's collection of plaster casts of architectural details from various epochs, which numbered more than 2300 in 1934; see Kondakov 1914, 101–104; Savinova 2004; Tselishcheva/Bogdan 2009, 100, footnote 91.

224 "[...] затруднения, которых представляются с мастеровыми при производстве этой архитектуры в России, не имевши они надлежащий навек по этой части", RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1854, d. 66, l. 1 (see Annex A).

225 "[...] служить им чрезвычайным облегчением, чтобы передать в точности характер здешней архитектуры", RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1854, d. 66, l. 1 (see Annex A).

226 On the IAKh's molding workshop see Kondakov 1914, 112–113.

227 See Kaufmann et al. 2021, 247, 260–261.

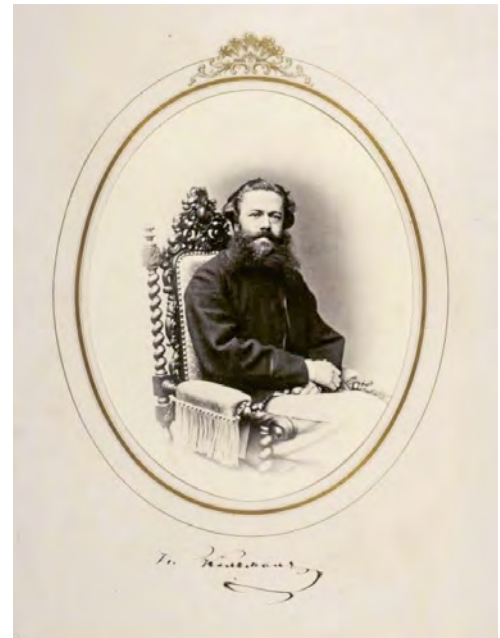
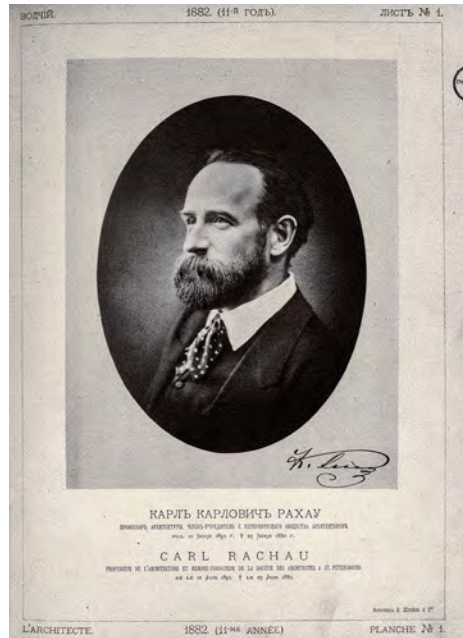
228 On Sydenham and its Alhambra Court see Jones 1854; Piggott 2004; Ferry 2007; Moser 2012; Nichols 2015; Varela Braga 2017a; on the Cast Courts in London see Flour 2008; Bilbey/Trusted 2010.

229 See Bernau 2016, 84–85.

230 See Kaufmann et al. 2021, 250–251.

148 *Carl Rachau*, from *Zodchii*, 1882, pl. 1.

149 Portrait of Karl Kol'man, no later than 1865, photograph, 19.7 × 15.5 cm. *Saratovskii gosudarstvennyi muzei imeni A. N. Radishcheva*, A-540.



decorative patterns.”²³¹ Notbek documented the decoration of several rooms, for example the Partal Palace’s mirador, almost completely, but did not create any neo-Moorish buildings or interiors in St. Petersburg. Although he worked as an architect and held a post at the Ministry of the Interior from 1866, his obituary by Andrei Somov states that he “produced nothing remarkable” after returning from Spain.²³² However his Alhambra Collection was the largest thematic collection in the Academy’s museum and held special status for several decades: no other room in the museum was exclusively dedicated to an exhibition dealing with a particular period or architectural style.

4.4 Karl Rakhau and Karl Kol'man's Study of the Tower of the Princesses, 1861–1863

Like Pavel Notbek, the architects Karl Rakhau²³³ and Karl Kol'man²³⁴ dedicated their final project as scholarship holders to the Alhambra. After graduating from the Imperial Academy of Arts with Major Gold Medals in 1857, they were sent abroad for six years to improve their skills.²³⁵ Their reports preserved in the RGIA and drawings archived in the NIMRAKh show how the pension-

ery continued their education abroad and prove that they traveled more extensively than Notbek in search of new impressions. The summary below traces how Rakhau (Fig. 148) and Kol'man (Fig. 149) spent their time before their collaboration in Granada from August 1860 onwards, providing more detail on the concept of the pensionerstvo and the opportunities it provided. All available information on Rakhau and Kol'man's itineraries is chronicled in Table 4.3.

231 “Rien ne serait facile comme de reproduire identiquement une salle de l'Alhambra ; il suffirait pour cela de prendre les empreintes de tous les motifs d'ornement”, Gautier 1859 [1843], 226, English translation according to T. Gautier, *A Romantic in Spain*.

232 “[...] не произвел ничего выходящего из ряду”, Somov 1879, 42. The journey abroad was the peak of many pensionery's artistic development, and only a few succeeded in making a career based on it upon their return; see Bogdan/Shuiskii 2000, 15.

233 Karl Rakhau trained at the IAKh in the class of Konstantin Ton. For his biography and works see RGIA, f. 789, op. 14-R, d. 5, l. 66–77; *Zodchii*, no. 1, 1882, 12–13; Novitskii 1910; Kondakov 1915, 378; Kirikov/Ginzburg 1996, 260; Isachenko et al. 1998, 1026.

234 Karl Kol'man also trained at the IAKh; his tutors were Aleksandr Briullov and Konstantin Ton. For Kol'man's biography and works see RGIA, f. 789, op. 14-K, d. 64, l. 12; Somov 1895; Kondakov 1915, 343; Kirikov/Ginzburg 1996, 166; Isachenko et al. 1998, 1002.

235 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1857, d. 66, l. 1–3; Petrov 1866, 287.

Traveling in Western Europe and to the Holy Land

Karl Kol'man left St. Petersburg at the end of June 1857, and Karl Rakhau followed him about a month later.²³⁶ Both traveled by sea, Rakhau to Lübeck and Kol'man to Kiel. Rakhau explored Mecklenburg, Prussia, and Saxony before heading for Paris in November 1857; Kol'man was already in Paris by then, having toured Western Prussia, Belgium, and the Netherlands.²³⁷ In France they began working together, sometimes writing joint reports to the Council of the IAKh. They explored the northwest of France (Brittany, Normandy, and Picardy) in the spring of 1858 and traveled to London that summer.²³⁸ During their trip they focused on studying local buildings such as the Gothic cathedrals that they visited at several of their stops in France. Karl Kol'man, who provided more detailed information than Rakhau in his letters, noted that he was also attending lectures, for example in Paris at the Sorbonne University, the *Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers*, and the *Collège de France*, and that he had contacted the architect Charles Barry (1795–1860) in London.²³⁹ The pensionery thus not only improved their practical and theoretical knowledge but also expanded their professional networks.

Rakhau and Kol'man parted ways in London for unknown reasons. They would meet again two years later in Granada. Kol'man traveled to the south of France, and from Bordeaux via Burgos to Madrid, where he arrived in November 1858.²⁴⁰ Instead of touring Spain as planned, he soon returned to Nice, having been invited by Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich, Admiral of the Russian fleet, to accompany him as an architect and watercolorist on a journey across the Mediterranean.²⁴¹ The trip took them to Sicily, Malta, and Naples, where a long-held wish of Konstantin Nikolaevich came true when he received permission from his brother Tsar Alexander II to visit the Holy Land.²⁴² The Grand Duke, with his wife Aleksandra Iosifovna and their entourage, which included Kol'man, two writers and a photographer,²⁴³ traveled via Piraeus, Athens, and Jaffa to Jerusalem, where they spent ten days visiting the holy sites.²⁴⁴

It was probably here in the Ottoman Empire that Kol'man first encountered Islamic architecture and it is very likely that he participated in visits to the Dome of

the Rock (*Qubbat al-Şakhrah*) and the Al-Aqşā Mosque. The Grand Duke returned to Russia via Beirut, Rhodes, Patmos, Samos, Chios, and Smyrna, and through the Dardanelles to Constantinople. It is not clear whether Kol'man accompanied him this far or left for Western Europe earlier, as he mentions Smyrna but not Constantinople in a brief report.²⁴⁵ By July 1859, Kol'man was back in Paris compiling an album of his watercolors, which he delivered to Konstantin Nikolaevich on the Isle of Wight in November 1859.²⁴⁶ After that, he prepared an exhibition of works by the Russian pensionery in Paris for the visit of Grand Duchess Maria Nikolaevna, the President of the Imperial Academy of Arts, and began a collaboration with the architect and pensioner Aleksandr Shchedrin (1832–1892).²⁴⁷

236 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1857, d. 7, l. 28; RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1857, d. 66, l. 7.

237 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1857, d. 7, l. 24, 28.

238 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1858, d. 54, l. 2, 14; Petrov 1866, 313.

239 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1857, d. 7, l. 28; RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1858, d. 54, l. 28; RGIA, f. 789, op. 3 1860, d. 13-a, l. 19. Charles Barry oversaw the reconstruction of Westminster Palace after the fire of 1834.

240 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1858, d. 54, l. 28.

241 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1858, d. 54, l. 28; RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1859, d. 11, l. 9, 17; Somov 1895.

242 Kirill Bakh (2009) has compiled archival material on this pilgrimage. As conflict over the religious use of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem was one of the triggers of the Crimean War in the 1850s, this trip also had political significance. One objective was to initiate the construction of infrastructure for Russian pilgrims, for which land had been acquired in Jerusalem and elsewhere in Palestine. Together with the establishment of the Russian Consulate (1858), this marked the beginning of Russia's visible presence and influence in the region; see Bakh 2009, 6, 8.

243 See Bakh 2009, 84.

244 The German theologian Lobegott Friedrich Konstantin von Tischendorf (1815–1874), who joined the entourage in Jerusalem, wrote a detailed account of the Grand Duke's visit to Palestine and his subsequent trip to Constantinople; see Tischendorf 1862, 156–368.

245 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1859, d. 11, l. 17.

246 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1859, d. 11, l. 35. It is uncertain whether this album still exists today.

247 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 3 1860, d. 13-a, l. 19–21.

Karl Rakhau	Rakhau and Kol'man working/traveling together	Karl Kol'man
Departure from St. Petersburg ca. July 1857 . Lübeck, Hamburg, Schwerin, Berlin 16.9.1857 , Dresden, Leipzig, Merseburg, Halle, Magdeburg 4.11.1857		Departure from St. Petersburg on June 30, 1857 . Kiel, Hamburg, Hanover, Cologne, Düsseldorf, Aachen, Liège, Leuven, Brussels, Antwerp, Rotterdam, The Hague, Haarlem, Amsterdam, Bruges, Ghent, Lille, Amiens, Paris 29.11.1857
	Paris 21.3.1858 , Chartres, Reims, Étampes, Compiègne, Beauvais, Rouen, Amiens, London 19.7.1858	
Edinburgh, Dublin, London, Bruges, Ghent, Brussels, Antwerp, Netherlands, Heidelberg 28.11.1858 , Eastern France, Strasbourg, Nancy, Paris 13.3.1859 , Blois 14.7.1859 , Southern France, Marseille 23.11.1859 , Alicante, Murcia, Granada, Seville 13.3.1860 , Córdoba, Granada, Cádiz 16.7.1860 , Granada		Orléans, Blois, Saumur, Angers, Nantes, Clisson, Cholet, Bressuire, Poitiers, Angoulême, Bordeaux, Burgos, Madrid 9.11.1858 , Northern Spain, Nice 15.12.1858 , Palermo, Messina, Syracuse, Malta, Naples 18.3.1859 , Athens, Jerusalem, Chios, Smyrna, Paris 10.7.1859 and 30.10.1859 , Isle of Wight, Paris 23.11.1859 , Bourges, Nevers, Lyon, Valence, Orange, Avignon, Nîmes, Montpellier, Sète, Arles, Marseille, Barcelona, Zaragoza, Madrid 12.7.1860 , Toledo, Aranjuez, Segovia, Granada 1.8.1860
	Granada 26.10.1860; 20.2.1861; 23.5.1861	
Valencia, Toledo, Segovia, Madrid 22.11.1861		Departure from Granada 11.9.1861 . Córdoba, Seville, Málaga, Alicante, Valencia, Barcelona, Paris 5.11.1861
	Paris 4.3.1862; 10.7.1862 , London, Paris 1.9.1862; 14.11.1862; 17.3.1863; 22.6.1863	
Munich		
	Venice 10.9.1863	
Verona, Florence 25.11.1863		Paris
Returned to St. Petersburg no later than mid-October 1864		Returned to St. Petersburg in the first half of 1864

Table 4.3 Itineraries of Karl Rakhau and Karl Kol'man 1857–1864, based on places, regions, and dates mentioned in their reports to the IAKh.



150 Karl Rakhau, Gateway near Ronda, ca. 1860, watercolor on paper, 34.7 × 46.6 cm. NIMRAKh, A-11320.



151 Karl Rakhau, Nasrid ornamentation, the Alhambra, 1860/61, pencil and watercolor on paper, 25.8 × 18.6 cm. NIMRAKh, A-22769.

Exploring Spain and the Alhambra

At the same time, early in 1860, Karl Rakhau was already touring in Spain. After leaving London he had visited Scotland and Ireland, Belgium, and the Netherlands, before returning up the Rhine via Strasbourg and Nancy to Paris in March 1859 at the latest.²⁴⁸ He next headed south to Marseille, from where he reported to the Council of the IAKh in November 1859: “In a few days I shall be going to Spain, where I intend to spend the winter studying the Alhambra and other specimens of Spanish architecture in Seville, Córdoba, etc. etc.”²⁴⁹ Intending to visit Andalusia, he traveled via Alicante and Murcia to Granada, where he began working at the Alhambra, until the unusually harsh winter forced him to interrupt his stay and leave for Seville.²⁵⁰ He studied monuments in Seville and Córdoba before returning to Granada in mid-1860 to pursue his work “in the incomparable Alhambra.”²⁵¹

²⁴⁸ See RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1858, d. 54, l. 32; RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1859, d. 11, l. 7.

²⁴⁹ “Через несколько дней же я отправляюсь в Испанию где намереваюсь провести зимнее время изучением Альгамбры и прочих образцов Испанского зодчества в городах Севилля, Корду и про. и про.”, RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1859, d. 11, l. 33.

²⁵⁰ See RGIA, f. 789, op. 3 1860, d. 13-a, l. 27.

Whether Rakhau and Kol'man kept in touch after their departure from London is not known. Karl Kol'man left Paris on May 1, 1860, traveled through southern France to Marseille, across the sea to Barcelona and on to Madrid, from where he made several trips in Spain before arriving in Granada on August 1.²⁵² On October 26 Rakhau and Kol'man both wrote to the Council of the IAKh. While Rakhau reported that he was working with Kol'man at the Alhambra, "which building by the richness and originality of its architecture needs no little time to study",²⁵³ his colleague announced his decision to spend a few months studying the Alhambra in Granada with Rakhau using almost the same words.²⁵⁴

Not much is known about their stay in Spain, but their drawings, archived at the NIMRAKh, document some of the buildings they studied in Andalusia. Hundreds of drawings, most in pencil, and a magnificent album of watercolors by Rakhau are extant (Fig. 150).²⁵⁵ In Córdoba, he documented the former mosque in detail. Begun in the eighth century, the building was converted to a Roman Catholic church after 1236, and a nave was inserted into its structure in the sixteenth century. In Seville, Rakhau produced drawings of the interior of the Alcázar (the Royal Palace), whose foundations date back to the Muslim period, although it is best known for its fourteenth-century Mudéjar architecture.²⁵⁶ He also drew inside the House of Pilate (*Casa de Pilatos*), an early sixteenth-century urban palace whose architecture combines Italian Renaissance and Mudéjar style. Rakhau's drawings of Granada include watercolors depicting the city and numerous sketches of the Generalife Palace and the Alhambra's palaces and their gates, towers, and architectural details. Some are quick sketches, while others are meticulously worked and colored to reproduce a motif as accurately as possible and give an idea of its original coloring (Fig. 151). It is striking that his portfolios included not only architecture but also people, animals, and everyday scenes.²⁵⁷

Karl Kol'man's drawings from Andalusia, of the House of Pilate in Seville and the Alhambra in Granada, are less numerous. They include sketches and colored details of Nasrid decorations, as well as carefully executed drawings of architectural details supplemented by plans and sections (Figs 152 and 153).

On February 20, 1861, Rakhau and Kol'man summarized what they had accomplished during their pensionerstvo:

At the very outset of our voyage, we set ourselves the goal of studying the architectural landmarks of various ages and nations as closely as possible in order to later elicit all that was applicable to the conditions and needs of modern building. Gradually hewing to this end, we traveled quite a lot. We made sketches of various outstanding buildings of the past and the present. We filled our sketchbooks with a considerable number of ideas and motifs, undoubtedly useful to our growth [...].²⁵⁸

Both architects had not only traveled extensively and expanded their knowledge of historical and contempo-

251 "[...] в бесподобной Альгамбре", RGIA, f. 789, op. 3 1860, d. 13-a, l. 43.

252 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 3 1860, d. 13-a, l. 40, 56.

253 "[...] которое здание по богатству и оригинальности своей архитектуры требует не мало времени для изучения", RGIA, f. 789, op. 3 1860, d. 13-a, l. 58.

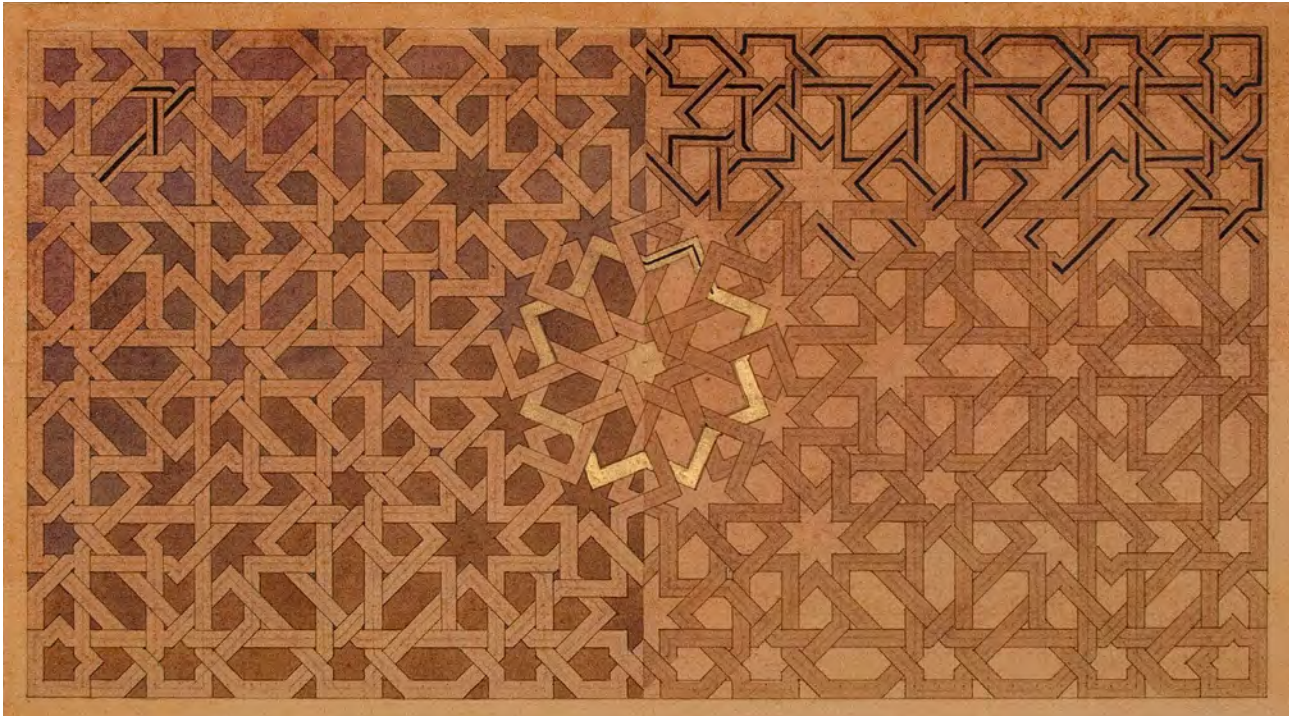
254 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 3 1860, d. 13-a, l. 56.

255 Rakhau was one of the most prolific and talented architects to travel abroad in the second half of the nineteenth century. More than 1,200 of his drawings from Western Europe, executed in various techniques and with varying levels of detail, are archived at the NIMRAKh. For this reason he is one of the protagonists in Aleksei Gavrichkov's (1993) study of the drawings of the IAKh's pensionery.

256 See for example NIMRAKh, A-22778.

257 See for example *Young Spaniard* (NIMRAKh, A-22889), *Two Spaniards* (NIMRAKh, A-22890), *Dancing Spaniards* (NIMRAKh, A-22898), and the portrayals of a torero and a guitar player (NIMRAKh, A-22890 and A-22897). The pensionery of the architectural faculty usually only included human figures to visualize the dimensions of a building.

258 "При самом начале нашего путешествия, мы предположили себе целью, близкое, по возможности, изучение памятников архитектуры – в разные эпохи и у разных народов, – дабы извлечь, в последствии, из этого изучения, все, что может быть применимо к современным строительным условиям и потребностям. Держась постепенно этой цели, мы путешествовали весьма много, делали этюды разных замечательных построек прошлого и настоящего времени, наполнили наши альбомы значительным количеством идей и мотивов, несомненно полезных для нашего развития [...]", RGIA, f. 789, op. 3 1861, d. 3, l. 30.



152 Karl Kol'man, Ornamentation of a wooden ceiling in one of the halls of the Alhambra, ca. 1861, graphite, ink, watercolor, and gilding on paper, 46.4 × 29.3 cm. NIMRAKh, A-13395.

rary architecture; they had also expanded their networks and significantly developed their skills as draftsmen.²⁵⁹

Restoring the Tower of the Princesses

While the Council of the IAKh had not instructed Rakhau and Kol'man to visit Spain and study its Islamic heritage, as they had Notbek,²⁶⁰ when it was time for the two architects' final projects as pensionery they decided to stay on in Granada, apparently fascinated by its medieval Nasrid architecture (Fig. 154). On February 20, 1861, they informed the Council of the IAKh that they had been working for a few weeks on a graphic survey of the Tower of the Princesses, and made proposals for its restoration.²⁶¹

[...] being engaged here together in studying the Alhambra, we decided to devote some time exclusively to one of the Alhambra's most interesting, in our opinion, and seemingly quite little-known parts, the *Torre de las Infantas*. We shall restore the most affected parts of the inner dwellings such as the dome in its entirety, the windows, and certain details.²⁶²

The New Qalahurra (*al-Qalahurra l-Jadida*) of Muḥammad VII, known since the seventeenth century as the Tower of the Princesses, was the last important edifice built by the Nasrids in the palatial city of the Alhambra. Erected between 1393 and 1395 for Muḥammad VII, this fortified tower housed magnificent living quarters.²⁶³ On the first floor, three rooms, each with one window, and the entrance area with a staircase to the upper floor are distributed around a covered courtyard or lantern room with a marble fountain. On the upper floor, two

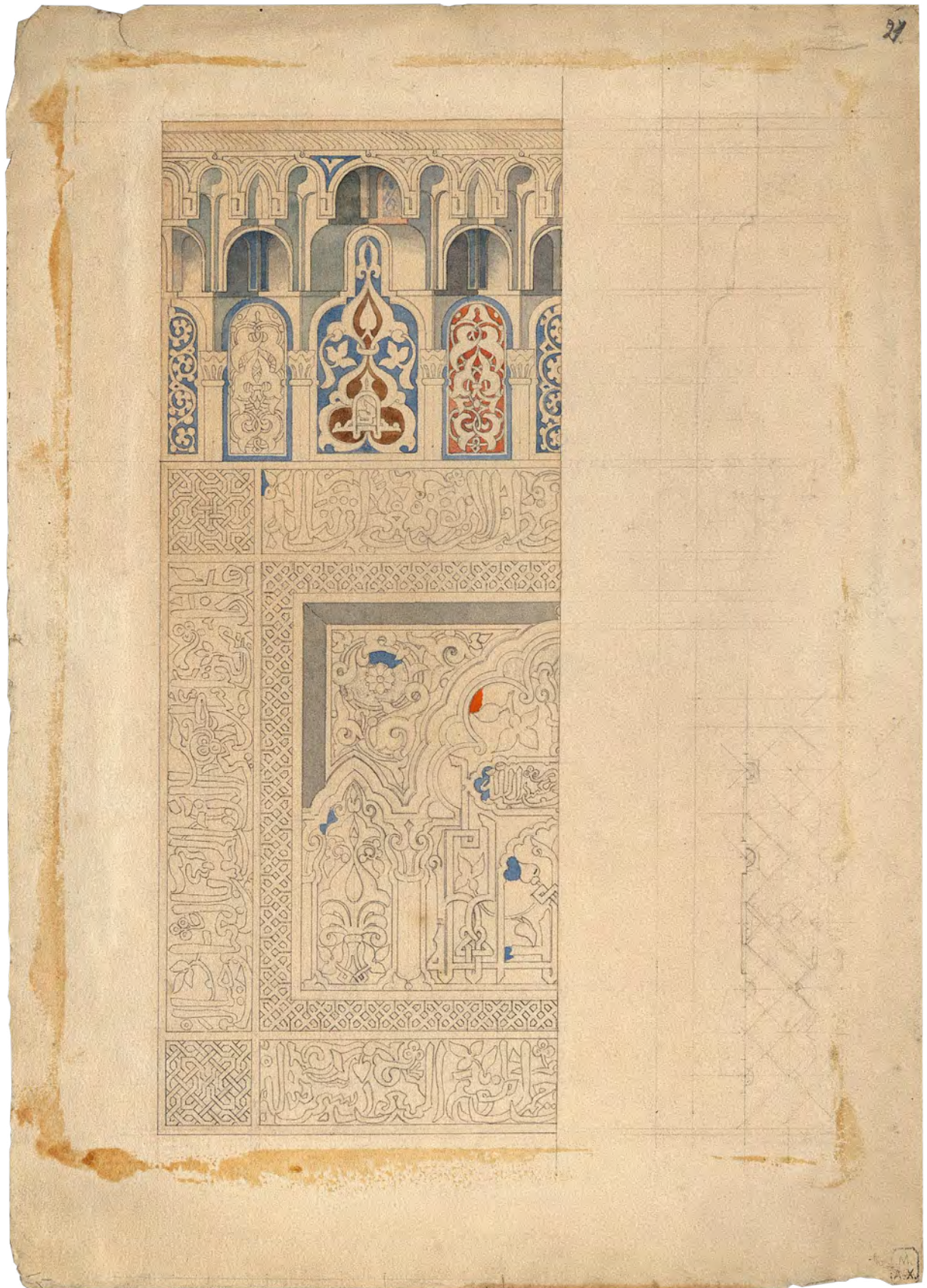
²⁵⁹ See Gavrichkov 1993, 69.

²⁶⁰ See RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1857, d. 66, l. 21–22.

²⁶¹ See RGIA, f. 789, op. 3 1861, d. 3, l. 38.

²⁶² “[...] мы – занимаясь здесь вместе изучением Альгамбры, решили посвятить несколько времени исключительно одной из самых интереснейших, по нашему мнению, и весьма мало известных, сколько нам кажется, частей ея – *la Torre de las Infantas*. Наиболее пострадавшие части внутреннего жильё; как весь купол, окна и некоторые детали будут нами реставрированы”, RGIA, f. 789, op. 3 1861, d. 3, l. 31.

²⁶³ On the Tower of the Princesses see Orihuela Uzal 1996, 137–144; Fernández-Puertas 1997, 76–78.



153 Karl Kol'man, Nasrid ornamentation, the Alhambra, 1860/61, graphite and watercolor on paper, 35.5 × 25.2 cm. NIMRAKh, A-10354.



154 Unknown author, Court of the Lions (with three figures, possibly Karl Rakhau, Karl Kol'man, and Rafael Contreras), second half of the nineteenth century, photograph, albumen print, 19 × 23 cm. NIMRAKh, F-11678.

galleries and four rooms surround the courtyard. At the end of the eighteenth century, consideration was given to repairing the decaying roof, as it was feared that the muqarnaş dome might collapse due to penetrating damp. However, before any work could be carried out the dome fell in the earthquakes of 1806.

Rakhau and Kol'man were not the only ones to be thrilled by this tower and its ornamentation. Washington Irving, for example, found it as intriguing as the Palace of the Lions and the Comares Palace:

[...] the interior is equal for beauty of architecture, and delicacy of ornament, to any part of the palace.

The elegance of the central hall, with its marble fountain, its lofty arches, and richly fretted dome; the arabesques and stucco work of the small but well-proportioned chamber, though injured by time and neglect, all accord with the story of its being anciently the abode of royal beauty.²⁶⁴

Irving describes it in his *Legend of the Three Beautiful Princesses* as the tower in which the princesses Zayda, Zorayda and Zorahayda were confined by their

²⁶⁴ See Crayon [= Irving] 1832, 280.



155 John Frederick Lewis, *Torre de las Infantas; or Tower of the Infantas*, from idem., *Sketches and Drawings of the Alhambra*, made during a Residence in Granada, in the Years 1833–1834, London: Hodgson & Graves, 1835, pl. 24.



156 Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey, *Salle de la Tour des Infantas*, from idem., *Monuments Arabes et Moresques de Cordoue, Séville et Grenade, dessinés et mesurés en 1832 et 1833*, Paris: Veith et Hauser, 1839, pl. 20.

father, who ruled Granada, when they reached marriageable age.²⁶⁵

In the same decade in which Irving's *Tales of the Alhambra* were published, John Frederick Lewis and Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey drew the damaged and altered state of the tower's interiors (Figs 155 and

156). Unlike the British painter, Girault de Prangey omitted some of the later additions in his drawing and filled in missing parts in the Nasrid decoration. A few decades later, the Russian pensionery Rakhau, Kol'man and, as mentioned, Notbek, who had made more than thirty plaster casts of its decoration, all took an interest in the

²⁶⁵ See the chapters *The Tower of las Infantas* and *Legend of the Three Beautiful Princesses*, Crayon [= Irving] 1832, 277–282, 283–333. The latter contains a detailed description of the tower, spiced up with some fictitious elements: “The residence provided for the Princesses was one of the most dainty that fancy could devise. It was in a tower somewhat apart from the main palace of the Alhambra, though connected with it by the main wall that encircled the whole summit of the hill. On one side it looked into the interior of the fortress, and had, at its foot, a small garden filled with the rarest flowers. On the other side it overlooked a deep embowered ravine that separated the grounds of the Alhambra from those of the Generalife. The interior of

the tower was divided into small fairy apartments, beautifully ornamented in the light Arabian style, surrounding a lofty hall, the vaulted roof of which rose almost to the summit of the tower. The walls and ceiling of the hall were adorned with Arabesque and fret-work, sparkling with gold and with brilliant penciling. In the centre of the marble pavement was an alabaster fountain, set round with aromatic shrubs and flowers, and throwing up a jet of water that cooled the whole edifice and had a lulling sound. Round the hall were suspended cages of gold and silver wire, containing singing-birds of the finest plumage or sweetest note”, Crayon [= Irving] 1832, 304–306.



157 Alhambra, Granada, Tower of the Princesses, late fourteenth century; drum and *armadura ataujerada* by Rafael Contreras's workshop, 1880s.

elegant Tower of the Princesses,²⁶⁶ as did Rafael Contreras, who believed that with slight modifications it would even be suitable as a model for contemporary residential buildings.²⁶⁷ Together with his son Mariano he restored it in the 1880s with a new octagonal drum with windows and a decorative *armadura ataujerada* – a wooden ceiling whose structure is hidden by decorative panels – in place of the lost drum and muqarnaṣ vault above the central courtyard (Fig. 157).²⁶⁸ In the twentieth century, perceptions of the tower and its decoration changed: the fourth and last period of Nasrid art, to which researchers ascribed the tower, is often considered one of artistic decline, decadence, and imitation, an opinion that has only recently begun to change once more.²⁶⁹

In the 1860s, when Kol'man and Rakhau were staying at the Alhambra, the tower had not yet been restored and was in very poor condition, which was one of the reasons the architects decided to study it in more detail:

The current state of neglect and destruction in which we found this landmark of the art of that age, [which is] brimming with originality and artistic interest, suggested to us the idea of restoring the tower, as, using the feeble means at our disposal, we wished to preserve a page of architectural history that is still almost unknown. Only in the illustrated book of Mr. Owen Jones have we found two small prints of the tower, and neither gave any sense of it due to their rather small scale.²⁷⁰

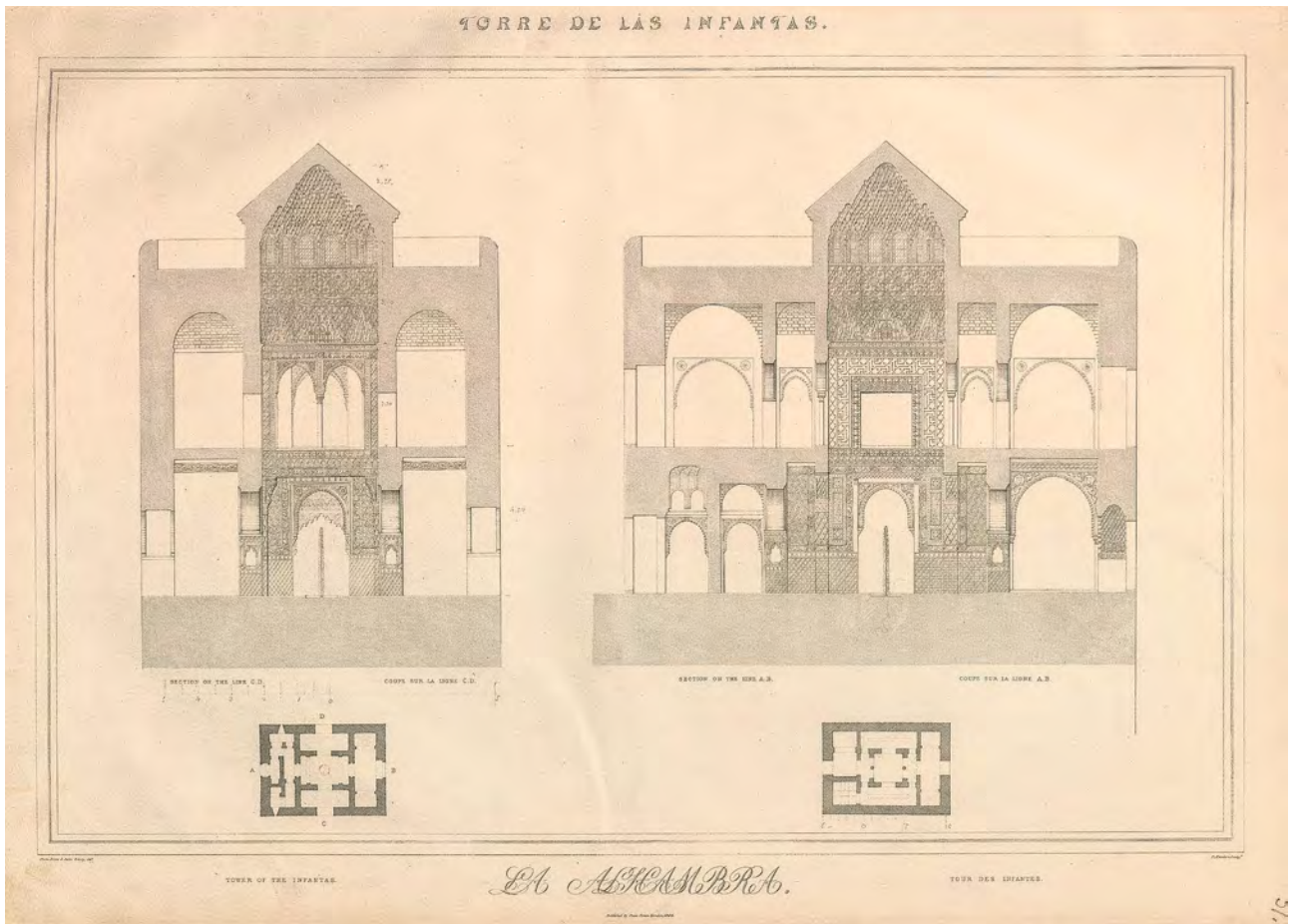
266 Although Rakhau and Kol'man's stay in Granada coincided with Notbek's, the sources give no indication of either private or professional contact between the three architects, and neither do Rakhau and Kol'man mention Rafael Contreras in their reports, although they probably met him in Granada (see Fig. 154).

267 See Contreras 1878, 182–184.

268 See González Pérez 2017a, 202–204, 388–391.

269 See Gómez Moreno 1892, 147; Torres Balbás 1949, 127; Pavón Maldonado 1977, 134–140; Fernández-Puertas 1997, 16, 104.

270 “Состояние современного забвения и разрушения, в котором



158 Jules Goury and Owen Jones, *Tower of the Infantas*, from idem., *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*, Vol. 1, London: Owen Jones, 1842, pl. LI.

Owen Jones's drawings can be found in the first volume of his *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*, which shows cross and longitudinal sections of the tower as well as two small floor plans (Fig. 158). In these drawings, Jones has “restored” the damaged pendentives and the destroyed area above them: the wall decoration, the drum and the muqarnaş dome.²⁷¹ As mentioned, at the time “restoration” (*restavratsiia*), in both English and Russian, did not necessarily mean an intervention in the actual building, and thus Kol'man and Rakhau restored the tower only in their drawings. For about two years they worked on their survey to create an accurate picture of the tower, and especially its interiors. After completing the preparatory drawings, they left Granada in the second half of 1861 to finalize their project in Paris.²⁷² With a brief interruption in the

summer of 1862 to visit the International Exhibition in London, they remained in Paris, where they finished the drawings of the Tower of the Princesses in March 1863.²⁷³

мы нашли этот памятник искусства того времени, полный оригинальности и художественного интереса, подало нам мысль сделать реставрацию башни, желая сохранить нашими слабыми средствами, для истории архитектуры страницу до сих пор почти не известную. В одном только уваже г. Овен Джонс мы нашли две небольшие гравюры этой башни и те не дают никакого понятия о ней по причине весьма мелкого масштаба”, RGIA, f. 789, op. 4 1864, d. 127, l. 1 (see Annex B).

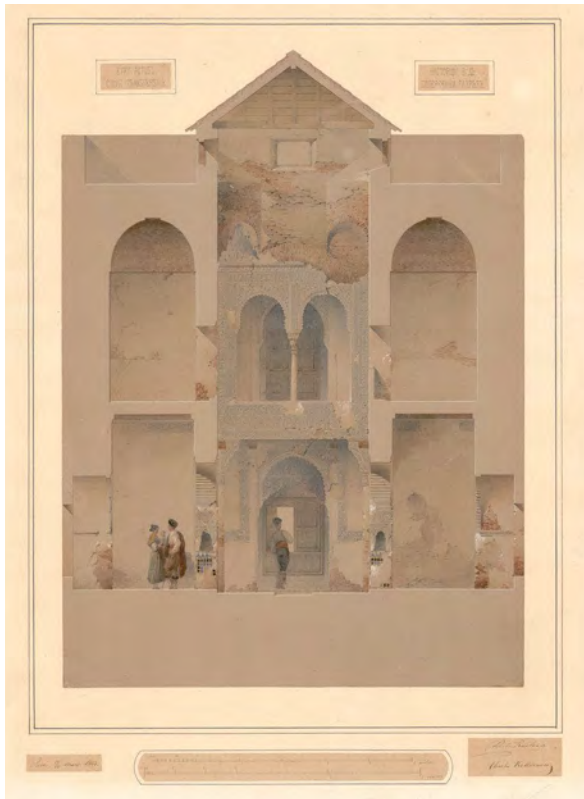
271 See Goury/Jones 1842, text to Plate LI.

272 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 3 1862, d. 20, l. 37–39.

273 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 3 1862, d. 20, l. 45; RGIA, f. 789, op. 4 1863, d. 131, l. 1. Before their departure for London, Rakhau and Kol'man sent a photographic reproduction of the cross section



159 Karl Rakhau and Karl Kol'man, *La Tour des Infantes à l'Alhambra. Vue extérieure*, 1863, watercolor on paper, 59 × 45.1 cm. NIMRAKh, A-13397.



160 Karl Rakhau and Karl Kol'man, *La Tour des Infantes à l'Alhambra. État actuel. Coupe transversale*, 1863, graphite and watercolor on thin cardboard, 91.5 × 67.4 cm. NIMRAKh, A-13384.

Rakhau and Kol'man exhibited them at the Paris Salon, where they were awarded a medal,²⁷⁴ and at the International Art Exhibition (*Internationale Kunstausstellung*) in Munich.²⁷⁵ In August 1863, they sent the drawings to the Imperial Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg and traveled to Italy to familiarize themselves with its architecture at their own expense, as their official scholarship had ended.²⁷⁶ Kol'man returned to St. Petersburg in the first half of 1864, and Rakhau in October 1864 at the latest.²⁷⁷ They were both awarded the title of academician for their drawings of the Alhambra's Tower of the Princesses, which the Academy purchased for 2,500 rubles.²⁷⁸

The centerpiece of their joint work on the Tower of Princesses, which proves their mastery as draftsmen, consists of six sheets: a ground plan of the Alhambra fortress, a perspective view of the tower, a cross section showing its state at the time, and proposals for restoring the tower

including a cross section, a longitudinal section, and floor plans (Figs 159–163).²⁷⁹

The perspective view from the north, a classic watercolor, depicts the unostentatious exterior of the tower as seen from a path below the Alhambra (Fig. 159). In the foreground, an idyllic scene with Granada residents and a boy with a shepherd's stick is reminiscent of the bucolic scenes that had become popular again in the nineteenth century.

The proportions in Rakhau and Kol'man's drawings correspond exactly to Jones's engravings, on which the other five sheets may be based. The cross section showing the tower's condition at the time documents the considerable damage to the original decoration (Fig. 160). On the upper floor, the double window facing the courtyard and a single muqarnaš pendentive are preserved. On the first floor, the remains of tiles, *ṭāqas*, corbels and ornamented stucco panels can be seen in the central

of the still uncolored restoration proposal to the Imperial Academy of Arts (see RGIA, f. 789, op. 3 1862, d. 20, l. 40).

This photograph is held today at the Shchusev State Museum of Architecture in Moscow, to which it was transferred from the State Russian Museum in St. Petersburg. It is accompanied by a description in French and a sketch of the tower's ground plan; see GNIMA, R.I-1838.

²⁷⁴ They won a *Médaille de troisième classe*, one of seven medals awarded in the architectural section of the 1863 exhibition. The awards ceremony took place on July 6 in the *Palais de l'Industrie*. Apart from Kol'man and Rakhau, only French architects were honored; see Janin et al. 1864, 88.

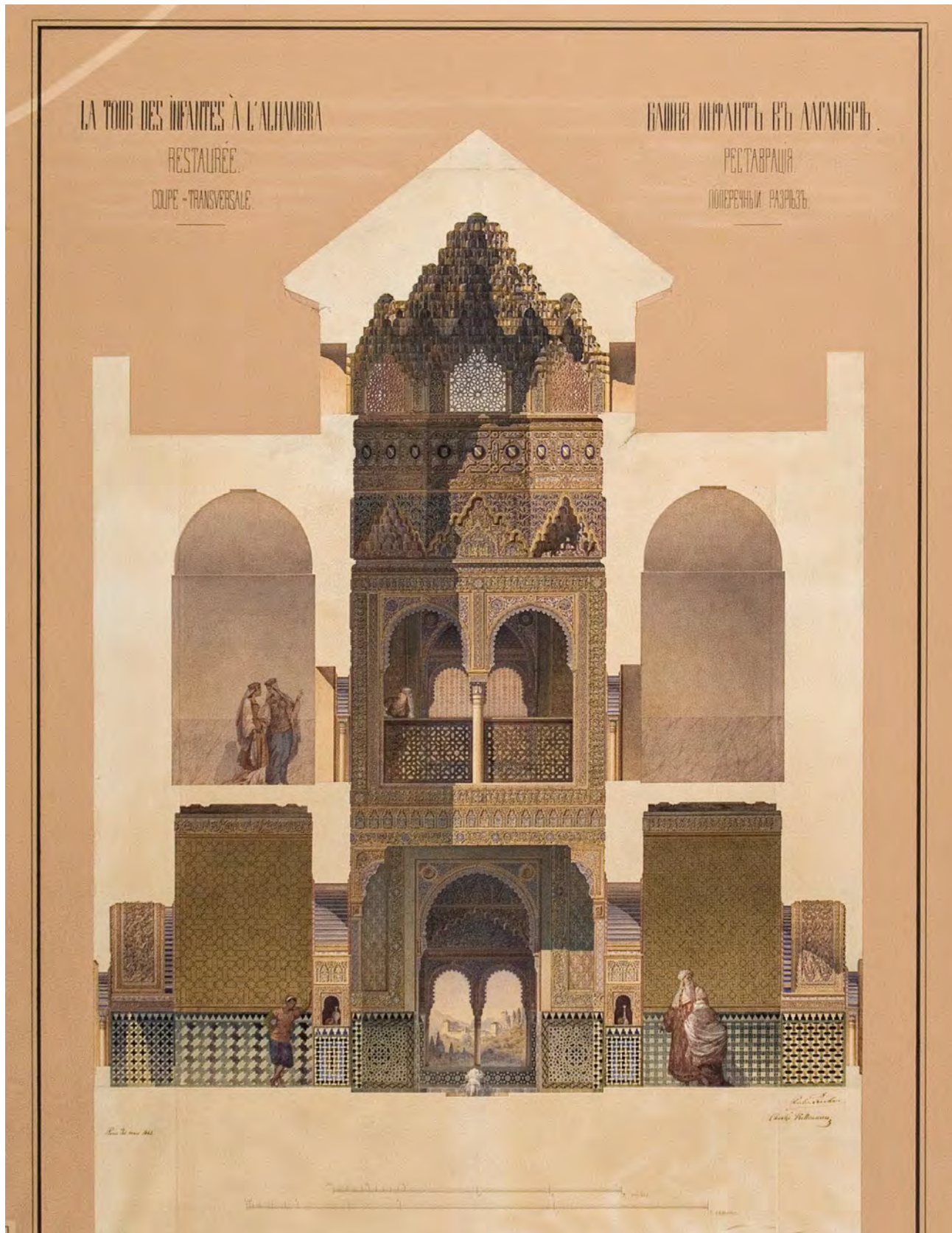
²⁷⁵ Rakhau and Kol'man's drawings are not mentioned in the Munich exhibition's official catalogue (see Catalog 1863) although there are brief references to them in the *Morgenblatt zur Bayerischen Zeitung* (no. 230, August 22, 1863, 797). Two letters by Karl Rakhau to the German architect Ludwig Lange (1808–1868) reveal that Rakhau had applied for an award from the Munich Academy, where Lange was a professor, and was disappointed that he was given only an expert's written evaluation of his and Kol'man's work; see Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ana 607.A.II.2. Rakhau, Karl, letters of September 15 and November 25, 1863.

²⁷⁶ See RGIA, f. 789, op. 4 1863, d. 131, l. 2–4.

²⁷⁷ See RGIA, f. 789, op. 14-K, d. 64, l. 3; RGIA, f. 789, op. 14-R, d. 5, l. 10.

²⁷⁸ See RGIA, f. 789, op. 4 1864, d. 127, l. 3–6; RGIA, f. 789, op. 5 1865, d. 251; Kondakov 1914, 104.

²⁷⁹ See RGIA, f. 789, op. 4 1863, d. 131, l. 4; Petrov 1866, 432–433. For Rakhau and Kol'man's ground plan of the Alhambra see NIMRAKh, A-7571.



161 Karl Rakhau and Karl Kol'man, *La Tour des Infantes à l'Alhambra. Restaurée. Coupe transversale*, 1863, ink, watercolor, and gilding on paper, 150 × 119.7 cm. NIMRAKH, A-13382.



162 Karl Rakhau and Karl Kol'man, *La Tour des Infantes à l'Alhambra. Restaurée. Coupe longitudinale*, 1863, ink and watercolor on paper, 149.3 × 159.6 cm. NIMRAKh, A-13383.

room. On both floors the arched openings leading to the rooms in the northeast of the tower are visible, while the double windows on the outer wall of the tower seem to be missing. Apart from the protective roof over the courtyard and the wooden window shutters, the interiors are displayed without the more recent additions. The lower rooms are populated by Spaniards in traditional clothing. The drawing is executed in watercolor on slightly dyed paper, with dots of light accentuated with white gouache.

A second cross section shows a proposal for the restoration of the tower (Fig. 161). Drawn to a twelfth of the actual size on a sheet of paper measuring roughly 120 × 150 cm, it is impressively colorful. Rakhau and Kol'man commented as follows:

In the cross-section drawing we have attempted to convey the Moorish custom of coloring and gilding ornamentation, and we dare to think we have succeeded in conveying the type and tone of this archi-

ecture, which, although fragmented and mottled in the extreme, never loses sight of the harmony of the parts and their sum.²⁸⁰

The two architects completed the decorations for their proposal based on the existing remains, supplementing them where they were completely missing with ornamentation similar to that found in other areas of the Alhambra's palaces. Thus the entire lower wall zone on the first floor is tiled with alicatados like those in the Hall of the Ambassadors, while the walls of the adjacent rooms are decorated with simple repetitive geometric patterns carved into the plastering, comparable to those in the Hall of the Kings and the Court of the Lions. Rakhau and Kol'man reproduced these either from their own sketches or from Owen Jones's plates.²⁸¹ The window openings are completed with typical Nasrid double windows, and wooden railings are installed on the second floor to the inner courtyard. Above the zone of the pendentives, several friezes decorate the tower's walls: first a narrow one of cartouches with inscriptions, then a broader one with a repeated quadratic motif with the Nasrid coat of arms at the center. The two architects copied this zone and the muqarnaş vault above it from the Hall of the Two Sisters. Unlike both the example in the Hall of the Two Sisters and Jones's proposed reconstruction, Rakhau and Kol'man inserted only one window on each side of the drum rather than two. The proportions of these wide windows are not consistent with those of Nasrid latticed windows. In this cross section the stucco decoration is colored blue, red, and gold. Compared to Jones's prosaic depiction, the drawing has a romantic touch: the fountain in the courtyard is playing, the beautiful window to the northeast offers a picturesque view of the Generalife, and, as if we were back in Muslim times, the three princesses of Irving's legend appear richly dressed on the upper floor, while perhaps the figures on the first floor are their father and a servant.

The longitudinal section of the "restored" version of the tower is also drafted at a twelfth of the actual size and measures 160 × 150 cm (Fig. 162). In contrast to the cross section, the drawing is more neutral and less picturesque: the alicatados are colored, the stucco decoration is not. This representation tends to reflect the appearance

of the Nasrid palaces at the time, whose stucco had lost most of its color. The wall decorations around the courtyard again correspond to those remaining on the ground and upper floors. Where Owen Jones's engraving shows a large square opening on the upper floor, Kol'man and Rakhau have inserted an ajimez and a wooden lattice that screens the room behind it. In this section the many arches that divide the rooms on both floors are visible, and the vault with unusually large muqarnaş in the vestibule (*saṭwān*) can be seen at the bottom left. The window offers a view of the fortified wall of the Alhambra. The large scale allows the rendering of details, whether fictitious or not, much more accurately than those in Jones's print. The longitudinal section again shows Muslims inhabiting the tower, but in contrast to the cross section, everyday residential life is depicted on the upper floor while two servants converse in the first-floor entrance area.

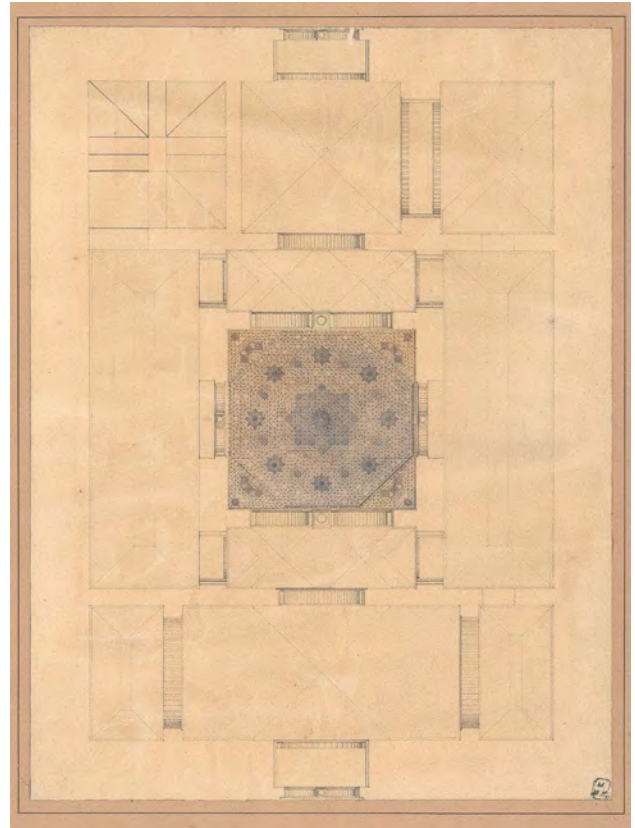
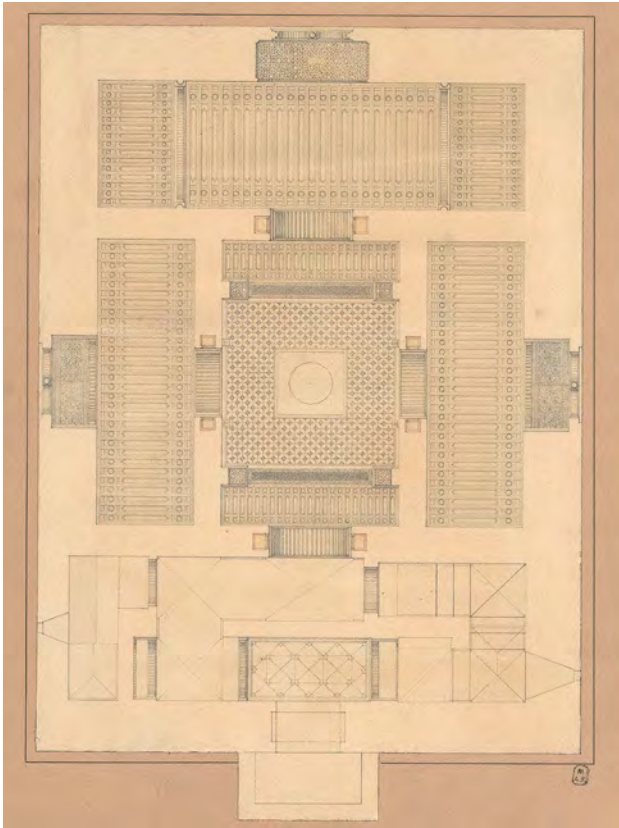
The last two drawings, the floor plans, reproduce not only the room structures but also Rakhau and Kol'man's "restoration" (Fig. 163). The floor tiles and fountain in the central room on the first floor, the flat wooden ceilings of the side rooms, the decoration on the arches, and the muqarnaş vault above the window to the northeast are all shown. On the upper floor, the most striking element is the slightly shaded muqarnaş dome, which covers the inner courtyard. The drawing clearly illustrates the proposed vault as a simplified and smaller version of the vault in the Hall of the Two Sisters (Fig. 90).

Rakhau's and Kolman's proposals coincide on some points with the later actual restoration of the Tower of the Princesses (Fig. 157). For example, two comparable ajimeces were inserted into the long sides of the inner courtyard walls on the upper floor, although there may have originally been only single windows here.²⁸² For the

280 "В поперечном разрезе мы попробовали передать обыкновение Мавров украшать свои орнаменты раскраской и позолотой и мы смеем думать, что нам удалось передать тип и тон этой архитектуры, которая хотя измеленная и испещренная до крайности, не упускает из виду никогда гармонию общего и масс", RGIA, f. 789, op. 4 1864, d. 127, l. 1 (see Annex B).

281 See for example Goury/Jones 1845, Plate IX.

282 See Pavón Maldonado 1977, 221.



163 Karl Rakhau and Karl Kol'man, *La Tour des Infantes à l'Alhambra, Plan du rez-de-chaussée and Plan du premier*, 1863, graphite and watercolor on paper, 42.3 × 28 cm and 38.7 × 28 cm. NIMRAKH, A-13386 and A-13385.

zone above the muqarnaş pendentives, friezes with similar proportions to those proposed by Rakhau and Kolman were chosen, but with different decoration. Unlike in the Hall of the Two Sisters and Owen Jones's print, Rafael and Mariano Contreras have placed only one window on each of the eight sides of the drum, as in Rakhau and Kol'man's reconstruction, albeit in the more characteristic simple shape of Nasrid latticed windows. The muqarnaş dome was not reconstructed but was replaced by the armadura ataujerada mentioned above.

Reflecting the "Moorish Style"

Kol'man and Rakhau's drawings are accompanied by an explanatory text, probably written by themselves in 1863, from which the excerpts above are quoted. It testifies to their serious examination of the building and reflects their artistic position as architects. The depth of argumentation sets it apart from the reports of other pensionery, which is why it is fully reproduced in Annex B.²⁸³

The text begins with a brief description of the tower and its function:

The Infants' Tower was once part of the Alhambra's fortifications and is located a short distance from the famous palace. The tower's original function was defensive, and the façades are thus not ornamented in any way. Only the interior presents the richness and grace of the period's architecture.²⁸⁴

²⁸³ Aleksei Gavrichkov also emphasizes this fact (1993, 6).

²⁸⁴ "Башня Инфант составляла в свое время часть укрепления Альгамбры и находится в небольшом расстоянии от этого знаменитого дворца. Первоначальное значение этой башни вероятно было оборонительное, вследствие чего фасад не представляет никакой художественной архитектурной отделки и только внутренность сосредоточивает в себя все богатство и вкус архитектуры того времени", RGIA, f. 789, op. 4 1864, d. 127, l. 1 (see Annex B).

The two architects were more interested than Owen Jones in the inscriptions in the tower, the latter noting off-handedly that they were “few and unimportant, consisting only of the usual mottoes.”²⁸⁵ Based on the inscriptions, Rakhau and Kol’man date the decoration of the tower to the second half of the fourteenth century and the reigns of Muḥammad V and Yūsuf II (r. 1391–1392/793–794 AH).²⁸⁶ With this assumption they were closer to the actual date of construction than most historians and archeologists, who set the decoration at around 1460 until the mid-twentieth century, but they were still not correct. In 1892, Manuel Gómez Moreno (1834–1918) ascribed the ornamentation to the period of Muḥammad VII’s reign, stating that his name was repeated in the inscriptions, yet his theory was accepted only in 1958, after the Arabist Luis Seco de Lucena Paredes (1901–1974) published a short article on the subject.²⁸⁷ He explains that the frequent misdating was due to misinterpretation of the components of the rulers’ names such as the *kunya* (a teknonym used in Arabic names) and the *laqab* (a honorary title or nickname), and argues convincingly that it is indeed Muḥammad VII who is mentioned in the tower’s epigraphs, and the decorations were therefore created between 1392 and 1408.²⁸⁸

The most interesting part of Kol’man and Rakhau’s text is their comment on the reception of Nasrid architecture in the nineteenth century:

While most landmarks in all the styles of past ages have been studied and reproduced by artists in prints and paintings, our knowledge of the Moorish style compared to the others is quite superficial, and [the style] has been investigated by a very small number of artists. This neglect of a style born of a great artistic age and a poetic, highly educated nation is strange. In our critical day and age, by studying various architectural styles we have discovered basic rules and laws where earlier nothing other than the whims of the imagination were seen, a thoroughgoing consistency where only the play of chance was supposed, and rationality and the fulfilment of needs in what had seemed a mere striving after originality and strangeness.²⁸⁹

Claiming that unlike most other historical styles, the “Moorish style”, by which they mean Ibero-Islamic archi-

ture, had not yet been thoroughly studied, Kol’man and Rakhau rejected the negative characteristics that nineteenth-century Western art historiography often attributed to Islamic architecture to emphasize the superiority of Christian (or Western) art.²⁹⁰ Having studied Nasrid architecture, Rakhau and Kol’man recognized it as a multifaceted expression of what would now be called high culture. Unlike Pavel Notbek, who justified the long duration of his stay in Granada by the need to study many ornaments and vaults, the two architects argued that they needed to study the Alhambra’s Nasrid architecture as follows:

It is clear that we, who have devoted so much of our precious time to studying the Moorish style and producing our work, never meant to make it the dominant style of our buildings, which should be nothing more than expressions of our beliefs and needs. Our day and age is not as Moorish as it is Gothic, Roman, or Greek. We are obliged to study each [of these styles] and hold them only as a base and point of departure when we apply architecture to our needs and aspirations. That is why, acknowledging the Moorish style as worthy of study as the others, we undertook this work

285 Goury/Jones 1842, text to Plate LI.

286 RGIA, f. 789, op. 4 1864, d. 127, l. 1 (see Annex B).

287 See Gómez Moreno 1892, 146; Seco de Lucena 1958.

288 Rakhau and Kol’man had identified two names where there is only one. On the historical value of inscriptions in the Alhambra see Fernández-Puertas 1997, 109–111.

289 “В то время как большая часть памятников прошедших веков всех стилей, были изучены и воспроизведены художниками посредством гравюры и живописи, стиль мавританский, сравнительно с прочими, известен очень поверхностно и разрабатывается весьма незначительным числом художников. Странное пренебрежение к стилю, рожденному великой и художественной эпохой, поэтическим и высоко образованным народом. В наш критический век, изучая разные стили архитектуры, нашли основные правила и законы там, где прежде не видели ничего кроме каприза причудливой фантазии, логичную последовательность там, где предполагали только игру случая, рациональность и удовлетворение потребности в том что казалось только стремлением к оригинальному и странному”, RGIA, f. 789, op. 4 1864, d. 127, l. 1 (see Annex B).

290 See for example Kugler 1848, 404–405.

with the intention of faithfully carrying it out as our contribution to the progress of art history.²⁹¹

Rakhau and Kol'man clearly considered the “Moorish style” on a par with other historical styles. What is interesting here is their reference to the contemporary historicist period. In contrast to Carl von Diebitsch, who was probably the only architect to propagate the idea of building exclusively in neo-Moorish style,²⁹² the Russian architects considered that knowledge of the most diverse historical styles was necessary so that it could be drawn upon and applied when needed. They had initially intended to also “restore” a second tower at the Alhambra, the Captive’s Tower, a similar but older qalahurra than the Tower of the Princesses,²⁹³ but their explanatory text ends with the note that they had postponed this project to a later date.²⁹⁴

After their return to St. Petersburg, Rakhau and Kol'man began their professional life as architects. Although Kol'man’s contemporaries saw him as an artist who was “thoroughly familiar with various architectural styles”,²⁹⁵ it is not known whether he built anything in neo-Moorish style.²⁹⁶ Rakhau, on the other hand, who is now considered one of the greatest masters of histori-

cism in St. Petersburg or even the whole of Russia, did apply the style he had studied so intensively in his work as an architect (see Cat. nos 14, 21, and 22).²⁹⁷

The following discusses interiors created in St. Petersburg while Notbek, Rakhau, and Kol'man were abroad and the results of their studies on the Alhambra were not yet known in Russia.

4.5 The Oriental Living Room at the Iusupov Palace

Architect Charles Rohault de Fleury, 1858/59

While not entirely a neo-Moorish interior, the Oriental Living Room, discussed in the Introduction, is an outstanding example of Orientalizing architecture in St. Petersburg due to the complex history of its creation and the materiality of its decoration (Cat. no. 9). The original design of the interior, furnished in 1858/59 and remodeled in the 1890s, can be seen in the daguerreotypes mentioned earlier and in a watercolor by Andrei Redkovskii (1831–1909), which shows far more of the room than the daguerreotypes (Figs 1 and 164).²⁹⁸

291 “Понятно, что мы, посвятившие столько драгоценного для нас времени на изучение мавританского стиля и исполнение нашей работы, не имели никогда в виду сделать господствующим этот стиль в наших постройках, которые должны быть ни чем иным, как выражением наших убеждений и потребностей. Наш век столько же ни мавританский сколько не готический, не римский и не греческий, наша обязанность изучить каждый из них и иметь только как основание и точку, исходя при применении архитектуры к нашим потребностям и стремлениям. – Вот почему признавая мавританский стиль одинаково достойным изучения наравне с прочими, мы занялись разработкой сей с намерением добросовестно исполнить труд предпринимаемый нами, принося тем нашу лепту в развитие истории искусства”, RGIA, f. 789, op. 4 1864, d. 127, l. 1–2 (see Annex B).

292 See Giese/Varela Braga 2017a.

293 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 3 1862, d. 20, l. 37.

294 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 4 1864, d. 127, l. 2 (see Annex B).

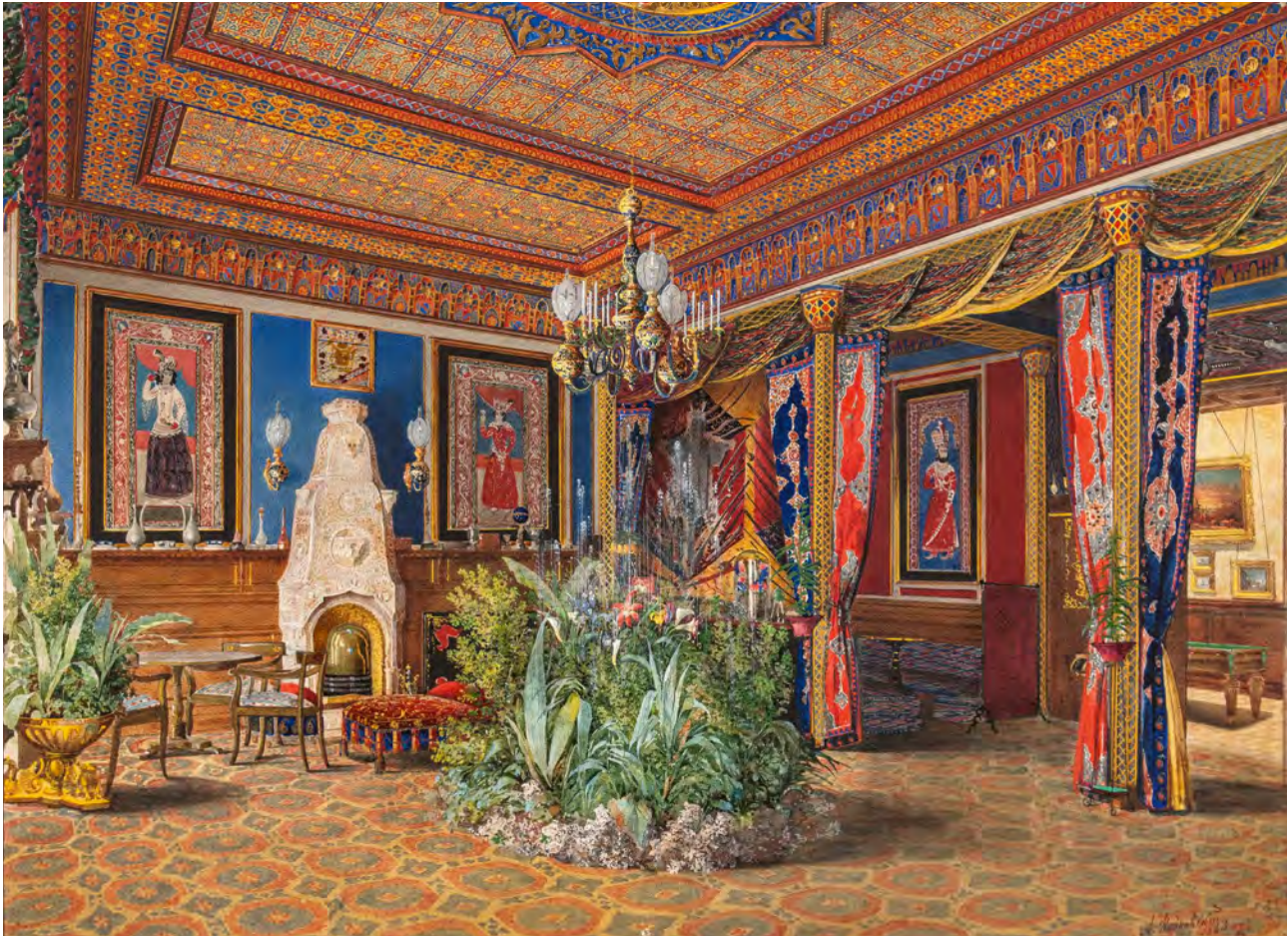
295 “[...] основательно знавший различные архитектурные стили”, Somov 1895.

296 Kol'man was appointed a professor as early as 1866. Like Notbek and Rakhau, he was employed on the Ministry of the Interior’s Building Committee (*Tekhnicheskstroitel'nyi komitet*), and

later on the Building Committee of His Imperial Majesty’s Own Chancellery. He built several eclectic apartment houses and villas in St. Petersburg.

297 Rakhau worked only briefly on the Building Committee of the Ministry of the Interior before switching to the Governorate Administration’s Construction Department and teaching at the Imperial Academy of Arts. In 1870 he was appointed professor and elected to the board of the IAKh. From 1871 onwards he worked as an architect for St. Petersburg’s municipal government, and from 1873 he was a member of the Building Commission for the Office of the Institutions of Empress Maria (fourth section of His Imperial Majesty’s Own Chancellery). He erected buildings in St. Petersburg, the Crimea, the Caucasus, Rybinsk, and other cities. He traveled south several times to cure an illness and died in Salzburg in 1880.

298 Engaging artists to document interiors was popular in the nineteenth century; their detailed drawings were compiled into magnificent albums as mementos. Redkovskii’s drawings are among the best of this genre. His thirty watercolors of the Iusupov Palace (today held at the GRM) are important sources of information on the many alterations that have been made to these interiors since then.



164 Andrei Redkovskii, Oriental Living Room at Iusupov Palace, 1863, watercolor, ink, and varnish on paper, ca. 29.1 × 40.3 cm. GRM, R-16533.

Two columns divide the Oriental Living Room, which measures about a hundred square meters, into an anteroom and a main room with a fireplace and a fountain. The walls are covered with blue and red fabrics or wallpaper, and their lower part with simple wooden paneling. The Orientalizing ambience of the room is created by its vibrant colors, eye-catching ceiling design, and selected textiles and furnishings. The columns are decorated with a net-like pattern, which is unusual for the time and cannot be ascribed to any architectural tradition, whereas the frieze below the ceiling and the ceiling itself, preserved to this day, clearly evoke Nasrid decorations: the frieze reproduces muqarnaṣ, ataurique, and the coat of arms of the Emirate of Granada (Fig. 3), while the ceiling's lazo design is based on a stucco panel in the Hall of the Ambassadors in the Alhambra's Comares Palace, of which Owen Jones published an illustration in

the 1840s (Figs 165 and 166). The color scheme of the room is mainly red, blue, and gold, recalling the coloring that Owen Jones used to reproduce Nasrid stucco decorations. The same colors are repeated in the draperies and curtains that accentuate the separation between the anteroom and the main room. Portraits of a Persian Shah and Persian queens are an important decorative element in the Oriental Living Room; another painting shows a naked woman washing (Fig. 2).²⁹⁹ Finally, many smaller objects of craftsmanship decorate the room.

Some of the curtains from the Oriental Living Room are now displayed in the Smoking Room (*kuritel'naia*

²⁹⁹ Although the imagined Orient of the nineteenth century was associated with notions of exoticism and eroticism, the inclusion of such a painting in a neo-Moorish interior seems to be an isolated case in St. Petersburg.



165 Iusupov Palace, St. Petersburg, ceiling of the Oriental Living Room, Charles Rohault de Fleury, 1858/59.



166 Jules Goury and Owen Jones, *Panelling in windows, Hall of the Ambassadors*, from idem., *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*, Vol. 2, London: Owen Jones, 1845, pl. VI, no. 10.

kommnata) at the State Hermitage Museum, a small exhibition room showing a number of furnishings typical of nineteenth-century Orientalizing interiors.³⁰⁰ When the interior of the Iusupov Palace was redesigned in the early 1890s, the curtains, the portraits of the Persian rulers, a table and chairs with inlays, and a Chinese-style chimney umbrella were taken to the Iusupovs' mansion in Tsarskoe Selo,³⁰¹ and later, with the nationalization of the building following the 1917 October Revolution, distributed to various museums.

The Oriental Living Room at the Iusupov Palace was commissioned by Prince Nikolai Iusupov the Younger (1827–1991), a member of one of the richest Russian noble families. He was living in Paris at the time, but planned to settle in St. Petersburg with his wife Tatiana Iusupova (née Ribeaupierre, 1828–1879) after his resignation as a diplomat in 1858, for which purpose he had the residence on the Moika River rebuilt.³⁰² The reconstruction was completed in 1860, and is commonly ascribed to the architect Ippolito Monighetti, whose Turkish Bath is discussed in Chapter 2.2, and who, shortly before, had built a villa in Tsarskoe Selo for the Prince's mother, Zinaida Iusupova (1809–1893).³⁰³ However, Natalia Zaitseva has shown, based on documents held in the Russian State Ar-

chive of Ancient Documents (RGADA) in Moscow, that although Monighetti was the architect in charge of the work at the Iusupov Palace, he was largely executing a design by a French architect.³⁰⁴ Thus, it was not Mo-

300 The origin of the curtains is not indicated in the exhibition.

301 See GMU Arkhangelskoe, Mff-197.

302 Nikolai Iusupov and Tatiana Ribeaupierre, daughter of a Russian diplomat of Swiss origin (Alexandre de Ribeaupierre, 1781–1865) were cousins. They married in 1856 with the permission of Tsar Alexander II but against the will of the Orthodox Church, which did not recognize the marriage. The plot of land on the Moika River and the first palace built on it were originally owned by the Shuvalov family and had been acquired by Nikolai Iusupov's ancestors in 1830. For the history of the palace, its remodeling between 1858 and 1859 and the twentieth-century restorations see Listov 1976, 57–76; Fedorova 1999; Utochkina et al. 1999; Zaitseva 2003; Kukuruzova/Utochkina 2010; KGIOP, 61_1396P. While the palace's neoclassical façade was designed in the 1770s by the architect Jean-Baptiste Vallin de La Mothe (1729–1800), the sumptuous interiors in various styles were added in five remodelings carried out between 1830 and 1916.

303 See Listov 1976, 29–36.

304 See Zaitseva 2009. Although this fact has been mentioned before (see Fedorova 1999, 15), it has received little attention until today. In her PhD dissertation on the interiors of the Iusupov Palace, Zaitseva (2003) attributes the 1858/59 reconstruction entirely to Monighetti.



167 J. A. Vinter, *Pilaster in carton pierre by Cruchet of Paris*, from Matthew Digby Wyatt, *The Industrial Arts of the Nineteenth Century. A Series of Illustrations of the Choicest Specimens Produced by Every Nation, at the Great Exhibition of Works of Industry, 1851*, London: Day and Son, 1851, pl. 65.

nighetti who designed Nikolai Iusupov’s luxurious rooms in the southwest part of the first floor, including the Oriental Living Room, but a French architect who, based on measurements taken in Russia, had conceived the floor plans and furnishings by February 1858.³⁰⁵ The documents further prove that the frieze and ceiling of the Oriental Living Room were prefabricated of *carton-pierre* by a Parisian company and delivered to Russia.³⁰⁶ Since Zaitseva does not identify this company or the French architect, research for the present book returned to the documents at the RGADA for further illumination.

In January 1858, Ippolito Monighetti confirmed that he would execute the project and rebuild the property

within two years, not for the 4,800 rubles he had proposed but for the 3,500 rubles Iusupov was offering.³⁰⁷ “[...] *j’accepte, par le désir que j’ai de vous être agréable, et pour l’honneur de me dire Votre Architecte, sans me préoccuper si mes peines seront suffisamment récompensées*.”³⁰⁸ Anticipating future commissions in St. Petersburg, he insisted on discretion regarding this price, which he considered too low. The requirement to work “according to Parisian plans”³⁰⁹ fomented several conflicts, as Zaitseva outlines based on the correspondence between the Prince and Monighetti, which was not conducted directly but through the prince’s chancellery.

Besides letters and receipts, the RGADA also holds shipping lists from France that provide information about the progress of the work and the furnishings of the rooms in St. Petersburg. Along with items such as mirrors, porcelain, chandeliers, and silverware, Iusupov had the main staircase made of Italian marble³¹⁰ and the carton-pierre ornamentation transported from Paris to Russia. Boxes from the *Kriushe* (*Cruchet*) company regularly arrived in St. Petersburg.³¹¹ Famous for its fabrication of decorations in many styles, the company, run by Michel-Victor Cruchet (1815–1899) in Paris, produced

305 Ippolito Monighetti made only a few adjustments to the Oriental Living Room (see Zaitseva 2009, 132–133). He was mainly responsible for the general renovation of the rooms, for example the replacement of the parquet floors, and the technical modernization of the palace. The redesign of the vestibule and the staircase, minor changes to the façade, and the planning of Tatiana Iusupova’s rooms on the upper floor are also accredited to him.

306 See Zaitseva 2009, 130. *Carton-pierre* is a cheap, lightweight material widely used in France from the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is produced from a pulp of paper and glue similar to *papier-mâché*, to which chalk or clay is added. Like plaster, it can be cast in molds and is very solid once dry. In architecture, this new technique gradually replaced the more challenging and expensive craft of the stuccoworker; see Lebrun/Magnier 1850, 150–157.

307 See RGADA, f. 1290, op. 2 1858, d. 1681, l. 15–18.

308 RGADA, f. 1290, op. 2 1858, d. 1681, l. 16.

309 “[...] *по Парижским планам*,” RGADA, f. 1290, op. 2 1858, d. 1681, l. 92.

310 See RGADA, f. 1290, op. 4 1858, d. 753.

311 See RGADA, f. 1290, op. 2 1859–1864, d. 1401; RGADA, f. 1290, op. 2 1858–1859, d. 2296; RGADA, f. 1290, op. 4 1858, d. 767, l. 7, 10, 15–17, 42, 49.



168 Charles Rohault de Fleury, *Hippodrome National. Entrée principale*, 1845, transfer lithograph with watercolor, 28.8 × 44.7 cm. Montréal, Canadian Centre for Architecture, DR1974:0002:017:033.

the architectural elements of several halls as finished parts for assembly in situ (Fig. 167).³¹² At first hiring Parisian craftsmen was considered for this assembly, but eventually the St. Petersburg-based sculptor David Jensen (1816–1902) carried out the work between October 1858 and February 1859.³¹³ After that the carton-pierre decorations such as the ceiling in the Oriental Living Room were painted and gilded.³¹⁴

A floor plan of this room, referred to in the historical documents as “Oriental Hall” (*vostochnii zal*),³¹⁵ “*Salon Oriental*”,³¹⁶ and “*salle d’hallambra*”,³¹⁷ gives the name of the French architect as “Mr Rohault – Architecte à Paris”.³¹⁸ This was probably Charles Rohault de Fleury (1801–1875), who was at the height of his career at the time. Together with Jakob Ignaz Hittorff, Alfred Armand, and Auguste Joseph Pellechet, he had constructed the gigantic neoclassicist Grand Hôtel du Louvre for the 1855 World Exhibition. Between 1854 and 1856, Rohault

312 So far, there has been little research on Michel-Victor Cruchet, a well-established and gifted ornamental sculptor and cabinet-maker of his time. In 1839 he received a first award at the *Exposition des produits de l’industrie française* in Paris, and further distinctions followed at the world exhibitions of 1851 and 1855. The Cruchet company was founded by Michel-Victor’s father Jean-Philippe Cruchet (1793/94–1864). His son Claude-Philippe-Albert (1841–1909) later founded his own company with a partner, but Michel-Victor was by far the most successful of the three Cruchets; see Wyatt 1851, text to Plate LXV; Dion-Tenenbaum 1999; Canestrier 2004.

313 See RGADA, f. 1290, op. 2 1858, d. 1681, l. 288, 297, 319; RGADA, f. 1290, op. 4 1858–1859, d. 751, l. 77, 93; RGADA, f. 1290, op. 4 1858–1859, d. 754.

314 See RGADA, f. 1290, op. 4 1858–1859, d. 752, l. 14.

315 RGADA, f. 1290, op. 2 1858–1859, d. 2296; RGADA, f. 1290, op. 4 1858, d. 767, l. 7.

316 See RGADA, f. 1290, op. 2 1858, d. 2275.

317 See RGADA, f. 1290, op. 4 1858–1859, d. 752, l. 14.

318 See RGADA, f. 1290, op. 7 1858, d. 1677. Nonna Fedorova (1999, 15) previously mentioned that the Parisian architect *Rouaux* had developed the project.



169 Andrei Redkovskii, Persian Boudoir at Lusovop Palace, 1865, watercolor, ink, and varnish on paper, 33.2 × 25.4 cm. GRM, R-16539.

de Fleury had furthermore designed the Hôtel Soltykoff at 10 Rue Volney in Paris as a residence for Prince Aleksei Saltykov. Saltykov, the traveler, collector, and artist who we met in the introduction to this chapter, was very probably acquainted with Nikolai Iusupov, as another collector and patron of the arts.³¹⁹ It is therefore possible that contact between Iusupov and Rohault de Fleury was established via Saltykov. Finally, mention should be made here of the first Parisian hippodrome, built by Rohault de Fleury in 1844/45: The eclectic Orientalizing building, reminiscent of English Orientalizing examples, stood in the Place de l'Étoile until 1855 and testifies to the architect's ability to express himself outside the neoclassical canon (Fig. 168).³²⁰

Although the Russian aristocracy adopted French fashions, including in architecture, in the nineteenth century,³²¹ St. Petersburg's reception of the Alhambra had begun to appear in architecture independently as early as the 1830s, as shown in Chapter 3. Employing a French architect who had Alhambresque decorations made in Paris for the interior of the Iusupov Palace was thus unique. Apart from Tatiana Iusupova's "Persian Boudoir" or "Oriental Boudoir" (*Persidskii* or *Vostochnyi buduar*; Cat. no. 10) on the upper floor of the palace, which was planned at the same time by Monighetti and for which the decoration was nevertheless ordered from Paris, no other Orientalizing interior in St. Petersburg appears to have been furnished with carton-pierre, although its use was quite common in Russia.

Like the Oriental Living Room, Tatiana Iusupova's Persian Boudoir was adorned with a frieze and ceiling of carton-pierre and had decorative spandrels in the window opening (Fig. 169). Andrei Redkovskii's watercolors³²² show that the ornamentation and coloring of the ceiling were reminiscent of Iranian ceramic tiles. Carpets and miniatures hung on the walls, the remaining surfaces of which were decorated with a pattern in gold tones. The same fabric was used for the curtains at the entrance and the divan covering as in the Oriental Living Room. The ceiling, the frieze, and part of the furniture have been preserved.³²³

In January 1860, Nikolai Iusupov and his wife moved into their palace, which was one of the largest private mansions in St. Petersburg. According to Tatiana Iu-

supova, her husband used the Oriental Living Room both to practice magic tricks – he had seen the famous magician and illusionist Jean-Eugène Robert-Houdin (1805–1871) in Paris – and to try his hand at photography.³²⁴ Thus, as was often the case, the Orientalizing interior served several recreational purposes. There is a widely accepted but unsubstantiated theory that the style of the room was a reference to the family's Eastern origins, as the Iusupov's are said to be descendants of the monarchs of the Nogai Horde.³²⁵

4.6 The St. Mary Magdalene Chapel at the Bariatinskii Mansion

Architect Harald Bosse, 1858–1861

Chapter 3.7 has mentioned some of the architect Harald Bosse's neo-Moorish interiors, but the most astonishing of his Alhambresque works, unfortunately no longer preserved, was the Orthodox Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, installed between 1858 and 1861 at the mansion of the Bariatinskii family at 46–48 Tchaikovsky Street (Fig. 170; Cat. no. 11).³²⁶ Vladimir Bariatinskii (1817–1875),

³¹⁹ Saltykov owned a large collection of medieval art, which was auctioned in 1861; see Darcel 1861. The Victoria and Albert Museum in London now holds a substantial part of the collection.

³²⁰ Charles Rohault de Fleury is best known as a pioneer of modern greenhouse architecture. As the architect of the *Muséum d'histoire naturelle* in Paris, he designed the greenhouses for the affiliated *Jardin des plantes* in the 1830s. Many of his drawings, including those for the Hippodrome and the Hôtel Soltykoff, are now archived at the Canadian Centre for Architecture in Montréal. For Rohault de Fleury's biography see Mesecke 2018.

³²¹ See Zaitseva 2009, 135.

³²² See also GRM, R-16540.

³²³ During the last restoration, the walls of the room were entirely covered with a fabric or wallpaper with a pattern in golden tones, inspired by a stucco decoration in the Alhambra's Court of the Lions.

³²⁴ See Zaitseva 2009, 133.

³²⁵ For the history of the House of Iusupov until the nineteenth century see Kukuruzova/Utochkina 2010, 128–130.

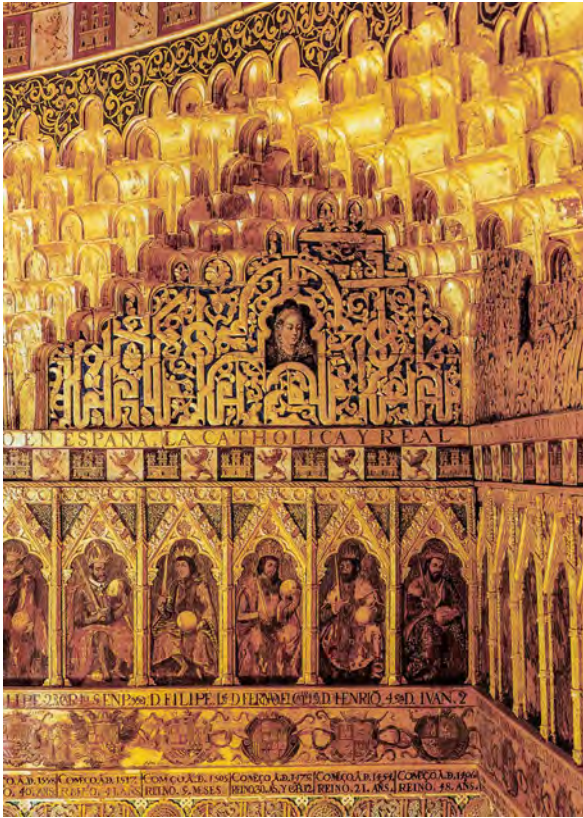
³²⁶ The chapel was closed in 1917 and deconsecrated a few years later; see Antonov/Kobak 1996, no. 166. Some of its structural elements have been preserved but its decoration is lost. For more on Bosse and the Bariatinskii Mansion see Andreeva 2009, 155–161, 2012, 126–133; KGIOP, 576_1040P.



170 Harald Bosse, Chapel at Bariatinskii Mansion, 1858, ink and watercolor on paper, 57 × 45 cm. NIMRAKh, A-6275.



171 Unknown author, St. Mary Magdalene Chapel at Bariatinskii Mansion in St. Petersburg, ca. 1900, photograph. GARF, f. 643, op. 1, d. 192, l. 27.



172 Alcázar, Sevilla, mudéjar decoration with busts of women in the Hall of the Ambassadors, Diego Esquivel, 1599.

a nobleman and military officer, commissioned it in memory of his mother Maria Bariatinskaia (née Maria Wilhelmina Louise Keller, 1792–1858), the daughter of a Prussian diplomat.³²⁷ Established on the second floor of her former apartment, the interior decoration of the chapel, which had a cruciform ground plan, was neo-Moorish with the exception of the iconostasis, which was executed in Russian style.³²⁸ In addition to Bossé's 1858 drawing of the chapel there are two colored stereoscopic daguerreotypes by the Schneider brothers from ca. 1862 and a later photograph from around 1900, proving that the project was realized approximately as the architect had intended (Fig. 171).³²⁹

On the south and north sides of the room, at right angles to the iconostasis, two typical neo-Nasrid lobed arches were placed on columns with corresponding neo-Nasrid capitals. The spandrels of the arches were decorated with ataurique into which a medallion with a figurative painting, probably a seraph, was inserted in a

fashion similar to the inclusion of portraits of men and women in ornamental decorations at the Alcázar of Seville at the end of the sixteenth century (Fig. 172). Behind the arches were semi-circular domed niches. Bossé's drawing shows the same alicatados in the lower wall zone of these as those Aleksandr Briullov had previously planned for the bathroom of the Winter Palace (Cat. no. 4), inspired by a plate in Jules Goury and Owen Jones's *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra* (Fig. 58). Unlike the muqarnaş frieze in the niches and the painted decoration of their semi-domes, these alicatados were not realized. The narrow wall area between the niches and the iconostasis was decorated with geometric neo-Nasrid ornamentation, ribbons with inscriptions, and an icon. One of these ribbons can be seen a little better in one of the mentioned daguerreotypes: the inscription in blue on a white background was not in Arabic letters, but Cyrillic or Early Cyrillic script.

The iconostasis showed the strictly defined Slavic Orthodox iconographic program: Christ as *Pantokrator* and the Virgin Mary as *Theotokos* are depicted to the right and left of the Holy Door, whose wings are decorated with representations of the four evangelists and the Annunciation. Above the door hang an icon of the Last Supper and an image of the saint to whom the church is dedicated, in this case St. Mary Magdalene, with Christ. In one of the daguerreotypes the Holy Door leading to the sanctuary, which is only opened for the celebration of the Eucharist and Holy Week (Easter), stands open,

327 See Tikhomirov 1906, 93. Vladimir Bariatinskii's brother Aleksandr Bariatinskii (1815–1879) fought in the Caucasus from 1838 and made his name as commander-in-chief of the Caucasian army from 1856. By 1859 he had subdued the entire Eastern Caucasus and captured the long-elusive Imam Shamil (1797–1871), the leader of Caucasian resistance to Imperial Russia. Vladimir Bariatinskii himself served in the Caucasian War (1817–1864) in 1842 and in the Crimean War (1853–1856) in 1855.

328 Some icons were framed by polylobed arches, which are usually a characteristic of Islamic architecture. The motif is occasionally found in Russian iconostases, but without necessarily alluding to architecture of the Islamic world.

329 The daguerreotypes, labeled by hand with "chapelle", are held at the GIM in Moscow (68848 Var 15; 68848 Var 14). They were erroneously attributed to the church on the Mar'ino estate of the Bariatinskii family in Ivanovskoe (Kursk Governorate); see Saburova 2014, 290–291.

showing the altar under a canopy whose columns are reminiscent of those of the pavilions in the Court of the Lions. The columns of the canopy and to the sides of the niches are decorated with a blue and white zigzag pattern, again suggesting that Bosse used the plates in Owen Jones's *Alhambra* publications as models (see Fig. 203).³³⁰

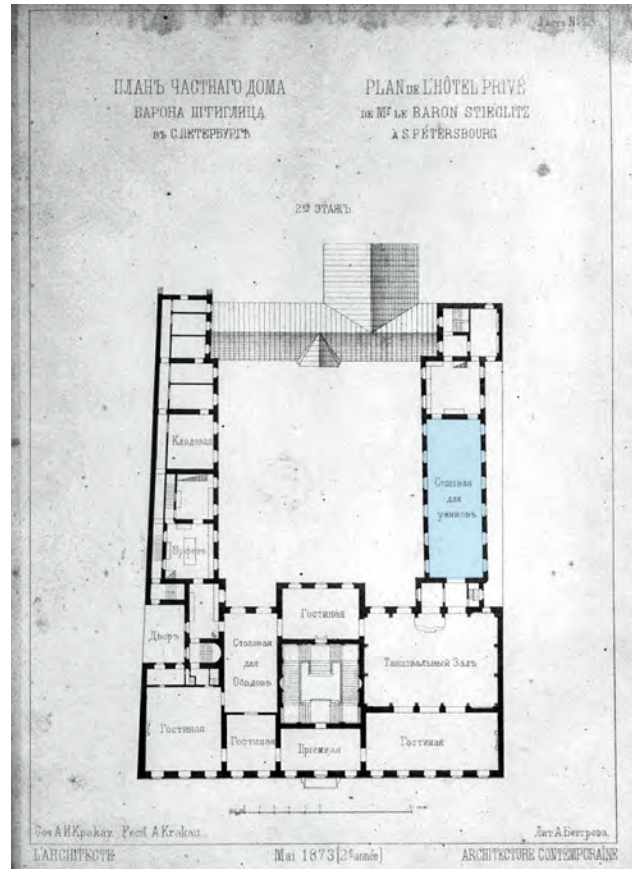
In the upper righthand corner of the photograph (Fig. 171), a mural with figures of saints is just visible below the dome. As in the Hall of the Two Sisters at the Alhambra in Granada, four squinches with muqarnas formed an octagon with the walls that served as a transition to the dome. The design of the dome and its lighting, however, was Bosse's own original solution. According to his drawing (Fig. 170), the painted and stuccoed dome was placed above a muqarnas-frieze and pierced with small openings resembling those of a *ḥammām*, although not in the traditional star shape but as eight-lobed oculi.

It is no surprise that Harald Bosse was commissioned to design the chapel as part of a major expansion project that he was leading, as he had been involved in the construction and redesign of the villa since 1837. However, why the neo-Moorish style was chosen for this room is not known, and it can only be assumed that its decorativeness was the deciding factor. While this style was widely used for Jewish places of worship,³³¹ it is unusual for a Christian house of prayer. The chapel is thus in many respects a unique example of the application of neo-Moorish style, which in this case was combined with the Russian style including icons, and blessings in Cyrillic script replacing inscriptions in Arabic script.

4.7 The Neo-Moorish Dining Room at the Villa Stieglitz

Architect Aleksandr Krakau, 1859–1862

Finally we return to Aleksandr Krakau, whose *Alhambra* album was discussed earlier in this chapter. After his return from Western Europe, he quickly made a career as an architect and was appointed professor at the IAKh in 1853.³³² One of his early major commissions was the construction of the Peterhof Railway Station (now the Baltic Railway Station) in St. Petersburg between 1855 and 1857,



173 *Plan de l'Hôtel privé de Mr le Baron Stieglitz à S. Pétersbourg* (second floor, dining room highlighted in blue), from *Zodchii*, 1873, pl. 23.

financed by Baron Alexander von Stieglitz (1814–1884), who at the time was engaged in the construction of the railway lines from St. Petersburg to Peterhof and from Gatchina to Luga, and in 1857 co-founded the Society of the Russian Railways (*Glavnoe obshchestvo rossiiskikh zheleznikh dorog*). Von Stieglitz was an eminent Russian financier and industrialist who had inherited the Stieglitz & Co. banking house in 1843 and succeeded his father

330 The zigzag pattern appears only once in publications on the Alhambra, namely in blue and white on a plate by Owen Jones; see Gourey/Jones 1845, Plate XXVII. It is also represented in black and white in some of Aleksandr Krakau's drawings.

331 For more on this topic see especially Künzl 1984 and several articles in Giese/Varela Braga 2018.

332 For Krakau's biography and a list of his works see Kondakov 1915, 345–346; Kirikov/Ginzburg 1996, 175–176; Isachenko et al. 1998, 1003.



174 Villa Stieglitz, St. Petersburg, neo-Moorish dining room, Aleksandr Krakau, 1859–1862.



175 Luigi Premazzi, Dining room in the Villa of Alexander von Stieglitz, 1871, watercolor and gouache on paper, 39.9 × 54.9 cm. GE, OR-44610.



176 Villa Stieglitz, St. Petersburg, spandrel in the neo-Moorish dining room, Aleksandr Krakau, 1859–1862.



177 Aleksandr Krakau, *Arch in the Court of the Lions* (detail), ca. 1849, ink and watercolor on paper, 73 × 49.3 cm. NIMRAKh, A-25193.

as the Tsar’s banker.³³³ Aleksandr Krakau designed several buildings for him, including his luxurious St. Petersburg mansion at 68 English Embankment from 1859 to 1862. While the façade facing the Neva River is reminiscent of an Italian palazzo, the interiors are designed in various styles. Here Krakau realized what might be his only neo-Moorish work: a dining room reserved for festive suppers (*Stolovaia dlia uzhinov*; Cat. no. 12) adjoining the ballroom on the second floor (Fig. 173).³³⁴ The neo-Moorish stucco decoration is still preserved but has been painted over in white (Fig. 174). Fortunately a watercolor by Luigi Premazzi (1814–1891) testifies to its original appearance (Fig. 175).³³⁵

The long narrow hall is partitioned into three segments by two ceiling beams and is lit by six large arched windows on each side. The original red, blue, white, and gold coloring of the stucco decoration is clearly visible in Premazzi’s watercolor, as are the curtains above the windows and their neo-Moorish pelmets, which are now missing. Also absent are the three large lusters, each of which hung from a muqarnaṣ dome framed by an octagonal star. The remaining stucco decoration consists mainly of two designs covering the wall surfaces, a few geometric and vegetal friezes, the ornamented spandrels of the arched windows, and a muqarnaṣ frieze running along the top of the wall and along the beams on decorative corbels.

Comparison of these elements with Krakau’s drawings of the Alhambra confirms that the architect used them as templates. The decoration of the ornamented window spandrels, for example, is derived from an arch in the Court of the Lions that Krakau documented in Granada (Figs 176–178). Although Owen Jones had published the same motif earlier,³³⁶ it seems more likely that Krakau used his own drawing as a model, since it is more precise than Jones’s chromolithograph, and his use of shading shows the three-dimensionality of the central circular motif.

Among Krakau’s drawings are templates for almost all of the decorations in the dining room, as two further examples illustrate. Krakau had thoroughly analyzed a corbel placed over half-columns in the Court of the Lions and adopted it, with modifications, for the interior

333 For Stieglitz’s biography see *Imperatorskoe Russkoe Istoricheskoe Obshchestvo* 1911, 425–427.

334 Two other smaller dining rooms were located on the same floor (northeast of the stairs) and on the first floor.

335 Premazzi’s watercolors of the Villa Stieglitz were shown at the IAKh’s 1872 annual exhibition. The high quality of the graphic representation was praised, architects were assured that even without access to the building they would be able to experience the premises on the basis of these drawings and learn from them; see *Zodchii*, no. 5, 1872, 74.

336 See Gourey/Jones 1842, Plate XXXI.



178 Alhambra, Granada, spandrel in the Court of the Lions, fourteenth century.

in St. Petersburg.³³⁷ Likewise, a narrow frieze in the Hall of the Beds in the Comares Palace ḥammām, of which the architect had made a rubbing, found its application in the stucco decoration of the Villa Stieglitz (Figs 179 and 180). Only the two decorations covering the larger wall surfaces cannot be found among Krakau's drawings; in this case he may have consulted Owen Jones's plates (Figs 181 and 182).

In St. Petersburg the neo-Moorish style was mostly used for smoking rooms, cabinets, boudoirs, and living rooms; that is, for smaller and more intimate spaces than the large, semi-official hall in the Villa Stieglitz.³³⁸ It is possible that the unusual commission of a festive neo-Moorish dining room was inspired by an extraordinary German example. The architect Ludwig von Zanth (1796–1857) had built an Orientalizing palace ensemble in Stuttgart Bad-Cannstatt, the *Wilhelma*, for Wilhelm I von Württemberg (1781–1864) in the years 1842–1853.³³⁹ Its first completed building, the “Moorish Country-house” (*Maurisches Landhaus*), a residential edifice with a domed hall and two adjoining greenhouses, was inau-

gurated on September 30, 1846 on the occasion of the arrival of the newly-wed Crown Prince Karl (1823–1891) and Olga Nikolaevna (1822–1892), the daughter of Tsar Nicholas I.³⁴⁰ Eleven years later, in September 1857, a meeting between Napoleon III and Alexander II lasting several days took place at the *Wilhelma* by invitation of Wilhelm I: with the conclusion of the Crimean War, the two opposing monarchs were interested in diplomatic talks. It was during this event that Ludwig von Zanth was decorated by Tsar Alexander II:

The monarchs, surprised and delighted with the magnificence and taste of the fairy scene by which they were surrounded, and by the style of art recalling the fabled and gorgeous scenes of the Eastern Caliphs, rather than the court of a German King, eagerly enquired to whose skill and imagination their host was indebted for the exquisite and varied architecture around them. They learned that it was Herr Zanth, and that he lay at that moment on his bed of sickness. The Emperor of Russia, anxious to express his satis-

337 See NIMRAKh, A-25207 and A-25208.

338 Similar neo-Moorish dining rooms existed in palaces and hotels in other countries, for example in the former al-Ğazīra Palace, today the Marriott Hotel in Cairo, architect Carl von Diebitsch, 1863/64; in the former Hotel National, today Hotel Schweizerhof in Zurich, architects Heinrich Honegger-Näf and Julius Bosshard, 1881 (not preserved), and in the Hotel Halm in Constance, Germany, architect Otto Tafel, 1887/88.

339 For Zanth and the *Wilhelma* see Schulz 1976; Koppelkamm 1987, 64–75; Röder/Wenger 2012; Wenger 2012. The king had stipulated the use of “Moorish” architectural elements (see Zanth 1855, VI), by which he understood references to the architecture of the Islamic world in general, in which he had been interested for some time. In 1840/41 he sent his stablemaster and chamberlain Wilhelm von Taubenheim (1805–1894), court painter Friedrich Frisch (1813–1886), and physician Karl Bopp (1817–1847) on an expedition to Constantinople, Beirut, Jerusalem, and Cairo, which was joined by the writer Friedrich Wilhelm Hackländer (1816–1877). The group's task was not only to acquire valuable horses but also to collect information about Islamic architecture and art. For Frisch's lithographs of this journey see Frisch 1843.

340 During the festivities, a battle was enacted between crusaders and Saracens that ended with a reconciliation. Part of the riding hall at Neckarstrasse was transformed into a decaying Moorish castle for this event; see Koppelkamm 1987, 72, 75.



179 Aleksandr Krakau, *Detail of window frame in the Hall of the Beds*, ca. 1849, pencil and watercolor on paper, 114 × ca. 32 cm. NIMRAKh, A-25219.



180 Villa Stieglitz, St. Petersburg, frieze in the neo-Moorish dining room, Aleksandr Krakau, 1859–1862.



181 Villa Stieglitz, St. Petersburg, detail of a stucco decoration in the neo-Moorish dining room, Aleksandr Krakau, 1859–1862.



182 Jules Goury and Owen Jones, *Ornament in panels on the walls, Court of the Mosque*, from idem., *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*, Vol. 2, London: Owen Jones, 1845, pl. XX, no. 32.

faction with the artist, sent Prince Gortschakoff at once to the bed-side of poor Zanth to present him with the decoration of Commander of the Order of Stanislaus, and the Prince himself attached to the breast of the sick artist the ribbon and cross of the Order, accompanying the act with the gracious and touching expression of admiration, which the Emperor had uttered. Zanth was on his death bed, but this act of kind consideration soothed the last moments of one, whose devotion to his art and amiable disposition had endeared him to all who knew him.³⁴¹

Zanth died on October 7, 1857. His series of ten colored lithographs of the *Wilhelma*, published in 1855, includes a view of the banqueting hall in the ceremonial building that was the centerpiece of the grounds,³⁴² photographs of the banqueting hall also survive (Fig. 183). Although this hall, inaugurated in 1851 and intended to “reproduce the splendor of the lushest Moorish buildings,”³⁴³ was much larger and more complex in design than the dining room in St. Petersburg, there are similar-

ities between the two. Both were used for festive events and featured similar architectural and decorative elements, such as the ornate ceiling beams mounted on columns or half-columns at either end over corbels.

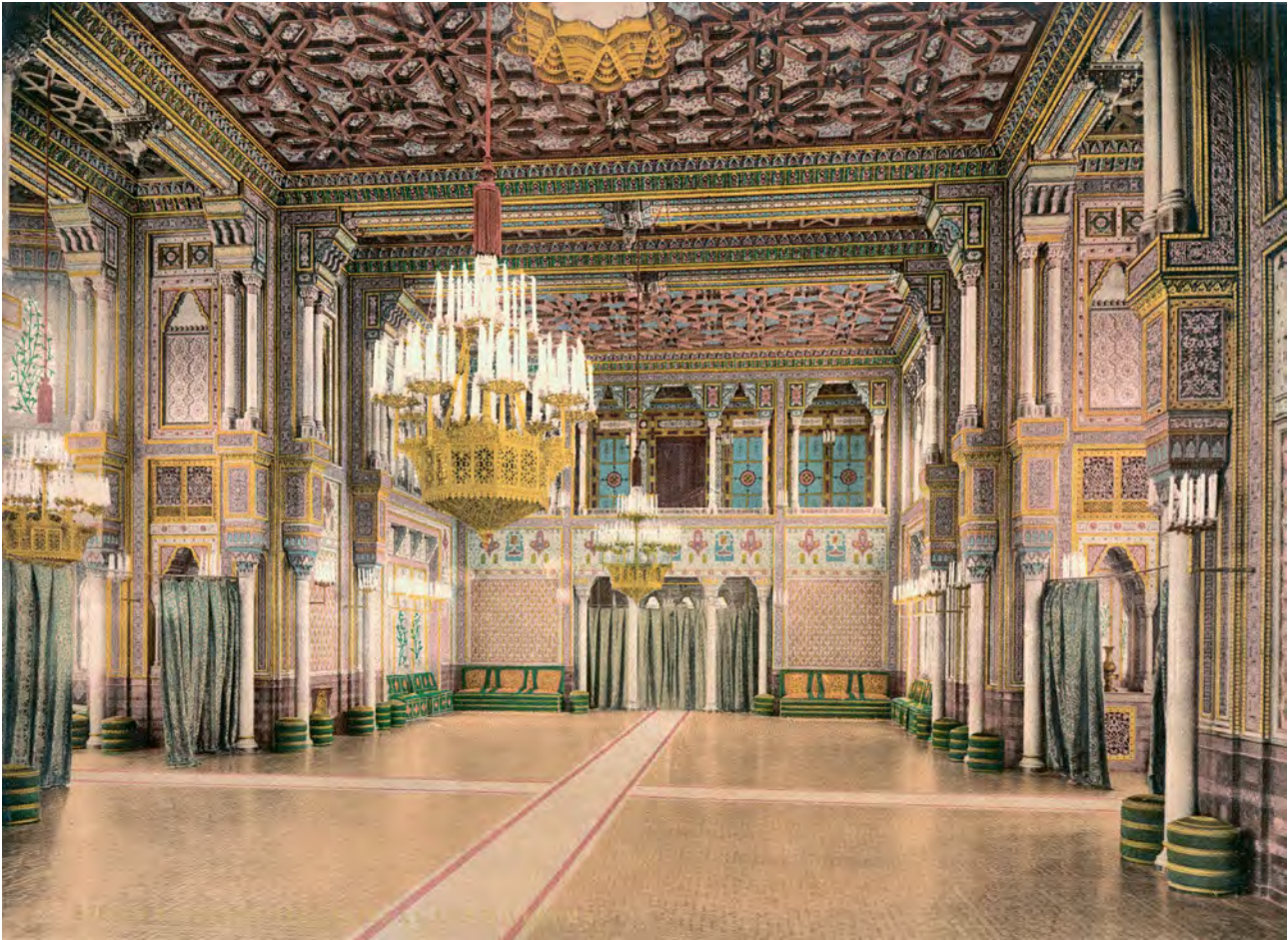
Ludwig von Zanth had never traveled to Spain and must have used illustrated publications on Islamic architecture for guidance in his design for the *Wilhelma*.³⁴⁴ Although he based the interior decorations mainly on a simplified architectural vocabulary of the Alhambra, he

³⁴¹ Donaldson 1858, 18.

³⁴² See Zanth 1855, Plate VIII.

³⁴³ “[...] *die Pracht der reichsten maurischen Bauwerke wiedergeben sollte*”, Zanth 1855, text to Plate VIII. The building was severely damaged during World War II and its ruins were demolished in 1961, except for the part of the building that housed the main entrance.

³⁴⁴ Zanth had encountered Islamic architectural forms on an extensive study trip to Sicily, where in the early 1820s, together with Jakob Ignaz Hittorff (1792–1867) he documented ancient monuments and their original polychromy based on the remains of



183 Banqueting Hall of the Wilhelma in Cannstatt, ca. 1890/1900, photomechanical print, 16.6 × 22.2 cm.

also included elements of Ottoman and Mamlūk architecture as well as his own designs, creating a synthesis of different Islamic architectural traditions. Aleksandr Krakau’s decorations, on the other hand, are solely inspired by the Alhambra and are much more authentic than Zanth’s; however, they are arranged in an interior whose structure completely follows contemporary European conventions. A single non-authentic neo-Moorish element is located on the southeast side of the room where a large mirror hangs between two doors. The oval panels above these doors are a free interpretation of the stucco decoration of the Alhambra and include three cartouches with inscriptions (Fig. 184). While the top and bottom inscriptions appear to be in pseudo-Arabic script, the central inscription reproduces half of verse 53 of *Surah an-Nahl*, the sixteenth sura of the Quran, perhaps explicitly chosen by Alexander von Stieglitz: “And

whatever you have of favor – it is from God” (*Wa-mā bikum min ni‘matin fa-mina llāhi*).

This interior is St. Petersburg’s earliest known example exemplifying how an architect used his direct knowledge of the Alhambra in a design. It has not been possible to clarify conclusively whether it was created at the request of Alexander von Stieglitz in view of Zanth’s publication, or at the architect’s suggestion. However, Tsar Nicholas I and Alexander II’s family ties to Württemberg indicate that the Russian upper classes had at least heard of the Wilhelma.

Alexander von Stieglitz not only made a brilliant career and became the first governor of the State Bank of the Russian Empire in 1860, a post from which he resigned in 1866; he was also an ardent patron and lover of the arts. He founded the St. Petersburg Central School of Technical Drawing (*Tsentral’noe uchilishche tekhniki*).



184 Villa Stieglitz, St. Petersburg, detail of a stucco decoration in the neo-Moorish dining room, Aleksandr Krakau, 1859–1862.

cheskogo risovaniia) in 1876, and two years later an affiliated arts and crafts museum and a library, both of which still exist today.³⁴⁵ In the nineteenth century artists were trained there in arts and crafts for industry, and as drawing teachers for secondary schools. Aleksandr Krakau built the first school building at 13 Solyarnoy Lane in collaboration with Robert Giodike (Robert Gödicke, 1829–1910) between 1878 and 1881; the adjacent museum was built between 1885 and 1896 by the school’s first director, Maximilian Messmacher (Maksimilian Mesmakher, 1842–1906), who also remodeled some of the rooms in the Villa Stieglitz in the late 1880s after its acquisition by the Imperial Court for Grand Duke Pavel Aleksandrovich following Stieglitz’s death.

4.8 Use of the Neo-Moorish Style and the Diversity of Orientalizing Styles

The rise of historicism was responsible for the establishment of a wide repertoire of architectural styles by the mid-nineteenth century. The neo-Moorish style was just one of the various Orientalizing styles applied in St. Pe-

tersburg between 1845 and 1865. Turkish-style interiors and pavilions were also common (see Chapter 2), as were Orientalizing buildings and interiors whose appearance could not be ascribed to any single Islamic tradition or featured an eclectic mix of styles (see for example Cat. nos 8 and 13). The 1859/60 architectural competition for the renovation of Empress Maria Aleksandrovna’s (1824–1880) Golden Living Room at the Winter Palace (architect Aleksandr Briullov, 1841) is an example of the wide stylistic range of the time: the drafts by Ippolito Mognetti (Fig. 185), Ivan Gornostaev (1821–1874), and Nikolai Briullov (Fig. 186), none of which were realized, allude to Nasrid, Ottoman, and Mughal architecture.³⁴⁶

This diversity must be seen in the context of parallel cultural and political evolutions. In addition to confrontations with the Ottoman Empire, Russia was competing with Great Britain for power in Central Asia. The first world exhibitions, held in London (1851 and 1862) and Paris (1855), marked the beginning of a series of exhibitions that became important venues for conveying images of the Orient.³⁴⁷ Various publications on Islamic art and architecture were available, and Islamic ornaments were now integrated into ornamental encyclopedias such as Owen Jones’s *Grammar of Ornament* (1856), in which he gave examples of “Arabic, Turkish, Moresque, Persian, and Indian” ornaments.³⁴⁸ At the same time Russia’s His-

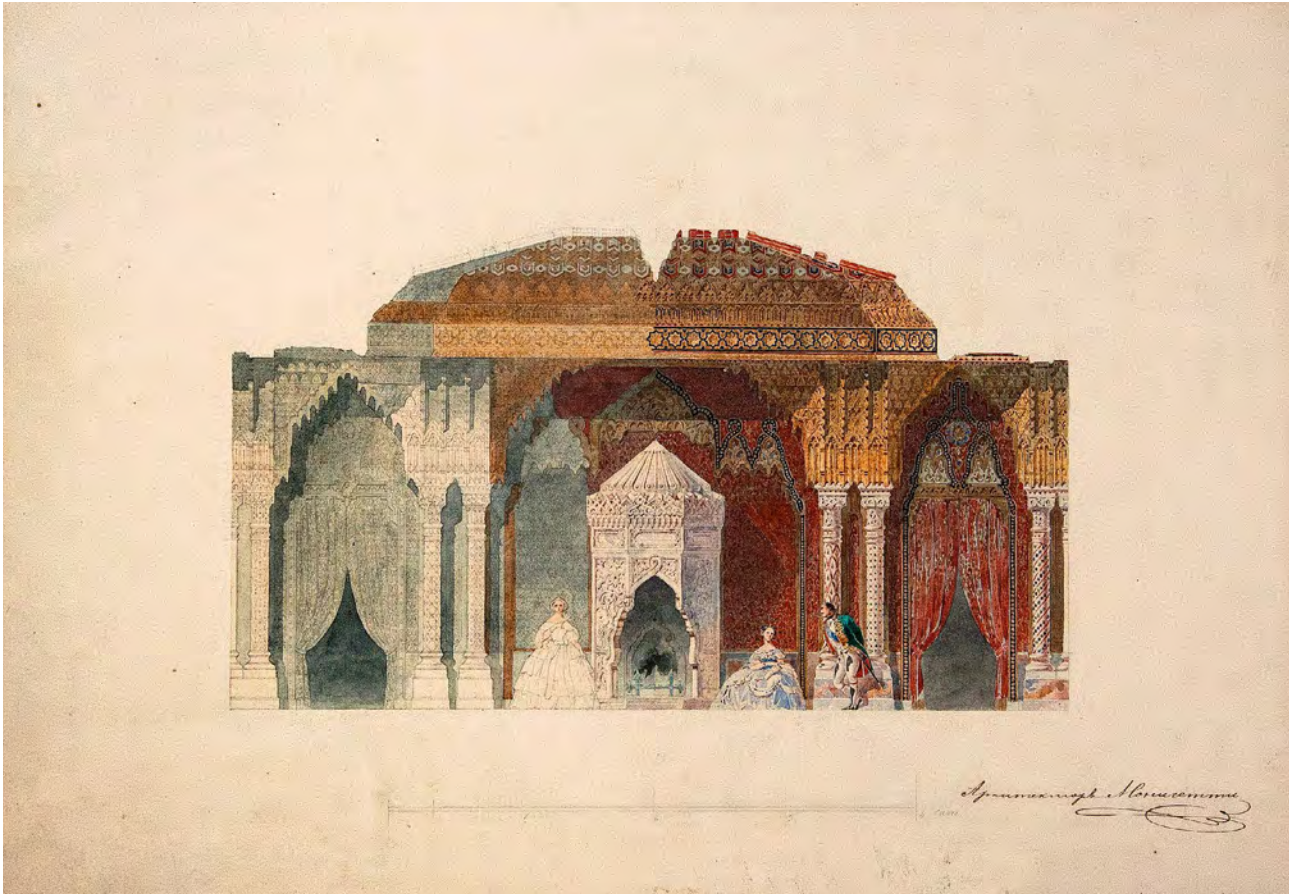
painter decorated interiors with colorful, polychrome painted decorations. Their publication *Architecture antique de la Sicile*, which for the first time challenged the ideal of white purity in classical art and architecture propagated by Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768), sparked an international debate and a growing interest in color; see Hittorff/Zanth 1827 as also Zanten 1977, 1982; Middleton 1982; Guilmeau-Shala 2011. A few years later Hittorff and Zanth published a volume on the architecture of Sicily from the sixteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century, see Hittorff/Zanth 1835.

³⁴⁵ After several name changes the school was renamed in 2006 the Saint Petersburg Stieglitz State Academy of Art and Design (*Sankt-Peterburgskaia gosudarstvennaia khudozhestvenno-promyshlennaia akademiia imeni A. L. Shtiglitsa*), in honor of its founder.

³⁴⁶ See Listov 1976, 77–78; Andreeva 2014, 33, 35; for the drafts by Gornostaev and Briullov, NIMRAKh, A-11831, and GE, OR-18815.

³⁴⁷ See Çelik 1992; Aimone/Olmo 1993; Demeulnaere-Douyère 2010; Carré et al. 2012.

³⁴⁸ See Jones 1856; Varela Braga 2017c.



185 Ippolito Monighetti, Project for a new living room at the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg, 1859/60, watercolor on paper, 46 × 64.5 cm. NIMRAKh, A-7006.

panophilia (briefly discussed in Chapter 3.2) was still so pronounced in the mid-nineteenth century that Koz'ma Prutkov satirized it in a poem entitled *The desire to be a Spaniard* (*Zhelanie byt' ispantsem*, 1854).³⁴⁹ The first verse explicitly mentions the Alhambra: "It is quiet in the Alhambra/The whole of nature sleeps",³⁵⁰ while the following verses focus on various Spanish motifs and stereotypes associated with Spain at the time.³⁵¹

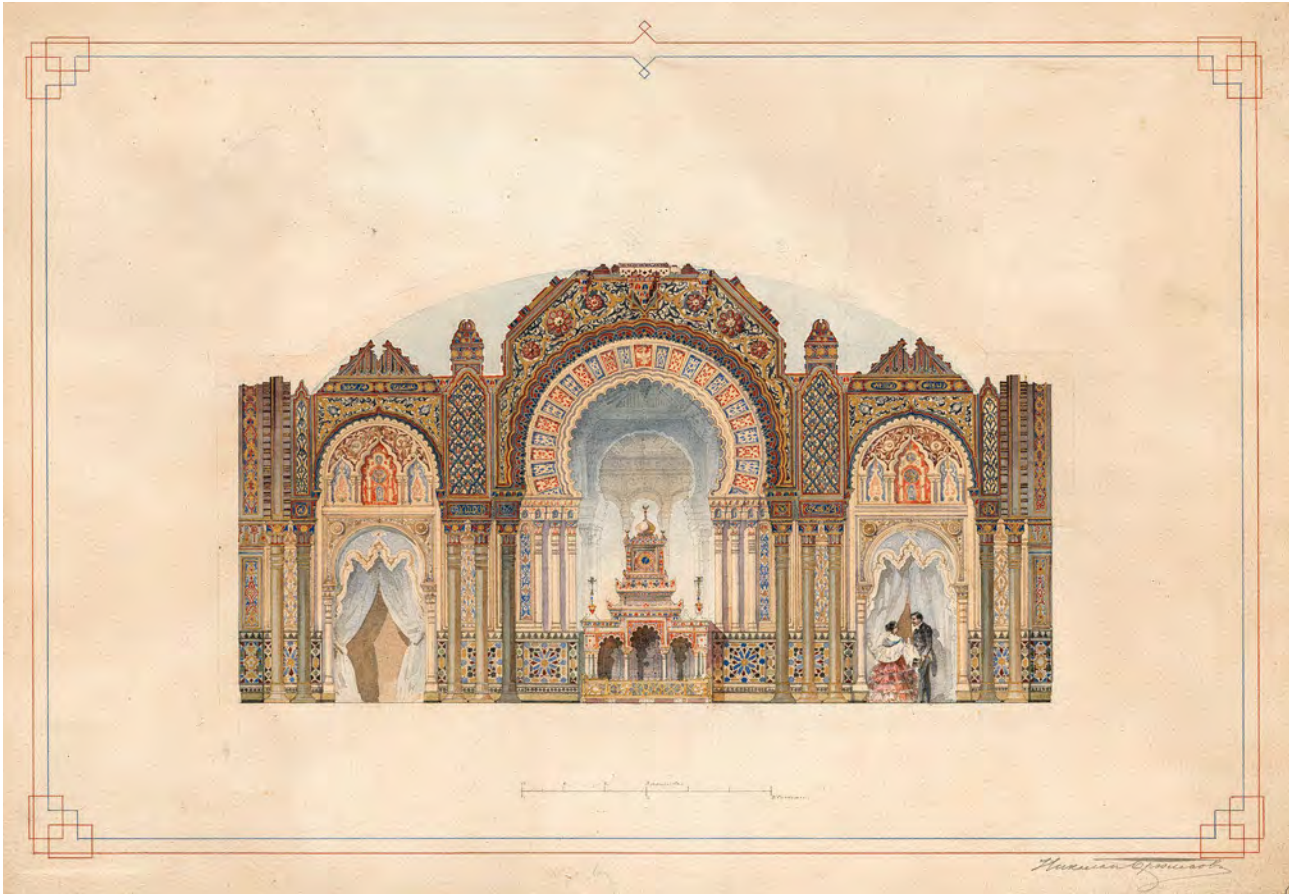
While the few Orientalizing interiors created in the first phase of Russian Alhambrismo (1830–1845) were all inspired by publications about the Alhambra, in the second phase (1845–1865) several Russian architects made the meticulous analysis of Granada's monuments a major priority. This inclination was not solely rooted in personal preferences and tastes: the Council of the Imperial Academy of Arts had obliged Pavel Notbek, for example, to study the Islamic heritage of Spain during his journey

abroad (see Chapter 4.3). A first result of such studies in situ is evident in the decoration of the neo-Moorish dining room at the Villa Stieglitz (Cat. no. 12), for which Aleksandr Krakau used his own drawings as models. Moreover, Alhambresque interiors could now be inspired not only by the decorations at the Alhambra itself, but also by contemporary neo-Moorish buildings such as the Wilhelma in Stuttgart. Ludwig von Zanth's publi-

349 Koz'ma Prutkov was a pseudonym for a collective of four authors: Aleksei Tolstoi (1817–1875) and his cousins Aleksei, Vladimir, and Aleksandr Zhemchuzhnikov.

350 "Тихо над Альгамброй. Дремлет вся натура", Kozma Prutkov, *The desire to be a Spaniard*, in *The Contemporary* (*Sovremennik*), no. 2, 1854.

351 These included, for example, the Inquisition, Spanish music (guitars and castanets), toreros, tobacco, mantillas, beautiful Spanish women, and balconies where these women could be seen.



186 Nikolai Briullov, Project for a new living room at the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg, 1859/60, ink and watercolor on paper, 41 × 57.4 cm. NIMRAKh, A-17815.

cation on this palace complex may have been decisive in not only the furnishing of the Villa Stieglitz dining room but possibly also that of the chapel in the Bariatinskii Mansion, especially since the architects Bosse and Krakau had German ancestors and were probably well-informed about contemporary architecture in German-speaking countries.

It is noteworthy that the neo-Moorish style was adopted for interiors with very different functions around 1860. Its use in Baron Alexander von Stieglitz's dining room was an unusual choice, and although the style was commonly applied in Russia to rooms with an intimate setting, it is nevertheless surprising that it found its way into an Orthodox chapel.

Architects' trips to Granada in the 1850s and 1860s and their resulting drawings, plaster casts, and models, whose acquisition made the Museum of the Imperial

Academy of Arts's Alhambra collection increasingly bigger, were of great importance for the Moorish Revival in St. Petersburg. The neo-Moorish style soon became an integral part of Russian architects' canon. In the third phase of Alhambrisimo in St. Petersburg, described in the next chapter, it clearly prevailed over all other Orientalizing styles.

5. Popularity of the Neo-Moorish Style, 1865–1917

The third phase of Russian Alhambrismo spanned from about 1865 to the 1917 October Revolution, during which the neo-Moorish style, now an essential part of the repertoire of St. Petersburg’s architects, was regularly applied. Although fifty years is a considerable time, by 1865 the necessary foundations had been laid for the style to succeed, and over the next decades nothing occurred to significantly change them.

This chapter first considers the relevance of Islamic architecture in the education of architects in St. Petersburg and how the Alhambra was received in Russia during this period, before discussing three of the most interesting case studies from that time. As many neo-Moorish interiors were created between 1865 and 1917 (see Cat. nos 14–42), the last section briefly describes some further outstanding interiors.

5.1 Knowledge and Reception of the Alhambra in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century

The architects who began working around 1865 knew more about Islamic architecture than most of their predecessors. An Imperial Academy of Arts syllabus for its Art History course in the early 1860s lists forty topics, one of which addresses Islamic art in Persia, Egypt, Spain, and Turkey and includes an introduction to Islam, the habits of Muslims and their dwellings and dress.¹ A course in art history planned for the years 1861 to 1866 included 122 lectures, of which ten were dedicated to Islamic art, with seven general lectures on Islamic art followed by one each on “Indo-Islamic”, “Persian-Islamic”, and “Turkish” architecture.² Another course in 1864 included six lessons on Islamic art, one of which focused

on painting and sculpture in the Alhambra.³ This confirms that Islamic art and architecture were still part of future architects’ basic education, and that the differentiation of the various styles had progressed as a result of the systematic exploration of Islamic architecture in the nineteenth century. Further important publications on Islamic art and architecture were published in the second half of the century, often with colored illustrations, including Pascal Coste’s *Monuments modernes de la Perse* (1867); Jules Bourgoïn’s *Les Arts arabes. Architecture* (1867–1873) and *Les éléments de l’art arabe. Le trait des entrelacs* (1879); Léon Parvillée’s *Architecture et décoration Turques au XVe siècle* (1874); and Émile Prisse d’Avennes’s comprehensive *L’Art arabe d’après les monuments du Kaire* (1869–1877).⁴ New encyclopedias of ornamentation were printed such as Albert Racinet’s *L’ornement polychrome* (1869–1873) and Nikolai Lorents’s *Ornaments of All Times and Styles* (*Ornament vsekh vremion i stilei*, 1898).⁵ However, these books did not contain new information about the Alhambra: Lorents, for example, used several of Owen Jones’s illustrations for one of his plates on “Moorish art” (*Mavritanskaia iskusstvo*).⁶ A further sixteen informative plates on the Alhambra were published in *Monumentos arquitectónicos de España* (1856–1881; Fig. 111), while Constantin Uhde’s *Baudenkmäler in Spanien und Portugal* (1892) was the first book to contain photographs of the Alhambra.⁷ Nev-

1 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 3 1861, d. 168, l. 10.

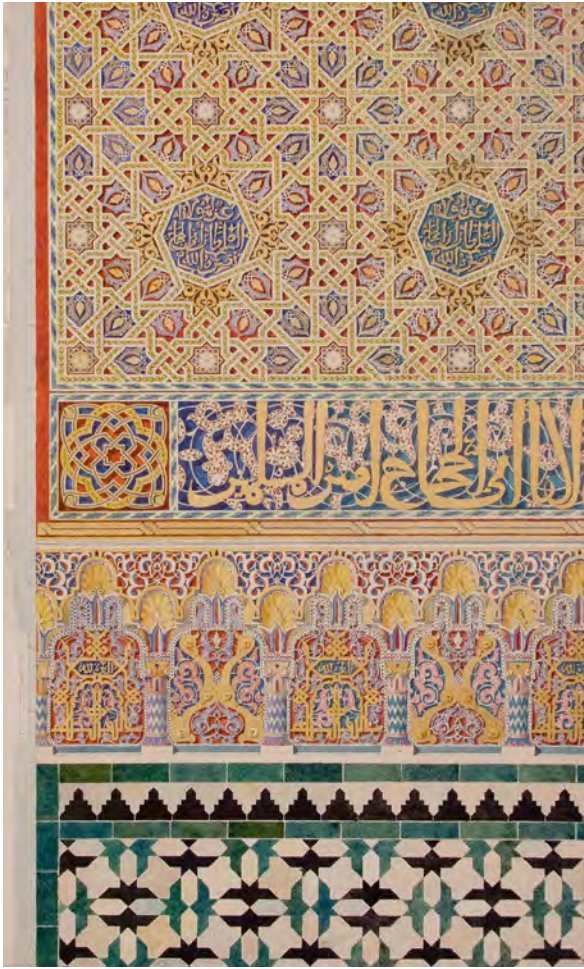
2 See RGIA, f. 789, op. 3 1861, d. 168, l. 85–86.

3 “[...] живопись и скульптура в Альгамбре”, RGIA, f. 789, op. 3 1861, d. 168, l. 100.

4 See Coste 1867; Bourgoïn 1873, 1879; Parvillée 1874; Prisse d’Avennes 1877.

5 See Racinet 1873; Lorents 1898.

6 See Lorents 1898, Plate 29.



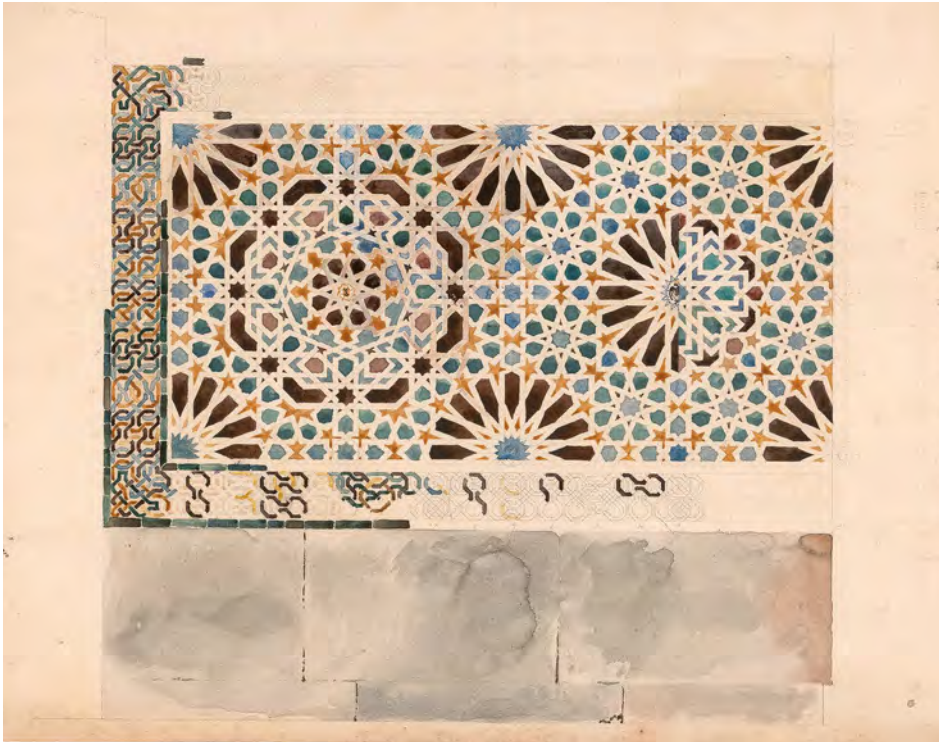
187 Viktor Kossov, Alicatados and stucco panels in the Hall of the Ambassadors, Comares Palace, ca. 1870, ink and watercolor on paper, 45.8 × 27.5 cm. NIMRAKh, A-10292.

ertheless, the Alhambra publications mentioned in Chapter 3 and the architects' studies in Granada discussed in Chapter 4, which had generated deeper knowledge of the architecture and decorative details of the Nasrid palaces, were more important than these later publications for the production of neo-Moorish interiors in this third phase of Russian Alhambrismo.⁸

The conditions of the pensionerstvo gradually changed during this period. Due to a lack of funding fewer artists received grants, and architects' paid stay abroad was shortened to four years in the early 1860s.⁹ The importance of their final project, which had to be submitted in St. Petersburg in the last year, decreased. Many artists would have liked to stay abroad for longer, but their requests for an extension were refused and such

applications were not accepted from 1868 onwards.¹⁰ Due to these developments, the unstable political situation in Spain between 1868 and 1876, and the extensive material on the Alhambra from Aleksandr Krakau, Pavel Notbek, Karl Rakhau, and Karl Kol'man that was already available, no further Russian architect carried out in-depth studies of the Alhambra.¹¹ Still, Granada remained a pensionerstvo destination for young Russian architects, albeit for short stays only. Viktor Kossov (1840/41–1917),¹² Al'fred Parland (1842–1919),¹³ Foma Bogdanovich (1859–1920),¹⁴ Grigorii Kotov (1859–1942),¹⁵ Aleksei Trambitskii (1860–1922),¹⁶ Evgenii-Karl Bakh (born 1861),¹⁷ and Ger-

- 7 See Gil Dorregaray 1881; Uhde 1892.
- 8 The IAKh's 1901 catalogue lists all drawings and plans acquired for use in architectural classes between 1871 and 1901. Among these are more than 30 drawings of the Mosque in Córdoba and the Alhambra in Granada; see Imperatorskaia Akademiia Khudozhestv 1901.
- 9 The pensionery also complained about the small amount of the scholarship award, which around 1880 was still 300 chervonets, the same as fifty years earlier.
- 10 See Serova 2008, 61.
- 11 Another reason was certainly the decision taken in the 1880s that the fourth and last year should be spent in the homeland studying a Russian monument.
- 12 The NIMRAKh holds drawings by Kossov from Granada, Toledo, and Seville, as well as an album of watercolors documenting his pensionerstvo (1867–1872). Kossov visited Granada in 1870; see Alekseeva et al. 2007, 184.
- 13 Parland visited Granada and Seville in the second half of the 1870s (see NIMRAKh, A-8769 and A-8774). Today he is best known for building the Church of The Savior on Blood (*Spas na Krovi*, 1883–1907) in St. Petersburg on the spot where Alexander II was fatally wounded in 1881.
- 14 Bogdanovich was in Spain for some months in 1887, "studying the Moorish style in the south" ("изучая мавританский стиль на юге", RGIA, f. 789, op. 10 1879, d. 155, l. 47) in Toledo, Granada, and Córdoba; see Gavrichkov 1993, 83; Alekseeva et al. 2007, 157–163. The NIMRAKh holds no drawings of the Alhambra by Bogdanovich.
- 15 Kotov was abroad between 1883 and 1887 and visited Spain in 1886; see Gavrichkov 1993, 25–26, 97–98.
- 16 Trambitskii's eastern façade of the Mosque of Córdoba is his only known painting depicting Islamic architecture (see NIMRAKh, A-7567). He was abroad around 1883–1887 and visited Córdoba in 1887; see Kondakov 1915, 398; Alekseeva et al. 2007, 224–228.
- 17 The NIMRAKh holds no drawings of the Alhambra by Bakh, who visited Granada probably in 1893; see Gavrichkov 1993, 81; RGIA, f. 789, op. 11 1881, d. 128, l. 52–53.



188 Grigorii Kotov, Alicatados in the Mexuar oratory, the Alhambra, 1886, pencil and watercolor on paper, 31.6 × 43.6 cm. NIMRAKh, A-12420.

man Grimm (1865–1942)¹⁸ visited Spain and the former al-Andalus between 1870 and the early 1890s, yet there is no evidence that any of these architects used the neo-Moorish style in their work. Kossov, Kotov, and Grimm’s drawings of the Alhambra stand out among the works of these pensionery. Kossov and Kotov recorded the alicatados and yeserías at the Alhambra in detailed watercolor drawings (Figs 187 and 188), and Kotov moreover drew several armaduras and a vault in the ḥammām. Grimm’s drawings in particular include various techniques that he chose according to the purpose of each drawing, including watercolor studies, pencil sketches, and ground plans drawn with ink and a ruler (Figs 189 and 190). His large-format colored drawing of a wall in the Mirador de Lindaraja is particularly impressive (Fig. 191): at first sight it appears to be a copy of a plate from the book *Monumentos arquitectónicos de España*, but, as Grimm reproduced some details more accurately than the plate and the coloring of his drawing corresponds to that at the Mirador de Lindaraja, it must have been made from observation on site.¹⁹ Little is known about how the pensionery’s works were used in classes at the Imperial Academy of Arts. The NIMRAKh

collection includes a single drawing of a Nasrid capital by a student named Mol’ner, who probably sketched it after a plaster cast from the Academy’s collection.²⁰

Besides the pensionery, many Russian travelers visited Spain in the second half of the nineteenth century. On his way to Granada the writer Evgenii Salias de Tournemir (1840–1908) read Washington Irving, Théophile Gautier, and Vasilii Botkin’s accounts of Spain and the Alhambra, and later reflected them in his literary sketches about his journey across the Iberian peninsula in the mid-1860s.²¹ With the onset of tourism, Russians from different social strata traveled to Spain and many travelogues were printed, especially in the 1880s.²² In

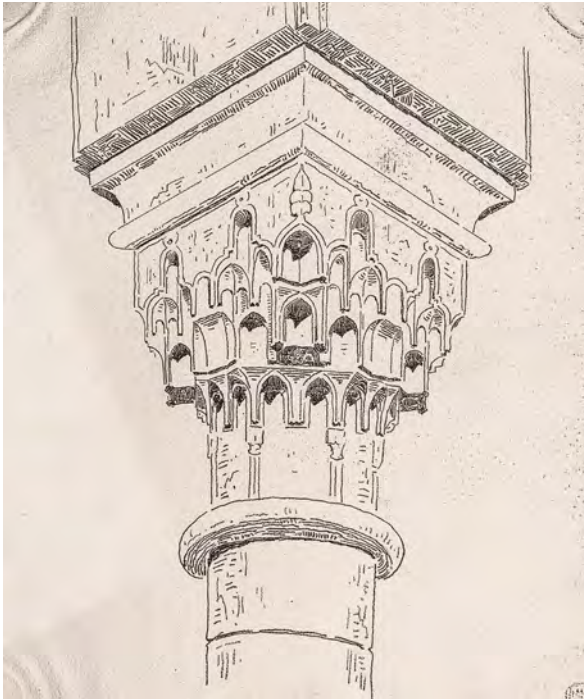
18 Grimm was abroad between 1890 and 1894 and visited Granada and Córdoba in 1894; see Alekseeva et al. 2003, 119–122; Alekseeva et al. 2007, 168–174.

19 See the Plate *Interior del Gabinete de Lindaraja* in Gil Dorregaray 1881. A similar drawing with slight differences to both Grimm’s drawing and the plate in the *Monumentos arquitectónicos*, was made by Iulii Diutel’ (see NIMRAKh, A-7574).

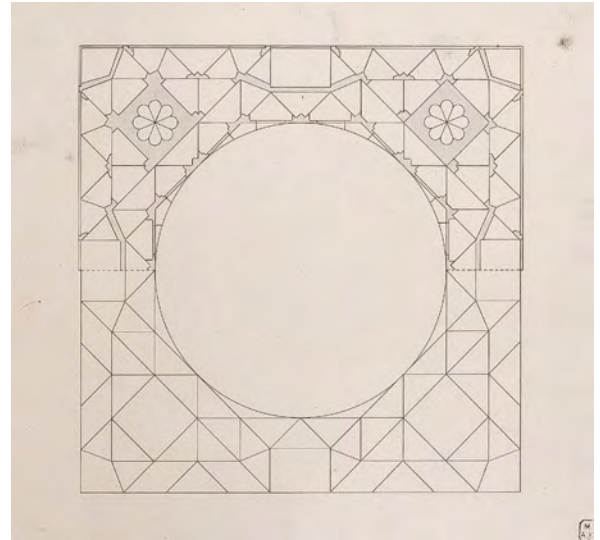
20 See NIMRAKh, A-7585 and S-1905.

21 See Kataeva-Miakinen 1999, 50–63.

22 Valentina Gin’ko (2012) has published many excerpts from such accounts.



189 German Grimm, Capital with muqarnas, the Alhambra, 1894, pencil on paper, 26.7 × 21.8 cm. NIMRAKh, A-13984.



190 German Grimm, Ground plan of a capital, the Alhambra, 1894, ink on paper, 26.7 × 29.3 cm. NIMRAKh, A-13985.

1884, for example, the publicist Daniil Mordovtsev (1830–1905) published the report *Around Spain (Po Ispanii)*, in which he draws parallels between Spain and Russia and, in view of Granada’s vegetation, recalls that of Siberia and the Caucasus, whose beauty he passionately describes.²³ Until the end of the nineteenth century, descriptions of Spain continued to depict it as a romantic and even fairy-tale country that, in contrast to the rest of Europe, was virtually part of the Orient.²⁴ With such glorification of Granada and the Alhambra in literature, travelers usually anticipated their arrival in the Andalusian city with excitement. “My heart suddenly began beating so wildly, it took my breath away. I was in Granada,” reports the writer Vasilii Sidorov (ca. 1843–1903) in 1892.²⁵ However, some travelers’ high expectations of the Alhambra were dashed: Grigorii de Vollan (1847–1916), a historian, diplomat, and journalist who visited Granada in 1886, wrote that knowing the Alhambra inside out already from his father’s stories and those of Irving and Botkin, he was surprised that his visit there did not impress him. He remained completely unmoved, even at the sight of the famous Court of the Lions.²⁶ Interestingly, he mentions a workshop (probably that of

Rafael Contreras) reproducing the Alhambra’s stucco decorations:

Leaving the Alhambra, I should mention the architectural workshop where the stucco decor of the Alhambra is reproduced. All you need is desire and a certain amount of filthy lucre, and the Patio de los Leones, los Hermanas, etc., will be executed on demand. Rejoice, bourgeois Europe! The Alhambra has now also become accessible to all purses, as the French say.²⁷

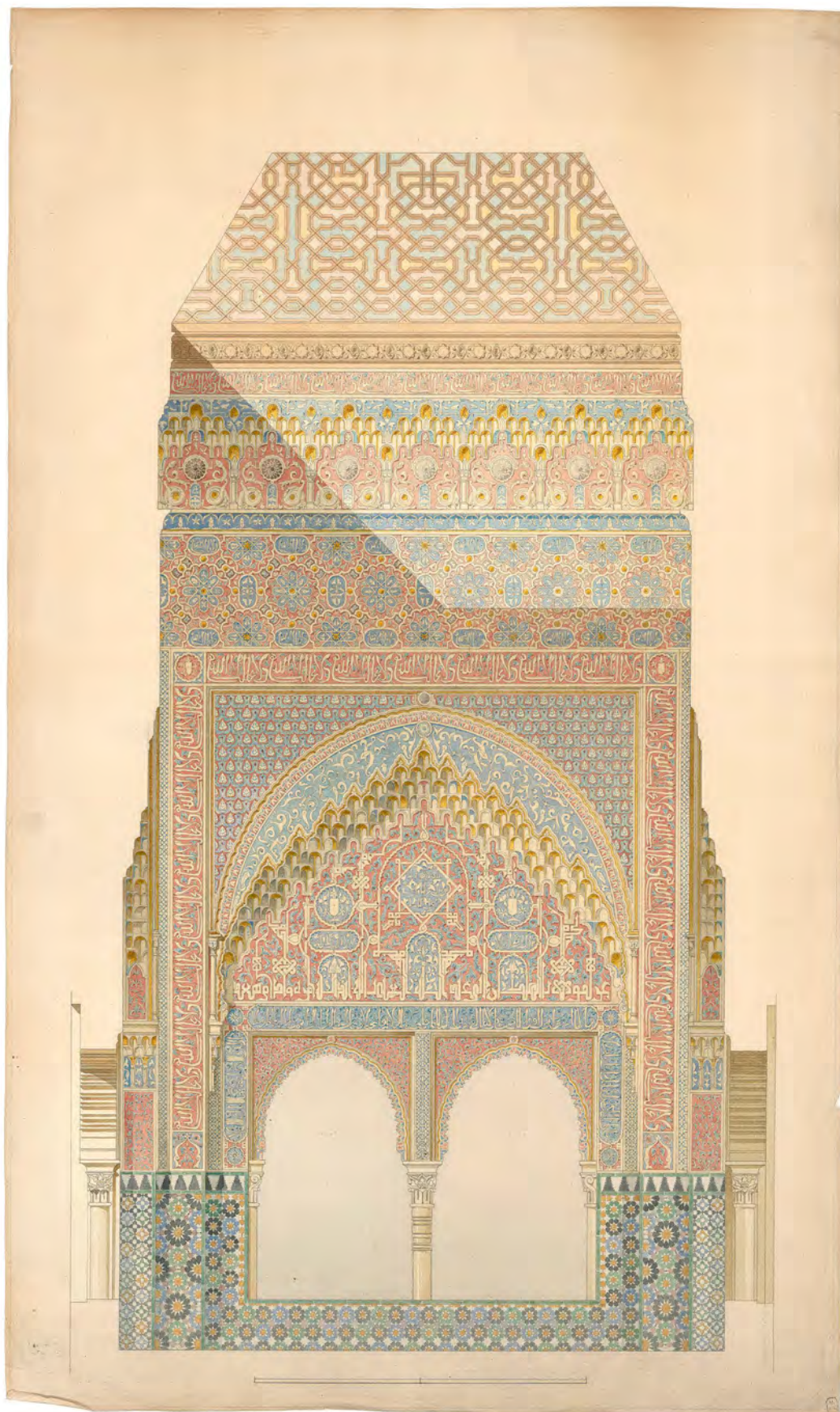
²³ See Mordovtsev 1884, 230–231; Kataeva-Miäkinen 1999, 63–75.

²⁴ See for example Tchikhatchev 1880, 1 and Gin’ko 2012, 15.

²⁵ “У меня вдруг забилося сердце так сильно, что дух захватило. Я был в Гранаде...”, Sidorov 1892, 150.

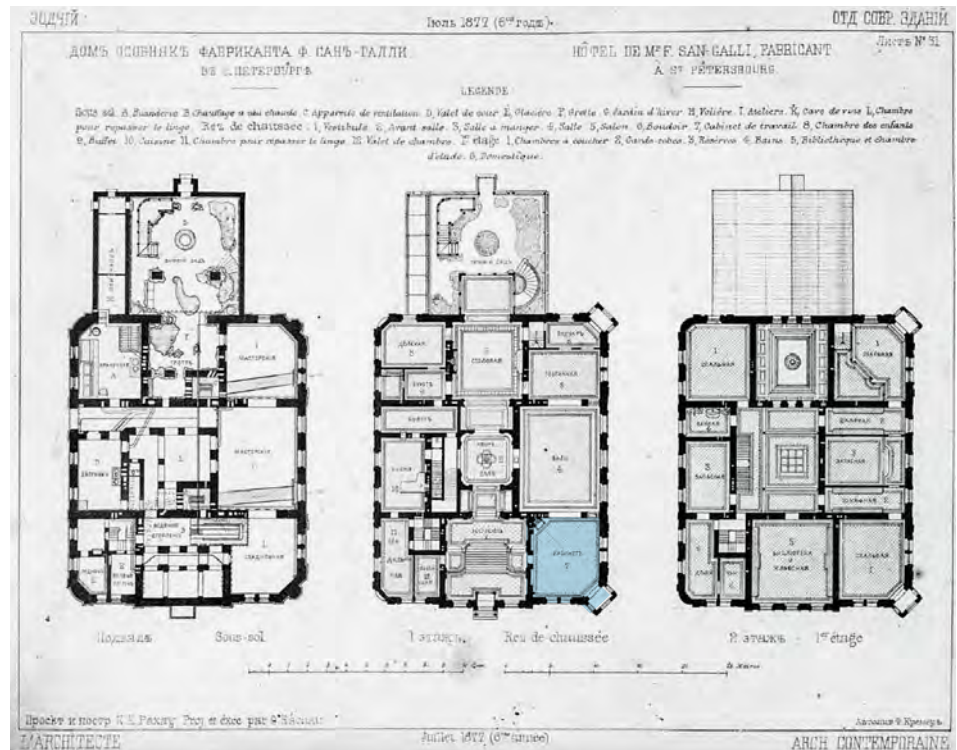
²⁶ See Vollan 1894, 57, 60–61.

²⁷ “Покидая Альгамбру, я должен упомянуть об архитектурной мастерской, где воспроизводятся лепные работы Альгамбры. Вам стоит только захотеть и приложить известное количество презренного металла, и по вашему заказу исполнят Patio de los Leones, los Hermanas и т.д. Радуйся, буржуазная Европа! И Альгамбра становится доступною для всяких кошелев, как говорят Французы”, Vollan 1894, 61–62.



191 German Grimm, Wall in the Mirador de Lindaraja, Palace of the Lions, probably 1894, ink and watercolor on paper, 98.6 × 61 cm. NIMRAKh, A-13912.

192 *Hôtel de Mr F. San-Galli, Fabricant à St. Pétersbourg* (cabinet highlighted in blue), from *Zodchii*, 1877, pl. 31.



5.2 The Neo-Moorish Cabinet at the Villa San-Galli

Architect Karl Rakhau, 1869–1872

Karl Rakhau, whose studies of the Alhambra are discussed in Chapter 4.4, authored an early example of a neo-Moorish interior in the third phase of Russian Alhambrimo. In 1869, a Russian entrepreneur of Prussian origin, Franz San-Galli (1824–1908) commissioned him to design a villa at 62 Ligovsky Avenue (Fig. 192).²⁸ As the journal *The Architect* (*Zodchii*) later describes it:

The façades are arranged in the shapes of the Italian Renaissance, which has been interpreted, however, freely and in a peculiar way, so that one might agree with the architect, who has said he was not looking for any style at all.²⁹

This statement, however, does not apply to Rakhau’s neo-Moorish cabinet inside the building, which has been preserved, although slightly modified (Fig. 193; Cat. no. 14).³⁰ Rakhau planned each detail of the villa: even the rugs and pillows for the neo-Moorish cabinet, manufac-

tured by members of the San-Galli family, were based on his drawings.³¹

Due to the loss of original furnishings and a few changes made in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the room, although mostly preserved in its original condition, can no longer be experienced as the Gesamtkunstwerk it was intended to be.³² It is particularly disturbing that the lower wall zone, originally painted in imitation of a tile mosaic (visible in Fig. 197),

28 Franz San-Galli had the luxury villa built next to his flourishing iron foundry. On San-Galli’s biography and his company see Smyshliaev 2007; for the villa see Krechmer 2012 and KGIOP, 294–2, 879P.

29 “Фасады сконструированы в формах итальянского ренессанса, трактованного, однако, свободно и своеобразно, так что можно согласиться с собственными словами автора, что он не искал никакого стиля”, *Zodchii*, no. 7, 1877, 66.

30 A drawing by Rakhau of the longitudinal section of the Villa San-Galli around 1869 shows a different version of the neo-Moorish cabinet to the one eventually executed; see NIMRAKH, A-23061.

31 See *Zodchii*, no. 7, 1877, 66 and no. 11/12, 1877, 114.

32 The original wooden floor no longer exists and access to the adjoining banquet hall has been sealed off.



193 Villa of Franz San-Galli, St. Petersburg, neo-Moorish cabinet, Karl Rakhau, 1869–1872.

was first painted over and later, in a 2005 restoration, covered by paneling.³³

The decoration of the cabinet alludes to that of the Nasrid palaces at the Alhambra, reflecting their wide range of decorative elements with neo-Nasrid columns, capitals and corbels, polylobed arches with ataurique-decorated spandrels, muqarnaṣ friezes, niches reminiscent of ṭāqas, transennae, inscriptions in Arabic letters and ornamented wall panels. As the previous chapters have already discussed the visual material that Rakhau might have used when designing this interior, only some of its distinctive features are discussed here.

The figurative paintings in the semicircular arches of the niches on either side of the entrance door, which show two peacocks facing one another (Fig. 194), are un-

usual for a neo-Moorish interior. The motif is not Nasrid but originates from a woven silk fabric produced in al-Andalus in the first half of the twelfth century, probably in Almería, whose main industry was textile manufacturing (Fig. 195).³⁴ Rakhau may have known the motif from Émile Prisse d’Avennes’s (1807–1879) *L’art arabe d’après les monuments du Kaire*, a publication that appeared as a continuous series beginning in 1869 and was published in four volumes in 1877.³⁵

33 The paneling is inspired by the design of the ceiling. The 2005 restoration was not agreed with the KGIOP; see Krechmer 2012, 139.

34 See Rosser-Owen 2010, 34–37.

35 See Prisse d’Avennes 1877, Plate *Étoffe de soie*.



194 Villa of Franz San-Galli, St. Petersburg, niche with two peacocks in the neo-Moorish cabinet, Karl Rakhau, 1869–1872.



195 Woven silk, probably from Almería, ca. 1100–1150, silk, 34 × 24 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 828-1894.

Another rare feature in St. Petersburg is the *muqarnaš* vaulting spanning the oriel of the cabinet (Fig. 196). Its white, red, blue, and gold S-shaped vegetal and other decoration strongly resembles that of some of the *muqarnaš* at the Alhambra. The characteristic ornamentation with heart-shaped elements, also used in the oriel, clearly recalls the stucco decoration in the Alhambra's *Mirador de Lindaraja*.

The ceiling of the main room having been discussed already,³⁶ only the most important findings are summarized here. The wide frame of the decorative centerpiece imitates an *armadura apeinazada*, an armadura whose rafters form a simple geometric pattern of stars and knots, of which there are many examples at the Alhambra. The central motif, on the other hand, is not inspired by Nasrid armaduras but accurately reproduces the stucco panels of the central wall zone in the Hall of the Two Sisters (Fig. 96). The brown color of the ceiling suggests that it is made of wood, but a closer look reveals that it is entirely made of painted stucco with golden, blue, and red accents.

All of the decorative elements such as the columns, capitals, and arches of the neo-Moorish cabinet are

painted brown, which may originally have given the impression of an Alhambresque interior carved from wood. In contrast to the neo-Moorish boudoir at the Vladimir Palace, the geometric ornaments are not applied across the entire surface of each wall but limited to large panels, as was common in Western interior decoration at the time.

An Alhambresque chandelier and a white marble fireplace have been preserved from the original furnishings. As there are no examples of Nasrid fireplaces, the lower part of the latter follows Ottoman models (Fig. 197). An inscription in Arabic letters in several cartouches on the upper part of the fireplace displays part of a verse from the third surah of the Quran (*'āl 'imrān*, 126): “And victory is not except from Allah, the Exalted in Might, the Wise” (*wa-mā n-naşru 'illā min 'indi llāhi l-'azīzi l-ḥakīmi*). The fireplace is crowned by a dome carved in a lazo pattern.³⁷ Although there are comparably structured

³⁶ See Kaufmann 2021b, 492–494.

³⁷ The fireplace was carved by the Swiss sculptor Grazioso Botta (1836–1898), with its metal parts made in San-Galli's factory; see *Zodchii*, no. 11/12, 1877, 114.



196 Villa of Franz San-Galli, St. Petersburg, muqarnaş vault and ceiling in the neo-Moorish cabinet, Karl Rakhau, 1869–1872.

domes in Mamlūk architecture, the model here was a Nasrid cupola. It is possible that Rakhau knew Rafael Contreras's architectural model of a pavilion in the Court of the Lions with a dome on top (Fig. 198).³⁸ Its decoration alludes to that of the wooden Nasrid cupola hidden beneath the roof of the pavilion at the Court of the Lions (Fig. 209). In St. Petersburg the same scheme is repeated, including the jaggged frieze around the bottom.

Rakhau was a master of interior design and the author of several neo-Moorish interiors in St. Petersburg. In the 1870s he created a neo-Moorish cabinet in the villa of Vladimir Menshikov (1816–1893) at 54 English Embankment, which is no longer preserved and of which no images are known.³⁹ He also designed two neo-Moorish interiors for the wood merchant and philanthropist Il'ia Gromov (1819/21–1882), creating the Villa Gromova by merging three buildings on the plot between Palace Embankment, Mramorny Lane, and Millionnaya Street.⁴⁰ The neo-Moorish interior, which was probably part of

the apartment of one of Gromov's daughters, is only partially preserved (Cat. no. 22). The other neo-Moorish interior in the main corpus of the villa facing the Neva River is intact (Cat. no. 21).⁴¹ Next to the former ballroom, it originally contained a staircase leading to its upper gallery. The sebka ornamentation on the walls, the representation of a desert landscape within three curved frames, and the richly decorated ceiling are particularly interesting. The latter resembles the imitation of an armadura apeinazada at the Villa San-Galli, but is more elaborate and brightly colored, making it comparable to the colorful Mudéjar armaduras in Andalusia. The Villa Gromova is one of the last buildings that Rakhau designed: he died in 1880 in Salzburg at the age of fifty, on

38 See González Pérez 2017b, 120–121.

39 See *Zodchii*, no. 5, 1874, 71.

40 One of these was built in the 1720s by Rastrelli as the Castle of Dmitrii Kantemir (1673/76–1723), which is why the building is still known by the name of Kantemir.

41 See Antonov 1995; KGIOP, 528_1383P.



197 *Hôtel de Mr F. San-Galli, Fabricant, Cheminée du cabinet de travail, from Zodchii, 1877, pl. 57.*



198 Rafael Contreras (attr.), Model of one of the pavilions in the Court of the Lions, the Alhambra, ca. 1860–1900, alabaster and walnut, 87 × 48 × 42 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 927:1, 2-1900.

his way back to Russia from Wiesbaden in Germany and Bad Gastein in Austria, where he had been taking cures for the stresses and strain of his work.

5.3 Maria Pavlovna's Boudoir at the Vladimir Palace

Architects Aleksandr Rezanov, Viktor Schröter, and Ieronim Kitner, ca. 1870–1874

One of the best-known neo-Moorish interiors from the third period of Russian Alhambrisimo is in the Vladimir Palace (26 Palace Embankment), which was built between 1867 and 1874 for Grand Duke Vladimir Aleksandrovich (1847–1909), who moved in with his wife Grand Duchess Maria Pavlovna (1854–1920) after their marriage in 1874 (Fig. 199; Cat. no. 15).⁴² Anyone looking closely at its façade in the style of the Florentine Renaissance will find just one clue to the abundance of styles hidden inside the palace: a window on the second floor has a screen with lazo deco-

ration (Fig. 200). The window looks out from the well-preserved boudoir in neo-Moorish style (Fig. 201), which was part of Maria Pavlovna's private chambers and may have reminded the Duchess of her former home: born Marie von Mecklenburg-Schwerin, she was familiar with the neo-Moorish bathroom in Schwerin Castle designed by Carl von Diebitsch a few years earlier.⁴³

On entering the neo-Moorish boudoir at Vladimir Palace, visitors find themselves facing an Orientalizing fireplace of white marble with an integrated clock (Fig. 201).⁴⁴ To the left is a semi-circular niche with a semi-dome, furnished with a divan, while to the right a

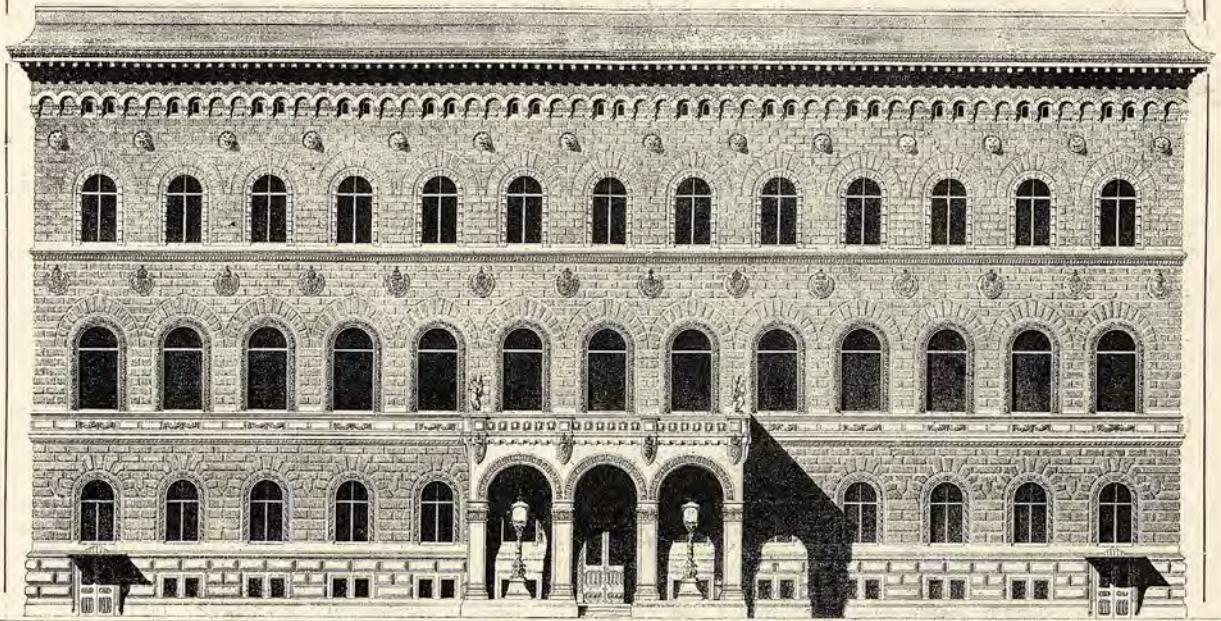
42 For the history of the palace see Velichenko/Miroliubova 1997; Khmel'nitskaia 2007; Korneva et al. 2015; Punin 2020, 161–188; KGIOF, 467_1351P.

43 See Pflugradt-Abdel Aziz 2017.

44 The painting visible in the photograph above the fireplace was hung later. It is by Vladislav Izmailovich (1872–1959) and shows Grand Duchess Elena Vladimirovna (1882–1957) as an Oriental lady with a small monkey on her lap.

17. ДВОРЕЦЪ ЕГО ИМПЕРАТОРСКАГО ВЫСОЧЕСТВА ВЕЛИКАГО КНЯЗЯ
ВЛАДИМИРА АЛЕКСАНДРОВИЧА въ С.-ПЕТЕРБУРГѢ.

Арх. Проф. А. И. РЕЗАНОВЪ.



АРШ. МЕТРЕС

3. Главный фасадъ со стороны набережной Большой Невы.

199 The Vladimir Palace in St. Petersburg, from Gavriil Baranovskii, *Arkhitekturnaia èntsioplediia vtoroi poloviny XIX veka*, Vol. 4, part I, Sankt Petersburg: Redaktsiia zhurnala Stroitel', 1904, 69.

window overlooks the Neva River and the Peter and Paul Fortress. The boudoir's walls and cupola are lavishly decorated, mainly with neo-Moorish sebka, muqarnaṣ, and lazo executed in stucco. Some of the furnishings, including an octagonal stool in Oriental style, survive today.⁴⁵

According to Ekaterina Khmel'nitskaia's PhD dissertation on the palace's architectural history, the neo-Moorish boudoir was created at the request of Grand Duke Vladimir Aleksandrovich, who was a connoisseur of the arts and was involved in planning even the smallest details of his palace.⁴⁶ From 1872 the journal *The Architect (Zodchii)*, published by the newly-founded St. Petersburg Society of Architects (*St. Peterburgskoe Obshchestvo Arkhitektorov*), regularly reported on the Vladimir Palace, the furnishing of which continued until 1874.⁴⁷ The "Boudoir in Moorish Style" (*buduar v mavritanskom*

stile) is applauded in the March 1872 issue, suggesting that it was almost complete.⁴⁸

45 Ekaterina Khmel'nitskaia (2007, Annex III, 49–50) has transcribed an inventory of the objects that were displayed in the boudoir.

46 See Borisova 1994; Khmel'nitskaia 2007, 57, 84–85, 117. The Grand Duke Vladimir Aleksandrovich pursued a military career, was a patron of the arts, and gathered a valuable collection of books and paintings. Due to his interest in artistic and intellectual activities he was appointed President of the Imperial Academy of Arts in 1876, a post he held until his death in 1909. He made frequent trips to Paris and was a regular guest at world exhibitions.

47 All of the architects involved in the construction of the Vladimir Palace were members of the St. Petersburg Society of Architects, whose chairman from 1870 to 1887 was Alexander Rezanov, the palace's main architect.

48 *Zodchii*, no. 3, 1872, 44.



200 Vladimir Palace, St. Petersburg, window with screen on the second floor, Aleksandr Rezanov, Viktor Schröter, and Ieronim Kitner, 1867–1872.

Aleksandr Rezanov (1817–1887), a professor at the IAKh at the time, was commissioned to plan and construct the palace.⁴⁹ As in larger architectural studios today, he was assisted by other architects including Viktor Schröter (1839–1901), Andrei Gun (1841–1924) and Ieronim Kitner (1839–1929). It is not known who designed the neo-Moorish interior, but Rezanov, Schröter and Kitner are all said to have been involved.⁵⁰ The design was mainly created by adapting and recombining Nasrid decorations, and a few examples will show that a variety of models was used to create this specific interior.

Above the door three typical motifs from the Alhambra have been fused to form a new and unusual neo-Nasrid element (Fig. 202). The motif of a tripartite arcade with curved arches echoes stucco panels in both the Hall of the Two Sisters (Fig. 203) and the Hall of the Abencerrages, while the decoration on the spandrels originates from the Court of the Lions (Krakau had already recreated the same element in the Villa Stieglitz's neo-Moor-

ish dining room; Figs 176 and 178). A transenna with a star-shaped lazo decoration sits behind the arcade. Drawings by Rezanov or Kitner may have served as the models for this neo-Nasrid element, or Rezanov might have been allowed to consult the drawings of his companion in Granada, Aleksander Krakau. The use of such drawings as templates is confirmed, for example, by the muqarnaş frieze in the boudoir (Fig. 202), which has the same design as the frieze with the repeated Nasrid motto below the cupola in the mirador at the Partal Palace documented by Krakau (Fig. 80) but not reproduced in the Alhambra publications of the time. It is also possible that some of Notbek's plaster casts on display at the Imperial Academy of Arts were used as models. One of his casts, now damaged, shows the spandrel whose decoration was reproduced in the neo-Moorish boudoir.⁵¹ Finally, books remained an important source for Alhambresque designs, even at a time when many Russian architects were traveling to Granada themselves. The motif with the tripartite arcade mentioned above is reproduced in most publications on the Alhambra and was also used as a frieze in the boudoir at the Vladimir Palace, for example in the semicircular niche (Figs 203 and 204).⁵² Its execution in the niche is somewhat less ornate, omitting the ataurique decoration within the central arch. The sebka ornament on the walls of the boudoir is rather clumsy,

49 In 1871 he was appointed Dean of the IAKh's Architectural Department. For Rezanov's biography see Kondakov 1915, 378; Kirikov/Ginzburg 1996, 260–261; Isachenko et al. 1998, 360–368.

50 See Kitner/Nikolaeva 2000, 49; Khmel'nitskaia 2007, 118–120; Nikolaeva 2007, 234–236, 240. Kitner had recently visited the Alhambra and was hired specifically to furnish the palace. According to Khmel'nitskaia, Schröter drew up the proposal for the semicircular niche and designed the lamps that are mounted on the walls. Schröter repeatedly used Orientalizing styles (see Cat. nos 20 and 23) both in and outside St. Petersburg (see for example the Georgian National Opera Theater in Tbilisi, 1880–1896), and Kitner, one of the few architects mentioned in this study who trained not at the IAKh but at the St. Petersburg Construction School (*Peterburgskoe stroitel'noe uchilishche*), created the latest neo-Moorish interior in St. Petersburg (see Cat. no. 42).

51 See NIMRAKh, S-1923.

52 Information in archival documents likewise indicates that the architects used books as a source for their designs; see Khmel'nitskaia 2007, 21.



201 Vladimir Palace, St. Petersburg, neo-Moorish boudoir, Aleksandr Rezanov, Viktor Schröter, and Ieronim Kitner, 1867–1872.

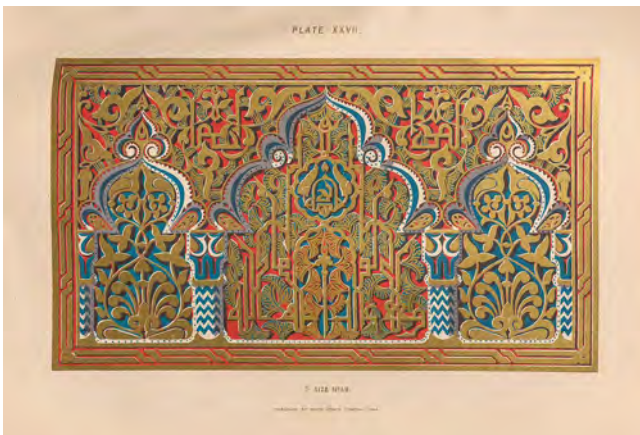
which cannot be the result of an inadequate model as the motif is reproduced in detail in Jones's *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra* (Figs 205 and 206). Was the stuccoer inexperienced? Other details such as the niche near the window and the corresponding mirror frame opposite, which imitate the *ṭāqas* at the entrance to the Hall of the Ship at the Alhambra and in whose cartouches the inscription "Muhammad" is repeated, are well-crafted (Fig. 207). The wooden door is likewise superbly decorated with a neo-Nasrid design alluding to the arcades and *sebka* decorations at the Court of the Lions (Fig. 201).

There is evidence that the Alhambra was not the only model for this interior. Its cupola resembles wooden Nasrid cupolas such as those in the pavilions of the Court of the Lions from around 1380, but their *lazo* decoration is different (Figs 208 and 209). The credible model seems to have been the plate *Détails de la mosquée Teyloun (Partie du grand panneau de la Chaire)* in Pascal Coste's *Architecture arabe ou monuments du Kaire, mesurés et dessinés de 1818 à 1826* (1837).⁵³ Coste was the first to show the *lazo* decoration of a wooden pulpit

⁵³ See Kaufmann 2021b, 496.



202 Vladimir Palace, St. Petersburg, ornamentation above the doorway in the neo-Moorish boudoir, Aleksandr Rezanov, Viktor Schröter, and Ieronim Kitner, 1867–1872.



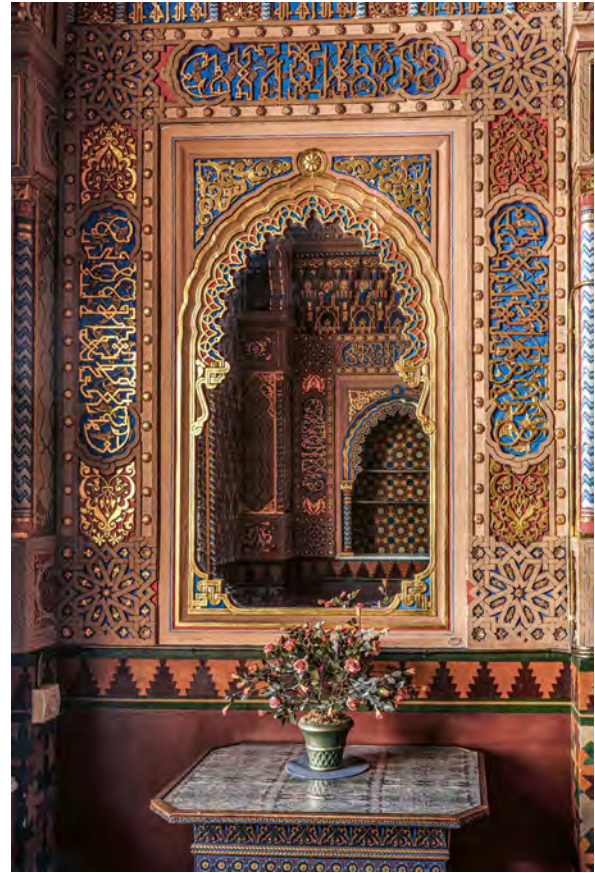
203 Jules Gourey and Owen Jones, *Small panel in jamb of a window, Hall of the Two Sisters*, from *idem., Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*, Vol. 2, London: Owen Jones, 1845, pl. XXVII, no. 39.



204 Vladimir Palace, St. Petersburg, frieze in the neo-Moorish boudoir, Aleksandr Rezanov, Viktor Schröter, and Ieronim Kitner, 1867–1872.



205 Vladimir Palace, St. Petersburg, stucco ornamentation in the neo-Moorish boudoir, Aleksandr Rezanov, Viktor Schröter, and Ieronim Kitner, 1867–1872.



207 Vladimir Palace, St. Petersburg, mirror in the neo-Moorish boudoir, Aleksandr Rezanov, Viktor Schröter, and Ieronim Kitner, 1867–1872.



206 Jules Gourey and Owen Jones, *Ornament in panels, Court of the Mosque* (detail), from idem., *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*, Vol. 2, London: Owen Jones, 1845, pl. VII, no. 11.

(*minbar*) at the mosque of Ibn Tūlūn in Cairo, which matches the pattern of the cupola at the Vladimir Palace. This example illustrates how Russian architects creating neo-Moorish decorations did not allude to the Alhambra exclusively but also based their designs on publications dealing with Islamic architecture in other locations.

Finally, the current color scheme of the boudoir must be questioned. A close look at the stucco decoration reveals that large parts of it have been painted over fairly crudely. Red often seems to have been painted over with blue, and the blue zigzags on the columns were probably originally black. The early twentieth-century photograph, although in black and white, shows that the decoration was differently colored, and the contrast between the colors is more pronounced. The interior appears to have been reworked to match the color scheme of Owen



208 Vladimir Palace, St. Petersburg, cupola of the neo-Moorish boudoir, Aleksandr Rezanov, Viktor Schröter, and Ieronim Kitner, 1867–1872.



209 Alhambra, Granada, cupola of the western pavilion in the Court of the Lions, ca. 1380.

Jones' colored plates, perhaps during a restoration around 1970.⁵⁴

In view of this interior, it can be stated that the architects in St. Petersburg had a wide range of materials on which to draw for their Alhambresque interiors. Numerous books, drawings, casts, models, and photographs of the Alhambra were accessible at the Imperial Academy of Arts; and while some architects had the opportunity to visit the Alhambra themselves, others had seen neo-Moorish interiors in Russia or elsewhere.

5.4 The Muruzi House

Architect Aleksandr Serebriakov, 1874–1877

Unlike Rakhau, Rezanov, and Kitner, all of whom had first-hand knowledge of the Alhambra, Aleksei Serebriakov (1836–1905) acquired his knowledge of Nasrid decorations in Russia.⁵⁵ Serebriakov built the exceptional Muruzi House, a large apartment block whose façades feature neo-Nasrid architectural details at 24 Liteiny Avenue, between 1874 and 1877 (Fig. 210; Cat. no. 17).⁵⁶ The building is home to an Alhambresque gem: the former apartment of Prince Aleksandr Muruzi (1807–1880), which has a richly decorated neo-Moorish staircase and smoking room (Cat. nos 18 and 19).

The Muruzi House has always been veiled in myth and legend.⁵⁷ Dubbed by the press “Petersburg’s Alhambra”⁵⁸ in 1877, Joseph Brodsky called it a “Moorish wonder”⁵⁹ more than a century later:

The building was one of those tremendous cakes in so-called Moorish style [...] it was the architectural sensation of the St. Petersburg of that period, and [Anna] Akhmatova once told me that her parents took her in a carriage to see this wonder.⁶⁰

A statement in a satirical dictionary published in 1884 still applies; Vladimir Mikhnevich wrote that although no one knew whether the Prince was still alive, he was immortalized in the building, which bore no other name than Muruzi House: “You can ask any coachman.”⁶¹ Originally the building housed fifty-seven apartments of various price categories and seven shops.⁶² Piotr Shestov

(1847–1914) and Nikolai Sultanov (1850–1908) assisted Serebriakov in the realization of this large-scale commission.⁶³ Even today the dimensions of the five-story building, which forms a U-shape along three streets and has a total of 70 window axes, are impressive. Every Petersburgian knows the house, yet its neo-Moorish interiors are little known. As the building’s history has been studied in detail, only its distinctive architectural features are considered below.⁶⁴

Since the outer façades of the Nasrid palaces are austere and the architectural decoration unfolds mainly within the palace walls, Serebriakov had no prototype for the façades of the Muruzi House. From a distance it resembles other apartment buildings of the period with its

54 See KGIOP, 467_1351P, 1. While the colors applied to the plaster decoration of the Nasrid palaces in Granada had mostly disappeared by the nineteenth century, the boudoir shows the same vivid polychromy (white, red, blue, and gold) that Jones used for his colored reproductions of Nasrid ornaments.

55 For Serebriakov’s biography see Baranovskii 1893, 309–310; Kirikov/Ginzburg 1996, 278.

56 It is not known whether Muruzi explicitly commissioned a building with neo-Moorish decoration. In the nineteenth century his choice of style was interpreted as an indication of the Prince’s Istanbul origins. On the use of the neo-Moorish style for the façades of residential buildings including the Muruzi House see Kaufmann 2017.

57 Along with the building’s outstanding architecture, the stirring story of the Prince’s family (Turkish Greeks who escaped to St. Petersburg after the father was beheaded in Istanbul as a traitor) and the many illustrious literary figures who inhabited or frequented the Muruzi House over the decades have contributed to the building’s fame; see Kobak/Lur’e 1988a, 1988b.

58 *Vsemirnaia illiustratsiia* 17 (433), 1877, 319.

59 Brodsky 1986, 457. Brodsky’s famous essay *In a Room and a Half* describes his years in the Muruzi House, where he lived with his parents in a communal flat.

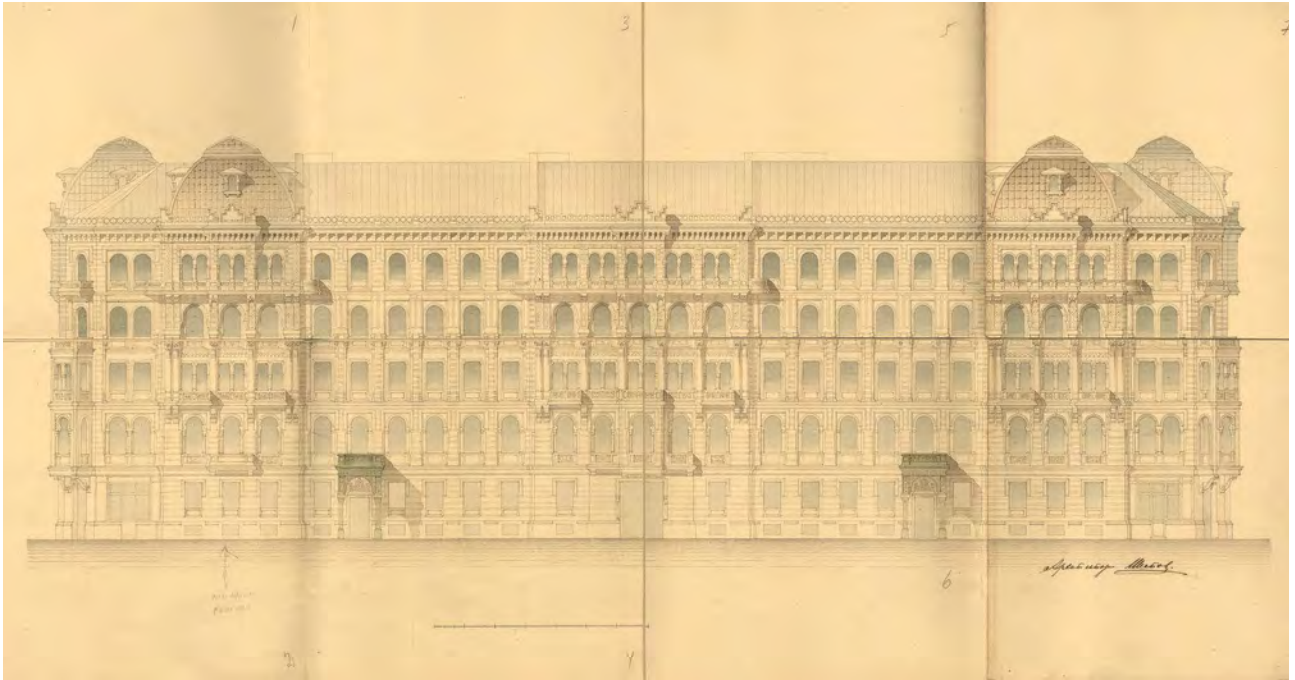
60 Brodsky 1986, 452. Brodsky erroneously dates the building at around 1900.

61 “Справьтесь у любого извоищика”, Mikhnevich 1884, 152. Muruzi had fallen into financial distress as a result of the ambitious project, and died only three years after completing the construction.

62 Inventories from 1879 and 1890 indicate that the residents had hot-water heating, electricity, and modern sanitation, with a total of twenty-eight bathrooms.

63 See *Zodchii*, no. 10, 1875, 117. The TsGIA SPB holds many of their plans; see Savelev 2015, 61–79.

64 See Kobak/Lur’e 1988a, 1988b, 1990, 1996; Iokhvidova 1991.



210 Piotr Shestov, Project for the Muruzi House, northern façade, 1870s, ink and watercolor on paper. TsGIA SPB, f. 515, op. 4, d. 453, l. 1–8.



211 Muruzi House, St. Petersburg, detail of the façade, Aleksei Serebriakov, Piotr Shestov, and Nikolai Sultanov, 1874–1877.



212 Muruzi House, St. Petersburg, gate to the yard, Aleksei Serebriakov, Piotr Shestov, and Nikolai Sultanov, 1874–1877.



213 Muruzi House, St. Petersburg, entrance to Prince Muruzi's apartment, Aleksei Serebriakov, Piotr Shestov, and Nikolai Sultanov, 1874–1877.

cornices, oriels, and balconies, but the closer one gets, the more elements and ornaments borrowed from Nasrid architecture are recognizable. There are horse-shoe-shaped windows on the first floor with ataurique-decorated spandrels; neo-Nasrid capitals; a wrought-iron gate bearing the motto of the Nasrid dynasty; carved wooden doors with lazo ornamentation; muqarnaş friezes, and inscriptions in Arabic script which are sometimes mirrored to create symmetrical decorative elements (Figs 211 and 212).⁶⁵ The muqarnaş niches above the Liteiny Avenue entrances are stylized in such a way that they are reminiscent of Ottoman muqarnaş carved from stone (Fig. 213). The roll corbels under the roof, which allude to those in the courtyard of the former Mosque in Córdoba, are an interesting non-Nasrid element.⁶⁶ Serebriakov and his assistants had to be inventive to create an eye-catching façade that also met the practi-

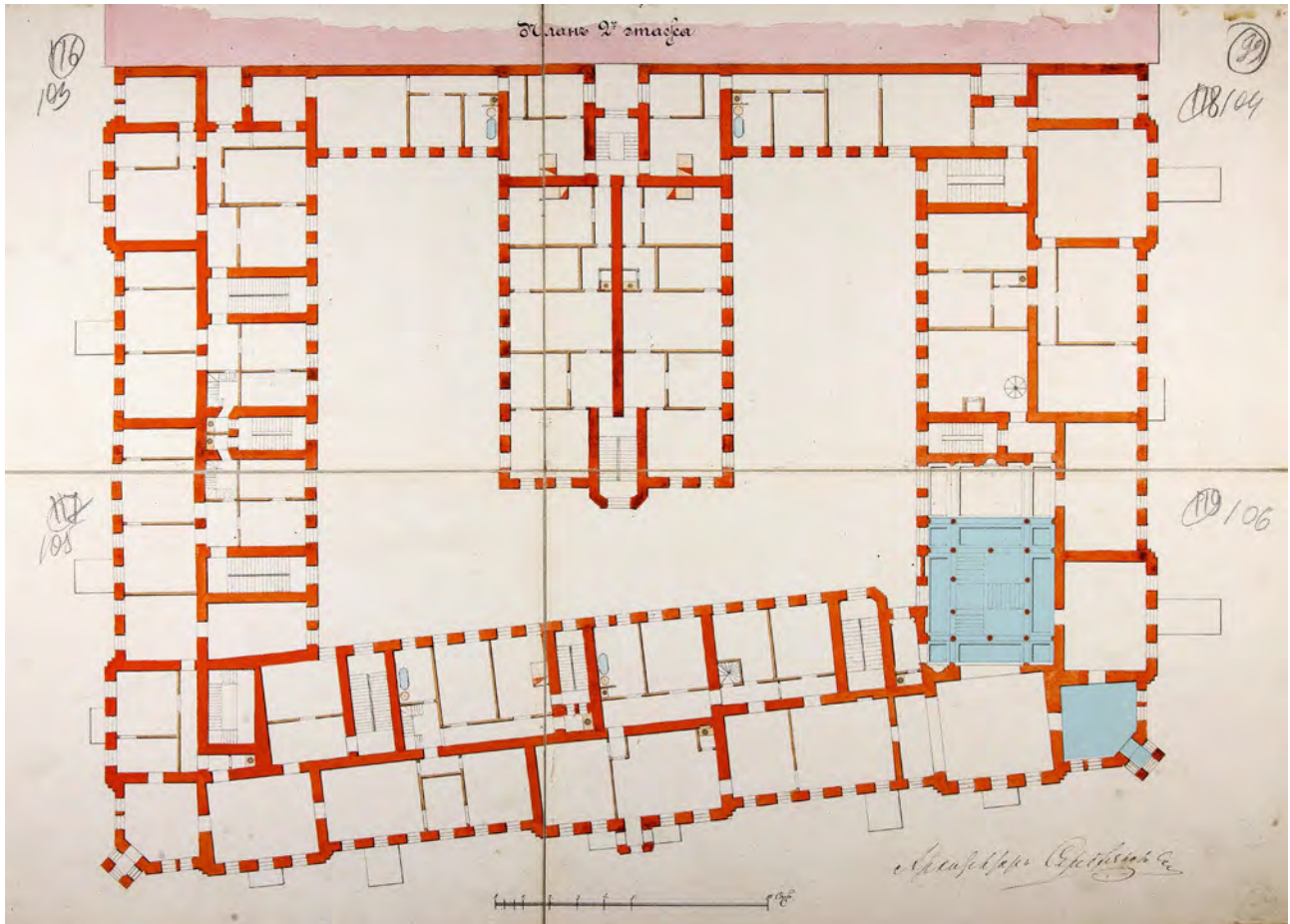
cal requirements of this type of construction, including sufficient natural light inside.

The Muruzi House initially had six domes rather than the four it has today, and they were intended to be covered with glass tiles made in Paris; however, for reasons of cost a metal roof imitating tiles was used, and the domes lost the intended sparkling-diamond effect.⁶⁷ Domes were often used to mark a building as “oriental” as they were a widespread element in Islamic architec-

65 Only the cast-iron porches with neo-Nasrid decoration that originally covered the entrances, visible in the architects' drawings and historic photographs, are no longer extant.

66 On the evolution of this architectural element see Torres Balbás 1936.

67 See *Vsemirnaia illiustratsiia* 17 (433), 1877, 319; *Zodchii*, no. 10, 1875, 117.



214 Aleksei Serebriakov, Project for the Muruzi House, floor plan of the second floor, 1870s, ink and watercolor on paper. TsGIA SPB, f. 513, op. 102, t. 7, d. 4209, l. 103–106.

ture, albeit not Nasrid architecture. Although there are several rooms in the Alhambra whose cupolas are of central importance, these are all hidden under a roof structure and do not appear as domes from outside.

Aleksandr Muruzi and his family lived in a twenty-six-room apartment on the second floor. The superior private staircase and a smoking room designed in neo-Moorish style have largely been preserved (Fig. 214).

The Staircase

The entrance to the prince's former apartment is on Liteiny Avenue and leads into a large vestibule. Although it was completely painted white in the twentieth century, the neo-Nasrid stucco decoration is still extant. A narrow muqarnaş frieze runs below the ceiling, and the wall surfaces are framed with a frieze on which the Nasrid motto is repeated. From the doorway, one can already

catch a glimpse of the staircase and sense that the theme of the Alhambra was originally fully elaborated on all surfaces and architectural components. An arcade decorated with muqarnaş resting on marble columns and capitals marks the entrance to the staircase, the Muruzi House's most impressive interior (Figs 215–217; Cat. no. 18). It is a spacious, square space in which the staircase is surrounded by arcades and a gallery, reminiscent of one of the courtyards of the Alhambra. The stairs, balustrades, columns, and capitals with muqarnaş are carved from marble, and the elaborate neo-Nasrid capitals are some of the best quality examples of neo-Moorish style to be found in St. Petersburg. The arcades and the ceiling are of plaster applied to wood. As in many other Alhambresque interiors, the ceiling is one of the most spectacular elements. It shows the same motif from the Alhambra's Hall of the Two Sisters that Karl Rakhau



215 Muruzi House, St. Petersburg, staircase, Aleksei Serebriakov, Piotr Shestov, and Nikolai Sultanov, 1874–1877.



216 Muruzi House, St. Petersburg, ceiling of the staircase, Aleksei Serebriakov, Piotr Shestov, and Nikolai Sultanov, 1874–1877.

had used a few years earlier in the Villa San-Galli (see Chapter 5.3).⁶⁸

Minor restorations have been carried out since the 1990s, but the stucco decoration of the staircase is still partially damaged, as the apartment has suffered from twentieth-century events including transformation into communal flats.⁶⁹ In one corner of the room the original lazo paintwork that decorated the gallery walls can be seen. Muted browns, greens and black were often chosen for such tile-imitating patterns in St. Petersburg, although the Alhambra's alicatados are designed in bright colors and black and white.⁷⁰ The geometrically patterned tiles on the gallery floor were made by *Boch Frères* in France.⁷¹

Prince Muruzi's staircase is an outstanding example of Alhambrismo in architecture and can be compared with the staircase of the Palacio de Xifré in Madrid, a

Gesamtkunstwerk in neo-Moorish style built a few years earlier and one of the most elaborate examples of the Moorish Revival in Spain (Fig. 218).⁷²

68 See Kaufmann 2021b, 495. The motif was used again around 1900 for the design of two ceilings in a villa at 9 Bolshaya Kon-yushennaya Street; see Cat. nos 36 and 37.

69 According to the owner of the apartment, the gallery of the staircase was divided into several small rooms (including kitchens) during the Soviet period.

70 See also Cat. nos 14, 15, and 25.

71 A few years ago the apartment owner had new tiles made in Tangier (*Mosaic del Sur*) to complete damaged and missing parts.

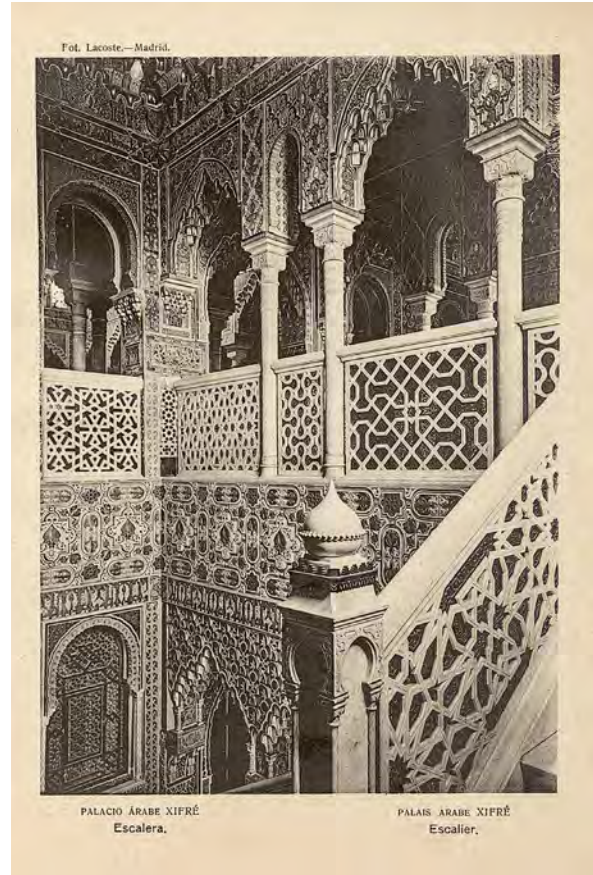
72 The palace, demolished in 1951, was designed by the French architect Émile Boeswillwald (1815–1896) for José Xifré Downing (1822–1868), a lawyer and patron of the arts. Construction began in 1857 but the palace was not completed until 1899; see Rodríguez Domingo 1997, 349.



217 Muruzi House, St. Petersburg, staircase, Aleksei Serebriakov, Piotr Shestov, and Nikolai Sultanov, 1874–1877.

The Smoking Room

Another Alhambresque interior, which was probably used as a smoking room, is to the northwest of the staircase (Cat. no. 19). It stands out due to the ornamentation on the whole of the walls and ceiling (Fig. 219). The north and west sides of the room each have two horse-shoe-shaped windows, and in the northwest corner an oriel points toward the intersection of the streets. The oriel contains one of only two muqarnas vaults in St. Petersburg and is simpler in design than that at the Villa San-Galli (Fig. 220). Again, the ceiling is inspired by the stucco decorations of the Alhambra, namely the panels decorated with inscriptions praising Allah and the sultan in an alcove in the Hall of the Ambassadors (Fig. 221). Expert analysis would be required to determine the extent to which the color scheme is original, but it seems that red, blue, brown, and gold were indeed dominant in this interior.⁷³



218 Foto Lacoste, *Palacio Árabe Xifré. Escalera*, ca. 1900–1920, photogravure, 19 × 25 cm.

Serebriakov bought illustrated volumes to inspire his design of the building and its interiors,⁷⁴ among which were most likely Jules Goury and Owen Jones's *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*. The architect elaborated the Alhambresque theme most fully in the smoking room and staircase, whose architectural details and ornaments are almost exclusively borrowed from or inspired by those of the Nasrid palaces. As the Muruzi House was the first building with Orientalizing decoration on its façades and one of the largest buildings in

73 The ceiling was painted white in the twentieth century; see Kobak/Lur'e 1988a, 33; KGIOP, 814_1301P (photographs). The more recent painting of the pedestal zone with a geometric pattern known from the Palace of the Lions (see Goury/Jones 1845, Plate IX, No. 18) would have to be examined to know whether it corresponds to the original design of the interior.

74 See the *Gazette of the journal The Architect (Listok zhurnala Zochii)*, no. 18, 1876, 131.



219 Muruzi House, St. Petersburg, stucco decoration of the walls in the smoking room, Aleksei Serebriakov, Piotr Shestov, and Nikolai Sultanov, 1874–1877.



220 Muruzi House, St. Petersburg, muqarnas vault of the smoking room, Aleksei Serebriakov, Piotr Shestov, and Nikolai Sultanov, 1874–1877.



221 Muruzi House, St. Petersburg, ceiling of the smoking room, Aleksei Serebriakov, Piotr Shestov, and Nikolai Sultanov, 1874–1877.

St. Petersburg with an important position at Liteyniy Avenue, its construction and style were discussed in the newspapers. Serebriakov was repeatedly applauded for the artistic quality of his design:

Unknown until now, the architect Serebriakov has immediately gained renown, and for good reason: with the spectacular, magnificent façade of Prince Muruzi's house he has shown [...] that the Moorish style is suitable even for five-storey houses. The façade of the building has been sectioned quite felicitously. It is sumptuous and at the same time calm, and the details have been conceived with good taste and are well proportioned.⁷⁵

While the quoted article emphasizes that the *raison d'être* of the “Moorish style” is a built environment that displays the most diverse and sometimes eclectic forms of historicism, another journalist argues more pragmatically that less snow accumulates on the flat reliefs ornamenting the Muruzi House than on the sculptural figural decoration on other buildings, which is why this style suits the Northern climate perfectly.⁷⁶ Convinced also of its aesthetic qualities, he states:

In short, the Muruzi House's innovative style is a welcome phenomenon in the world of constructing rich residential houses, to which reasonable imitation amongst builders would be a desirable response.⁷⁷

Serebriakov's application of the neo-Moorish style for the façade of a residential house remains one of a kind, making the Muruzi House a unique landmark in St. Petersburg. While Viktor Schröter also designed a building with an Orientalizing façade almost concurrently with Serebriakov's Muruzi House, its decorative details show an eclectic mix of several Islamic styles, with only one allusion – a few ataurique decorations – to the Alhambra (Cat. no. 23).

5.5 Architectural Alhambrismo from 1874 to 1911

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, there are numerous examples of neo-Moorish designs in St. Petersburg from the third phase of Alhambrismo. Not all of these can be described in detail here, although there would be much to discover: while copying the Alhambra's most typical elements was common, they were often remodeled or blended with elements alien to Spain's Islamic heritage, which is why all of the examples differ as much from the Alhambra as from each other. To give a full picture of the architecture discussed in this book, the most remarkable neo-Moorish designs and their characteristics are outlined below.

Nikolai Briullov's neo-Moorish cabinet for the villa of the statesman and maecenas Aleksandr Polovtsov (1832–1909) in the 1870s is worth mentioning (Figs 222 and 223; Cat. no. 16). Briullov knew the Alhambra first-hand and had drafted a neo-Moorish interior previously (see Chapters 4.1 and 4.8), but the interior at the Villa Polovtsov appears to be his only Alhambresque creation to be realized. Although its stucco decoration is clearly inspired by the Alhambra, the geometric design of the wooden paneling is reminiscent of Chinese paneling. While different styles were often mixed in Orientalizing interiors, Polovtsov's large collection of porcelain might have been the decisive element here. The vases, many of which originated from the Far East, were displayed on consoles on the cabinet walls. Today the fireplace especially attracts visitors' attention. Unlike Rakhau at the Villa San-Galli (Cat. no. 14), Briullov designed it entirely with neo-Nas-

75 “Архитектор Серебряков, неизвестный до сего времени, сразу вошел в славу, и не попусту: эффектным и величественным фасадом дома кн. Мурузи он доказал, что [...] пригоден и стиль мавританский, даже для 5-ти этажных домов. Фасад этой постройки разбит весьма удачно в общих массах, богатый и вместе с тем спокойный; детали нарисованы со вкусом и в масштабе”, *Zodchii*, no. 10, 1875, 117.

76 See *Vsemirnaia illiustratsiia* 17 (433), 1877, 319.

77 “Словом, нововведение стиля дома Мурузи в мире стройки богатых жилых домов в столице представляет явление отпадное, которому желательно бы встретить разумное подражание между строителями”, *Vsemirnaia illiustratsiia* 17 (433), 1877, 319.

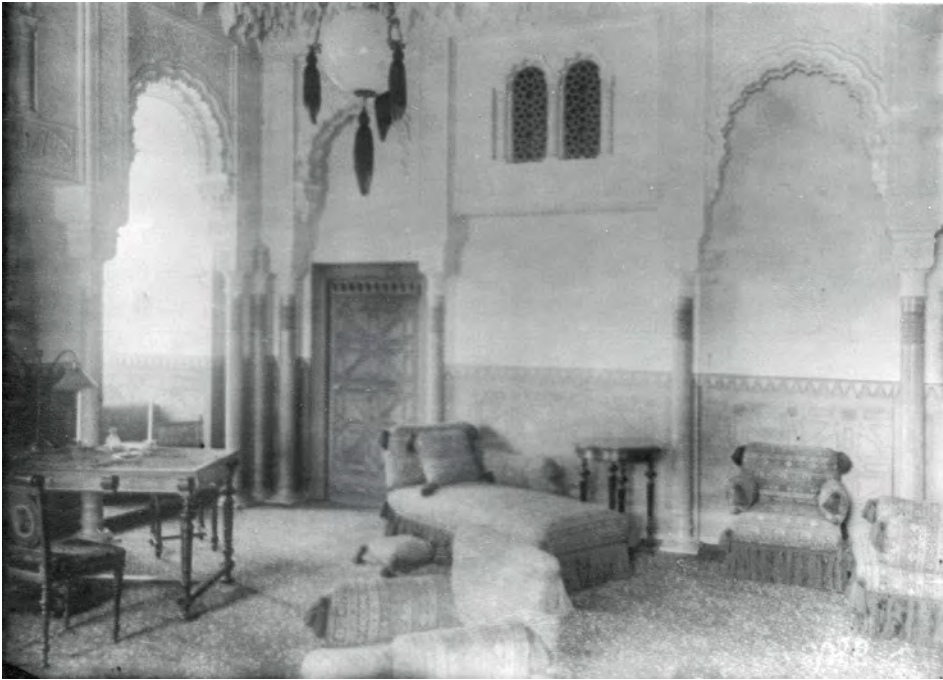
222 Vil'iam Klasen, Cabinet in the Villa of Aleksandr Polovtsov, 1880s, photograph.



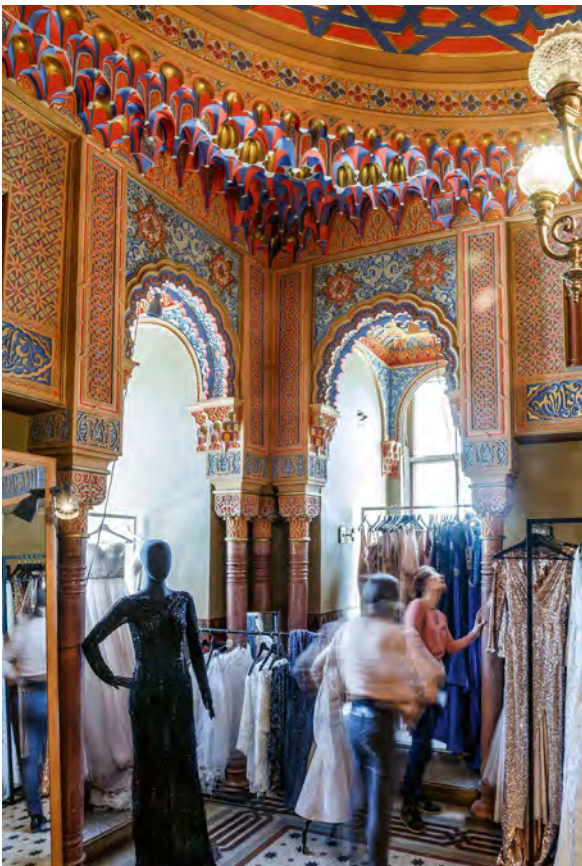
223 Villa of Aleksandr Polovtsov, St. Petersburg, neo-Moorish cabinet, Nikolai Briullov, 1874.



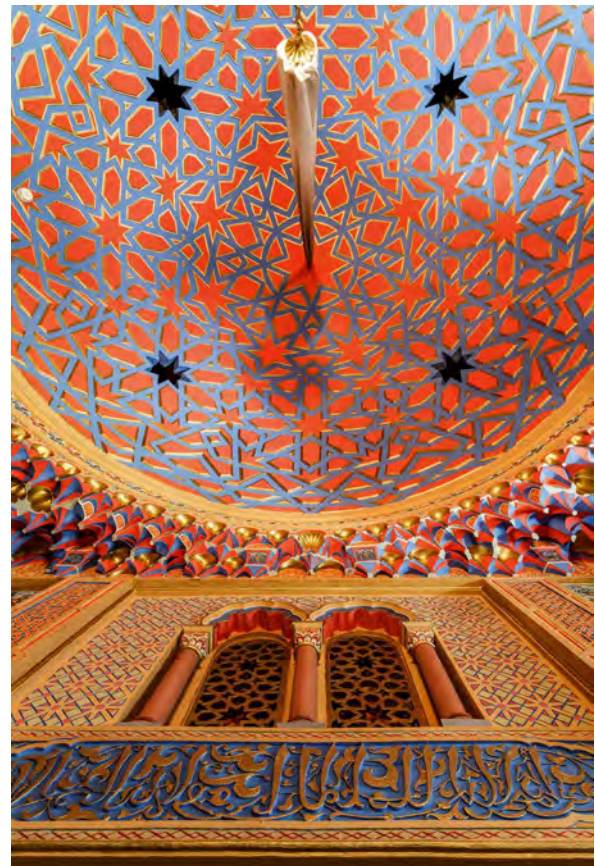
224 Villa of Aleksandr Polovtsov, St. Petersburg, detail of the fireplace in the neo-Moorish cabinet, Nikolai Briullov, 1874.



225 Studio Carl Bulla, Living room of Grand Duke Piotr Nikolaevich at the Nikolaevskii Palace, before 1914, photograph. TsGAKFFD SPB, D9806.



226 Nikolaevskii Palace, St. Petersburg, neo-Moorish living room of Grand Duke Piotr Nikolaevich, Nikolai Basin (?), ca. 1884.



227 Nikolaevskii Palace, St. Petersburg, stucco decoration and cupola of the neo-Moorish living room of Grand Duke Piotr Nikolaevich, Nikolai Basin (?), ca. 1884.

rid decorative elements (Fig. 224). The Villa Polovtsov's neo-Moorish cabinet is one of the few examples whose stucco ornamentation is not painted in multiple colors.

The stucco decoration of Grand Duke Piotr Nikolaevich's (1864–1931) neo-Moorish living room in the Nikolaevskii Palace, possibly designed by Nikolai Basin (1844–1917) around 1884, was also unpainted, and it was not until the twentieth or even twenty-first century that it was colored based on Owen Jones's interpretation of Nasrid decorations (Figs 225–227; Cat. no. 25). Besides the characteristic cupola with lazo decoration, the terrazzo floor of this interior with its braided ribbons and stars is noteworthy.

Anatolii Kovsharov (1848–after 1917) created a charming tiny neo-Moorish smoking room around 1885 in the villa of the brothers Aleksandr, Georgii, and Nikolai Brusnitsyn, who were leather-processing magnates (Figs 228–231; Cat. no. 26). Kovsharov, who graduated from the Imperial Academy of Arts in 1880 and had not visited the Alhambra, may have modeled some of the decorations after the plaster casts exhibited at the IAKh.⁷⁸ The stucco decoration, the original glass chandelier, and the wooden paneling with a neo-Nasrid geometric design have been preserved in this interior.

Piotr Shreiber (1841–1903) designed a thoroughly Alhambresque interior for Sergei von Derviz's (1863–1943) villa (Figs 232–234; Cat. no. 27). This neo-Moorish living room is characterized by its spaciousness and extensive use of gold leaf.⁷⁹ It is next to the mansion's theatre and its winter garden, which in the 1880s was probably filled with exotic plants to create a southern atmosphere, alluding not only to the Alhambra's palaces but also to its lush gardens.⁸⁰

The buildings of the Jewish Community of St. Petersburg on Lermontovskiy Avenue (Cat. nos 28–31), constructed between 1883 and 1893, should be included in an in-depth study in the context of synagogue construction in Europe, for which Orientalizing architectural styles were used from the 1830s. In St. Petersburg, the main halls of both the Small Synagogue and the Grand Choral Synagogue were designed by Ivan Shaposhnikov (1833–1898) and Lev Bakhman (1830–1896) and feature some decoration in neo-Moorish style, as do the eclectic façade of the Grand Choral Synagogue and the wedding hall

within the building (Figs 235–237). The choice of architectural style had been debated in the prelude to the construction, with the eminent art critic Vladimir Stasov (1824–1906) playing an important role as a member of the expert commission for the construction and design of the Grand Choral Synagogue. Stasov's ambition was that the building should stand out from the rest of the cityscape as an expression of Jewish national identity. In view of the origins of Judaism in the ancient Near East and the medieval synagogues of al-Andalus with which the success of Jewish culture and science is associated, this was to be achieved by recalling antique and (Ibero-) Islamic architecture.⁸¹

The final nineteenth-century example, Vasilii Svin'in's (1865–1939) neo-Moorish interior design for Nikolai Spiridonov's (1851–1914) villa, is a rare case of the use of neo-Moorish tiles on the lower part of the walls (Figs 238–240; Cat. no. 35).⁸² The stucco ornaments on the walls are kept remarkably light, with restrained use of red and blue. While the interior is mainly Alhambresque, a unique design mixing Orientalizing motifs with typical elements of Western interior design was created for the ceiling.

At the beginning of the twentieth century Vil'iam Iogansen (Wilhelm Johannsen, 1857–after 1917) adopted the formal language of Art Nouveau for the "Moorish Hallway" (*Mavritanskii prokhod*; Figs 241–244; Cat. no. 38) in the villa of Hendrik van Gilse van der Pals (1856–1928). Perhaps the last neo-Moorish interior was furnished by Ieronim Kitner in the Villa Koenig around 1911 (Cat. no. 42). While the fashion for neo-Moorish design began to wane around 1900 as Art Nouveau challenged historicism in architecture, it was the October Revolution that marked the end of this fascinating phenomenon, of which so many traces remain in St. Petersburg.⁸³

78 See Kaufmann et al. 2021, 247, 260–261.

79 On this living room's neo-Moorish niches see Kaufmann et al. 2021, 248.

80 This combination of Orientalizing interior and (winter) garden is found several times in St. Petersburg; see Cat. nos 9, 27, 34, and 35.

81 See Stasov 1872, 1879; Kleinmann 2006, 317–330.

82 Neo-Moorish tiles were produced in France from the 1860s onwards; see Dumont/Hammadi 1988, 38–39.

83 Orientalizing styles and the neo-Moorish style were used in countries such as Spain and France until the 1930s.



228 Villa of the Brusnitsyn Brothers, St. Petersburg, neo-Moorish smoking room, Anatolii Kovsharov, ca. 1885.



229 Villa of the Brusnitsyn Brothers, St. Petersburg, stucco ornamentation in the neo-Moorish smoking room, Anatolii Kovsharov, ca. 1885.



230 Villa of the Brusnitsyn Brothers, St. Petersburg, ceiling of the oriel in the neo-Moorish smoking room, Anatolii Kovsharov, ca. 1885.



231 Villa of the Brusnitsyn Brothers, St. Petersburg, wooden paneling in the neo-Moorish smoking room, Anatolii Kovsharov, ca. 1885.

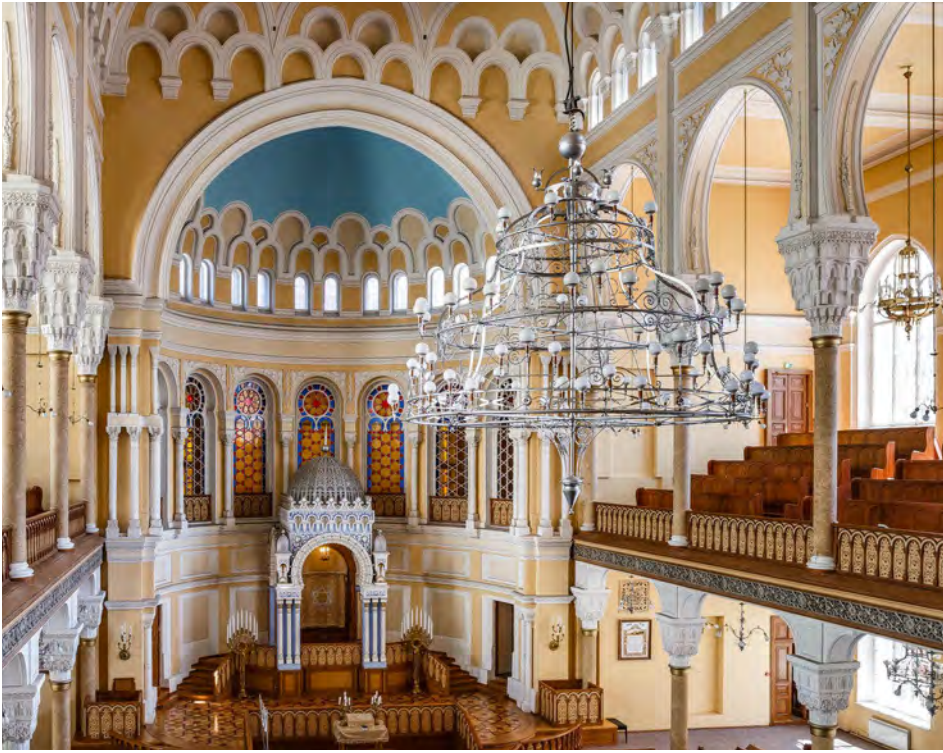
232 Villa of Sergei von Derviz, St. Petersburg, neo-Moorish living room, Piotr Shreiber, 1885.



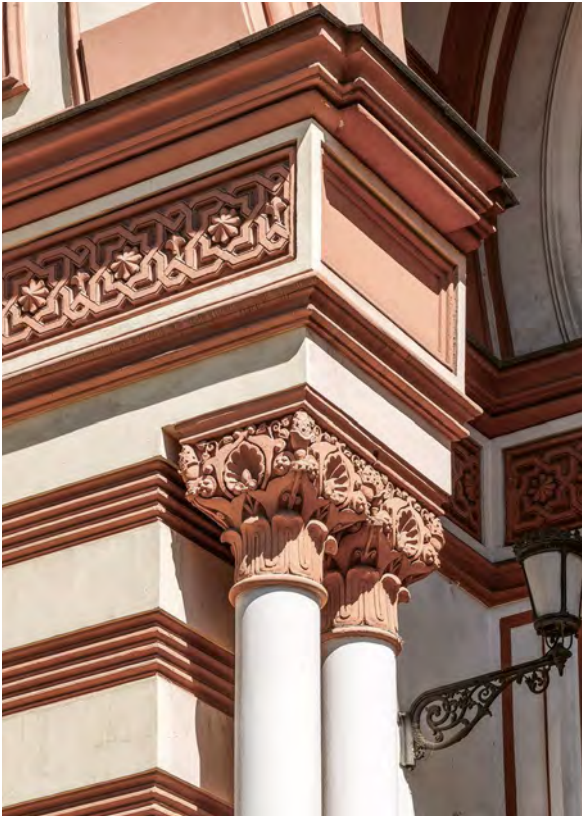
233 Villa of Sergei von Derviz, St. Petersburg, capital in the neo-Moorish living room, Piotr Shreiber, 1885.



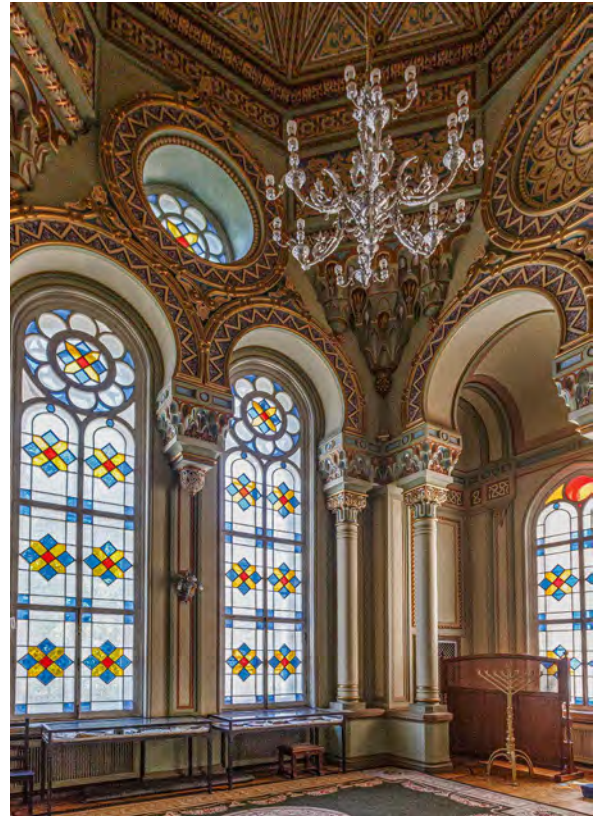
234 Villa of Sergei von Derviz, St. Petersburg, stucco ornamentation in the neo-Moorish living room, Piotr Shreiber, 1885.



235 Grand Choral Synagogue, St. Petersburg, main hall, Ivan Shaposhnikov, Lev Bakhman, and Aleksei Malov, 1883–1898.



236 Grand Choral Synagogue, St. Petersburg, neo-Nasrid capital next to the entrance, Ivan Shaposhnikov, Lev Bakhman, and Aleksei Malov, 1883–1898.

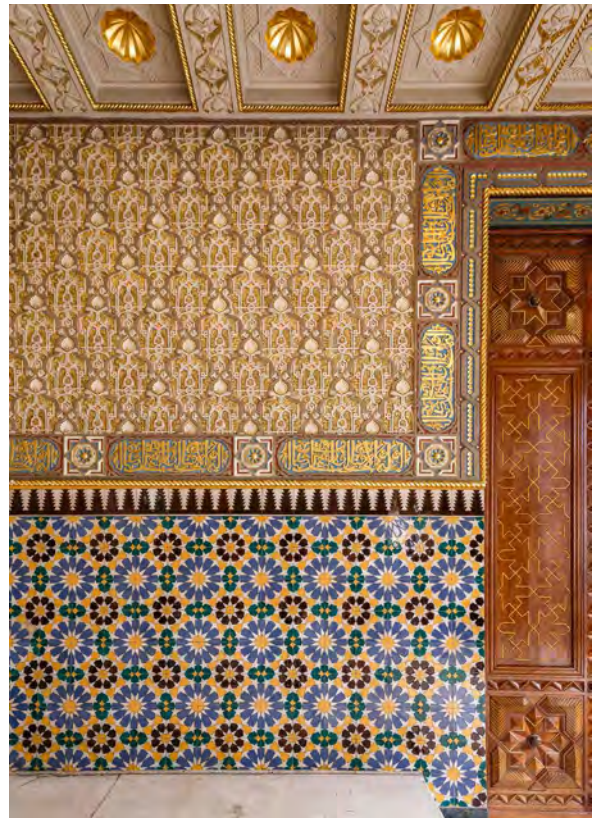


237 Grand Choral Synagogue, St. Petersburg, wedding hall, Ivan Shaposhnikov, Lev Bakhman, and Aleksei Malov, 1883–1898.

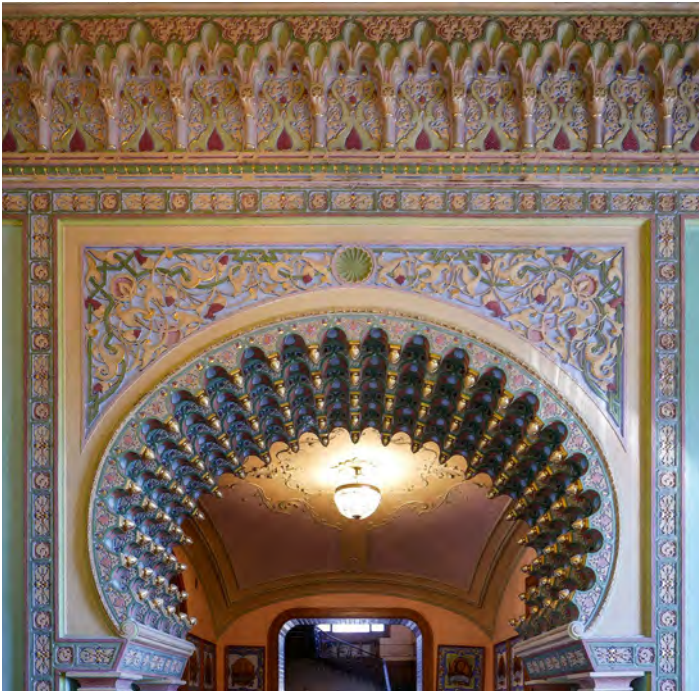
238 Villa of Nikolai Spiridonov, St. Petersburg, neo-Moorish interior, Vasilii Svin'in, 1895–1897.



239 Villa of Nikolai Spiridonov, St. Petersburg, capital of the neo-Moorish interior, Vasilii Svin'in, 1895–1897.



240 Villa of Nikolai Spiridonov, St. Petersburg, tiles and stucco decorations of the neo-Moorish interior, Vasilii Svin'in, 1895–1897.



241 Villa of Hendrik van Gilse van der Pals, St. Petersburg, detail of doorway in the Moorish Hallway, Vil'iam logansen, 1901/02.



242 Villa of Hendrik van Gilse van der Pals, St. Petersburg, detail of doorway in the Moorish Hallway, Vil'iam logansen, 1901/02.



243 Villa of Hendrik van Gilse van der Pals, St. Petersburg, doorway in Moorish Hallway, Vil'iam logansen, 1901/02.



244 Villa of Hendrik van Gilse van der Pals, St. Petersburg, detail of doorway in the Moorish Hallway, Vil'iam logansen, 1901/02.

6. Conclusions

This last chapter briefly discusses why builder-owners chose the neo-Moorish style, and why echoes of Russia's own Orient barely appeared in St. Petersburg's architecture. Using the example of the Moorish Living Room (*Mavritanskaia gostinaia*; Cat. no. 34) at the Iusupov Palace, created in the mid-1890s by redesigning the earlier Oriental Living Room (Cat. no. 9), the following sections describe the characteristics of neo-Moorish style in St. Petersburg, explain how Alhambresque interiors were created, and depict the processes by which the Alhambra was brought to St. Petersburg. Finally the results of this study are briefly summarized.

6.1 Eclecticism and Neo-Moorish Style

The period known today as historicism or eclecticism, in which architects took up the architecture of different epochs and people, was fertile ground for the neo-Moorish style, which reflected a new scientific and romantic interest in Islamic culture and the architecture of al-Andalus.¹ Choosing the most suitable architectural style for a building and being able to apply it are among the inherent laws of historicism. Since the style of a building or interior had to express its function and character, a system of interdependencies and stylistic codes evolved that allow the identity of a building or interior to be read from its design.² In most cases the neo-Moorish style was used for a single interior in a building whose façade and individual rooms were designed in the multiple styles common to the period. It was charged with (romantic) historical and literary associations that equally existed in other revivalist styles, and in this sense one could argue that a neo-Moorish interior is no more special than a

neo-Pompeian, neo-Gothic, or neo-Rococo interior.³ Although Alhambresque interiors were created with different functions, the neo-Moorish smoking room, boudoir, and cabinet in particular were indispensable attributes of wealthy homes, from the palaces of the tsar to merchants' apartments. Decorated with Turkish silks and carpets, Orientalizing furniture, artifacts, and plants, they conveyed the illusion of travel to distant lands and offered a retreat from reality. Andalusia and the Alhambra, with its magnificently decorated palaces and lush gardens veiled in myth and legend, represented a place of longing and romantic escape for all of Europe, and perhaps even more so for northerly St. Petersburg, most of whose exotic Alhambresque interiors were dedicated to leisure, relaxation, and idleness.

- 1 The semantics of the terms "historicism" and "eclecticism" and their use to describe a period of nineteenth-century architecture are still debated by architectural historians. From the nineteenth century onwards "eclecticism" (from the Greek *eklektikos* (selective), and *eklektos* (selected)) was commonly used in Russia, while the term "historicism", which was and remains more widespread in Western Europe, was introduced later when eclecticism had acquired a negative connotation due to critics who characterized its meaning as the random combining of various styles. While some art historians attempt to distinguish these terms, both of which are borrowed from philosophical and historiographical concepts, others use them interchangeably; see Goriunov 2012; Kirichenko 2012. In Russia, "eclecticism" was first used in 1837 in connection with architecture, with its meaning understood positively as an "intelligent choice" (*umnyi vybor*); see Kukul'nik 1837.
- 2 See Kirichenko 1986, 120, 2012, 16; Borisova 1994, 239, 243. Many of the interiors discussed in the present book are in buildings in St. Petersburg that are considered major works of eclecticism.
- 3 For example the main rooms of the Vladimir Palace were decorated in the early 1870s in more than ten revivalist styles, each with its own evocative power. For a list of the interiors see Borisova 1994, 283–284.



245 Studio K. Bergmasko, Portrait of Zinaida Iusupova in Oriental dress, early 1880s, photograph, albumen print, 12 × 8.5 cm. GE, ÉRFt-26529.

The role of builder-owners in the creation of buildings and interiors with elements of neo-Moorish style is still largely unclear. Although such buildings and interiors came into being only when commissioned by a client, there is usually no information on why the style was chosen or about the client's contribution and specifications. This applies to the redesign of several interiors in the Iusupov Palace in the 1890s, including the Oriental Living Room, for which Princess Zinaida Iusupova (1861–1939; Fig. 245) and her husband Prince Feliks Iusupov (1856–1928), Count Sumarkov-Elston, commissioned the architect Aleksandr Stepanov (1856–1913). It can be assumed that thirty years after its creation, the living room needed renovation, and that a desire to maintain the oriental theme probably led to the choice of neo-Moorish style as the most popular Orientalizing style of the time (Fig. 5).

While British and French clients' aesthetic preferences or perhaps specific connections to colonies in Asia or Africa informed their choice of Orientalizing styles,⁴ the use of the neo-Moorish style in Russia was primarily

aesthetically motivated and based not on ideological reasons but on romantic interest in Spain and the Alhambra (see Chapter 3.2).⁵ Alhambresque interiors also symbolize a general interest in, or possible contact with, the Orient, offering a frame within which to display collections of Islamic arts and crafts. A typical characteristic of the Moorish Revival and its creations was the uncoupling of form from content that generally occurred when Islamic architecture and decoration were translated into the context of nineteenth-century architecture: only the repertoire of the forms was adopted, but not their original content and functions.⁶

6.2 Traces of Russia's Own Orient in St. Petersburg's Architecture

It may seem surprising that the neo-Moorish style, with its recreation of an Orient that is geographically and temporally removed far from Russia, was so popular in St. Petersburg. Given the empire's geographic location, it would seem more likely that architects would base their ideas on the traditions of Russia's neighbors, such as the Ottoman Empire (see Chapter 2) or borrow them from the architectural heritage of its own Orient, for example the Central Asian colonies. In the second half of the nineteenth century the Russian Empire had achieved its maximum expansion into Central Asia, taking Kokand, Tashkent, and Samarkand one after another in the 1860s. Thus one could assume both aesthetic and political-ideological reasons for adoption of the decoration on medieval Timurid buildings in Samarkand, for instance, but in fact Russia's expansion into Central Asia had little effect on architecture in St. Petersburg.⁷

One explanation for this is that nineteenth-century eclecticism was an international phenomenon in which local individualities were rarely decisive. Like St. Peters-

4 See for example Conner 1979; Volait 2009.

5 In contrast, as briefly discussed in Chapter 2, the "Turkish style" could have certain political connotations in Russia.

6 See Giese/Varela Braga 2018, 16.

7 Of course the international historicist styles could also relate to ideas of nationalism, with different political connotations in different countries; see for example Punin 1996.

burg, Vienna's Austro-Hungarian architecture, for example, barely reflected its own Orient in the Balkans. The Alhambra, however, had gained momentum due to its popularity in various artistic⁸ and literary genres across Europe, spurring architects and scholars to carry out in-depth analyses, often accompanied by rich pictorial material. This made it the most famous Islamic monument in Europe, and Ibero-Islamic architecture was a placeholder for Islamic architecture as a whole, as Bourgoïn notes in 1873 in *Les Arts arabes*.⁹ The importance of the Alhambra in historicist architecture is therefore not surprising.

In comparison, visual material on Timurid architecture was scarce. Russian scholars did not begin to study the Timurid heritage more closely until the end of the nineteenth century, which gave rise to St. Petersburg's first building with elements in neo-Timurid style at the beginning of the twentieth century.¹⁰ As it took several decades for the rediscovery of the Alhambra to find its reflection in contemporary architecture after initially becoming an important theme in literature, it is possible that the October Revolution concluded the appropriation of Timurid architectural style prematurely, although the fact that Central Asia did not evoke the same romantic associations as Spain and Andalusia at the time might have been even more decisive here.

The Orient was located in different geographical regions not only in the Tsarist Empire itself but also in the various genres of Russian art: the literature of Mikhail Lermontov and Leo Tolstoy place the Orient in the Caucasus in the South, while the paintings of Vasilii Vereshchagin place it in Central Asia in the East, and Russian architects' many Alhambresque designs prove that the Orient could also be found in the West.¹¹

6.3 Essential Elements of Russian Alhambrismo

Analogous to the Alhambra itself, whose elegance and rich decoration adorned not the façades but the courtyards and interiors of the Nasrid palaces, the Moorish Revival in Russia is most evident in interior design. This section examines the components of the neo-Moorish

style and explains the extent to which they are representative of neo-Moorish interiors in St. Petersburg, taking the Moorish Living Room at the Iusupov Palace as a case study.

This brief consideration of Stepanov's Moorish Living Room begins with a look at its spatial conception (Fig. 5). The room is divided in two by a three-part arcade whose larger section incorporates a spacious fountain basin, two windows, and a door that originally opened onto the garden. Stepanov was clearly trying to reproduce a key theme of the Alhambra: its courtyards, fountains, and gardens (Fig. 6). This endeavor to recreate the Alhambra's open courtyards in an interior space could only be realized in large rooms, or in combination with a winter garden (see Cat. nos 18, 27, and 35).

The floor of the Moorish Living Room is of marble, with ornate patterns of braided ribbons derived from Islamic ornamentation. Very few original floors, whether marble, artificial stone, or wood, have survived in neo-Moorish interiors in St. Petersburg (see Cat. nos 25 and 27).

The walls of the Moorish Living Room are divided into several lavishly decorated zones. A particularly elaborate technique was chosen for the design of the lowest zone: rather than the usual painted decoration or the rarer tiles found in late nineteenth-century St. Petersburg (Cat. nos 20 and 35), marble and artificial stone have been used to create a design alluding to the alicatados of the Nasrid palaces. The Alhambra's *yaserías* with their *sebka* patterns, *ataurique*, and inscriptions in Arabic script are imitated on the upper wall zones, partly in stucco that is painted and gilded in places, and partly

8 On the Alhambra in paintings, see Diederer/Depelchin 2010, 100–113.

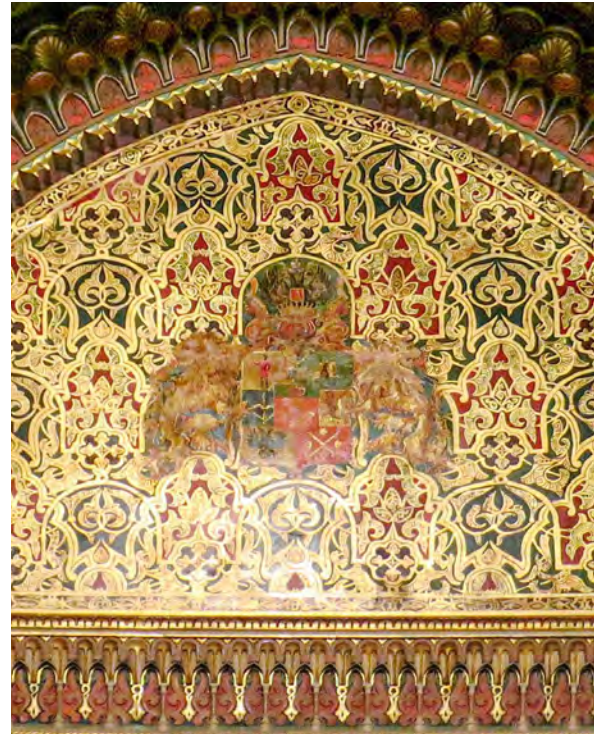
9 See Bourgoïn 1873, 11.

10 A mausoleum in Samarkand was one source of inspiration for the design of the Mosque of St. Petersburg (7 Kronverkskiy Avenue, architect Nikolai Vasil'ev, 1909–1921); see Kaufmann 2020.

11 That Russia was often perceived as the Oriental Other of the West in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is well-known; see Wolff 1994; Dickinson 2002. Understanding of the exotic or "Oriental" depends strongly on the viewpoint of the observer, and some Western writing on architectural Orientalism discuss Russian Orthodox church buildings in Western Europe as examples. See Cresti 1999, 132–133; Talalay 1999.



246 Iusupov Palace, St. Petersburg, stucco ornamentation in the Moorish Living Room, Aleksandr Stepanov, ca. 1895.



247 Iusupov Palace, St. Petersburg, emblem of the Iusupov Family in the Moorish Living Room, Aleksandr Stepanov, ca. 1895.

painted directly onto the wall (Figs 246 and 247).¹² The latter is rare and unusual, as neo-Nasrid stucco decorations were masterfully produced in St. Petersburg itself, and using stucco throughout would have been more in keeping with the originals in Granada. Another characteristic of the neo-Moorish interior at the Iusupov Palace is the integration of the Iusupov and Sumarokov-Elston coats of arms into the wall decoration.¹³ The frieze with muqarnaş at the top of the walls, on the other hand, can be found in a similar form in almost all Alhambresque interiors in St. Petersburg.

Like the frieze, the Moorish Living Room's decorative carton-pierre ceiling dates back to the former Oriental Living Room of around 1860. Many neo-Moorish interiors in St. Petersburg have flat ceilings in imitation of Nasrid wooden ceilings, although Nasrid stucco motifs were usually used in their design.¹⁴ In addition, only a few neo-Moorish cupolas (see Cat. nos 11, 15, 25, and 26) and a very few muqarnaş vaults (see Cat. nos 14 and 19) were created in St. Petersburg. The material used was not wood but mostly plaster, with the exception of the carton-pierre ceiling at the Iusupov Palace.

The polylobed arches of the arcade in the Moorish Living Room and the columns with annulets and capitals strongly correspond to the Nasrid models (Fig. 248). The lower part of the capitals is cylindrical and covered with stylized acanthus leaves, while the upper, squared-off part is decorated with a vegetal design. Similar neo-Nasrid columns and capitals, as well as latticed screens with lazo decorations such as those made for the Iusupov Palace's Moorish Living Room, were widely used in St. Petersburg.¹⁵

In sum, this Alhambresque interior in St. Petersburg follows the same principles as other examples of the style throughout nineteenth-century Europe, making it an in-

12 A crucial difference to the stucco decoration of the Alhambra is that the size of these friezes in which the motto of the Nasrid dynasty is repeated has not been adapted to their position, and some are abruptly cut off in the middle of a word.

13 The coats of arms were rediscovered during the 2013–2015 restoration; see <<http://www.theartnewspaper.ru/posts/2532>> (accessed May 6, 2023).

14 See Kaufmann 2021b.

15 Neo-Nasrid columns and capitals are variously made of stucco, artificial stone, or marble.



248 Iusupov Palace, St. Petersburg, capital in the Moorish Living Room, Aleksandr Stepanov, ca. 1895.



249 Iusupov Palace, St. Petersburg, frieze in the Moorish Living Room, Aleksandr Stepanov, ca. 1895.



250 Villa of Sergei von Derviz, St. Petersburg, frieze in the neo-Moorish living room, Piotr Shreiber, 1885.

ternational style resulting from the standardization of artistic practices in Europe and a globalized world.¹⁶ While some typical elements of Nasrid architecture such as arches and capitals have been adopted and the abundance of Islamic ornamentation applied to its surfaces, the general layouts, materials used, and most construction techniques follow Western prototypes and procedures.¹⁷

6.4 Design and Production of Alhambresque Decorations

While the network of architects in St. Petersburg was tight-knit and most of the architects knew one another, nothing is known about the network between the architects, workshops and craftsmen who produced neo-Moorish decor in St. Petersburg. Despite each interior's individuality, some elements are almost consistently re-

peated across several of them. For example, a sebka decoration in stucco appears not only in the Iusupov Palace but also in the somewhat earlier neo-Moorish interior of the villa of Sergei von Derviz (Figs 249 and 250; Cat. no. 27). As these were designed by different architects, it is reasonable to assume that both collaborated with a company that specialized in this type of ornamentation, publishing its samples in catalogues.¹⁸ Although there

¹⁶ See Giese 2021d.

¹⁷ See Giese 2021c, 62.

¹⁸ Various architects used the same neo-Moorish designs for the interiors or stucco ceilings of the mansions of Il'ia Gromov (Cat. no. 21) and Zinaida Skobeleva (Cat. no. 24); for the wooden doors at the Villa San-Galli (Cat. no. 14) and the Nikolaevskii Palace (Cat. no. 25); and for the metal covering of the fireplaces at the Villa San-Galli and the Villa of Sergei von Derviz (Cat. no. 27), made by the iron foundry of Franz San-Galli in both cases.



251 Iusupov Palace, St. Petersburg, frieze with niches in the Moorish Living Room, Aleksandr Stepanov, ca. 1895.

seems to have been some serial production of neo-Moorish stucco decoration in St. Petersburg in the second half of the nineteenth century, it did not reach such an extent as to be expressed in a series of almost indistinguishable Alhambresque interiors.

In general the architects realized designs that differed both from others in St. Petersburg and from the Alhambra. Stepanov, for example, created small niches in his Iusupov Palace interior that resemble the *ṭāqas* in the Alhambra but, unlike them, are strung together to form a frieze (Fig. 251).¹⁹ Moreover, with their filigree marble columns and horseshoe arches they are less reminiscent of *ṭāqas* than of Rafael Contreras's small models of the Alhambra's portals and *miḥrābs* (Fig. 138).

Although almost all of the Moorish Living Room's decorations are clearly inspired by the Alhambra, they differ from the originals in form and application. Thus each architect did not simply imitate the Nasrid decorations but developed and modified them at their own discretion. Moreover, the shapes of the door frames, for example, are not inspired by the Alhambra at all, but per-

haps by Mughal architecture. Stepanov's Moorish Living Room is therefore not an exact replica of every characteristic of Nasrid art but a detailed interpretation, largely inspired by architectural elements and decorations in the Alhambra's medieval palaces, which is again characteristic of this international style.

6.5 Transfers and the Reproductive Continuum

Using various examples, this study has highlighted how knowledge of Nasrid architecture and decorations was transferred to Russia, where it was appropriated and integrated into a new context.²⁰ Within an international geographical and communicative network, the Imperial Academy of Arts, architects, and, in one case, a client (Cat. no. 9) have been identified as the main actors in this transfer process, in which the close connection between scholarship, art, and architecture in nineteenth-century Europe was a key factor.²¹ Likewise, the routes of the artistic transfer to Russia have been retraced: on the one hand, direct transfer via first-hand experience gained in Granada, and on the other, indirect transfer via second-hand knowledge such as visual reproductions of the Alhambra in books and Alhambresque architecture. Granada, London, and Paris were the most important stations and stopovers on these routes.

When Stepanov designed the Moorish Living Room at the Iusupov Palace in the mid-1890s, he had an entire "reproductive continuum"²² to hand with books, drawings, photographs, plaster casts, and architectural models of the Alhambra. In addition to these physical media,

19 Today some of these niches are furnished with Alhambra Vases resembling those designed by Ippolito Monighetti for the Turkish Bath (see footnote 49 in Chapter 2).

20 This process of spatial diffusion is known as a horizontal cultural transfer; see Roeck 2007, 23–26.

21 St. Petersburg was a very cosmopolitan city at the time, as evidenced by the biographies of the architects trained at the IAKh. Although born in Russia, many of them had roots abroad and strong ties to their nominal homelands.

22 See Baker 2010, 485.

which brought information about the Alhambra to St. Petersburg and contributed to the spread of the Alhambresque style, he may also have experienced Orientalizing and Alhambresque buildings and interiors in person or seen them illustrated in publications. As important venues for promoting Islamic art, the world exhibitions are likely to have inspired both architects and builder-owners, especially between around 1865 and 1917, the period described here as the third phase of Russian Alhambriзмo.

Between 1830 and 1865, these transfer processes multiplied and diversified, as reflected in St. Petersburg's Alhambresque interiors. While the earliest designs were based on one or two volumes of engravings of the Alhambra's palaces, thirty years later a large amount of accurate material was available and several architects had visited the Alhambra themselves. Although knowledge about the Alhambra increased, this did not mean that Alhambresque interiors became ever-more authentic – Briullov's early bathroom in the Winter Palace had already recreated Nasrid ornament accurately. A modest popularization of the neo-Moorish style in St. Petersburg between 1830 and 1917 can be observed in examples from the Empress's neo-Moorish bath to the Egorov brothers' public bath with neo-Moorish decorations (Cat. nos 4 and 41), but this process was not linear, and the neo-Moorish style was still used in the palaces of the wealthiest nobles, such as the Iusupovs, at the end of the nineteenth century.²³

The quotation from Karl Rakhau and Karl Kol'man from the early 1860s that prefaces this book is taken from a text in which they discuss their studies at the Alhambra and address the stylistic diversity of their time. They insist that "Moorish architecture" is worthy of the same interest as, for example, Gothic and Romanesque architecture, stating that "our day and age is not as Moorish as it is Gothic, Roman, or Greek".²⁴ Clearly the Moorish Revival is only one variation among the different international revivalist styles of the nineteenth century. As a research subject, however, it proved extremely fertile for St. Petersburg. On the one hand, extensive material is available on Russian Alhambriзмo, in particular the unique Alhambra Collection at the NIMRAKh; and on the other, despite the turbulence of the twentieth cen-



252 Unknown author, Moorish Living Room at Iusupov Palace in St. Petersburg, after the 1960s restoration, photograph. TsGAKFFD SPB, Ar48845.

tury, St. Petersburg has preserved a large number of architectural examples, perhaps more than any other European city. The Iusupov Palace, for example, was nationalized in 1919 but spared major alterations. Hit directly by bombs during World War II, the Moorish Living Room, among others, was severely damaged, but was restored in the 1960s (Fig. 252).²⁵

As a result of this study, which includes essential aspects of Russian cultural history and European conceptions of the Orient, a comprehensive and systematic documentation of the neo-Moorish heritage in St. Petersburg is now

²³ This process of transgressing social borders is known as vertical cultural transfer; see Roeck 2007, 23–26.

²⁴ See Annex B.

²⁵ See Fedorova 1999, 20–33.

available. New facts and materials have been brought to light and evaluated, and form a basis for further research. The art-historical analysis of the neo-Moorish architecture and interiors in St. Petersburg has paved the way for a detailed description of this stylistic phenomenon. It has been possible to identify which models the architects drew upon at the Alhambra and beyond, and to what extent they modified or supplemented them, thus providing insights into their methods. The abundance of available material allowed exemplification of how Russian Alhambrismo emerged in the capital of the Tsarist Empire, and how the architects appropriated this new style until it finally became part of their repertoire. Focusing on this specific phenomenon sheds light on the art-historical education of Russian architects in the second half of the nineteenth century and provides material for further research into historicism in the architecture of St. Petersburg and architectural education during this period. The precursors to the early phase of Russian Alhambrismo have been identified and acknowledged. It has become clear that the reception of Nasrid architecture and decor began very early in Russia, and that Russian, British, and possibly French architects were the pioneers of this pan-European style. While it is true that the emergence of architectural Alhambrismo was based on a reception of Nasrid architecture initiated in Western Europe, many of its earliest examples were created in Russia. Russia's reception of the Alhambra in literature, considered and discussed here in connection with the manifold reception of the Alhambra in Western Europe, is particularly important in this context. The institution of the Imperial Academy of Arts was also important in the transfer processes that spurred Russian Alhambrismo: the teaching at the Faculty of Architecture, about which unfortunately little information is available, and the pensionerstvo, through which knowledge was transferred directly from Granada to St. Petersburg, were relevant factors in the success of the Moorish Revival. Extensive research for this book, conducted at the NIM-RAKh, allowed the analysis and presentation of the works of several architects who visited Granada, and the drawing of connections between them and St. Petersburg's architectural heritage. This is particularly the case with Pavel Notbek's collection, whose long-overdue doc-

umentation and analysis was made possible by the NIM-RAKh's cooperation with the University of Zurich. While in aesthetic terms Russian Alhambrismo can be subsumed into an international phenomenon, a specific feature of St. Petersburg's Alhambrismo certainly provides a rich stock of material relating to the Moorish Revival.

The title of the present book, *Taking the Alhambra to St. Petersburg*, alludes to several processes discussed in the chapters: on the one hand the cultural appropriation and transformation of a specific stylistic vocabulary, which was itself a translation and further development of various stylistic forms of Islamic art, and on the other, the transfer of knowledge about the Alhambra to St. Petersburg and the importance of the media and the protagonists involved, especially the architects who studied Nasrid architecture in detail.

Cataloging and examining neo-Moorish architecture and interiors in St. Petersburg as part of a European (or even global) architectural heritage was an important focus of this study, which has shown that St. Petersburg did not have the peripheral role within the Moorish Revival that is often attributed to it based on its geographical location in Europe. The description of the routes and forms via which the Alhambra was "taken" to St. Petersburg should now enable a transfer of knowledge back to the West. The multifaceted Russian reception of the Alhambra, hitherto perceived only as a marginal phenomenon in the context of the pan-European Moorish Revival, has now been valorized and made accessible to non-Russian speakers, and must necessarily be integrated into research as an important perspective. The transfer processes that gave rise to the distinctive Alhambresque style in Europe are multilayered and traveled in various directions, including from the southwest of the continent all the way to its northeast.

Annexes

Annex A

Report by Pavel Notbek, April 18, 1854

RGIA, f. 789, op. 2 1854, d. 66, l. 1–2

В Совет Императорской Академии Художеств.
Пенсионера Академии, Художника Павла
Нотбека

Рапорт

Честь имею донести Совет Императорской Академии Художеств, что по многочисленности орнаментов, входящие в состав красоты Мавританского зодчества, и отличающие его от прочих архитектур, как и по многосложности и разнообразии его сводов, коих система никем ещё не была изложена до сих пор, нахожусь я в принуждении пребывать ещё в Гренаде, не смотря на то что, постоянно занимаюсь составлением рисунков. Цель моя составить коллекцию рисунков всего Дворца Альгамбры, дабы иметь возможность, издать в последствии увраж этого исторического и столь изящного памятника, который ежедневно разрушается более и более, причина чему, всякое отсутствие в поддержание оно и необразованность управляющих.

Не опустив из виду затруднения, которых представляются с мастеровыми при производстве этой архитектуры в России, не имевши они надлежащий навек по этой части, то приготавливаю по этому подробную модель залы, назыв. de las dos hermanas, о чем честь имел уже доносить Совету Императорской Академии Художеств, в 4^й части натуральной величины ея, ещё также модели в 12^й части натуральной величины, залу de los albencerajes, львиный двор или patio de los leones и 3 залы наз. de la justicia. Модели сии будут служить им чрезвычайным облегчением, чтобы передать в точности характер здешней архитектуры. Две трети залы de las dos hermanas успел я кончить, зала de los albencerajes уже изготов-

Report from the Artist Pavel Notbek, Academy
Travel Scholar, to the Council of the Imperial
Academy of Arts

I have the honor to inform the Council of the Imperial Academy of Arts that, given the large amount of ornamentation that constitutes the beauty of Moorish architecture and distinguishes it from other architectures, and the complexity and variety of its vaults, which no-one has yet delineated, I am forced to stay in Granada despite having been constantly busy making drawings. My goal is to produce a collection of drawings of the entire Palace of the Alhambra with the aim of later publishing a book of illustrations of this elegant historical landmark, which is crumbling more every day due to the complete lack of both maintenance and its custodians' education.

In view of artisans' difficulties in reproducing this architecture in Russia because they do not have the proper skills in this regard, I am thus preparing a detailed quarter-scale model of the hall named de las dos hermanas, of which I have already had the honor to inform the Council of the Imperial Academy of Art, and 1:12 scale models of the hall named [the sala] de los albencerajes [sic], the Lions' Court or patio de los leones, and the three halls called [the sala] de la justicia. These models will ease the artisans' labors considerably by precisely conveying the character of the architecture here. I have succeeded in finishing two thirds of the [sala] de las dos hermanas; the [sala] de los albencerajes [sic] has already been done, the [patio] de los leones has been

лена, начат двор de los leones и начерчены все различные своды Альгамбры. Ещё честь имею донести Совет Императорской Академии Художеств, что в последнее время успел наконец, посредством значительных издержек, и не иначе как тайным образом снять большие слепки со стен Альгамбры, а именно: все различные украшения башни de los Infantes, большую часть башни de la cautiva, mirador de lindaraja и двора наз. patio de los arrayanes. Был счастлив также найти в частных домах и приобрести себе некоторые мраморные капители, отличающийся, своего красотою и отделкою, со времен мавров, что честь иметь буду представить также Академии, по окончании здешних моих занятий.

Из предыдущего Совет Императорской Академии Художеств надеюсь может заключить ревность мою оправдать милости излитые на меня Правительством и особенное расположение мое к мавританской архитектуры, тем более, что уже пожертвовал двадцать пять тысяч франков на составление моделей и приобретение слепков и капителей, и надеюсь по этому также что не откажет впредь свое попечение, если прибегну к Совету Императорской Академии Художеств, с покорнейшего просьбою, исходатайствовать Царскую милость на разрешение, если будет возможно, продлить срок пребывания моего за границую, так как пользуются пенсионеры посланные за границу Академию годом после меня, если же Его Величеству не благоугодно будет разрешить на этот срок, то может статься, что Его Величество Государь Император соизволит дать свое согласие только на продление паспорта моего до Июня месяца будущего года, чтобы мог бы я успеть кончить предпринятые модели. –

Художник Пав. Нотбек
Гренада 18^{го} числа Апреля 1854^{го} года

(Transcription by Katrin Kaufmann)

begun, and the various vaults in the Alhambra have been drawn. I also have the honor to inform the Council of the Imperial Academy of Arts that I have lately succeeded, at considerable cost and no otherwise than clandestinely, in making large casts of the walls of the Alhambra, namely all the different ornamentation in the [torre] de los Infantes [sic], the greater part of the [torre] de la cautiva, the mirador de lindaraja, and the court named the patio de los arrayanes. I was also fortunate to discover in private houses, and acquire for myself, some marble capitals from the time of the Moors, distinguished by their beauty and finish, which I shall also have the honor of presenting to the Academy upon completion of my endeavors here.

I trust that the foregoing assures the Council of the Imperial Academy of Arts of my desire to justify the favors bestowed on me by the government and my particular affection for Moorish architecture, especially as I have already spent twenty-five thousand francs on preparing models and acquiring casts and capitals. I also hope, therefore, that the Council of the Imperial Academy of Arts will not refuse me its patronage if I should ask it most humbly to petition His Majesty, if possible, for an extension of my stay abroad such as is enjoyed by travel scholars sent abroad by the Academy the year after me. If His Majesty is not pleased to permit me to stay for this period, then perhaps His Majesty the Sovereign Emperor will deign to give his consent only to extend my passport until June of next year, so that I would have time to finish the models I have undertaken. –

Artist Pavel Notbek
Grenada [sic], April 18, 1854

(English translation by Thomas Campbell)

Annex B

Copy of a Report by Karl Rakhau and Karl Kol'man, ca. 1863

RGIA, f. 789, op. 4 1864, d. 127, l. 1–2

Копия с записки пенсионеров Академии Кольмана и Рахау.

Башня Инфант составляла в свое время часть укрепления Альгамбры и находится в небольшом расстоянии от этого знаменитого дворца. Первоначальное значение этой башни вероятно было оборонительное, вследствие чего фасад не представляет никакой художественной архитектурной отделки и только внутренность сосредоточивает в себя все богатство и вкус архитектуры того времени.

Постройку этой башни можно отнести ко II половине 14 века, судя по надписям арабским, несколько раз повторяющихся в числе орнаментов и выражающих следующее:

“Слава нашему Владыке Абу-Абдиллаху Алмостанви Паллаху”.

Абу-Абдиллах было прозвище Мухаммеда V, царствовавшего в Гренаде от 1345 до 1359 года, и потом от 1362 до 1391 года; Алмостанви Пиллах было прозвище Юсафа II, царствовавшего от 1391 до 1392.

Башня Инфант представляет собою чрезвычайно много интересного своим общим. По расположению плана она может вполне соответствовать нашим потребностям. Плафон главного зала, равно как и множество орнаментов и изразцов не существуют в настоящее время, что мы реставрировали, основываясь частью на остатках самой башни, частью же на образцах того времени, находящихся в других местах Альгамбры.

Самая постройка вся из кирпича, но орнаменты из цемента весьма твердого, который уцелел от разрушительного влияния времени.

В поперечном разрезе мы попробовали передать обыкновение Мавров украшать свои орнаменты рас-

Copy of a Report from the Academy Travel Scholars Kol'man and Rakhau

The Infants' Tower was once part of the Alhambra's fortifications and is located a short distance from the famous palace. The tower's original function was defensive, and the façades are thus not ornamented in any way. Only the interior presents the richness and grace of the period's architecture.

Construction of the tower can be dated to the second half of the fourteenth century, judging by the inscription in Arabic that is repeated several times in the ornamentation:

“Glory to our Lord Abu-Abdillakh Almostanvi Pallakh [sic]”.

Abu-Abdillakh was the byname of Muhammad V, who reigned in Grenada [sic] from 1345 to 1359, and then from 1362 to 1391; Almostanvi Pllakh [sic] was the byname of Iusuf II, who reigned from 1391 to 1392.

The Infants' Tower is generally extremely interesting. Its layout may very well meet our needs. The ceiling in the main hall, much of the ornamentation, and many of the decorative tiles do not exist at the present time. Based partly on the remains of the tower itself, partly on examples from the period found in other places in the Alhambra, we have restored it.

The building itself is made entirely of brick, but the ornamentation is made from a very hard cement that has survived the ravages of time.

In the cross-section drawing we have attempted to convey the Moorish custom of coloring and gilding ornamentation, and we dare to think we have succeeded in conveying the type and tone of this ar-

краской и позолотой и мы смеем думать, что нам удалось передать тип и тон этой архитектуры, которая хотя измельченная и испещренная до крайности, не упускает из виду никогда гармонию общего и масс.

Состояние современного забвения и разрушения, в котором мы нашли этот памятник искусства того времени, полный оригинальности и художественного интереса, подало нам мысль сделать реставрацию башни, желая сохранить нашими слабыми средствами, для истории архитектуры страницу до сих пор почти не известно. В одном только увраже г. Овен Джонс мы нашли две небольшие гравюры этой башни и те не дают никакого понятия о ней по причине весьма мелкого масштаба.

В то время как большая часть памятников прошедших веков всех стилей, были изучены и воспроизведены художниками посредством гравюры и живописи, стиль мавританский, сравнительно с прочими, известен очень поверхностно и разрабатывается весьма незначительным числом художников.

Странное пренебрежение к стилю, рожденному великой и художественной эпохой, поэтическим и высоко образованным народом. В наш критический век, изучая разные стили архитектуры, нашли основные правила и законы там, где прежде не видели ничего кроме каприза причудливой фантазии, логичную последовательность там, где предполагали только игру случая, рациональность и удовлетворение потребности в том что казалось только стремлением к оригинальному и странному.

Понятно, что мы, посвятившие столько драгоценного для нас времени на изучение мавританского стиля и исполнение нашей работы, не имели никогда в виду сделать господствующим этот стиль в наших постройках, которые должны быть ни чем иным, как выражением наших убеждений и потребностей. Наш век столько же ни мавританский сколько не готический, не римский и не греческий, наша обязанность изучить каждый из них и иметь только как основание и точку, исходя при применении архитектуры к нашим потребностям и стремлениям.

Вот почему признавая мавританский стиль одинаково достойным изучения наравне с прочими, мы

chitecture, which, although fragmented and mottled in the extreme, never loses sight of the harmony of the parts and their sum.

The current state of neglect and destruction in which we found this landmark of the art of that age, [which is] brimming with originality and artistic interest, suggested to us the idea of restoring the tower, as, using the feeble means at our disposal, we wished to preserve a page of architectural history that is still almost unknown. Only in the illustrated book of Mr. Owen Jones have we found two small prints of the tower, and neither gave any sense of it due to their rather small scale.

While most landmarks in all the styles of past ages have been studied and reproduced by artists in prints and paintings, our knowledge of the Moorish style compared to the others is quite superficial, and [the style] has been investigated by a very small number of artists.

This neglect of a style born of a great artistic age and a poetic, highly educated nation is strange. In our critical day and age, by studying various architectural styles we have discovered basic rules and laws where earlier nothing other than the whims of the imagination were seen, a thoroughgoing consistency where only the play of chance was supposed, and rationality and the fulfilment of needs in what had seemed a mere striving after originality and strangeness.

It is clear that we, who have devoted so much of our precious time to studying the Moorish style and producing our work, never meant to make it the dominant style of our buildings, which should be nothing more than expressions of our beliefs and needs. Our day and age is not as Moorish as it is Gothic, Roman, or Greek. We are obliged to study each [of these styles] and hold them only as a base and point of departure when we apply architecture to our needs and aspirations.

That is why, acknowledging the Moorish style as worthy of study as the others, we undertook this work with the intention of faithfully carrying it out as our contribution to the progress of art history. It

заялись разработкой сей с намерением добросовестно исполнить труд предпринимаемый нами, принося тем нашу лепту в развитие истории искусства. На сколько мы достигли нашей цели не нам судить, и мы охотно повергаем труд наш на обсуждение людей более сведущих и опытных.

В настоящее время мы снимаем кроме вышеупомянутой 'башни Инфант' рисунки детальные и материалы для другой башни torre de la Cautiva не меньше интересной, и в особенности замечательной [...?] и разнообразием орнаментации, [...?] произведение которых в целости мы отложим до другого времени.

(Transcription by Katrin Kaufmann)

is not for us to judge the extent to which we have attained our goal, and so we willingly submit our work to the counsel of more knowledgeable and experienced people.

At present, in addition to the abovementioned "Infants' Tower", we are making detailed drawings and materials for another tower, the torre de la Cautiva, which is no less interesting and is especially remarkable for the variety of its ornamentation, whose [re]production as a whole we shall postpone to another time.

(English translation by Thomas Campbell)

Catalogue

Catalogue

This catalogue lists both the preserved and the lost neo-Moorish buildings and interiors in St. Petersburg and its surroundings, including eclectic Orientalizing buildings and interiors with individual neo-Moorish elements. It does not include unrealized projects. Each object has a catalogue number: every façade or interiors of a particular building built in neo-Moorish style has its own number (e. g. Cat. nos 17–19). The same applies to an interior that has been extensively redesigned: each construction phase has its own catalogue number (e. g. Cat. nos 9 and 35). Many historic buildings in St. Petersburg are known by several names, usually those of their various owners. The catalogue gives the name corresponding to the time of construction. To facilitate identification, current addresses rather than historical ones are given. However, historically-transmitted names of interiors have been adopted unchanged, with the transcription of the Russian designation in brackets. Neo-Moorish interiors are often found in buildings with a complex construction history. The information under “Construction” and “Architect” refers to the interior in question and not necessarily to the entire building. The last line of each entry indicates where it is discussed in this book.

This catalogue is certainly not complete, and there may be other examples in St. Petersburg of which the author is unaware. A few neo-Moorish interiors from the second half of the nineteenth century, about whose architects and commissioners very little is known, or of which only a few remains exist, are not included in the catalogue. Such interiors can be found at the following addresses in St. Petersburg:

- 6 St. Isaac’s Square (Isaakievskaja ploščad); Mariinskii Palace
- 53 Bolshaya Morskaya Street (Bol’shaia Morskaja ulitsa)/8 Pochtamtskiy Lane (Pochtamtskii pereulok); Villa Golenishchev-Kutuzov-Tolstoi/Villa Korneeva
- 10 Millionnaya Street (Millionnaia ulitsa)/9 Moyka Embankment (naberezhnaia reki Moiki); Villa Shtakensneider/Betling House/Bibikov House
- 54 Nevsky Avenue (Nevskii prospekt); House of Abram Ushakov
- 19 Millionnaya Street (Millionnaia ulitsa); Novo-Mikhailovskii Palace, two interiors in the rear building

Cat. no. 1

**Moorish Pavilion (*Pavillon Moresque*),
Catherinehof**

Address:

Catherinehof (park in the historic district Ekaterinhof
in southwest St. Petersburg)

Construction:

1823/24

Architect:

Auguste de Montferrand (1786–1858)

Builder-owner:

Municipal administration of St. Petersburg

Condition:

Defunct.

Short description:

Pavilion of which the horseshoe arches are the only
allusion to Islamic architecture.

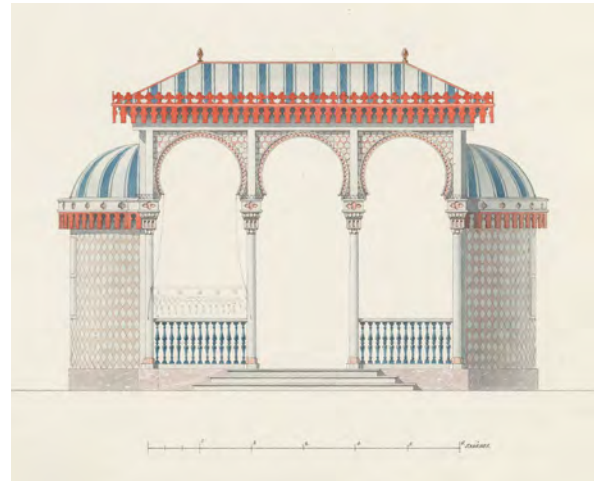
Image:

NIMRAKh, A-5848, ca. 1823

Literature:

Punin 2011, 43; Kuznetsov 2017

See pp. 52, 56; Fig. 39



Cat. no. 2

**Neo-Moorish Living Room,
Grafskaia Slavianka Manor**

Address:

10 Pavlovsk Highway (Pavlovskoe shosse),
Dinamo (Pavlovsk)

Construction:

1830–1835

Architect:

Aleksandr Briullov (1798–1877);
see also Cat. nos 3 and 4

Builder-owner:

Countess Iulia Samoilova (1803–1875);
see also Cat. no. 3



Condition:

Original defunct. Building destroyed in World War II, reconstructed 2014–2016. Some furnishings now in Arolsen Castle in Bad Arolsen (Germany), to which they were taken in the mid-nineteenth century.

Short description:

Eclectic interior with neo-Nasrid elements. Alhambresque wooden arcade with ataurique decoration, mirrors and lambrequins with a design in neo-Moorish style, ceiling with a painted ataurique pattern and inscriptions in pseudo-Arabic script. Eclectic furniture, possibly Oriental fabrics.

Image:

GE, ÈRZh-1971, late 1830s/early 1840s

Literature:

Ol' 1955, 34–37; Bartenev/Batazhkova 1984, 122, 124–125;
Guseva et al. 2014, 165, 167

See pp. 59–66, 69, 70, 74, 79; Figs 46, 47, 50, 51

Cat. no. 3

Neo-Moorish Boudoir, Grafaskaia Slavianka Manor

Address:

10 Pavlovsk Highway (Pavlovskoe shosse),
Dinamo (Pavlovsk)

Construction:

1830–1835

Architect:

Aleksandr Briullov (1798–1877);
see also Cat. nos 2 and 4

Builder-owner:

Countess Iulia Samoilova (1803–1875);
see also Cat. no. 2

Condition:

Defunct. Building destroyed in World War II, reconstructed 2014–2016. Some furnishings now in Arolsen Castle in Bad Arolsen (Germany), to which they were taken in the mid-nineteenth century.

Short description:

Eclectic interior with painted ceiling imitating a Nasrid armadura ataujerada.

Image:

GE, ÉRZh-1973, late 1830s/early 1840s

Literature:

Ol' 1955, 34–37; Bartenev/Batazhkova 1984, 122, 124–125;
Guseva et al. 2014, 166–167

See pp. 59–66, 69, 70, 79; Fig. 48



Cat. no. 4

**Aleksandra Fiodorovna's Neo-Moorish Bathroom,
Winter Palace**

Address:

38 Palace Embankment (Dvortsovaia naberezhnaia),
St. Petersburg

Construction:

1838/39

Architect:

Aleksandr Briullov (1798–1877);
see also Cat. nos 2 and 3

Builder-owner:

Tsar Nicholas I (1796–1855) and Aleksandra Fiodorovna
(Charlotte of Prussia, 1798–1860)

Condition:

Defunct, except for some furnishings in neo-Moorish
style (e. g. clock, vases).

Short description:

Alhambresque interior. Walls decorated with polylobed
arches, neo-Nasrid columns, and patterns in neo-
Moorish style (stucco and paint, gilded and silver-
plated). Fireplace, horseshoe-shaped window with
stained glass, and carpet inspired by Nasrid forms.
Probably Persian fabrics. Earlier furniture (partly
Orientalizing furniture) by Auguste de Montferrand.

Image:

GE, OR-14389, 1870

Literature:

Bashutskii 1839, 116–118; Punin 2011, 56–57; Arutiunian
2012, 16–18; Zimin 2012, 298, 402–404; Pashkova 2014,
258–261

See pp. 26 (fn), 67–73, 76, 82 (fn), 168, 217; Figs 55, 56, 59



Cat. no. 5

Neo-Moorish Interior, Villa of Aleksei L'vov

Address:

22 Karavannaya Street (Karavannaia ulitsa),
St. Petersburg

Construction:

1841

Architect:

Alberto Cavos (Al'bert Kavos, 1800–1863)

Builder-owner:

Aleksei L'vov (1798–1870)

Condition:

Preserved; not yet restored. Fountain removed, doors replaced, door added.

Short description:

Earliest preserved Alhambresque interior in St. Petersburg. Walls decorated with polylobed arches, neo-Nasrid capitals, transennae windows, a muqarnaş frieze (stucco, paint, gilding), and mirrors. Significant motifs on the decorated ceiling are ataurique and eight-pointed stars.

Image:

Nikita Andreev, 2017

Literature:

Kirikov/Ginzburg 1996, 148

See pp. 73–76; Figs 62–64



Cat. no. 6

Neo-Moorish Bedroom, Villa of Ivan Pashkov

Address:

39 Liteyniy Avenue (Liteinyi prospekt), St. Petersburg

Construction:

1843–1845

Architect:

Harald Julius von Bosse (Garald Bosse, 1812–1894);
see also Cat. nos 7 and 11

Builder-owner:

Ivan Pashkov (1805–1869)

Condition:

Only remnants preserved: arch supported by columns,
ceiling beams, door.

Short description:

Originally neo-Moorish bedroom with alcove. Remaining decoration (e. g. polylobed arch on neo-Nasrid columns and capitals) heavily overpainted. Parts of original painted decoration preserved on carved door with lazo decoration.

Image:

Nikita Andreev, 2017

Literature:

Andronova 2008, 71–72 (erroneously attributed to Aleksandr Rezanov); Andreeva 2009, 129, 2012, 84

See pp. 76–79; Figs 67, 68



Cat. no. 7

Orientalizing Interior, Villa of Lev Kochubei

Address:

30 Tchaikovsky Street (ulitsa Chaikovskogo),
St. Petersburg

Construction:

1846–1849

Architect:

Harald Julius von Bosse (Garald Bosse, 1812–1894);
see also Cat. nos 6 and 11

Builder-owner:

Lev Kochubei (1810–1890)

Condition:

Only ceiling preserved.

Short description:

Probably originally an Orientalizing cabinet with neo-Moorish elements. What is known of Bosse's oeuvre suggests a mainly Alhambresque interior, although the ceiling has only a few ataurique decorations.

Image:

Nikita Andreev, 2018

Literature:

Andreeva 2012, 107, 109

See pp. 77, 78



Cat. no. 8

**Orientalizing Interior,
Palace of Countess Maria Vorontsova**

Address:

106 Moyka Embankment (naberezhnaia reki Moiki),
St. Petersburg

Construction:

1856/57

Architect:

Ippolito Monighetti (1819–1878);
see also Cat. nos 9, 10 and 13

Builder-owner:

Countess Maria Vorontsova (1819–1895)

Condition:

Defunct.

Short description:

Eclectic Orientalizing interior. Corbels with muqarnas, walls decorated with a sebka pattern, niches alluding to Ottoman or Persian models. The fireplace, whose lower part resembles an Ottoman fireplace, is crowned with a muqarnas frieze and a ribbed dome.

Image:

Stolitsa i usad'ba, no. 5, 1914, 10

Literature:

Broitman 2009, 228; Zherikhina 2011, 67, 84–85

See p. 175



Cat. no. 9

**Oriental Living Room (*Vostochnaia gostinaia*),
Iusupov Palace**

Address:

94 Moyka Embankment (naberezhnaia reki Moiki),
St. Petersburg

Construction:

1858/59

Architect:

Charles Rohault de Fleury (1801–1875), with a few
adaptions by Ippolito Monighetti (1819–1878)

Builder-owner:

Prince Nikolai Iusupov (1827–1891); see also Cat. no. 10

Condition:

Ceiling, frieze and fireplace preserved; otherwise
redesigned (see Cat. no. 35).

Short description:

Eclectic Orientalizing interior. Ceiling and frieze of
carton-pierre with lazo and ataurique decoration,
respectively muqarnaş and the Nasrid coat of arms.

Image:

GRM, R-16533, 1863

Literature:

Listov 1976, 73; Zaitseva 2003, 129–130, 2009

See pp. 16–19, 26, 45 (fn), 159–163, 165, 211, 212, 216;
Figs 1–3, 5, 164, 165



Cat. no. 10

Persian or Oriental Boudoir (*Persidskii/Vostochnyi buduar*), Iusupov Palace

Address:

94 Moyka Embankment (naberezhnaia reki Moiki),
St. Petersburg

Construction:

1858/59

Architect:

Ippolito Monighetti (1819–1878);
see also Cat. nos 8, 9 and 13

Builder-owner:

Prince Nikolai Iusupov (1827–1891) and Tatiana
Iusupova (née Ribeaupierre, 1828–1879);
see also Cat. no. 9

Condition:

Only ceiling and corresponding frieze preserved.

Short description:

Eclectic Orientalizing interior. Ceiling, frieze, and window decoration of carton-pierre; pattern and coloring of the ceiling evocative of Iranian ceramic tiles. Walls covered with wallpaper or fabric whose sebka pattern resembles the stucco ornamentation in the Court of the Lions at the Alhambra.

Image:

GRM, R-16539, 1865

Literature:

Listov 1976, 67–69; Zaitseva 2003, 130–131, 2009;
Andronova 2008, 67

See p. 165; Fig. 169



Cat. no. 11

**Neo-Moorish St. Mary Magdalene Chapel,
Bariatinskii Mansion**

Address:

46–48 Tchaikovsky Street (ulitsa Chaikovskogo),
St. Petersburg

Construction:

1858–1861

Architect:

Harald Julius von Bosse (Garald Bosse, 1812–1894);
see also Cat. nos 6 and 7

Builder-owner:

Vladimir Bariatinskii (1817–1875)

Condition:

Defunct.

Short description:

Alhambresque interior apart from iconostasis in
Russian style. Polylobed arches, neo-Nasrid capitals,
muqarnaş friezes, ataurique. Drum with squinches
decorated with muqarnaş. Cupola pierced with small
openings alluding to those of a ḥammām.

Image:

GARF, f. 643, op. 1, d. 192, l. 27, ca. 1900

Literature:

Tikhomirov 1906, 93; Antonov/Kobak 1996, no. 166;
Andreeva 2009, 159–161, 2012, 132–133; Saburova 2014,
290–291 (images erroneously attributed to church on
the Mar'ino estate in Ivanovskoe)

See pp. 79, 165–169, 177; Figs 170, 171



Cat. no. 12

**Neo-Moorish Dining Room,
Villa of Alexander von Stieglitz**

Address:

68 English Embankment (Angliiskaia naberezhnaia),
St. Petersburg

Construction:

1859–1862

Architect:

Aleksandr Krakau (1817–1888)

Builder-owner:

Baron Alexander von Stieglitz (Aleksandr von Shtiglits,
1814–1884)

Condition:

Stucco decoration preserved but painted white.

Short description:

Alhambresque interior. Friezes, corbels, and pendent domes with muqarnaş. Stucco panels with lazo, sebka, and ataurique ornamentations. Inscriptions in Arabic and pseudo-Arabic script.

Image:

GE, OR-44610, 1871

Literature:

Andronova 2008, 120–122 (erroneously attributed to Maximilian Messmacher)

See pp. 169–177, 189; Figs 173–176, 180, 181, 184



Cat. no. 13

House of Vera Gornostaeva-Monighetti

Address:

53/28 Oktyabrsky Boulevard (Oktiabr'skii bul'var),
Pushkin

Construction:

Ca. 1860

Architect:

Ippolito Monighetti (1819–1878);
see also Cat. nos 8–10

Builder-owner:

Ippolito Monighetti (1819–1878) and
Vera Gornostaeva-Monighetti (1825–1906)

Condition:

Preserved; renovated in 2017.

Short description:

Building with a few Orientalizing elements at its avant-corps. Window on first floor with wooden sebka lambrequin, balcony on second floor with wooden polylobed arch (reconstruction based on remains of an original arch?), cupola.

Image:

Katrin Kaufmann, 2017

See p. 175



Cat. no. 14

Neo-Moorish Cabinet, Villa of Franz San-Galli

Address:

62 Ligovsky Avenue (Ligovskii prospekt), St. Petersburg

Construction:

1869–1872

Architect:

Karl Rakhau (1830–1880);
see also Cat. nos 21 and 22

Builder-owner:

Franz Friedrich Wilhelm San-Galli (1824–1908)

Condition:

Partially preserved; restored 2005. Lower wall zone originally painted with decoration imitating alicatados, now replaced by wooden paneling. Access to adjacent dance hall now closed. Original parquet floor missing.

Short description:

Alhambresque interior. Polylobed arches, neo-Nasrid capitals and corbels, transennae, muqarnaş frieze. Stucco panels with ataurique and lazo decorations. Ceiling imitates armadura apeinazada. Oriel with řaqas and muqarnaş vault. Inscriptions in Arabic script. Eclectic Orientalizing marble fireplace. Chandelier in the shape of eight-pointed star.

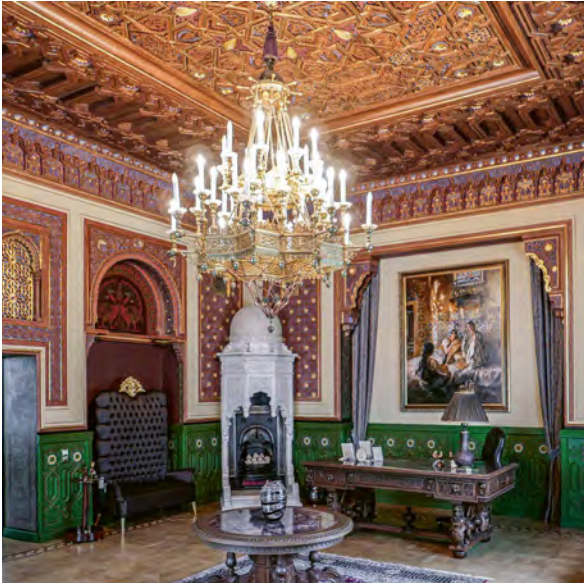
Image:

Katrin Kaufmann, 2015

Literature:

Smyshliaev 2007, 181–203; Andronova 2008, 82–85;
Krechmer 2012, 129–130, 134–135

See pp. 183–187, 202, 215 (fn); Figs 192–194, 196, 197



Cat. no. 15

**Neo-Moorish Boudoir of Maria Pavlovna,
Vladimir Palace**

Address:

26 Palace Embankment (Dvortsovaia naberezhnaia),
St. Petersburg

Construction:

Ca. 1870–1874

Architects:

Aleksandr Rezanov (1817–1887), Viktor Schröter
(Viktor Shrioter, 1839–1901), Ieronim Kitner
(1839–1929)

Builder-owner:

Grand Duke Vladimir Aleksandrovich (1847–1909)

Condition:

Preserved, including furniture; coloring of stucco
decoration changed slightly.

Short description:

Alhambresque interior. Painted decoration imitating
alicatados, stucco panels with sebka decoration,
muqarnaş friezes, transennae. Ṭāqa next to the win-
dow. Semi-dome with lazo ornamentation and cupola
with muqarnaş and lazo decoration. Inscriptions in
Arabic script. Marble fireplace of neo-Moorish design.
Orientalizing stool and small table. Door with carved
decoration alluding to arcades in Court of the Lions.

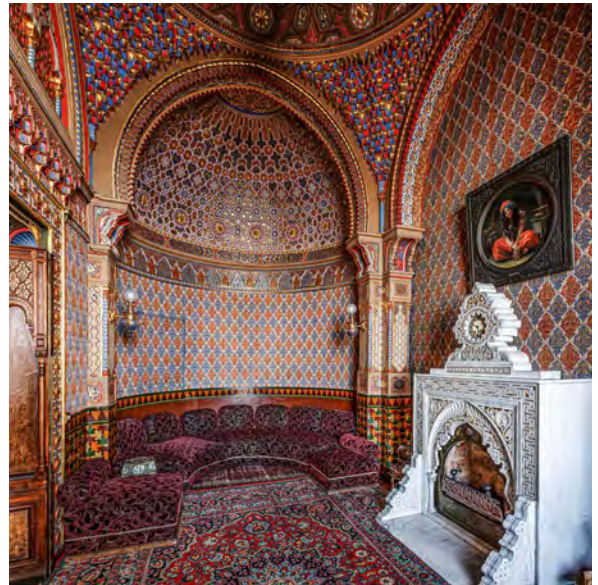
Image:

Katrin Kaufmann, 2017

Literature:

Borisova 1994; Velichenko/Miroljubova 1997; Kitner/
Nikolaeva 2000, 49; Khmel'nitskaia 2007, 117–121;
Andronova 2008, 88–91; Korneva et al. 2015, 74–75

See pp. 48, 185, 187–194; Figs 36, 200–202, 204, 205, 207,
208



Cat. no. 16

**Neo-Moorish Cabinet,
Villa of Aleksandr Polovtsov**

Address:

52 Bolshaya Morskaya Street (Bol'shaia Morskaia ulitsa), St. Petersburg

Construction:

1874

Architect:

Nikolai Briullov (1826–1885)

Builder-owner:

Aleksandr Polovtsov (1832–1909)

Condition:

Preserved; part of room partitioned off as hallway. Doors probably replaced; consoles along the walls missing.

Short description:

Alhambresque interior. Wooden paneling with geometric design, stucco panels with stylized sebka decoration, muqarnaş frieze. Ceiling with lazo and ataurique ornamentation. Marble fireplace with neo-Nasrid decoration.

Image:

Biriukova et al. 1996, 159 (1880s)

Literature:

Andronova 2008, 119–120 (erroneously attributed to Maximilian Messmacher); Andreeva 2014, 34, 36, 39

See pp. 84, 202; Figs 222–224



Cat. no. 17

Muruzi House

Address:

24 Liteyniy Avenue (Liteinyi prospekt)/27 Pestel Street (ulitsa Pestelia)/14 Korolenko Street (ulitsa Korolenko), St. Petersburg

Construction:

1874–1877

Architects:

Aleksei Serebriakov (1836–1905), Piotr Shestov (1847–1914), Nikolai Sultanov (1850–1908); see also Cat. nos 18 and 19

Builder-owner:

Prince Aleksandr Muruzi (1807–1880); see also Cat. nos 18 and 19

Condition:

Preserved; some sections of the façades renovated.

Short description:

Façades with Alhambresque decorations. Horseshoe-shaped arches, neo-Nasrid capitals, muqarnas, ataurique, lazo. Inscriptions in Arabic script (some mirrored).

Image:

Katrin Kaufmann, 2017

Literature:

Kobak/Lur'e 1988a, 1988b, 1990, 1996; Iokhvidova 1991; Andronova 2008, 91–94; Savelev 2015, 61–79

See pp. 26, 194–202; Figs 210–214



Cat. no. 18

Neo-Moorish Staircase, Apartment of Prince Aleksandr Muruzi, Muruzi House

Address:

24 Liteyniy Avenue (Liteynyi prospekt), St. Petersburg

Construction:

1874–1877

Architects:

Aleksei Serebriakov (1836–1905), Piotr Shestov (1847–1914), Nikolai Sultanov (1850–1908); see also Cat. nos 17 and 19

Builder-owner:

Prince Aleksandr Muruzi (1807–1880); see also Cat. nos 17 and 19

Condition:

Preserved; stucco decoration partly damaged and painted white. Painted pattern on the walls largely painted over.

Short description:

Alhambresque vestibule and staircase. Lazo-decorated balustrade, columns, and neo-Nasrid muqarnaş capitals in marble. Stuccoed arcade with muqarnaş lambrequin. Stuccoed polylobed arches with ataurique, inscriptions in Arabic script, muqarnaş frieze. Ceiling imitates armadura with lazo decoration.

Image:

Katrin Kaufmann, 2017

Literature:

See Cat. no. 17

See pp. 26, 194, 197–200; Figs 214–217



Cat. no. 19

**Neo-Moorish Smoking Room, Apartment of
Prince Aleksandr Muruzi, Muruzi House**

Address:

24 Liteyniy Avenue (Liteinyi prospekt), St. Petersburg

Construction:

1874–1877

Architects:

Aleksei Serebriakov (1836–1905), Piotr Shestov
(1847–1914), Nikolai Sultanov (1850–1908);
see also Cat. nos 17 and 18

Builder-owner:

Prince Aleksandr Muruzi (1807–1880);
see also Cat. nos 17 and 18

Condition:

Preserved apart from original paneling or painted
pattern on lower walls.

Short description:

Alhambresque interior. Horseshoe-shaped arches,
neo-Nasrid capitals, stucco panels with sebka and
ataurique ornamentation, muqarnaş frieze. Ceiling
with lazo decoration and inscriptions in Arabic script.
Oriel with a muqarnaş vault. Luster with lazo decoration.

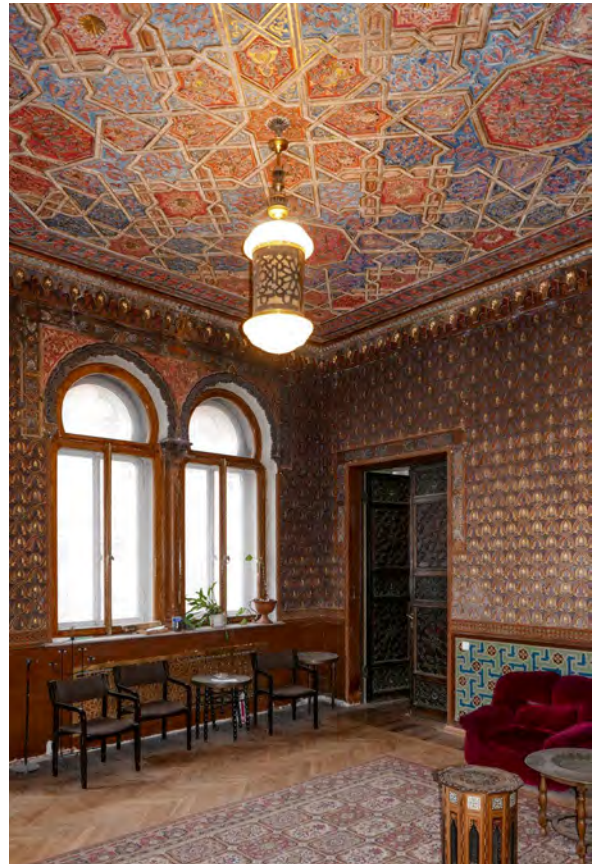
Image:

Nikita Andreev and Katrin Kaufmann, 2018

Literature:

See Cat. no. 17

See pp. 26, 194, 200; Figs 214, 219–221



Cat. no. 20

Orientalizing Interior, Villa of Mikhail Ustinov

Address:

3 Mokhovaya Street (Mokhovaia ulitsa), St. Petersburg

Construction:

1875/76

Architect:

Viktor Schröter (Viktor Shrioter, 1839–1901);
see also Cat. nos 15 and 23

Builder-owner:

Mikhail Ustinov (1841–1878)

Condition:

Preserved; restored.

Short description:

Eclectic Orientalizing interior with tiled fireplace.
Probably inspired by 1870s publications on Islamic architecture in North Africa and Ottoman Empire. Tiles imitate alicatados such in e. g. the Alcázar of Seville.

Image:

Anna Terekhova, 2014



Cat. no. 21

Neo-Moorish Interior, Villa of Il'ia Gromov

Address:

8 Palace Embankment (Dvortsovaia naberezhnaia)/
1 Mramorny Lane (Mramornyi pereulok),
St. Petersburg

Construction:

Ca. 1875–1879

Architect:

Karl Rakhau (1830–1880);
see also Cat. nos 14 and 22

Builder-owner:

Il'ia Gromov (1819/21–1882);
see also Cat. no. 22

Condition:

Preserved.

Short description:

Alhambresque interior apart from figurative paintings below ceiling. Sebka-decorated stucco panels, muqarnas frieze. Ceiling with lazo decoration imitates armadura apeinazada. Colorful painted ceiling decoration with ataurique evocative of Mudéjar armaduras, e. g. in the Alcázar of Seville.

Image:

Nikita Andreev, 2018

Literature:

Antonov 1995, 240; Andronova 2008, 85–86

See pp. 186, 215 (fn)



Cat. no. 22

Neo-Moorish Interior, Villa of Il'ia Gromov

Address:

1 Mramorny Lane (Mramornyi pereulok)/7 Millionnaya Street (Millionnaia ulitsa), St. Petersburg

Construction:

Ca. 1876–1879

Architect:

Karl Rakhau (1830–1880);
see also Cat. nos 14 and 21

Builder-owner:

Il'ia Gromov (1819/21–1882);
see also Cat. no. 21

Condition:

Original decoration of wall surfaces unknown;
otherwise preserved.

Short description:

Doors with lazo decoration. White marble fireplace with ataurique ornamentation and mirror in horseshoe-shaped frame above. Muqarnaş frieze. Ceiling imitates armadura with lazo decoration.

Image:

citywalls.ru, 2011

Literature:

Antonov 1995, 240; Andronova 2008, 86–87

See p. 186



Cat. no. 23

House of German Vuchikhovskii

Address:

33 Rimsky-Korsakov Avenue (prospekt Rimskogo-Korsakova), St. Petersburg

Construction:

1877

Architect:

Viktor Schröter (Viktor Shrioter, 1839–1901);
see also Cat. nos 15 and 20

Builder-owner:

German Vuchikhovskii (life data unknown)

Condition:

Preserved; renovated 2006.

Short description:

Eclectic façade with Orientalizing decoration. Probably inspired by 1870s publications on Islamic architecture in North Africa and Ottoman Empire. A few decorations with ataurique ornaments. Stained-glass window with lazo decoration in staircase recently heavily restored.

Image:

Katrin Kaufmann, 2017

Literature:

Nikolaeva 2007, 86–88; Arutiunian 2012, 18–20

See p. 202



Cat. no. 24

**Neo-Moorish Interior, Villa of Zinaida Skobeleva
(Villa Rumiantsev)**

Address:

44 English Embankment (Angliiskaia naberezhnaia),
St. Petersburg

Construction:

Ca. 1884

Architect:

Aleksandr Stepanov (1856–1913); see also Cat. no. 34

Builder-owner:

Zinaida Skobeleva (1856–1899), Countess de Beauharnais, Duchess of Leuchtenberg

Condition:

Only ceiling and window frames preserved, testifying to former neo-Moorish interior.

Short description:

Ceiling with lazo decoration imitating armadura apeinazada.

Image:

Katrin Kaufmann, 2015

Literature:

Solov'iova 1996, 199, 201

See p. 215 (fn)



Cat. no. 25

**Neo-Moorish Living Room of Grand Duke Piotr
Nikolaevich, Nikolaevskii Palace**

Address:

4 Truda Square (Ploshchad' Truda), St. Petersburg

Construction:

Ca. 1884

Architect:

(?) Nikolai Basin (1844–1917)

Builder-owner:

Grand Duke Piotr Nikolaevich (1864–1931)

Condition:

Preserved; stucco decoration on walls and ceiling originally white.

Short description:

Alhambresque interior. Painted lazo decoration on lower wall zone, repeated on doors. Polylobed arches on artificial stone columns with neo-Nasrid capitals. Ataurique-decorated spandrels. Walls with lazo ornamentation, transennae, and inscriptions in Arabic script. Squinches with muqarnaş. Cupola with lazo ornamentation and star-shaped openings. Terrazzo floor with braided ribbon and star patterns.

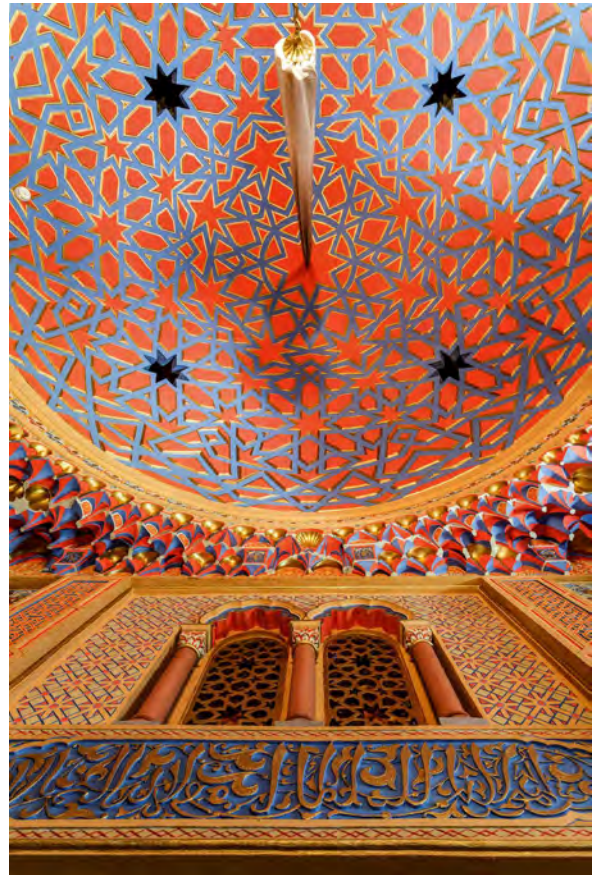
Image:

Katrin Kaufmann, 2017

Literature:

Andronova 2008, 103–105

See pp. 205, 215 (fn); Figs 225–227



Cat. no. 26

**Neo-Moorish Smoking Room,
Villa of the Brusnitsyn Brothers**

Address:

27 Kozhevnaia Line (Kozhevnaia liniia),
St. Petersburg

Construction:

1884–1886

Architect:

Anatolii Kovsharov (1848–after 1917)

Builder-owner:

Aleksandr (life data unknown), Georgii (†1934) and
Nikolai (life data unknown) Brusnitsyn

Condition:

Preserved in original condition (?)

Short description:

Alhambresque interior. Wooden paneling with neo-Nasrid geometric design. Stucco panels with ataurique, lazo, and sebka ornamentation. Cupola with muqarnaş and lazo decoration. Inscriptions in Arabic script. Oriel with columns and neo-Nasrid capitals. Original mirror and glass chandelier.

Image:

Nikita Andreev and Katrin Kaufmann, 2017

Literature:

Kirikov et al. 2005, 326; Andronova 2008, 98–100

See p. 205; Figs 228–231



Cat. no. 27

**Neo-Moorish Living Room,
Villa of Sergei von Derviz**

Address:

33 Galernaya Street (Galernaia ulitsa), St. Petersburg

Construction:

1885

Architect:

Piotr Shreiber (1841–1903)

Builder-owner:

Sergei von Derviz (1863–1943)

Condition:

Preserved.

Short description:

Alhambresque interior. Polylobed arches, neo-Nasrid capitals and brackets. Stucco panels with ataurique and sebka ornamentation and Nasrid coat of arms. Ṭāqas with muqarnaṣ vaults. Muqarnaṣ frieze. Ceiling with neo-Mamluk rounded beams, and lazo decoration. Fireplace of neo-Moorish design. Doors with pointed horseshoe-shaped windows. Inscriptions in Arabic script above doors and on floor. Parquet with inlaid ataurique decoration. Original luster.

Image:

Katrin Kaufmann, 2017

Literature:

Solov'iova 2007, 97; Andronova 2008, 95–96

See pp. 205, 215, 215 (fn); Figs 232–234, 250



Cat. no. 28

Main Hall of Small Synagogue

Address:

2a Lermontovsky Avenue (Lermontovskii prospekt),
St. Petersburg

Construction:

1883–1886

Architects:

Ivan Shaposhnikov (1833–1898), Lev Bakhman
(1830–1896); see also Cat. nos 29–31

Builder-owner:

Jewish Community of St. Petersburg;
see also Cat. nos 29–31

Condition:

Preserved; restored 2011–2015.

Short description:

Alhambresque interior. Ataurique and stylized lazo ornamentation on walls and ceiling. Neo-Nasrid capitals.

Image:

Andrei Belimov-Gushchin, 2017

Literature:

Stasov 1872; Stasov 1879; Gessen 2001; Kleinmann
2006, 317–330; Iakerson 2016, 11–17, 20–21, 25–26

See p. 205



Cat. no. 29

Grand Choral Synagogue

Address:

2 Lermontovskiy Avenue (Lermontovskii prospekt),
St. Petersburg

Construction:

1883–1893

Architects:

Ivan Shaposhnikov (1833–1898), Lev Bakhman
(1830–1896), Aleksei Malov (1841–1901);
see also Cat. nos 28, 30, and 31

Builder-owner:

Jewish Community of St. Petersburg;
see also Cat. nos 28, 30, and 31

Condition:

Preserved; restored ca. 1998–2001.

Short description:

Eclectic Orientalizing building alluding to Persian architecture (façade with a large porch (*iwan*) and flanking turrets reminiscent of minarets), Mamluk architecture (dome and windows), Nasrid decoration (neo-Nasrid capitals, friezes with *muqarnaş* and *lazo*, *ataurique*).

Image:

shutterstock.com, photo 1673264200, 2020

Literature:

Stasov 1872, 1879; Wischnitzer 1964, 209; Künzl 1984,
421–423; Gessen 2001; Kleinmann 2006, 317–330;
Iakerson 2016, 11–17, 20–21, 25–26

See pp. 28, 205; Fig. 236



Cat. no. 30

Main Hall, Grand Choral Synagogue

Address:

2 Lermontovsky Avenue (Lermontovskii prospekt),
St. Petersburg

Construction:

1883–1898

Architects:

Ivan Shaposhnikov (1833–1898), Lev Bakhman
(1830–1896), Aleksei Malov (1841–1901);
see also Cat. nos 28, 29, and 31

Builder-owner:

Jewish Community of St. Petersburg;
see also Cat. nos 28, 29, and 31

Condition:

Preserved; restored ca. 1998–2001.

Short description:

Orientalizing interior with Alhambresque elements. Neo-Nasrid capitals, some with muqarnaş. Horse-shoe-shaped windows, stained glass with lazo decoration. Torah ark with polylobed arches, neo-Nasrid capitals, and ataurique ornamentation. Current decoration not all proved to date from late nineteenth century.

Image:

Katrin Kaufmann, 2017

Literature:

See Cat. no. 29

See p. 205; Fig. 235



Cat. no. 31

Wedding Hall, Grand Choral Synagogue

Address:

2 Lermontovsky Avenue (Lermontovskii prospekt),
St. Petersburg

Construction:

1883–1898

Architects:

Ivan Shaposhnikov (1833–1898), Lev Bakhman
(1830–1896), Aleksei Malov (1841–1901);
see also Cat. nos 28–30

Builder-owner:

Jewish Community of St. Petersburg;
see also Cat. nos 28–30

Condition:

Preserved; restored ca. 1998–2001.

Short description:

Eclectic Orientalizing interior with Alhambresque and neo-Gothic elements. Horseshoe-shaped arches, neo-Nasrid capitals, muqarnaş. Cupola with ataurique decoration. Stained-glass windows with lazo decoration. Current decoration not all proved to date from late nineteenth century.

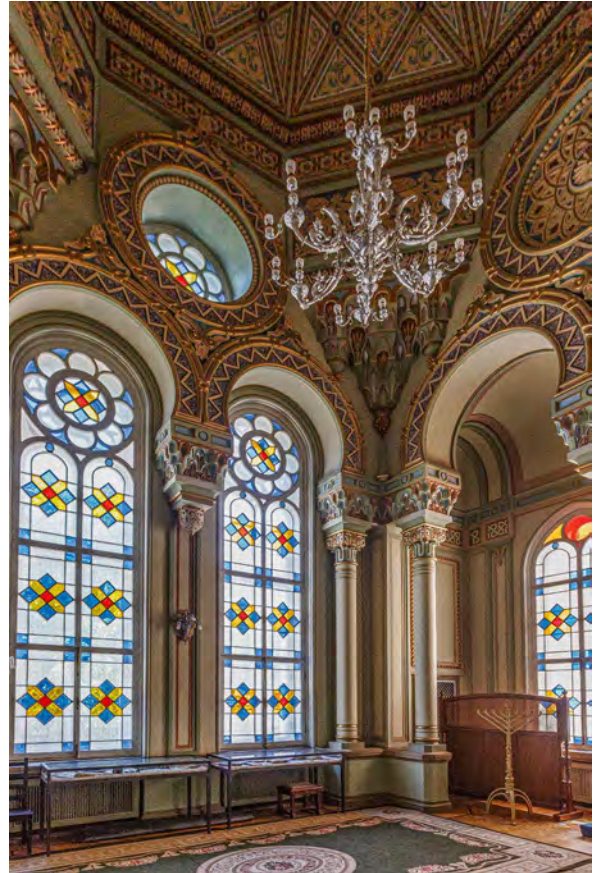
Image:

Katrin Kaufmann, 2017

Literature:

See Cat. no. 29

See p. 205; Fig. 237



Cat. no. 32

Orientalizing Interior, Villa of Pavel von Derviz

Address:

28 English Embankment (Angliiskaia naberezhnaia),
St. Petersburg

Construction:

Ca. 1890

Architect:

Aleksandr Krasovskii (1848–1918)

Builder-owner:

Pavel von Derviz (1870–1943)

Condition:

Preserved.

Short description:

Eclectic Orientalizing interior with Alhambresque elements. Polylobed arches, capitals with muqarnaş, ataurique ornamentation.

Image:

Andrei Belimov-Gushchin, 2017

Literature:

Solov'iova 2007, 70



Cat. no. 33

**Neo-Moorish Living Room,
Villa of Aleksandr Sheremetev**

Address:

4 Kutuzov Embankment (Kutuzova naberezhnaia)/18
Shpalernaya Street (Shpalernaia ulitsa)/2 Krichevskiy
Lane (Krichevskii pereulok), St. Petersburg

Construction:

1890/91

Architects:

Vasilii Prussakov (1854–1918/24), Vasilii Turgenev
(1842–1893), Aleksandr von Gogen (1856–1914), Dmitrii
Zaitsev (1887–1917)

Builder-owner:

Aleksandr Sheremetev (1859–1931)

Condition:

Preserved; restored after fire in the 1990s. New coloring.

Short description:

Alhambresque interior. Sebka-ornamented plaster panels, muqarnas frieze, neo-Nasrid brackets. Ceiling with lazo decoration.

Image:

Andronova 2008, Fig. 186

Literature:

Andronova 2008, 133–135



Cat. no. 34

**Moorish Living Room (*Mavritanskaia gostinaia*),
Iusupov Palace**

Address:

94 Moyka Embankment (naberezhnaia reki Moiki),
St. Petersburg

Construction:

Ca. 1895

Architect:

Aleksandr Stepanov (1856–1913); see also Cat. no. 24

Builder-owner:

Princess Zinaida Iusupova (1861–1939) and Prince
Feliks Iusupov (1856–1928), Count Sumarkov-Elston

Condition:

Preserved; restored 2013–2015. Ceiling, associated
frieze, and fireplace originate from former Oriental
Living Room of 1858/59 (see Cat. no. 9).

Short description:

Alhambresque interior. Arcade with polylobed arches,
neo-Nasrid columns and capitals. Marble floor with
lazo decoration. Marble and imitation marble paneling
allude to alicatados. Stucco panels with sebka and atau-
rique decoration, painted sebka pattern, and repeated
ṭāqas forming a frieze. Inscriptions in Arabic script.
Transennae.

Image:

theartnewspaper.ru, 2015

Literature:

Fedorova 1999, 32–33; Zaitseva 2003, 129, 148–150

See pp. 17–19, 211–217; Figs 5, 246–249, 251, 252



Cat. no. 35

Neo-Moorish Interior, Villa of Nikolai Spiridonov

Address:

58 Furshtatskaya Street (Furshtatskaia ulitsa),
St. Petersburg

Construction:

1895–1897

Architect:

Vasilii Svin'in (1865–1939)

Builder-owner:

Nikolai Spiridonov (1851–1914)

Condition:

Preserved.

Short description:

Alhambresque interior. Tiles imitating alicatados. Sebka-decorated stucco panels. Polylobed arch, neo-Nasrid columns, capitals, corbels. Inscriptions in Arabic script. Carved doors with lazo decoration.

Image:

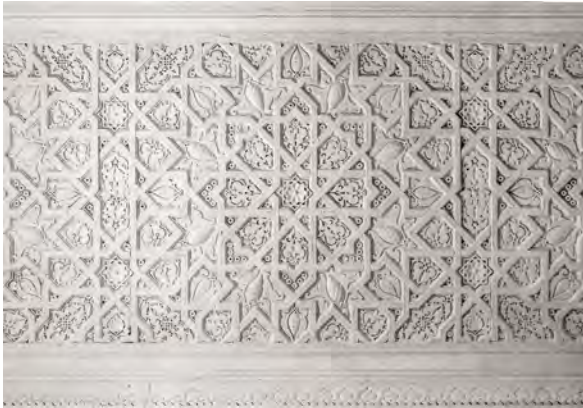
Katrin Kaufmann, 2017

Literature:

Dubin 2005, 374–375; Andronova 2008, 141–143

See p. 205; Figs 238–240





Cat. no. 36

**Neo-Moorish Interior, Villa Sil'vanskii
(or Sleptsov)**

Address:

9 Bolshaya Konyushennaya Street (Bol'shaia Kon-iushennaia ulitsa), St. Petersburg

Construction:

1899 (or 1902)

Architect:

Leonid Fufaevskii (born 1865); see also Cat. no. 37

Builder-owner:

T. Sil'vanskii (or V. Sleptsov); see also Cat. no. 37

Condition:

Only the ceiling and a frieze preserved, testifying to a former neo-Moorish interior on second floor. Painted white. Part of room partitioned off as hallway.

Short description:

Alhambresque muqarnas frieze, and ceiling with lazo and ataurique ornamentation.

Image:

Katrin Kaufmann, 2017

Literature:

Kirikov 2003, 160–161

See p. 199 (fn)

Cat. no. 37

**Neo-Moorish Interior, Villa Sil'vanskii
(or Sleptsov)**

Address:

9 Bolshaya Konyushennaya Street (Bol'shaia Kon-iushennaia ulitsa), St. Petersburg

Construction:

1899 (or 1902)

Architect:

Leonid Fufaevskii (born 1865); see also Cat. no. 36

Builder-owner:

T. Sil'vanskii (or V. Sleptsov); see also Cat. no. 36

Condition:

Only ceiling and a frieze preserved, testifying to a former neo-Moorish interior on third floor. Painted white. Part of room partitioned off as hallway.

Short description:

Alhambresque muqarnaṣ frieze, and ceiling with lazo and ataurique ornamentation.

Image:

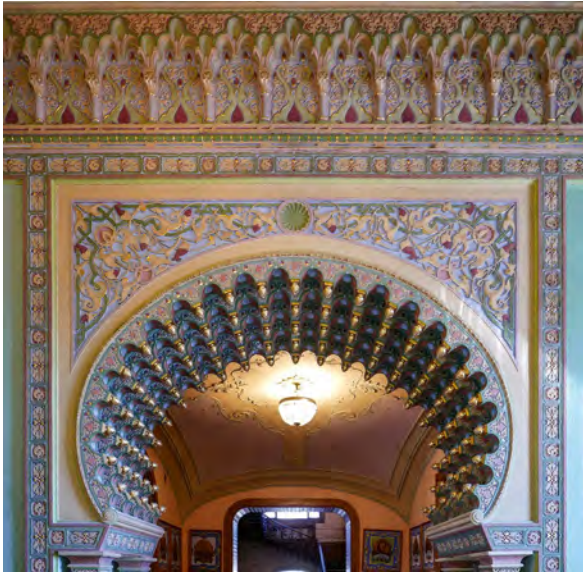
Katrin Kaufmann, 2017

Literature:

Kirikov 2003, 160–161

See p. 199 (fn)





Cat. no. 38

**Moorish Hallway (*Mavritanskii prokhod*),
Villa of Hendrik van Gilse van der Pals**

Address:

8–10 English Lane (Angliiskii pereulok), St. Petersburg

Construction:

1901/02

Architect:

Vil'iam Iogansen (Wilhelm Johannsen, 1857–after 1917)

Builder-owner:

Hendrik van Gilse van der Pals (1856–1928)

Condition:

Preserved; original wall coverings and stained-glass window missing.

Short description:

Alhambresque interior. Polylobed arches, neo-Nasrid capitals, ataurique, muqarnaş frieze. Ceiling with lazo and ataurique ornamentation. Inscriptions in Arabic script.

Image:

Katrin Kaufmann, 2017

Literature:

Andronova 2008, 159–161; Zherikhina 2011, 179–180

See p. 205; Figs 241–244

Cat. no. 39

Neo-Moorish Interior, Villa of Liubov' Korovina

Address:

55 Bolshaya Morskaya Street (Bol'shaia Morskaia ulitsa)/7 Pochtamtskiy Lane (Pochtamtskii pereulok), St. Petersburg

Construction:

1901/02

Architect:

Nikolai Prokov'ev (1866–1913)

Builder-owner:

Liubov' Korovina (1860–1919)

Condition:

Only a door is preserved, testifying to a former Orientalizing or neo-Moorish interior.

Short description:

Neo-Moorish door with carved polylobed arches and lazo decoration.

Image:

Nikita Andreev, 2018



Cat. no. 40

Neo-Moorish Hallway, Kokorev Manor

Address:

55 Moskovskaya Street (Moskovskaia ulitsa), Pushkin

Construction:

1901–1904

Architect:

Silvio Danini (1867–1942)

Builder-owner:

Aleksandr Kokorev (1848–1908)

Condition:

Defunct.

Short description:

Alhambresque interior. Sebka-decorated stucco panels, muqarnaş frieze, ceiling with lazo ornamentation.

Image:

Ezhegodnik Obshchestva arkhitektorov-khudozhnikov,
1910, 55



Cat. no. 41

**Neo-Moorish Washing Room,
Egorov Brothers Public Bathhouse**

Address:

5–7 Maly Sampsonievsky Avenue (Malyi Sampsonievskii prospect), St. Petersburg

Construction:

1903

Architect:

Aleksandr Maksimov (1876–1936)

Builder-owner:

Aleksandr Egorov (life data unknown)

Condition:

Defunct.

Short description:

Alhambresque interior. Painted arcades with polylobed arches and ataurique. Frieze with muqarnas (?). Inscriptions in pseudo-Arabic script.

Image:

TsGAKFFD SPB, D-133, 1914

Literature:

Bogdanov 2000, 133; Andronova 2008, 117–118

See p. 217



Cat. no. 42

Neo-Moorish Interior, Villa of Iurii Koenig

Address:

Lit. A Pirogovsky Embankment (Pirogovskaia naberezhnaia), St. Petersburg

Construction:

1910/11

Architect:

Ieronim Kitner (1839–1929);
see also Cat. no. 15

Builder-owner:

Iurii Koenig (1869–1927)

Condition:

Preserved; original wall coverings missing.

Short description:

Alhambresque interior. Stucco ornamentation with ataurique and muqarnaş. Neo-Nasrid capitals, muqarnaş frieze. General shape of flat ceiling with cupola embedded in center reminiscent of ceiling in Partal Palace portico gallery but decorated differently. Door with lazo decoration. Marble fireplace.

Image:

Nikolaeva 2007, 323

Literature:

Kitner/Nikolaeva 2000, 175; Nikolaeva 2007, 323–324;
Andronova 2008, 161–163

See pp. 189 (fn), 205



Bibliography

Aimone/Olmo 1993

Linda Aimone and Carlo Olmo, *Les Expositions universelles 1851–1900*, Paris: Belin, 1993.

Akhmatova 1933

Anna Akhmatova, “Posledniaia skazka Pushkina”, *Zvezda*, no. 1, 1933, 161–176.

Alarcón 1891

Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, *Últimos escritos*, Madrid: M. Tello, 1891.

Alekseev 1864

Mikhail Alekseev, *Ocherki istorii ispano-russkikh literaturnykh otnoshenii XVI–XIX vv.*, Leningrad: Leningradskaya universiteta, 1864.

Alekseeva et al. 2003

Anastasiia Alekseeva et al., *Nemtsy i Akademiia khudozhestv*, Exhibition Catalogue, Moskva: NIMRAKh, 2003.

Alekseeva et al. 2007

Anastasiia Alekseeva et al., *Put' k masterstvu. Evropeiskoe i russkoe iskusstvo XV do nachala XX veka*, Exhibition Catalogue, Sankt-Peterburg: Zolotoi vek, 2007.

Allerstorfer/Leisch-Kiesl 2017

Julia Allerstorfer and Monika Leisch-Kiesl (eds.), ‘Global Art History’. *Transkulturelle Verortungen von Kunst und Kunstwissenschaft*, Bielefeld: Transcript, 2017.

Almagro Gorbea 2015

Antonio Almagro Gorbea, *El legado de al-Ándalus. Las antigüedades árabes en los dibujos de la Academia*, Exhibition Catalogue, Madrid: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando/Fundación Mapfre, 2015.

Alvarez Cañibano 1996

Antonio Alvarez Cañibano, *Los papeles españoles de Glinka, 1845–1847. 150 aniversario del viaje de Mihail Glinka a España = Ispanskije zametki Glinki, 1845–1847. 150 letiiu puteshestviia Mikhaila Glinki po Ispanii*, Madrid: Consejería de educación y cultura, 1996.

Amel'chenkova 2008

Svetlana Amel'chenkova, *Ispanskoe vliianie na russkuiu kul'turu v XIX veke*, PhD Diss., Moskva: Moskovskii gosudarstvennyi universitet, 2008.

Aminov 1992

Daud Aminov, *Sankt-Peterburgskaia sobornaia kafedra'naia mechet. Istoricheskii ocherk*, Sankt-Peterburg: Impaks, 1992.

Anderson/Rosser-Owen 2007

Glaire Anderson and Mariam Rosser-Owen (eds.), *Revisiting 'al-Andalus'. Perspectives on the Material Culture of Islamic Iberia and Beyond*, Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Andreev 1995

Andrei Andreev, “Ostrov Ekateringof”, *Nevskii arkhiv. Istoriko-kraevedcheskii sbornik 2*, 1995, 171–191.

Andreeva 2009

Vera Andreeva, *Garal'd Bosse*, Sankt-Peterburg: Kolo, 2009.

Andreeva 2012

Vera Andreeva, *Garal'd Bosse. Arkhitekturnoe i grafičeskoe nasledie*, Sankt-Peterburg: Palazzo, 2012.

Andreeva 2014

Vera Andreeva, "Osobniak A. A. Polovtsova", *Relikviia* 31, 2014, 32–40.

Andronova 2008

Irina Andronova, *Vostochnaia tema v russkom inter'ere vtoroi poloviny XIX do nachala XX veka. Opyt rekonstruktsii*, PhD Diss., Moskva: Gosudarstvennyi institut iskusstvovnaniia Ministerstva kul'tury Rossiiskoi Federatsii, 2008.

Antonov 1995

Viktor Antonov, "Riadam s Mramornym. K istorii osobniaka Kantemira", *Nevskii Arkhiv. Istoriko-kraevedcheskii Sbornik* 2, 1995, 237–241.

Antonov/Kobak 1996

Viktor Antonov and Aleksandr Kobak, *Sviatyni Sankt-Peterburga. Istoriko-tserkovnaia èntsiklopediia v triokh tomakh*, Vol. 2, Sankt-Peterburg: Izdatel'stvo Chernysheva, 1996.

Arutiunian 2012

Iulia Arutiunian, "Model' Al'gambry v Imperatorskoi Akademii khudozhestv i 'mavritanskii stil' v arkhitekture Sankt-Peterburga. K voprosu ob interpretatsii khudozhestvennoi traditsii", *Kafedra Isaakievskogo sobora* 8, 2012, 11–22.

Aubenas 2013

Sylvie Aubenas, "La redécouverte d'un précurseur. Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey (1804–1892)", in *Le Caire dessiné et photographié au XIXe siècle*, edited by Mercedes Volait, Paris: Picard, 2013, 183–194.

Avcioglu 2003

Nebahat Avcioglu, "A Palace of One's Own. Stanislas I's Kiosks and the Idea of Self-Representation", *The Art Bulletin* 85 (4), 2003, 662–684.

Avcioglu 2011

Nebahat Avcioglu, *Turquerie and the Politics of Representation, 1728–1876*, London/New York: Routledge, 2011.

Bagno 2006

Vsevolod Bagno, *Rossia i Ispania. Obshchaia granitsa*, Sankt-Peterburg: Nauka, 2006.

Bagno 2009

Vsevolod Bagno, *'Don Kikhot' v Rossii i russkoe donkikhotstvo*, Sankt-Peterburg: Nauka, 2009.

Bagno/Burlaka 2011

Vsevolod Bagno and Dmitrii Burlaka (eds.), *Servantes, pro et contra. Don Kikhot v russkoi mysli*, Sankt-Peterburg: Russkaia khristianskaia gumanitarnaia akademiia, 2011.

Baker 2010

Malcom Baker, "The Reproductive Continuum. Plaster Casts, Paper Mosaics and Photographs as Complementary Modes of Reproduction in the Nineteenth-Century Museum", in *Plaster Casts. Making, Collecting and Displaying from Classical Antiquity to the Present*, edited by Rune Frederiksen and Eckart Marchand, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2010, 485–500.

Bakh 2009

Kirill Bakh, *Velikii kniaz' Konstantin Nikolaevich na Sviatoi Zemle v 1859 godu*, Moskva: Indrik, 2009.

Bakiç-Hayden 1995

Milica Bakiç-Hayden, "Nesting Orientalisms. The Case of the Former Yugoslavia", *Slavic Review* 54 (4), 1995, 917–931.

Bandmann 1962

Günter Bandmann, "Das Exotische in der europäischen Kunst", in *Der Mensch und die Künste, Festschrift für Heinrich Lützel zum 60. Geburtstag*, edited by Günter Bandmann, Peter Bloch, Wilhelm Perpeet and Eduard Trier, Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1962, 337–354.

Baranovskii 1893

Gavriil Baranovskii, *Iubileinyi sbornik svedenii o deiatel'nosti byvshikh vospitannikov Instituta grazhdanskikh inzhenerov (Stroitel'nogo uchilishcha) 1842–1892*, Vol. 2, Sankt-Peterburg: Institut grazhdanskikh inzhenerov, 1893.

Barkovets et al. 2015

Olga Barkovets et al., *'Don Kikhot' v Rossii i don kikhoty na trone*, Exhibition Catalogue, Moskva: Pervyi izdatel'sko-poligraficheskii kholding, 2015.

Barrios Rozúa 2006

Juan Manuel Barrios Rozúa, "El Convento de San Francisco de la Alhambra. De cenobio a ruina romántica", *Reales Sitios. Revista del Patrimonio Nacional*, no. 168, 2006, 36–51.

Barrios Rozúa 2008a

Juan Manuel Barrios Rozúa, "La Alhambra de Granada y los difíciles comienzos de la restauración arquitectónica", *Academia. Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*, no. 106/107, 2008, 131–158.

Barrios Rozúa 2008b

Juan Manuel Barrios Rozúa, "La Alhambra romántica (1813–1849). Gobernadores, maestros de obras y arquitectos", in *La Alhambra, lugar de la memoria y el diálogo*, edited by José Antonio González Alcantud and Abdellouahed Akmir, Granada: Comares, 2008, 29–60.

Barrios Rozúa 2010

Juan Manuel Barrios Rozúa, "José Contreras, un pionero de la arquitectura neoárabe. Sus trabajos en la Alhambra y la Alcaicería", in *La invención del estilo hispano-magrebi. Presente y futuros del pasado*, Confer-

ence Proceedings, edited by José Antonio González Alcantud, Barcelona: Anthropos, 2010, 283–307.

Barrios Rozúa 2016

Juan Manuel Barrios Rozúa, *Alhambra romántica. Los comienzos de la restauración arquitectónica en España*, Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2016.

Bartenev/Batazhkova 1984

Igor Bartenev and Valentina Batazhkova, *Russkii inter'er XIX veka*, Leningrad: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1984.

Bashutskii 1839

Aleksandr Bashutskii, *Vozobnovlenie Zimnego dvortsa v Sankt Peterburge*, Sankt-Peterburg: Guttenbergovaia Tipografia, 1839.

Bassin 1991

Mark Bassin, "Russia between Europe and Asia. The Ideological Construction of Geographical Space", *Slavic Review* 50 (1), 1991, 1–17.

Bassin 1999

Mark Bassin, *Imperial Visions. Nationalist Imagination and Geographical Expansion in the Russian Far East, 1840–1865*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Bayern 1839

Maximilian in Bayern, *Wanderung nach dem Orient im Jahre 1838*, München: Georg Franz, 1839.

Beautheac/Bouchart 1985

Nadine Beautheac and Francois-Xavier Bouchart, *L'europe exotique*, Paris: Chêne, 1985.

Benois et al. 1877

Nicolas Benois, Alexandre Resanoff, and Alexandre Krakau, *Monographie de la Cathédrale d'Orvieto*, Paris: A. Morel, 1877.

Bernau 2016

Nikolaus Bernau, "Bildungsreform und Monumentalisierung. Die Umgestaltung von Abguss-Sammlungen

im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert”, in *Casting. Ein analoger Weg ins Zeitalter der Digitalisierung? = Casting. A way to embrace the digital age in analogue fashion?*, edited by Christina Haak and Miguel Helfrich, Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 2016, 80–92.

Bernstein 1968

Gerald Steven Bernstein, *In Pursuit of the Exotic. Islamic Forms in Nineteenth-Century American Architecture*, PhD Diss., Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania, 1968.

Bertrand 2006

Nathalie Bertrand (ed.), *L'Orient des architectes*, Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 2006.

Bilbey/Trusted 2010

Diane Bilbey and Marjorie Trusted, “‘The Question of Casts’. Collecting and Later Reassessment of the Cast Collections at South Kensington”, in *Plaster Casts. Making, Collecting and Displaying from Classical Antiquity to the Present*, edited by Rune Frederiksen and Eckart Marchand, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2010, 465–483.

Biriukova et al. 1996

Nina Biriukova, Marina Lopato, and Tatiana Petrova, *Istorizm v Rossii. Stil' i epokha v dekorativnom iskusstve 1820-e–1890-e gody = Historicism in Russia. style and epoch in the decorative arts 1820s–1890s*, Exhibition Catalogue, Sankt-Peterburg: Slaviia, 1996.

Bloom 1989

Jonathan Bloom, *Minaret. Symbol of Islam*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Bobrovnikov/Miri 2016

Vladimir Bobrovnikov and Seied Miri (eds.), *Orientalizm vs. orientalistika*, Moskva: Sadra, 2016.

Bogdan/Shuiskii 2000

Veronika-Irina Bogdan and Valerii Shuiskii, *Po stranam Evropy. Vypusknini Imperatorskoi Akademii khudozhestv vtoroi poloviny XVIII do XIX veka za granitse. Zhivopis', risunok, arkhitektura, skul'ptura, graviura iz fondov Muzeia*, Exhibition Catalogue, Sankt-Peterburg: NIMRAKh, 2000.

Bogdanov 2000

Igor Bogdanov, *Tri veka Peterburgskoi bani*, Sankt-Peterburg: Iskusstvo, 2000.

Borisova 1994

Elena Borisova, “K voprosu o vzaimootnosheniakh arkhitekora i zakazchika v Rossii vo vtoroi polovine XIX v.”, in *Khudozhestvennye problemy russkoi kul'tury vtoroi poloviny XIX veka*, edited by the Rossiiskaia Akademiia nauk, Moskva: Nauka, 1994, 234–298.

Born/Lemmen 2014

Robert Born and Sarah Lemmen (eds.), *Orientalismen in Ostmitteleuropa. Diskurse, Akteure und Disziplinen vom 19. Jahrhundert bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg*, Bielefeld: Transcript, 2014.

Bornet et al. 1998

Philippe Bornet, Pierre-Marc Richard, and Jacques-Remi Dahan, *Sur Les Traces de Girault de Prangey, 1804–1892. Dessins, Peintures, Photographies, Études Historiques*, Exhibition Catalogue, Langres: Musées de Langres/D. Guéniot, 1998.

Botkin 1857

Vasilii Botkin, *Pis'ma ob Ispanii*, Sankt-Peterburg: Tip. Èduarda Pratsa, 1857.

Botkin 1976

Vasilii Botkin, *Pis'ma ob Ispanii*, Leningrad: Nauka, 1976.

Bourgoin 1873

Jules Bourgoin, *Les Arts arabes. Architecture. Menuiserie, bronzes, plafonds, revêtements, marbres, pavements, vitraux, etc.*, Paris: A. Morel et Cie, 1873.

Bourgoin 1879

Jules Bourgoin, *Les éléments de l'art arabe. Le trait des entrelacs*, Paris: Firmin Didot et Cie., 1879.

Brignoli 2006

Jean-Dominique Brignoli, "Pascal Coste et la Perse. L'apport des dessins d'un orientaliste à la recherche sur l'architecture palatiale. Le cas d'Isfahan", in *L'Orient des architectes*, edited by Nathalie Bertrand, Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 2006, 33–50.

Brodsky 1986

Joseph Brodsky, "In a Room and a Half", in Joseph Brodsky, *Less Than One. Selected Essays*, New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1986, 447–501.

Broitman 2009

Larissa Broitman, *Peterburgskie Siuzhety. O zhizni liudei izvestnykh i ne ochen'*, Moskva/Sankt-Peterburg: Tsentrpoligraf, 2009.

Brower/Lazzerini 1997

Daniel R. Brower and Edward J. Lazzerini (eds.), *Russia's Orient. Imperial Borderlands and Peoples, 1700–1917*, Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1997.

Brulloff 1829

Alexander Brulloff, *Thermes de Pompéi*, Paris: A. Firmin Didot, 1829.

Bulgakov 1777

Iakov Bulgakov, *Rossiiskoe posol'stvo v Konstantinopol', 1776 goda*, St. Petersburg: Imp. Akad. nauk, 1777.

Burke 2009

Peter Burke, *Cultural Hybridity*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009.

Bussmann 2012

Kerstin Bussmann, *Orientalisierende Architektur in Italien, 1800–1940*, Saarbrücken: Mandarin Verlag, 2012.

Cabanelas Rodríguez 1988

Darío Cabanelas Rodríguez, *El techo del Salón de Comares en la Alhambra. Decoración, policromía, simbolismo y etimología*, Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, 1988.

Cain 1995

Hans-Ulrich Cain, "Gipsabgüsse. Zur Geschichte ihrer Wertschätzung", *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums und Berichte aus dem Forschungsinstitut für Realienkunde*, 1995, 200–215.

Calatrava 2008

Juan Calatrava, "La Alhambra como mito arquitectónico, 1750–1910", in *La Alhambra, lugar de la memoria y el diálogo*, edited by José Antonio González Alcantud and Abdellouahed Akmir, Granada: Comares, 2008, 61–94.

Calatrava et al. 2011

Juan Calatrava, Mariam Rosser-Owen, Abraham Thomas and Rémi Labrusse, *Owen Jones y la Alhambra*, London/Granada: Victoria and Albert Museum/Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, 2011.

Calatrava/Zucconi 2012

Juan Calatrava and Guido Zucconi (eds.), *Orientalismo, arte y arquitectura entre Granada y Venecia*, Conference Proceedings, Madrid: Abada, 2012.

Calvo Serraller 1995

Francisco Calvo Serraller, *La imagen romántica de España. Arte y arquitectura del siglo XIX*, Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1995.

Campbell 2002

Elena Campbell, "K voprosu ob Orientalizme v Rossii (vo vtoroi polovine XIX veka – nachale XX veka)", *Ab Imperio*, no. 1, 2002, 311–322.

Canestrier 2004

Valérie Canestrier, "Les Cruchet, ornemanistes et menuisiers du XIXe", *L'Objet d'art*, no. 391, 2004, 64–71.

Carré et al. 2012

Anne-Laure Carré, Marie-Sophie Corcy, Liliane Hilaire-Pérez, and Christiane Demeulnaere-Douyère (eds.), *Les expositions universelles en France au XIXe siècle. Techniques, publics, patrimoines*, Paris: CNRS, 2012.

Casid/D'Souza 2014

Jill H. Casid and Aruna D'Souza (eds.), *Art History in the Wake of the Global Turn*, Williamstown MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2014.

Castro y Serrano 1871

José Castro y Serrano, "El Panteon de las Artes", in José Castro y Serrano, *Cuadros Contemporáneos*, Madrid: T. Fortanet, 1871, 231–272.

Catalog 1863

Catalog der internationalen Kunstausstellung zu München 1863, München: Georg Franz, 1863.

Cavos 1847

Albert Cavos, *Traité de la construction des théâtres*, Paris: L. Mathias, 1847.

Caygill 2011

Howard Caygill, "Ottoman Baroque. The Limits of Style", in *Rethinking the Baroque*, edited by Helen Hills, Farnham: Ashgate, 2011, 65–79.

Çelik 1992

Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient. Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

Chambers 1763

William Chambers, *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Perspective Views of the Gardens and Buildings at Kew in Surry* [sic], London: Haberkorn, 1763.

Chekmariov 2000

Andrei Chekmariov, "Iaropolets", in *Dvoriarskie gnezda Rossii. Istoriia, kul'tura, arkhitektura. Ocherki*, edited by Maria Nashchokina, Moskva: Zhiraf, 2000, 190–206.

Conner 1979

Patrick Conner, *Oriental Architecture in the West*, London: Thames & Hudson, 1979.

Contreras 1878

Rafael Contreras, *Estudio descriptivo de los monumentos árabes de Granada, Sevilla y Córdoba*, Madrid: A. Rodero, 1878.

Coste 1837

Pascal Coste, *Architecture arabe ou monuments du Kaire, mesurés et dessinés de 1818 à 1826*, Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1837.

Coste 1867

Pascal Coste, *Monuments modernes de la Perse, mesurés, dessinés et décrits par P. Coste*, Paris: A. Morel, 1867.

Crayon [= Irving] 1832

Geoffrey Crayon [= Washington Irving], *The Alhambra*, Vol. 1, London: Colburn and Bentley, 1832.

Cresti 1999

Carlo Cresti, *Orientalismi nelle architetture d'Occidente*, Firenze: Angelo Pontecorboli, 1999.

Crivelli 1966

Aldo Crivelli, *Artisti ticinesi in Russia. Catalogo critico*, Locarno: Unione di banche svizzere, 1966.

Danby 1995

Miles Danby, *Moorish Style*, London: Phaidon, 1995.

Darby 1974

Michael Darby, *Owen Jones and the Eastern Ideal*, 2 Vols., Unpublished PhD Diss., Reading: University of Reading, 1974.

Darby 1983

Michael Darby, *The Islamic Perspective. An Aspect of British Architecture and Design in the Nineteenth Century*, Exhibition Catalogue, London: Scorpion Communications, 1983.

Darcel 1861

Alfred Darcel, *La Collection Soltykoff*, [s.n.]: [s.n.], 1861.

Darian-Smith/McCarty 2017

Eve Darian-Smith and Philip C. McCarty, *The Global Turn. Theories, Research Designs, and Methods for Global Studies*, Oakland CA: University of California Press, 2017.

Davillier 1874

Charles Davillier, *L'Espagne*, Paris: Hachette, 1874.

Demeulnaere-Douyère 2010

Christiane Demeulnaere-Douyère (ed.), *Exotiques expositions... Les expositions universelles et les cultures extra-européennes, France, 1855–1937*, Paris: Somogy, 2010.

Depelchin 2012

Davy Depelchin, “Ambiguities in Terminology and Taxonomy as Factors in the Marginalization of Architectural Styles. The Case of Orientalism”, *ABE Journal* 1, 2012 (<<http://journals.openedition.org/abe/249>>; accessed May 6, 2023).

Dickinson 2002

Sara Dickinson, “Russia’s First ‘Orient’. Characterizing the Crimea in 1787”, *Kritika. Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 3 (1), 2002, 3–25.

Diederer/Depelchin 2010

Roger Diederer and Davy Depelchin (eds.), *Orientalismus in Europa. Von Delacroix bis Kandinsky*, Exhibition Catalogue, München: Hirmer, 2010.

Dion-Tenenbaum 1999

Anne Dion-Tenenbaum, “Cruchet, Michel-Victor”, *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon* 22, 1999, 465.

Dodds 1992

Jerrilynn Dodds, *Al-Andalus. The Art of Islamic Spain*, Exhibition Catalogue, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992.

Dodds et al. 2008

Jerrilynn Dodds, Maria Rosa Menocal, and Abigail Krasner Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy. Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.

Dodolev 1989

Mikhail Dodolev, *Rossiiia i Ispaniia, 1808–1823 gg. Voina i revoliutsiia v Ispanii i russko-isp. otnosheniia*, PhD Diss., Moskva: Institut istorii Akademii nauk SSSR, 1989.

Dolgorukov 1863

Dmitrii Dolgorukov, *Zvuki. Stikhotvoreniia*, Sankt-Peterburg: Tip. II Otd. E.I.V. Kantseliarii, 1863.

Donaldson 1858

Thomas L. Donaldson, “Memoir of Louis de Zanth”, in *Papers read at the Royal Institute of British architects, Session 1857–58*, edited by the Royal Institute of British architects, London: RIBA, 1858, 15–18.

Dubin 2005

Arsenii Dubin, *Furshatskaia ulitsa*, Moskva/Sankt-Peterburg: Tsentrpoligraf/Mim-Del'ta, 2005.

Dumont/Hammadi 1988

Marie-Jeanne Dumont and Rodolphe Hammadi, *Paris arabesques. Architectures et décors arabes et orientalisants à Paris*, Paris: E. Koehler/Institut du monde arabe/Caisse nationale des monuments historiques et des sites, 1988.

Eggleton 2011

Lara Eve Eggleton, *Re-Envisioning the Alhambra. Readings of Architecture and Ornament from Medieval to Modern*, PhD Diss., Leeds: The University of Leeds, 2011.

Elkins 2007

James Elkins (ed.), *Is Art History Global?*, New York: Routledge, 2007.

Espagne/Werner 1985

Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, "Deutsch-französischer Kulturtransfer im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Zu einem neuen interdisziplinären Forschungsprogramm des C.N.R.S.," *Francia* 13, 1985, 502–510.

Espagne/Werner 1987

Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, "La construction d'une référence culturelle allemande en France. Génèse et Histoire (1750–1914)," *Annales E.S.C.* 42 (4), 1987, 969–992.

Evangulova 1999

Olga Evangulova, "Strany i narody mira v khudozhestvennoi Vselennoi usad'by," *Russkaia usad'ba*, no. 5, 1999, 18–25.

Fedorova 1999

Nonna Fedorova, 'According to the Laws of Inspiration...' *The History of Restoration of the Yusupov Palace, 94 Moika, St Petersburg*, St. Petersburg: Art-Palace Publishers, 1999.

Fernández-Puertas 1980

Antonio Fernández-Puertas, *La fachada del palacio de Comares*, Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, 1980.

Fernández-Puertas 1997

Antonio Fernández-Puertas, *The Alhambra, I. From the Ninth Century to Yusuf I (1354)*, London: Saqi Books, 1997.

Fernández-Puertas 2011

Antonio Fernández-Puertas, "Los textos poéticos de Ibn al-Jaṭīb y los coránicos del Salón de Comares (La qubba del sultán Yūsuf I)," *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos, sección Árabe-Islam* 60, 2011, 123–151.

Ferry 2003

Kathryn Ferry, "Printing the Alhambra. Owen Jones and Chromolithography," *Architectural History* 46, 2003, 175–188.

Ferry 2007

Kathryn Ferry, "Owen Jones and the Alhambra Court at the Crystal Palace," in *Revisiting 'al-Andalus'. Perspectives on the Material Culture of Islamic Iberia and Beyond*, edited by Glaire Anderson and Mariam Rosser-Owen, Leiden: Brill, 2007, 227–245.

Fischer von Erlach 1721

Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, *Entwurf einer historischen Architectur*, Wien: [s.n.], 1721.

Flour 2008

Isabelle Flour, "'On the Formation of a National Museum of Architecture.' The Architectural Museum versus the South Kensington Museum," *Architectural History* 51, 2008, 211–238.

Ford 1845

Richard Ford, *Hand-Book for Travellers in Spain*, Vol. 1, London: J. Murray, 1845.

Frederiksen/Marchand 2010

Rune Frederiksen and Eckart Marchand (eds.), *Plaster Casts. Making, Collecting and Displaying from Classical Antiquity to the Present*, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2010.

Frisch 1843

Friedrich Frisch, *Arabien. Skizzen aus dem Orient, gesammelt in den Jahren 1840 und 1841*, Darmstadt: Kern, 1843.

Gaillard/Walter 2011

Emmanuelle Gaillard and Marc Walter, *A Taste for the Exotic. Orientalist Interiors*, London: Thames & Hudson, 2011.

Galera Andreu 1992

Pedro Antonio Galera Andreu, *La imagen romántica de la Alhambra*, Madrid: El Viso, 1992.

Galera Andreu 2018

Pedro Antonio Galera Andreu, "La Alhambra y el orientalismo islámico: la visión de artistas y viajeros

románticos”, in *The Power of Symbols. The Alhambra in a Global Context*, Conference Proceedings, edited by Francine Giese and Ariane Varela Braga, Bern: Peter Lang, 2018, 259–277.

Gallego Roca 1991

Miguel Gallego Roca, *‘La Cuerda Granadina’, una sociedad literaria del postromanticismo*, Granada: Comares editorial, 1991.

Garbar/Shamshimila 2004

Nonna Garbar and Svetlana Shamshimila, “Inter’ery Iusupovskogo dvortsa na dagerrotipakh – serebrianykh fotografiakh serediny XIX veka”, *Relikviia* 6 (3), 2004, 4–11.

García Bueno 2015

Ana García Bueno, “El color en la decoración arquitectónica andalusí”, in *El legado de al-Ándalus. Las antigüedades árabes en los dibujos de la Academia*, Exhibition Catalogue, edited by Antonio Almagro Gorbea, Madrid: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando/Fundación Mapfre, 2015, 81–91.

García Mercadal 1999

José García Mercadal, *Viajes de Extranjeros por España y Portugal desde los tiempos más remotos hasta comienzos del siglo XX*, 6 Vols., Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1999.

Gautier 1859 [1843]

Théophile Gautier, *Voyage en Espagne*, Paris: Charpentier, 1859 [1843].

Gavrichkov 1993

Aleksei Gavrichkov, *Pensionerstvo na arkhitekturnom fakul'tete Peterburgskoi Akademii khudozhestv. Uchebno-metodicheskoe posobie*, Sankt-Peterburg: Rossiiskaia Akademiia khudozhestv, 1993.

Geiges 1989

Leif Geiges, *Trupert Schneider & Söhne 1847–1921, vom Dorfschreiner zum Hofphotographen. Ein Kapitel der frühen Photogeschichte*, Freiburg i. Br.: Schillinger, 1989.

Gerogiorgakis et al. 2011

Stamatios Gerogiorgakis, Roland Scheel, and Dittmar Schorkowitz, “Kulturtransfer vergleichend betrachtet”, in *Integration und Desintegration der Kulturen im europäischen Mittelalter*, edited by Michael Borgolte et al., Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2011, 393–475.

Gessen 2001

Valerii Gessen, “Sankt-Peterburgskaia Khoral’naia sinagoga do 1917 g”, *Istoriia Peterburga* 4, 2001, 64–69.

Giese 2014

Francine Giese, *Restoring Al-Andalus. The Alhambra and the Spanish Heritage Debate*, Baden: bau-forschung-online.ch, 2014.

Giese et al. 2015

Francine Giese, Ariane Varela Braga, Mathias Bäßler, and Marie Therese Bättschmann, *Mythos Orient. Ein Berner Architekt in Kairo*, Exhibition Catalogue, [Oberhofen]: Stiftung Schloss Oberhofen, 2015.

Giese et al. 2016

Francine Giese, Ariane Varela Braga et al., “Resplendence of Al-Andalus. Exchange and Transfer Processes in Mudéjar and Neo-Moorish Architecture”, *Asiatische Studien = Études Asiatiques* 70 (4), 2016, 1307–1353.

Giese 2019

Francine Giese (ed.), *Mudejarismo and Moorish Revival in Europe. The Photobook*, E-Book, Zürich: Universität Zürich, 2019.

Giese et al. 2019

Francine Giese, Leïla el-Wakil, and Ariane Varela Braga (eds.), *Der Orient in der Schweiz. Neo-islamische Architektur und Interieurs des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts = L’Orient en Suisse. Architecture et intérieurs néo-islamiques des 19e et 20e siècles*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019.

Giese et al. 2020

Francine Giese, Mercedes Volait, and Ariane Varela Braga (eds.), *À l’orientale. Collecting, Displaying and Appropriating Islamic Art and Architecture in the Nine-*

teenth and Early Twentieth Centuries, Conference Proceedings, Brill: Leiden, 2020.

Giese 2021a

Francine Giese (ed.), *Mudejarismo and Moorish Revival in Europe*, Brill: Leiden, 2021.

Giese 2021b

Francine Giese, “Where Does Mudéjar Architecture Belong?”, in *Mudejarismo and Moorish Revival in Europe*, edited by Francine Giese, Brill: Leiden, 2021, 7–17.

Giese 2021c

Francine Giese, “Reassessing the Moorish Revival in 19th-century Europe”, in *Mudejarismo and Moorish Revival in Europe*, edited by Francine Giese, Brill: Leiden, 2021, 59–77.

Giese 2021d

Francine Giese, “Mentors, Patrons and Social Networks. The Trajectories of Architects in a Globalized Century”, in *Mudejarismo and Moorish Revival in Europe*, edited by Francine Giese, Brill: Leiden, 2021, 151–172.

Giese/Varela Braga 2016

Francine Giese and Ariane Varela Braga (eds.), *The Myth of the Orient. Architecture and Ornament in the Age of Orientalism*, Bern: Peter Lang, 2016.

Giese/Varela Braga 2017a

Francine Giese and Ariane Varela Braga (eds.), *A Fashionable Style. Carl von Diebitsch und das maurische Revival*, Bern: Peter Lang, 2017.

Giese/Varela Braga 2017b

Francine Giese and Ariane Varela Braga, “The Alhambra ‘En Miniature’. Architectural Models in Nineteenth-Century Europe”, in *A Fashionable Style. Carl von Diebitsch und das maurische Revival*, edited by Francine Giese and Ariane Varela Braga, Bern: Peter Lang, 2017, 97–111.

Giese/Varela Braga 2018

Francine Giese and Ariane Varela Braga (eds.), *The Power of Symbols. The Alhambra in a Global Context*, Conference Proceedings, Bern: Peter Lang, 2018.

Giese/Varela Braga 2021

Francine Giese and Ariane Varela Braga, “The Hybridization of *Sebka* Ornament”, in *Mudejarismo and Moorish Revival in Europe*, edited by Francine Giese, Brill: Leiden, 2021, 431–459.

Gil Dorregaray 1881

José Gil Dorregaray (ed.), *Monumentos arquitectónicos de España*, 7 Vols., Madrid: Imprenta y Calcografía Nacional, 1881.

Gin’ko 2012

Valentina Gin’ko, *Russkie v Ispanii, vek XVII–XIX*, Moskva: Tsentr knigi Rudomino, 2012.

Girault de Prangey 1839

Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey, *Monuments Arabes et Moresques de Cordoue, Séville et Grenade, dessinés et mesurés en 1832 et 1833*, Paris: Veith et Hauser, 1839.

Girault de Prangey 1841

Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey, *Essai sur l’Architecture des Arabes et des Mores en Espagne, en Sicile et en Barbarie*, Paris: Hauser, 1841.

Girault de Prangey 1842

Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey, *Choix d’ornements moresques de l’Alhambra. Ouvrage faisant suite à l’Atlas in folio Monuments arabes et moresques de Cordoue, Séville et Grenade*, Paris: A. Hauser, 1842.

Giusti/Godoli 1999

Maria Adriana Giusti and Ezio Godoli (eds.), *L’Orientalismo nell’architettura italiana tra Ottocento e Novecento*, Conference Proceedings, Siena: Maschietto & Musolino, 1999.

Gómez Moreno 1892

Manuel Gómez Moreno, *Guía de Granada*, Granada: Indalecio Ventura, 1892.

González Alcantud et al. 2009

José Antonio González Alcantud, Antonio Garnica et al., *Washington Irving y La Alhambra. 150 Aniversario (1859–2009)*, Exhibition Catalogue, Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, 2009.

González Pérez 2017a

Asunción González Pérez, *Las maquetas de la Alhambra en el siglo XIX. Una fuente de difusión y de información acerca del conjunto Nazarí*, Vol. 1, PhD Diss., Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2017.

González Pérez 2017b

Asunción González Pérez, *Las maquetas de la Alhambra en el siglo XIX. Una fuente de difusión y de información acerca del conjunto Nazarí*, Vol. 2, PhD Diss., Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2017.

González Pérez 2017c

Asunción González Pérez, “Reconstructing the Alhambra. Rafael Contreras and Architectural Models of the Alhambra in the Nineteenth Century”, *Art in Translation* 9 (1), 2017, 29–49.

González Pérez 2018

Asunción González Pérez, “Rafael Contreras and the Re-Shaping of the Alhambra in the Nineteenth Century”, in *The Power of Symbols. The Alhambra in a Global Context*, Conference Proceedings, edited by Francine Giese and Ariane Varela Braga, Bern: Peter Lang, 2018, 165–178.

González Pérez/Rubio Domene 2018

Asunción González Pérez and Ramón Rubio Domene, “El taller de vaciados de Rafael Contreras y sus intervenciones en la sala de las Camas del Baño Real del Palacio de Comares en la Alhambra”, *e-rph (Revista electrónica de Patrimonio Histórico)*, no. 22, 2018, 97–123.

Goodwin 1971

Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, London: Thames & Hudson, 1971.

Goriunov 2012

Vasilii Goriunov, “Èklektika ili istorizm. K voprosu o terminologii istoriko-arkhitekturnykh issledovaniï”, in *Arkhitektura èpokhi istorizma. Traditsii i novatorstvo. Posviashchennoi 200-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia arkhitek-tora Garał'da Bosse (1812–1894)*, Conference Proceedings, edited by the Committee for State Control, Use, and Preservation of Monuments of History and Culture of St. Petersburg KGIOF, Sankt-Peterburg: Palazzo, 2012, 7–11.

Goury/Jones 1842

Jules Goury and Owen Jones, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*, Vol. 1, London: Owen Jones, 1842.

Goury/Jones 1845

Jules Goury and Owen Jones, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*, Vol. 2, London: Owen Jones, 1845.

Grigorovich 2000

Natalia Grigorovich, “Ansaml' svetil'nikov Aziatskoi komnaty”, in *Aleksandr II i Tsarskoe Selo*, Exhibition Catalogue, edited by Iraida Bott and Liudmila Kanaeva, Sankt-Peterburg: Studiia Aleksandra Zimina, 2000, 84–85.

Grigorovich 2003

Natalia Grigorovich, “Ubranstvo Aziatskoi komnaty”, *Nashe nasledie*, no. 67/68, 2003, 117–118.

Grimm 1866

David Grimm, *Pamiatniki khristianskoi arkhitektury v Gruzii i Armenii*, Sankt-Peterburg: Imp. Akad. nauk, 1866.

Guilmeau-Shala 2011

Stéphanie Guilmeau-Shala, “En quête de la couleur. Publication de dessins réalisés lors de voyages d'études

en Grèce”, in *Bibliothèques d'atelier. Édition et enseignement de l'architecture, Paris 1785–1871*, edited by Jean-Philippe Garric Garric, Paris: INHA, 2011 (<<http://inha.revues.org/3194>>; accessed May 6, 2023).

Guseva 2015

Natalia Guseva (ed.), *Ot Nikolaia I do Nikolaia II. Èpokha istorizma v Rossii = From Nicholas I to Nicholas II. Historicism in Russia*, Exhibition Catalogue, Sankt-Peterburg: Slaviia, 2015.

Guseva et al. 2014

Natalia Guseva et al., *‘Itogi vsekh vekov’. Èpokha istorizma v Rossii, 1820–1890-e gody*, Exhibition Catalogue, Sankt-Peterburg: Slaviia, 2014.

Haak/Helfrich 2016

Christina Haak and Miguel Helfrich (eds.), *Casting. Ein analoger Weg ins Zeitalter der Digitalisierung? = Casting. A way to embrace the digital age in analogue fashion?*, Conference Proceedings, Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 2016.

Halliday 1993

Fred Halliday, “‘Orientalism’ and its Critics”, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 20 (2), 1993, 145–163.

Hamadeh 2002

Shirine Hamadeh, “Splash and Spectacle. The Obsession with Fountains in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul”, *Muqarnas* 19, 2002, 123–148.

Héré 1853

Emmanuel Héré, *Recueil des plans, élévations, et coupes tant géométrales qu'en perspective des châteaux, jardins, et dépendances que le Roy de Pologne occupe en Lorraine*, Vol. 1, Paris: François, 1853.

Héré 1856

Emmanuel Héré, *Recueil des plans, élévations, et coupes tant géométrales qu'en perspective des châteaux, jardins, et dépendances que le Roy de Pologne occupe en Lorraine*, Vol. 2, Paris: François, 1856.

Herráez Martín/Gómez 2015

María Isabel Herráez Martín and Paula R. Gómez, “La maqueta del templete oriental del Patio de los Leones de la Alhambra, Granada. Una obra de Rafael Contreras”, *Informes y trabajos* 13, 2015, 169–182.

Hipp/Seidl 1996

Hermann Hipp and Ernst Seidl (eds.), *Architektur als politische Kultur*, Conference Proceedings, Berlin: Reimer, 1996.

Hittorff/Zanth 1827

Jacques Ignace Hittorff and Ludwig Zanth, *Architecture antique de la Sicile, ou, Recueil des plus intéressans monumens d'architecture des villes et des lieux les plus remarquables de la Sicile ancienne*, Paris: Paul Renouard, 1827.

Hittorff/Zanth 1835

Jacques Ignace Hittorff and Ludwig Zanth, *Architecture moderne de la Sicile, ou, Recueil des plus beaux monumens religieux, et des édifices publics et particuliers les plus remarquables de la Sicile*, Paris: Paul Renouard, 1835.

Hugo 1829

Victor Hugo, *Les Orientales*, Paris: J. Hetzel, 1829.

Iakerson 2016

Shimon Iakerson, *Bol'shaia khoral'naia sinagoga v Sankt-Peterburge = The grand choral synagogue in St. Petersburg*, Sankt-Peterburg: St. Petersburg Jewish Religious Community, 2016.

Iashchenko 2003

Sergei Iashchenko, “Mavritanskii stil' Granady i ego motivy v arkhitekture Sankt-Peterburga”, *Latinskaia Amerika* 7, 2003, 85–96.

Illiustrirovannoe opisanie 1896

Illiustrirovannoe opisanie Sandunovskikh ban', Moskva: I.N. Kushnerev i Ko., 1896.

Imperatorskaia Akademiia Khudozhestv 1901

Imperatorskaia Akademiia Khudozhestv, *Katalog risunkov i chertezhei arkhitekturnogo klassa priobretaemykh Imperatorskoi Akademiei Khudozhestv s 1871 goda, sostavlenn v 1900 godu*, Sankt-Peterburg: Imperatorskaia Akademiia Khudozhestv, 1901.

Imperatorskoe Russkoe Istoricheskoe Obshchestvo 1911

Imperatorskoe Russkoe Istoricheskoe Obshchestvo (ed.), *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'*, Vol. 23, Sankt-Peterburg: Tip. Gl. upr. udelov, 1911.

Imperatorskoe Russkoe Istoricheskoe Obshchestvo et al. 1914

Imperatorskoe Russkoe Istoricheskoe Obshchestvo, Nikolai Chechulin, and Mikhail Kurdiunov (eds.), *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'*, Vol. 10, Sankt-Peterburg: Tip. Gl. upr. udelov, 1914.

Imperatorskoe Russkoe Istoricheskoe Obshchestvo/Polovtsov 1900

Imperatorskoe Russkoe Istoricheskoe Obshchestvo and Aleksandr Polovtsov (eds.), *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'*, Vol. 2, Sankt-Peterburg: Tip. Gl. upr. udelov, 1900.

Iokhvidova 1991

L. Iokhvidova, "Dom Muruzi", in *Doma rasskazyvaiut*, edited by Irina Lisaevich, Sankt-Peterburg: Lenizdat, 1991, 126–160.

Ioutsen 2009

Nadezhda Ioutsen, "Zhizn' v 'vostochnom vkuse'. Inter'ery Peterburga, orientirovannye na 'musul'manskii Vostok", in *Rossia – Vostok. Kontakt i konflikt mirovozzrenii*, Vol. 1, Conference Proceedings, edited by the GMZ Tsarskoe Selo, Sankt-Peterburg: Gosudarstvennyi Ėrmitazh, 2009, 193–201.

Isachenko et al. 1998

Valerii Isachenko et al., *Zodchie Sankt-Peterburga XIX – nachalo XX veka*, Sankt-Peterburg: Lenizdat, 1998.

Ivannikov 1999

S. Ivannikov, "Mavritanskii stil' v arkhitekture Sankt-Peterburga", *Peterburgskie chteniia* 98/99, 1999, 196–198.

Janin et al. 1864

Jules Janin et al., *Almanach de la littérature, du théâtre et des beaux-arts*, Paris: Pagnerre, 1864.

Jasmin 2006

Denise Jasmin, "Un architecte de l'Ambassade de France au Moyen-Orient, Pascal Coste, 1839–1841", in *L'Orient des architectes*, edited by Nathalie Bertrand, Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 2006, 19–31.

Jobst 2000

Kerstin Jobst, "Orientalism, E. W. Said und die Ost-europäische Geschichte", *Saeculum*, no. 51, 2000, 250–266.

Jobst 2008

Kerstin Jobst, "Ambivalenzen. Anmerkungen zum orientalistischen Diskurs im Zarenreich", in *Entführung in den Serail. Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zum Orientalismus*, edited by Detlef Quintern and Verena C. Paulus, Berlin: Weissensee, 2008, 165–184.

Jobst 2013

Kerstin Jobst, "Where the Orient Ends? Orientalism and its Function for Imperial Rule in the Russian Empire", in *Deploying Orientalism in Culture and History. From Germany to Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by James Hodkinson, John Walker, Shaswati Mazumdar and Johannes Feichtinger, Rochester/New York: Camden House, 2013, 190–208.

Jobst 2014

Kerstin Jobst, "Wo liegt das russische Morgenland? Orient-Diskurs und imperiale Herrschaft im Zarenreich", in *Orientalismen in Ostmitteleuropa. Diskurse, Akteure und Disziplinen vom 19. Jahrhundert bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg*, edited by Robert Born and Sarah Lemmen, Bielefeld: Transcript, 2014, 65–84.

Jones 1854

Owen Jones, *The Alhambra Court in the Crystal Palace*, London: Crystal Palace Library and Bradbury & Evans, 1854.

Jones 1856

Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament. Illustrated by Examples from Various Styles of Ornament*, London: Day and Son, 1856.

Kaparulina 2009

Olga Kaparulina, “Turtsiia v risunkakh russkikh khudozhnikov kontsa XVIII veka iz sobraniia gosudarstvennogo russkogo muzeia”, in *Rossiiia – Vostok. Kontakt i konflikt mirovozzrenii*, Vol. 1, Conference Proceedings, edited by the GMZ Tsarskoe Selo, Sankt-Peterburg: Gosudarstvennyi Ėrmitazh, 2009, 201–214.

Kappeler 1992

Andreas Kappeler, *Russland als Vielvölkerreich. Entstehung – Geschichte – Zerfall*, München: Beck, 1992.

Kataeva-Miakinen 1999

Ekaterina Kataeva-Miakinen, *Obraz Ispanii v zapiskakh Russkikh puteshestvennikov XIX veka*, PhD Diss., Moskva: Rossiiskaia Akademiia nauk, Institut mirovoi literatury im. A. M. Gor’kogo, 1999.

Kaufmann 2017

Katrin Kaufmann, “Städtische Wohnhäuser in neuem Stil. Carl von Diebitschs Maurisches Haus in Berlin und Aleksej Serebrjakovs Haus Muruzi in Sankt Petersburg”, in *A Fashionable Style – Carl von Diebitsch und das maurische Revival*, edited by Francine Giese and Ariane Varela Braga, Bern: Peter Lang, 2017, 175–184.

Kaufmann 2018

Katrin Kaufmann, “Building ‘Moorish Wonders.’ Alhambrism in Tsarist Russia”, in *The Power of Symbols. The Alhambra in a Global Context*, Conference Proceedings, edited by Francine Giese and Ariane Varela Braga, Bern: Peter Lang, 2018, 327–338.

Kaufmann 2019a

Katrin Kaufmann, “The ‘Splendor of the Caliph’s Dwellings’ in Saint Petersburg. Aleksandr Briullov as a Pioneer of Neo-Moorish Style in Russia”, *Art in Translation* 11 (2), 2019, 181–199.

Kaufmann 2019b

Katrin Kaufmann, “A Unique Russian Collection of Models and Casts of the Alhambra”, in *Mudejarismo and Moorish Revival in Europe. The Photobook*, E-Book, edited by Francine Giese, Zürich: Universität Zürich, 2019.

Kaufmann 2020

Katrin Kaufmann, “Samarcande au nord et à l’ouest. Appropriation(s) de l’architecture timouride à Saint-Pétersbourg et à Berne”, in *À l’orientale. Collecting, Displaying and Appropriating Islamic Art and Architecture in the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries*, Conference Proceedings, edited by Francine Giese, Mercedes Volait, and Ariane Varela Braga, Brill: Leiden, 2020, 137–150.

Kaufmann 2021a

Katrin Kaufmann, “Stylistic Eclecticism and its Oriental Languages. ‘Alhambrismo’ in St. Petersburg”, in *Mudejarismo and Moorish Revival in Europe*, edited by Francine Giese, Brill: Leiden, 2021, 348–373.

Kaufmann 2021b

Katrin Kaufmann, “Neo-Moorish Ceilings. On the Models and Materiality of Russian Alhambrismo”, in *Mudejarismo and Moorish Revival in Europe*, edited by Francine Giese, Brill: Leiden, 2021, 490–510.

Kaufmann et al. 2021

Katrin Kaufmann, Ekaterina Savinova, and Ariane Varela Braga, “Learning from Casts and Models. Schools and Academies in Nineteenth-Century Europe and the Specific Case of the Alhambra Collection in St. Petersburg”, in *Mudejarismo and Moorish Revival in Europe*, edited by Francine Giese, Brill: Leiden, 2021, 235–265.

Kaufmann 2023

Katrin Kaufmann, "From the Alhambra to St. Petersburg. Karl Rakhau's Orientalizing Interiors", in *Russian Orientalism in a Global Context. Hybridity, Encounter and Representation, 1740–1940*, edited by Maria Taroutina and Allison Leigh, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2023, 99–119.

Keller 2018

Sarah Keller, "Slivers of Light. Stained Glass in Al-Andalus", in *The Power of Symbols. The Alhambra in a Global Context*, Conference Proceedings, edited by Francine Giese and Ariane Varela Braga, Bern: Peter Lang, 2018, 37–47.

Keller 2019

Sarah Keller, "'Glänzende Wirkungen' – neo-Islamische Glasmalerei in der Schweiz", in *Der Orient in der Schweiz. Neo-islamische Architektur und Interieurs des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts = L'Orient en Suisse. Architecture et intérieurs néo-islamiques des 19e et 20e siècles*, edited by Francine Giese, Leila el-Wakil, and Ariane Varela Braga, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019, 201–221.

Keller 2021

Sarah Keller, "Oriental Carpets and Gothic Windows. Stained Glass in Neo-Moorish Architecture", in *Mudejarismo and Moorish Revival in Europe*, edited by Francine Giese, Brill: Leiden, 2021, 303–326.

Kenesson 1992

Summer S. Kenesson, "Nasrid Luster Pottery. The Alhambra Vases", *Muqarnas* 9, 1992, 93–115.

Keyes 2010

William W. Keyes, "Meditations on Form and Meaning in Gogol's 'On Present-Day Architecture'", *Russian History* 37 (4), 2010, 378–388.

KGIOP 2012

Committee for State Control, Use, and Preservation of Monuments of History and Culture of St. Petersburg KGIOP (ed.), *Arkhitektura èpokhi istorizma. Traditsii i novatorstvo. Posviashchennoi 200-letiiu so dnia rozhde-*

niia arkhitektora Garal'da Bosse (1812–1894), Conference Proceedings, Sankt-Peterburg: Palazzo, 2012.

Khalid 2000

Adeeb Khalid, "Russian History and the Debate over Orientalism", *Kritika. Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 1 (4), 2000, 691–699.

Khmel'nitskaia 2007

Ekaterina Khmel'nitskaia, *Dvorets velikogo kniazia Vladimira Aleksandrovicha. Istorii stroitel'stva i problemy èvoliutsii stilia v paradnykh inter'erakh, vtoraiia polovina XIX – nachalo XX veka*, PhD Diss., Sankt-Peterburg: Sankt-Peterburgskii gosudarstvennyi universitet, 2007.

Kirichenko 1978

Evgeniia Kirichenko, *Ruskaia arkhitektura 1830–1910kh godov*, Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1978.

Kirichenko 1986

Evgeniia Kirichenko, *Arkhitekturnye teorii XIX veka v Rossii*, Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1986.

Kirichenko 2012

Evgeniia Kirichenko, "Istorizm. Stil' arkhitektury XIX stoletii", in *Arkhitektura èpokhi istorizma. Traditsii i novatorstvo. Posviashchennoi 200-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia arkhitektora Garal'da Bosse (1812–1894)*, Conference Proceedings, edited by the Committee for State Control, Use, and Preservation of Monuments of History and Culture of St. Petersburg KGIOP, Sankt-Peterburg: Palazzo, 2012, 12–23.

Kirikov 1995

Boris Kirikov, "Orientalistskie i nordicheskie cherty v arkhitekture sobornoj mecheti S.-Peterburga", *Peterburgskie chteniia* 95, 1995, 181–184.

Kirikov 2003

Boris Kirikov, *Ulitsa Bol'shaia Koniushennaia*, Moskva: Tsentrpoligraf, 2003.

Kirikov 2004

Boris Kirikov, *Pamiatniki arkhitektury i istorii Sankt-Peterburga. Petrogradskii raion*, Sankt-Peterburg: Kolo, 2004.

Kirikov et al. 2005

Boris Kirikov et al., *Pamiatniki arkhitektury i istorii Sankt Peterburga. Vasileostrovskii raion*, Sankt-Peterburg: Kolo, 2005.

Kirikov/Ginzburg 1996

Boris Kirikov and Abram Ginzburg, *Arkhitektory-stroiteli Sankt-Peterburga serediny XIX – nachala XX veka. Spravochnik*, Sankt-Peterburg: Piligrim, 1996.

Kissel 2012

Wolfgang Stephan Kissel (ed.), *Der Osten des Ostens. Orientalismen in slavischen Kulturen und Literaturen*, Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 2012.

Kitner/Nikolaeva 2000

Iurii Kitner and Tamara Nikolaeva, *Ieronim Kitner*, Sankt-Peterburg: Beloe i chiornoe, 2000.

Kleinmann 2006

Yvonne Kleinmann, *Neue Orte – neue Menschen. Jüdische Lebensformen in St. Petersburg und Moskau im 19. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006.

Knight 2000a

Nathaniel Knight, “Grigor’ev in Orenburg, 1851–1862. Russian Orientalism in the Service of Empire?”, *Slavic Review* 59 (1), 2000, 74–100.

Knight 2000b

Nathaniel Knight, “On Russian Orientalism. A Response to Adeeb Khalid”, *Kritika. Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 1 (4), 2000, 701–715.

Knight 2002

Nathaniel Knight, “Was Russia its Own Orient? Reflections on the Contributions of Etkind and Schim-

melpenninck to the Debate on Orientalism”, *Ab Imperio*, no. 1, 2002, 299–310.

Kobak/Lur’e 1988a

Aleksandr Kobak and Lev Lur’e, “Dom Muruzi. Arkhitekturnyi detektiv s prodolzheniem”, *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo*, no. 7, 1988, 27–33.

Kobak/Lur’e 1988b

Aleksandr Kobak and Lev Lur’e, “Dom Muruzi. Arkhitekturnyi detektiv s prodolzheniem”, *Dekorativnoe iskusstvo*, no. 9, 1988, 39–43.

Kobak/Lur’e 1990

Aleksandr Kobak and Lev Lur’e, *Dom Muruzi. Biografiya odnogo doma*, Leningrad: Svecha, 1990.

Kobak/Lur’e 1996

Aleksandr Kobak and Lev Lur’e, *Dom Muruzi = The Muruzi House*, Sankt-Peterburg: Papirus, 1996.

Koliada 2016

Ekaterina Koliada, “Izuchenie khanskogo dvortsya v Bakhchisaraya v kontse XVIII – nachale XX stoletia i vliianie ego arkhitektury na usadebnoe zodchestvo Kryma”, in *Imperatorskaia Akademiia khudozhestv v kul’ture novogo vremeni. Dostizheniia, obrazovanie, lichnosti*, edited by Rossiiskaia Akademiia khudozhestv et al., Moskva: BuksMArt, 2016, 49–54.

Kondakov 1914

Sergei Kondakov, *Iubileinyi spravochnik Imperatorskoi Akademii khudozhestv 1764–1914. Chast’ istoricheskaya*, Sankt-Peterburg: Imperatorskaia Sankt-Peterburgskaia Akademiia khudozhestv, 1914.

Kondakov 1915

Sergei Kondakov, *Iubileinyi spravochnik Imperatorskoi Akademii khudozhestv 1764–1914. Spisok russkikh khudozhnikov. Chast’ biograficheskaya*, Sankt-Peterburg: Imperatorskaia Sankt-Peterburgskaia Akademiia khudozhestv, 1915.

Kondratenko/Savinova 2018

Liudmila Kondratenko and Ekaterina Savinova, “The History of the Alhambra Models Collection in Russia”, in *The Power of Symbols. The Alhambra in a Global Context*, Conference Proceedings, edited by Francine Giese and Ariane Varela Braga, Bern: Peter Lang, 2018, 319–326.

Koppelkamm 1987

Stefan Koppelkamm, *Exotische Architekturen im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin: Ernst, Wilhelm & Sohn, 1987.

Korneva et al. 2015

Galina Korneva, Villi Petritskii, and Tat’iana Cheboksarova, *Sankt-Peterburgskii dvorets velikogo kniazia Vladimira Aleksandrovicha – Dom Uchionykh RAN = Saint-Petersburg Palace of Grand Duke Vladimir – The Club of Scholars of the Russian Academy of Science*, Sankt-Peterburg: Liki Rossii, 2015.

Korobova 2009

Tat’iana Korobova, “Mavritanskii stil” v inter’erakh dvortsov i osobniakov vtoroi poloviny XIX – nachala XX veka na primere Peterburga i Moskvy”, in *Rossia – Vostok. Kontakt i konflikt mirovozzrenii*, Vol. 1, Conference Proceedings, edited by the GMZ Tsarskoe Selo, Sankt-Peterburg: Gosudarstvennyi Ėrmitazh, 2009, 245–257.

Krauel Heredia 1986

Blanca Krauel Heredia, *Viajeros británicos en Andalucía de Christopher Hervej a Richard Ford (1760–1845)*, Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 1986.

Krechmer 2012

A. Krechmer, “Osobniak F. K. San-Galli. Znachitel’nyi pamiatnik arkhitektury vtoroi poloviny XIX veka”, in *Arkhitektura epokhi istorizma. Traditsii i novatorstvo. Posviashchennoi 200-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia arkhitek-tora Garałda Bosse (1812–1894)*, Conference Proceedings, edited by the Committee for State Control, Use, and Preservation of Monuments of History and Culture of St. Petersburg KGIOP, Sankt-Peterburg: Palazzo, 2012, 126–140.

Kubasov 1900

Ivan Kubasov, *Arkhiv Briullovych*, Sankt-Peterburg: Russkaia Starina, 1900.

Kugler 1848

Franz Kugler, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, 2nd edition, Stuttgart: Ebner und Seubert, 1848.

Kukol’nik 1837

Nestor Kukol’nik, “Novye Postroiki v Petergofe”, *Khudozhestvennaia Gazeta*, no. 11/12, 1837, 175–177.

Kukuruzova/Utochkina 2010

Nina Kukuruzova and Olga Utochkina, *Iusupovskii dvorets*, Sankt-Peterburg: Galart, 2010.

Künzl 1984

Hannelore Künzl, *Islamische Stilelemente im Synagogenbau des 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts*, Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 1984.

Kuznetsov 1998

Sergei Kuznetsov, “My mozhem sdelat’ sostoianie cherez goticheskie stekla...? Neudacha ‘dela Briullovych’”, *Novyi mir iskusstva*, no. 3, 1998, 20–21.

Kuznetsov 2017

Sergei Kuznetsov, “Gvardii park. Istoriko-khudozhestvennoe issledovanie Ekateringofa v Sankt-Peterburge”, *Iskusstvoznanie*, no. 1, 2017, 114–161.

Laborde 1812

Alexandre de Laborde, *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l’Espagne*, Vol. 2 (Part I), Paris: Didot l’Aîné, 1812.

Labrusse 2007

Rémi Labrusse (ed.), *Purs décors? Arts de l’Islam, regards du XIXe siècle*, Paris: Les Arts Decoratifs/Musée du Louvre Éditions, 2007.

Labrusse 2011

Rémi Labrusse, *Islamophilies. L’Europe moderne et les arts de l’Islam*, Paris: Somogy, 2011.

Layton 1994

Susan Layton, *Russian Literature and Empire. Conquest of the Caucasus from Pushkin to Tolstoy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Lebrun/Magnier 1850

M. Lebrun and M.-Désiré Magnier, *Nouveau manuel complet du mouleur ou l'art de mouler en plâtre, carton, carton-pierre, carton-cuir, cire, plomb, argile, bois, écaïlle, corne, etc.*, Paris: Librairie encyclopédique de Roret, 1850.

Lending 2015

Mari Lending, "Promenade Among Words and Things. The Gallery as Catalogue, the Catalogue as Gallery", *Architectural Histories* 3 (1), 2015, 1–22.

Lending 2017

Mari Lending, *Plaster Monuments. Architecture and the Power of Reproduction*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017.

Leslie 2004

Fiona Leslie, "Inside Outside. Changing Attitudes Towards Architectural Models in the Museums at South Kensington", *Architectural History* 47, 2004, 159–200.

Lewis 1835

John Frederick Lewis, *Sketches and Drawings of the Alhambra, made during a Residence in Granada, in the Years 1833–1834*, London: Hodgson & Graves, 1835.

Lisovskii 1982

Vladimir Lisovskii, *Akademiia khudozhestv*, Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1982.

Lisovskii/Isachenko 1999

Vladimir Lisovskii and Valerii Isachenko, *Nikolai Vas-il'ev. Aleksei Bubyř*, Sankt-Peterburg: Beloe i chiornoe, 1999.

Listov 1976

Vladimir Listov, *Ippolit Monigetti*, Leningrad: Stroiiizdat, 1976.

Lochman 2013

Tomas Lochman, "Der Internationale Verband zur Bewahrung und Förderung von Abgüssen (IVBFA/AICPM). Von einem alten Wunsch zu neuen Zielen", *Archäologie. Forschung und Wissenschaft* 4, 2013, 607–619.

López Guzmán 1995

Rafael López Guzmán (ed.), *La imagen romántica del legado andalusí*, Barcelona: Lunwerg, 1995.

López Pertíñez 2006

María del Carmen López Pertíñez, *La Carpintería en la Arquitectura Nazarí*, Granada: Instituto Gómez-Moreno de la Fundación Rodríguez Acosta, 2006.

Lorents 1898

Nikolai Lorents, *Ornament vsekh vremion i stilei*, St. Petersburg: A. F. Devrien, 1898.

Lozano y Casela/Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando 1787

Pablo Lozano y Casela and Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (eds.), *Antigüedades árabes de España*, Vol. 1, Madrid: Imprenta real, 1787.

Lozano y Casela/Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando 1804

Pablo Lozano y Casela and Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (eds.), *Antigüedades árabes de España*, Vol. 2, Madrid: Imprenta real, 1804.

Lütt et al. 1998

Jürgen Lütt, Nicole Brechmann, Catherina Hinz, and Isolde Kurz, "Die Orientalismus-Debatte im Vergleich. Verlauf, Kritik, Schwerpunkte im indischen und arabischen Kontext", in *Gesellschaften im Vergleich. Forschungen aus Sozial- und Geschichtswissenschaften*, edited by Hartmut Kaelble and Jürgen Schriewer, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1998, 511–567.

Macfie 2000

Alexander Lyon Macfie (ed.), *Orientalism. A Reader*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000.

Machugina 2014

Olga Machugina, “Stereoskopicheskie dagerotipy muzeia-usad’by Arkhangel’skoe = Stereo-Daguerreotypes of the Arkhangel’skoye Estate Museum”, in *Dagerotip v Rossii = The Daguerreotype in Russia*, Vol. 1, edited by Elena Barkhatova et al., Sankt-Peterburg: Rosfoto, 2014, 232–250.

MacKenzie 1995

John MacKenzie, *Orientalism. History, Theory and the Arts*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.

Marczoch 1989

Ludwig Marzoch, *Orientalismus in Europa vom 17.–19. Jahrhundert in der Architektur und Innenraumgestaltung*, PhD Diss., Mainz: Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, 1989.

Martinoli 1998

Simona Martinoli, “Monighetti, Ippolito”, in *Architektenlexikon der Schweiz*, edited by Dorothea Huber and Isabelle Rucki, Basel: Birkhäuser, 1998, 381.

Mayr 1839

Heinrich von Mayr, *Malerische Ansichten aus dem Orient, gesammelt auf der Reise Sr. Hoheit des Herrn Herzogs Maximilian in Bayern nach Nubien, Aegypten, Palaestina, Syrien und Malta im Jahre 1838*, München/Leipzig: Weigel, 1839.

Mayr/Fischer 1846

Heinrich von Mayr and Sebastian Fischer, *Genre-Bilder aus dem Oriente. Gesammelt auf der Reise seiner Königlichen Hoheit des Herrn Herzog Maximilian in Bayern*, Stuttgart: Ebner, 1846.

McSweeney 2015a

Anna McSweeney, “Arthur von Gwinner und die Alhambra-Kuppel”, in *Wie die islamische Kunst nach Berlin kam. Der Sammler und Museumsdirektor Friedrich Sarre (1865–1945)*, edited by Julia Gonnella and Jens Kröger, Berlin: Reimer, 2015, 89–102.

McSweeney 2015b

Anna McSweeney, “Versions and Visions of the Alhambra in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman World”, *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design, History, and Material Culture* 22 (1), 2015, 44–69.

Meaux 2010

Lorraine de Meaux, *La Russie et la tentation de l’Orient*, Paris: Fayard, 2010.

Méndez Rodríguez 2008

Luis Méndez Rodríguez, *La imagen de Andalucía en el arte del siglo XIX*, Sevilla: Centro de Estudios Andaluces, 2008.

Mendonça 2016

Ricardo Mendonça, “Plaster Cast Workshops. Their Importance for an International Network for the Exchange of Reproductions of Art”, in *Casting. Ein analoger Weg ins Zeitalter der Digitalisierung? = Casting. A Way to Embrace the Digital Age in Analogue Fashion?*, edited by Christina Haak and Miguel Helfrich, Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 2016, 95–105.

Mesecke 2018

Andrea Mesecke, “Rohault de Fleury, Charles”, *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon* 99, 2018, 262.

Middleton 1982

Robin Middleton, “Hittorff’s Polychrome Campaign”, in *The Beaux-Arts and the Nineteenth Century French Architecture*, edited by Robin Middleton, London: Thames and Hudson, 1982, 174–195.

Mikhnevich 1884

Vladimir Mikhnevich, *Nashi znakomye. Fel’etonnyi sovremennikov*, Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiia Éduarda Goppe, 1884.

Mikishat’ev 2012

Mikhail Mikishat’ev, “Aleksandr Briullov. Tvorcheskii metod zodchego pervogo étopa istorizma”, in *Arkhitektura épokhi istorizma. Traditsii i novatorstvo. Posviash-*

chennoi 200-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia arkhitektora Gal'da Bosse (1812–1894), Conference Proceedings, edited by the Committee for State Control, Use, and Preservation of Monuments of History and Culture of St. Petersburg KGIOP, Sankt-Peterburg: Palazzo, 2012, 41–51.

Moore 2014

Ben Moore, *Invisible Architecture. Ideologies of Space in the Nineteenth-Century City*, PhD Diss., Manchester: University of Manchester, 2014.

Mordovtsev 1884

Daniil Mordovtsev, *Po Ispanii. Iz puteshestvii*, St. Petersburg: N. A. Lebedev, 1884.

Moser 2012

Stephanie Moser, *Designing Antiquity. Owen Jones, Ancient Egypt and the Crystal Palace*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012.

Mulvin 2018

Lynda Mulvin, “An Unknown Collection of Preliminary Drawings and Extra Illustrations Prepared for The Arabian Antiquities of Spain by James Cavanah Murphy in the Gennadius Library, Athens”, *Muqarnas*, no. 35, 2018, 301–348.

Mulvin 2019

Lynda Mulvin, “A Pioneer of ‘Moresque’ Revival in Continental Europe. James Cavanah Murphy (1760–1814)”, *Art in Translation* 11 (2), 2019, 148–180.

Muñoz Cosme 1991

Alfonso Muñoz Cosme, “Cuatro siglos de intervenciones en la Alhambra de Granada, 1492–1907”, *Cuadernos de la Alhambra* 27, 1991, 151–190.

Murphy 1815

James Cavanah Murphy, *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*, London: Cadell & Davies, 1815.

Nägelke 2017

Hans-Dieter Nägelke, “Was (nicht) prägte. Carl von Diebitschs kurze Jahre an der Bauakademie”, in *A Fashionable Style. Carl von Diebitsch und das maurische Revival*, edited by Francine Giese and Ariane Varela Braga, Bern: Peter Lang, 2017, 19–26.

Nashchokina 2003

Maria Nashchokina, “Russkaia usad’ba v Krymu i mestnye arkhitekturnye traditsii”, *Russkaia usad’ba. Sbornik Obshchestva izucheniia russkoi usad’by* 9 (25), 2003, 226–252.

Naumann 2003

Elisabeth Naumann, *Kiosk. Vom Lustpavillon zum kleinen Konsumtempel*, Marburg: Jonas, 2003.

Navascués Palacio 1973

Pedro José Navascués Palacio, *Arquitectura y arquitectos madrileños del siglo XIX*, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, 1973.

Navone 2007

Nicola Navone, *Bâtir pour les tsars. Architectes tessinois en Russie 1700–1850*, Lausanne: Presses Polytechniques et Universitaires Romandes, 2007.

Nichols 2015

Kate Nichols, *Greece and Rome at the Crystal Palace. Classical Sculpture and Modern Britain, 1854–1936*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Nikolaeva 2007

Tamara Nikolaeva, *Viktor Shreter. Ieronim Kitner*, Sankt-Peterburg: Kolo, 2007.

NIMRAKh 2012

Nauchno-issledovatel’skii muzei Rossiiskoi akademii khudozhestv NIMRAKh, *Arkhitekturnaia grafika Gal'da Bosse (1812–1894). K 200-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia*, Exhibition Catalogue, Sankt-Peterburg: Palazzo, 2012.

Novitskii 1910

Aleksei Novitskii, "Rakhau, Karl Karlovich", in *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'*, Vol. 15, edited by Aleksandr Polovtsov and the Imperatorskoe Russkoe Istoricheskoe Obshchestvo, Sankt-Peterburg: Imp. akad. nauk, 1910, 508–509.

Nuere Matauco 2003

Enrique Nuere Matauco, *La carpintería de armar española*, Madrid: Munilla-Lería, 2003.

Offord 2005

Derek Offord, *Journeys to a Graveyard. Perceptions of Europe in Classical Russian Travel Writing*, Dordrecht: Springer, 2005.

Ol' 1955

Galina Ol', *Arkhitektori Briullov*, Leningrad/Moskva: Gosstroizdat, 1955.

Olenin 1831

Aleksei Olenin, *Programma polnogo kursa teorii zodchestva i stroitel'nogo iskusstva, dlia uchenikov (akademistov) Akademii khudozhestv*, Sankt-Peterburg: Tip. I. Glazunov, 1831.

Olenin 2010

Aleksei Olenin, *Izbrannye trudy po istorii i deiatel'nosti Imperatorskoi Akademii khudozhestv*, edited by Nikolai Beliaev, Sankt-Peterburg: Biblioteka Rossiiskoi Akademii nauk, 2010.

Orihuela Uzal 1996

Antonio Orihuela Uzal, *Casas y palacios nazaríes. Siglos XIII–XV*, Barcelona: Lunewerg, 1996.

Osterhammel 1997

Jürgen Osterhammel, "Edward W. Said und die 'Orientalismus'-Debatte. Ein Rückblick", *Asien Afrika Lateinamerika*, no. 25, 1997, 597–607.

Osterhammel 2008

Jürgen Osterhammel, "Russland und der Vergleich zwischen Imperien. Einige Anknüpfungspunkte", *Comparativ* 18 (2), 2008, 11–26.

Oulebsir/Volait 2009

Nabila Oulebsir and Mercedes Volait (eds.), *L'Orientalisme architectural entre imaginaires et savoirs*, Paris: Picard, 2009.

Palacio 1902

Manuel del Palacio, "Otra vez la cuerda. La alianza curdo-rusa, una fortaleza imaginaria y un capitán de llaves real. Episodios", *Los Lunes de El Imparcial*, April 14, 1902.

Panadero Peropadre 1994

Nieves Panadero Peropadre, "Recuerdos de la Alhambra. Rafael Contreras y el gabinete árabe del Palacio Real de Aranjuez", *Reales Sitios. Revista del Patrimonio Nacional*, no. 122, 1994, 33–40.

Parvillée 1874

Léon Parvillée, *Architecture et décoration Turques au XVe siècle par Léon Parvillée avec une préface de E. Viollet-le-Duc*, Paris: A. Morel et Cie, 1874.

Pashkova 2014a

Tatiana Pashkova, *Imperator Nikolai I i ego sem'ia v Zimmem dvortse, 1796–1837*, Sankt-Peterburg: Gosudarstvennyi Ėrmitazh, 2014.

Pashkova 2014b

Tatiana Pashkova, *Imperator Nikolai I i ego sem'ia v Zimmem dvortse, 1838–1855*, Sankt-Peterburg: Gosudarstvennyi Ėrmitazh, 2014.

Pavlova/Matveev 1996

Svetlana Pavlova and Boris Matveev, *Mramornyi dvorets*, Sankt-Peterburg: Beloe i chiornoe, 1996.

Pavón Maldonado 1977

Basilio Pavón Maldonado, *Estudios sobre la Alhambra II*, Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra, 1977.

Pemberton 1868

[Caroline] H. Pemberton, *A Winter Tour in Spain, by the Author of 'Dacia Singleton', 'Altogether Wrong' etc.*, London: Tinsley Brothers, 1868.

Petrov 1864

Piotr Petrov, *Sbornik materialov dlia istorii Imperatorskoi S.-Peterburgskoi Akademii khudozhestv za sto let eia sushchestvovaniia, 1758–1811*, Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiia Kommisionera Imperatorskoi Akademii khudozhestv Gogenfel'dena i Ko., 1864.

Petrov 1865

Piotr Petrov, *Sbornik materialov dlia istorii Imperatorskoi S.-Peterburgskoi Akademii khudozhestv za sto let eia sushchestvovaniia, 1811–1843*, Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiia Kommisionera Imperatorskoi Akademii khudozhestv Gogenfel'dena i Ko., 1865.

Petrov 1866

Piotr Petrov, *Sbornik materialov dlia istorii Imperatorskoi S.-Peterburgskoi Akademii khudozhestv za sto let eia sushchestvovaniia, 1852–1864*, Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiia Kommisionera Imperatorskoi Akademii khudozhestv Gogenfel'dena i Ko., 1866.

Pflugradt-Abdel Aziz 2017

Elke Pflugradt-Abdel Aziz, “Das zukunftsweisende Konzept des maurischen Bade- und Toilettenzimmer in Schloss Schwerin. Vorfabrikation – Standardisierung – Industrialisierung”, in *A Fashionable Style. Carl von Diebitsch und das maurische Revival*, edited by Francine Giese and Ariane Varela Braga, Bern: Peter Lang, 2017, 163–173.

Piggott 2004

Jan Piggott, *Palace of the People. The Crystal Palace at Sydenham 1854–1936*, London: Hurst & Company, 2004.

Piliavskii 1981

Vladimir Piliavskii, *Dzhakomo Kvarengi. Arkhitektor. Khudozhnik*, Leningrad: Stroizdat, 1981.

Piñar Samos/Giménez Yanguas 2019

Javier Piñar Samos and Miguel Giménez Yanguas (eds.), *Monumento y Modernidad (1869–1936)*, Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, 2019.

Plaude 2013

Viktoria Plaude (ed.), *Tsarskoe Selo. Katalog kollektsii. Fotografiiia, 1850–1917-e*, Pushkin: GMZ Tsarskoe Selo, 2013.

Plinval de Guillebon 2004

Régine de Plinval de Guillebon, “Les vases de l’Alhambra. Somptueux modèles pour le XIXe”, *L’Objet d’art*, no. 391, 2004, 72–79.

Polaschegg 2005

Andrea Polaschegg, *Der andere Orientalismus. Regeln deutsch-morgenländischer Imagination im 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2005.

Possémé 1994

Évelyne Possémé, “La politique de reproduction à l’Union centrale des arts décoratifs au XIXe siècle”, in *La Jeunesse des musées. Les musées en France au XIXe siècle*, edited by Chantal Georgel, Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1994, 77–82.

Prisse d’Avennes 1877

Émile Prisse d’Avennes, *L’art arabe d’après les monuments du Kaire depuis le VIIe siècle jusqu’à la fin du XVIIIe*, Paris: J. Savoy & Cie., 1877.

Pritula et al. 2008

Anton Pritula et al., *Vo dvortsakh i v shatrakh. Islamskii mir ot Kitaia do Evropy = In Palaces and Tents. The Islamic World from China to Europe*, Exhibition Catalogue, Sankt-Peterburg: Gosudarstvennyi Ėrmitazh, 2008.

Pritula et al. 2015

Anton Pritula et al., ‘Podarok sozertsaiushchim’. *Stranstviia Ibn Battuty = ‘A gift to Contemplators’. Ibn Battuta’s Travels*, Exhibition Catalogue, Sankt-Peterburg: Gosudarstvennyi Ėrmitazh, 2015.

Punin 1996

Andrei Punin, “Natsional’noe i internatsional’noe v arkhitekture èpokhi istorizma”, in *Istorizm v Rossii. Stil’ i èpokha v dekorativnom iskusstve v 1820–1890-kh gg.* Conference Proceedings, edited by Nina Biriukova et al., Sankt-Peterburg: Gosudarstvennyi Èrmitazh, 1996, 3–5.

Punin 2011

Andrei Punin, *Arkhitektura Peterburga serediny i vtoroi poloviny XIX veka. 1830–1860-kh gody. Ranniaia èklektika*, Sankt-Peterburg: Kriga, 2011.

Punin 2014

Andrei Punin, *Arkhitektura Peterburga serediny i vtoroi poloviny XIX veka. Peterburg 1860–1890-kh godov v kontekste gradostroitel’stva*, Sankt-Peterburg: Kriga, 2014.

Punin 2020

Andrei Punin, *Arkhitektura Peterburga serediny i vtoroi poloviny XIX veka. 1860–1890-e gody. Tipologiiia zdanii i sooruzhenii i stilevye zakonomernosti arkhitektury èpokhi pozdnei èklektiki*, Sankt-Peterburg: Kriga, 2020.

Pushkin 1835

Aleksandr Pushkin, “Skazka o Zolotom Petushke”, *Biblioteka Dlia Chteniia* 16, 1835, 111–117.

Racinet 1873

Albert Racinet, *L’ornement polychrome*, Paris: Firmin Didot, 1873.

Raquejo Grado 1987

Tonia Raquejo Grado, *El arte árabe. Un aspecto de la visión romántica de España en la Inglaterra del siglo XIX*, PhD Diss., Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1987.

Raquejo [Grado] 1988

Tonia Raquejo [Grado], “La Alhambra en el Museo Victoria & Albert. Un catálogo de las piezas de la Alhambra y de algunas obras neonazaríes”, *Cuadernos de Arte e Iconografía, en Revista virtual de la Fundación Universitaria Española* 1 (1), 1988, 201–244.

Raquejo Grado 1990

Tonia Raquejo Grado, *El palacio encantado. La Alhambra en el arte británico*, Madrid: Tauris, 1990.

Raquejo [Grado] 1995

Tonia Raquejo [Grado], “El Alhambresco: constitución de un modelo estético y su expresión en la tradición ornamental moderna”, in *La imagen romántica del legado andalusí*, edited by Rafael López Guzmán, Barcelona: Lunwerg, 1995, 29–36.

Revilla Vielva 1932

Ramón Revilla Vielva, *Patio árabe del museo arqueológico nacional. Catálogo descriptivo*, Madrid: Cuerpo Facultativo de Archiveros, Bibliotecarios y Arqueólogos, 1932.

Riaño 1872

Juan Facundo Riaño, *Classified and Descriptive Catalogue of the Art Objects of Spanish Production in the South Kensington Museum*, London: G. E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, 1872.

Riaño 1884

Juan Facundo Riaño, “La Alhambra. Estudio crítico de las descripciones antiguas y modernas del palacio árabe”, *Revista de España* 17 (March/April), 1884, 5–25, 183–207.

Rivas 1934a

Natalio Rivas, “La Cuerda Granadina. Jorge Ronconi, Pablo, el ‘Ruso’ I”, *ABC Madrid*, May 20, 1934, 7–8.

Rivas 1934b

Natalio Rivas, “La Cuerda Granadina. Jorge Ronconi, Pablo, el ‘Ruso’ II”, *ABC Madrid*, May 27, 1934, 10–11.

Roberts 1837

David Roberts, *Picturesque Sketches in Spain, Taken during the Years 1832 and 1833*, London: Hodgson & Graves, 1837.

Robinson 1855

John Charles Robinson, *A Catalogue of the Museum of Ornamental Art, at Marlborough House, Pall Mall, Part I*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1855.

Röder/Wenger 2012

Annemarie Röder and Michael Wenger (eds.), *Karl Ludwig von Zanth. Der Erbauer der Wilhelma in seiner Zeit*, Exhibition Catalogue, Stuttgart: Haus der Heimat des Landes Baden-Württemberg, 2012.

Rodríguez Domingo 1997

José Manuel Rodríguez Domingo, *La arquitectura 'neoárabe' en España. El medievalismo islámico en la cultura arquitectónica española (1840–1930)*, Vol. 1, PhD Diss., Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1997.

Rodríguez Domingo 2007

José Manuel Rodríguez Domingo, “La Alhambra restaurada. De ruina romántica a fantasía oriental”, in *Luz sobre papel. La imagen de Granada y la Alhambra en las fotografías de J. Laurent*, edited by Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, 2007, 83–98.

Rodríguez Ruiz 2010

Delfin Rodríguez Ruiz, *La memoria fragil. José de Hermosilla y Las Antigüedades árabes des España*, Madrid: Fundación Cultural COAM, 2010.

Roeck 2007

Bernd Roeck, “Introduction”, in *Forging European Identities, 1400–1700*, edited by Herman Roodenburg, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, 1–29.

Rosser-Owen 2010

Mariam Rosser-Owen, *Islamic Arts from Spain*, London: Victoria & Albert Publishing, 2010.

Rosser-Owen 2011

Mariam Rosser-Owen, “Coleccionar la Alhambra. Owen Jones y la España Islámica en el South Kensington Museum”, in *Owen Jones y la Alhambra*, edited by Juan Calatrava, Abraham Thomas, Rémi Labrusse, and

Mariam Rosser-Owen, London/Granada: Victoria and Albert Museum/Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, 2011, 43–69, 159–168.

Rubio Domene 2010

Ramón Rubio Domene, *Yeserías de la Alhambra. Historia, técnica y conservación*, Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2010.

Rüstem 2019

Ünver Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque. The Architectural Refashioning of Eighteenth-Century Istanbul*, Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2019.

Saburova 2014

Tatiana Saburova, *Dagerotip v Rossii. Sobranie Istoricheskogo muzeia, katalog*, Moskva: Gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii muzei, 2014.

Sahni 1997

Kalpna Sahni, *Crucifying the Orient. Russian Orientalism and the Colonization of Caucasus and Central Asia*, Bangkok: White Orchid Press, 1997.

Said 1978

Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, New York: Pantheon, 1978.

Said 1985

Edward W. Said, “Orientalism Reconsidered”, *Cultural Critique*, no. 1, 1985, 89–107.

Said 1994

Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* [with a new afterword by the author], New York: Vintage Books, 1994.

Sánchez/Cascales Muñoz 1928

Manuel León Sánchez and José Cascales Muñoz, *Antología de la Cuerda Granadina*, Mexico: Imp. Manuel León Sánchez, 1928.

Savel'ev 2015

Iurii Savel'ev, *Arkhitekturnoe nasledie Rossii, Nikolai Sultanov*, Moskva: Izdatel'skii dom Rudentsovykh, 2015.

Savinova 2004

Ekaterina Savinova, “La raccolta dei modelli in sughero dell’Accademia di Belle Arti di San Pietroburgo”, in *Dal mito al progetto. La cultura architettonica dei maestri italiani e ticinesi nella Russia neoclassica*, edited by Nicola Navone and Letizia Tedeschi, Mendrisio: Accademia di architettura, Università della Svizzera italiana, 2004, 135–142.

Savinova 2021

Ekaterina Savinova, “Catalogue of Nineteenth-Century Alhambra Casts and Models at the Scientific-Research Museum of the Russian Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg”, in *Mudejarismo and Moorish Revival in Europe*, edited by Francine Giese, Brill: Leiden, 2021, 553–598.

Sayger/Desarnod 1832

Carl Sayger and Auguste Joseph Desarnod, *Album d’un voyage en Turquie fait par ordre de sa majesté l’empereur Nicolas 1er en 1829 et 1830*, Paris: Engelmann et Cie., 1832.

Schimmelpenninck van der Oye 2002

David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, “Orientalizm – delo tonkoe”, *Ab Imperio* 1, 2002, 249–264.

Schimmelpenninck van der Oye 2009

David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, “Vasilij V. Vereshchagin’s Canvases of Central Asian Conquest”, *Cahiers d’Asie Centrale* 17/18, 2009, 179–209.

Schimmelpenninck van der Oye 2010a

David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, *Russian Orientalism. Asia in the Russian Mind from Peter the Great to the Emigration*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2010.

Schimmelpenninck van der Oye 2010b

David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, “The East”, in *A History of Russian Thought*, edited by William Letherbarrow and Derrek Offord, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, 217–240.

Schimmelpenninck van der Oye 2014

David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, “The Curious Fate of Edward Said in Russia”, in *L’orientalisme des marges. Éclairages à partir de l’Inde et de la Russie*, edited by Philippe Bornet and Svetlana Gorshenina, Lausanne: Études de lettres, 2014, 81–94.

Schinkel et al. 1822

Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Thomas Moore, Heinrich Stürmer, and August von Kloeber, *Lalla Rûkh. Ein Festspiel mit Gesang und Tanz. Aufgeführt auf dem Königl. Schlosse in Berlin am 27sten Januar 1821 bei der Anwesenheit I.I.K.K.H.H. des Grossfürsten Nicolaus und der Grossfürstin Alexandra Feodorowna*, edited by Karl Friedrich Brühl and Samuel Heinrich Spiker, Berlin: L. W. Wittich, 1822.

Schnepel et al. 2011

Burkhard Schnepel, Gunnar Brands and Hanne Schöning (eds.), *Orient – Orientalistik – Orientalismus. Geschichte und Aktualität einer Debatte*, Bielefeld: Transcript, 2011.

Scholz-Hänsel 1989

Michael Scholz-Hänsel, “Antiguedades Arabes de España. Wie die einst vertriebenen Mauren Spanien zu einer Wiederentdeckung im 19. Jahrhundert verhelfen”, in *Europa und der Orient. 800–1900*, Exhibition Catalogue, edited by Hendrik Budde and Gereon Sievernich, Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1989, 368–382.

Schreiter 2012

Charlotte Schreiter (ed.), *Gipsabgüsse und antike Skulpturen. Präsentation und Kontext*, Berlin: Reimer, 2012.

Schulz 1976

Elke von Schulz, *Die Wilhelma in Stuttgart. Ein Beispiel orientalisierender Architektur im 19. Jahrhundert und ihr Architekt Karl Ludwig Zanth*, Tübingen: Universität Tübingen, 1976.

Seco de Lucena 1958

Luis Seco de Lucena, “La Torre de las Infantas en la Alhambra. Sobre sus inscripciones y la fecha de su

construcción”, *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* 7, 1958, 145–148.

Senn 1990

Rolf Thomas Senn, *Orientalisierende Baukunst in Berlin im 19. Jahrhundert*, PhD Diss., Berlin: FU Berlin, 1990.

Serova 2008

Karolina Serova, *Pis'ma zagranichnykh pensionerov Peterburgskoi Akademii khudozhestv 1860–1870-kh godov kak istoricheskii istochnik*, PhD Diss., Sankt-Peterburg: SPBGU, 2008.

Serpinskaia 2009

Tatiana Serpinskaia, *Khudozhestvennaia bronza. Tsarskosel'skoe sobranie*, Sankt-Peterburg: Avrora, 2009.

Serrano Espinosa 2012

Francisco Javier Serrano Espinosa, “La familia Contreras (1824–1906). Ochenta años de intervenciones en el patrimonio hispanomusulmán y difusión del Alhambribrismo. Nuevas aportaciones en la línea de investigación”, in *I Congreso Red de Museos de Arte Islámico. Actas*, edited by Jesús Bermúdez et al., Granada/Paris/London: Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife/Musée du Louvre/Victoria and Albert Museum, 2012, 91–109.

Serrano Espinosa 2014

Francisco Javier Serrano Espinosa, *Arquitectura y restauración arquitectónica en la Granada del siglo XIX. La familia Contreras*, PhD Diss., Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2014.

Shalem 2012

Avinoam Shalem, “Dangerous Claims. On the ‘Othering’ of Islamic Art History and how it Operates within Global Art History”, *Kritische Berichte. Zeitschrift für Kunst- und Kulturwissenschaften* 40 (2), 2012, 69–86.

Shuiskii 1998

Valerii Shuiskii, “Aleksandr Briullov”, in *Zodchie Sankt-Peterburga XIX – nachalo XX veka*, edited by Valerii Isachenko et al., Sankt-Peterburg: Lenizdat, 1998, 313–324.

Shvidkovsky 2003

Dimitri Shvidkovsky, “Catherine the Great’s Field of Dreams. Architecture and Landscape in the Russian Enlightenment”, in *Architectures of Russian Identity. 1500 to the Present*, edited by James Cracraft and Daniel Rowland, Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 2003, 51–65.

Sidorov 1892

Vasilii Sidorov, *Za pireneiami. Putevye zametki i vpechatleniia po Ispanii*, St. Petersburg: A. Katanskii i K., 1892.

Sidorova 2009

Anna Sidorova, “Puteshestvie v Tsar’grad, Konstantinopol’ i Stambul’ velikogo kniazia Konstantina Nikolaevicha v 1845 godu”, in *Rossia – Vostok. Kontakt i konflikt mirovozzrenii*, Vol. 2, Conference Proceedings, edited by the GMZ Tsarskoe Selo, Sankt-Peterburg: Gosudarstvennyi Ėrmitazh, 2009, 106–125.

Sievernich/Budde 1989

Gereon Sievernich and Hendrik Budde (eds.), *Europa und der Orient 800–1900*, Exhibition Catalogue, Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1989.

Singer 1898

Hans Wolfgang Singer (ed.), *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon. Leben und Werke der berühmtesten bildenden Künstler*, Vol. 3, Frankfurt a. M.: Rütten & Loening, 1898.

Slonimskoi 1993

Lidiia Slonimskoi (ed.), *Pis'ma Sergeia Lvovicha i Nadezhdy Osipovny Pushkinykh k ikh docheri Ol'ge Sergeevne Pavlishchevoi, 1828–1835*, Sankt-Peterburg: Pushkinskii fond, 1993.

Smyshliaev 2007

Vitalii Smyshliaev, *San-Galli. Chelovek i zavod*, Sankt-Peterburg: Nestor, 2007.

Sobrino González 2007

Miguel Sobrino González, “Maquetas y vaciados de la Alhambra y el Generalife en la Escuela de Arquitectura de Madrid”, in *Palacio árabe de la Alhambra*, edited by Fondo antiguo de la Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de Madrid, Madrid: Instituto Juan de Herrera, 2007, 33–45.

Solov’iova 1996

Tatiana Solov’iova, *Rumiantsevskii osobniak na Angliiskoi naberezhnoi*, Sankt-Peterburg: Almaz, 1996.

Solov’iova 2007

Tatiana Solov’iova, *Dvortsy i doma ‘russkogo Monte-Kristo’ i ego potomkov*, Sankt-Peterburg: Bel’veder, 2007.

Soltykoff 1848

Alexis Soltykoff, *Lettres sur l’Inde*, Paris: Amyot, 1848.

Somov 1879

Andrei Somov, *Biograficheskie svedeniia o chlenakh Akademii [khudozhestv] i voobshche khudozhnikakh umershih v 1875–1878 gg*, Sankt-Peterburg: Imp. Akad. nauk, 1879.

Somov 1895

Andrei Somov, “Kol’man, Karl Karlovich”, *Éntsiklopedicheskii slovar’ Brokgauza i Efrona* 15a, 1895, 790.

Sosnina et al. 2017

Olga Sosnina, Aleksandr Val’kovich et al., *Orientalizm. Turetskii stil’ v Rossii, 1760–1840-e*, Exhibition Catalogue, Moskva: Kuchkovo pole, 2017.

Spashchanskii 2009

Andrei Spashchanskii, “‘Turetskii stil’ v russkom iskusstve vtoroi poloviny XVIII veka”, in *Rossia – Vostok. Kontakt i konflikt mirovozzrenii*, Vol. 2, Conference Proceedings, edited by the GMZ Tsarskoe Selo, Sankt-Peterburg: Gosudarstvennyi Ėrmitazh, 2009, 154–170.

Sprinker 1992

Michael Sprinker (ed.), *Edward Said. A Critical Reader*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.

Stanulevich 2017

Nadezhda Stanulevich, “Fotografía española en el Museo de la Academia de Bellas Artes de Rusia = Spanish Photography at the Russian Academy of Fine Arts Museum”, in *I Jornadas sobre Investigación en Historia de la Fotografía, 1839–1939. Un siglo de fotografía = I Conference on Research in History of Photography, 1839–1939. A Century of Photography*, Conference Proceedings, edited by José Antonio Hernández Latas, Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2017, 337–344.

Stanulevich 2018

Nadezhda Stanulevich, “The Photographs of the Alhambra at the Russian Academy of Fine Arts Museum”, in *The Power of Symbols. The Alhambra in a Global Context*, Conference Proceedings, edited by Francine Giese and Ariane Varela Braga, Bern: Peter Lang, 2018, 311–317.

Stasov 1872

Vladimir Stasov, “Po povodu postroiki sinagogi v Peterburge”, *Evreiskaia biblioteka*, Vol. 2, 1872, 453–473.

Stasov 1879

Vladimir Stasov, “Otvét L. Gordonu”, *Rassvet*, no. 10, 1879, 382–385.

Stemberger 2010

Martina Stemberger, “Westöstliche Metamorphosen. (De)Konstruktionen des ‚Orient‘ in europäischen Russland-Diskursen”, *Germanoslavica* 21 (1/2), 2010, 3–26.

Stepanenko 2002

Irina Stepanenko, “Turetskaia bania v Tsarskom sele i ‘vostochnyi vkus’”, in *V teni ‘Bol’shih stilei’*, Conference Proceedings, edited by the GMZ Tsarskoe Selo, Sankt-Peterburg: Gosudarstvennyi Ėrmitazh, 2002, 14–23.

Sweetman 1988

John Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession. Islamic Inspiration in British and American Art and Architecture 1500–1920*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Swinburne 1779

Henry Swinburne, *Travels through Spain, in the Years 1775 and 1776, in Which Several Monuments of Roman and Moorish Architecture are Illustrated by Accurate Drawings on the Spot*, London: Elmsly, 1779.

Tagirdzhanova 2014

Almira Tagirdzhanova, *Mecheti Peterburga. Proekty, voploshchenie, istoriia musul'manskoi obshchiny*, Sankt-Peterburg: Poltorak, 2014.

Talalay 1999

Michail Talalay, "Le chiese Russe in Italia", in *L'orientalismo nell'architettura italiana tra Ottocento e Novecento*, Conference Proceedings, edited by Maria Adriana Giusti and Ezio Godoli, Siena: Maschietto & Musolino, 1999, 203–210.

Tchikhatchev 1880

Petr Tchikhatchev, *Espagne, Algérie et Tunisie, Lettres à Michel Chevalier*, Paris: J.-B. Baillièere et fils, 1880.

Texier 1839

Charles Texier, *Description de l'Asie mineure, faite par ordre du Gouvernement Français, de 1833 à 1837, et publiée par le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique*, Vol. 1, Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1839.

Texier 1849

Charles Texier, *Description de l'Asie mineure, faite par ordre du Gouvernement Français, de 1833 à 1837, et publiée par le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique*, Vol. 2, Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1849.

Tikhomirov 1906

Nikolai Tikhomirov, *Putevoditel' po tserkvam goroda Sankt-Peterburga i blizhaishikh ego okrestnostei*, Sankt-Peterburg: Vera i Znanie, 1906.

Tischendorf 1862

Constantin Tischendorf, *Aus dem heiligen Lande*, Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1862.

Tiurin 2007

Sergei Tiurin, *Retseptsiiia Vashingtona Irvinga v Rossii 20–30-kh godov XIX veka*, PhD Diss., Nizhnii Novgorod: Nizhegorodskii gosudarstvennyi pedagogicheskii universitet, 2007.

Todorova 1997

Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Todorova 2000

Maria Todorova, "Does Russian Orientalism Have a Russian Soul? A Contribution to the Debate between Nathaniel Knight and Adeeb Khalid", *Kritika. Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 1 (4), 2000, 717–727.

Toeseva 2009

Aleksandra Toeseva, "K voprosu ob ustroistve Aziatskoi komnaty v Bol'shom Tsarskosel'skom dvortsa", in *Rossia – Vostok. Kontakt i konflikt mirovozzrenii*, Vol. 2, Conference Proceedings, edited by the GMZ Tsarskoe Selo, Sankt-Peterburg: Gosudarstvennyi Èrmitazh, 2009, 186–200.

Toeseva 2014

Aleksandra Toeseva, *Gosudarstvennyi muzei-zapovednik 'Tsarskoe selo'. Turetskaia bania*, Sankt-Peterburg: Mednyi vsadnik, 2014.

Tolz 2005

Vera Tolz, "Orientalism, Nationalism, and Ethnic Diversity in Late Imperial Russia", *The Historical Journal* 48 (1), 2005, 127–150.

Tolz 2011

Vera Tolz, *Russia's Own Orient. The Politics of Identity and Oriental Studies in the Late Imperial and Early Soviet Periods*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Torres Balbás 1929

Leopoldo Torres Balbás, “El Patio de los Leones”, *Arquitectura* 11 (117), 1929, 221–234.

Torres Balbás 1936

Leopoldo Torres Balbás, “Los modillones de lóbulos. Ensayo de análisis de la evolución de una forma arquitectónica a través de diez y seis siglos”, *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología* 12 (34/35), 1936, 1–62, 113–144.

Torres Balbás 1949

Leopoldo Torres Balbás, *Arte almohade. Arte nazarí. Arte mudéjar*, Madrid: Plus Ultra, 1949.

Trubinov 2009

Iurii Trubinov, “Turetskii kabinet Mramornogo dvortsa. Obrazets stilizatsii serediny XIX veka”, in *Rossia – Vostok. Kontakt i konflikt mirovozzrenii*, Vol. 2, Conference Proceedings, edited by the GMZ Tsarskoe Selo, Sankt-Peterburg: Gosudarstvennyi Ėrmitazh, 2009, 200–215.

Trubinov 2018

Iurii Trubinov, *Mramornyi dvorets i sluzhebnyi dom*, Sankt-Peterburg: Nestor-Istoriia, 2018.

Trusted 2006

Marjorie Trusted, “In All Cases of Difference Adopt Signor Riaño’s View. Collecting Spanish Decorative Arts at South Kensington in the Late Nineteenth Century”, *Journal of the History of Collections* 18 (2), 2006, 225–236.

Tselishcheva/Bogdan 2009

Luiza Tselishcheva and Veronika-Irina Bogdan, *Muzei Akademii khudozhestv. Stranitsy istorii, 1758–1990-e gody*, Sankt-Peterburg: Liki Rossii, 2009.

Twiss 1775

Richard Twiss, *Travels through Portugal and Spain, in 1772–1773*, London: G. Robinson, T. Becket and J. Robson, 1775.

Uhde 1892

Constantin Uhde, *Baudenkmäler in Spanien und Portugal*, Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1892.

Utochkina et al. 1999

Olga Utochkina, Galina Sveshnikova et al., *Iusupovskii dvorets. Istoriiia roda, usad’by i kollektzii*, Sankt-Peterburg: Art-Palas, 1999.

Vanni 1868

Antonio Vanni, *Neuestes Preisverzeichniss der vorzüglichsten Gyps-Abgüsse über antike und moderne Gegenstände, zu haben bei Antonio Vanni, Kruggasse 8 (in der Nähe des Doms) in Frankfurt am Main*, Frankfurt a. M.: Mahlau & Waldschmidt, 1868.

Varela Braga 2016

Ariane Varela Braga, “Une Alhambra florentine. La salle mauresque de la Villa Stibbert”, in *The Period Rooms. Allestimenti storici tra arte, collezionismo e museologia*, edited by Sandra Costa, Dominique Poulot, and Mercedes Volait, Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2016, 161–168.

Varela Braga 2017a

Ariane Varela Braga, “How to Visit the Alhambra and Be Home in Time for Tea. Owen Jones’s Alhambra Court in the Crystal Palace of Sydenham”, in *A Fashionable Style. Carl von Diebitsch und das maurische Revival*, edited by Francine Giese and Ariane Varela Braga, Bern: Peter Lang, 2017, 71–83.

Varela Braga 2017b

Ariane Varela Braga, “The Arab Room of the Palacio de Cerralbo”, *Art in Translation* 9 (1), 2017, 7–28.

Varela Braga 2017c

Ariane Varela Braga, *Une théorie universelle au milieu du XIXe siècle. La Grammar of Ornament d’Owen Jones*, Roma: Campisano Editore, 2017.

Varela Braga 2019

Ariane Varela Braga, “Détours orientaux sur les rives du Léman. Les modèles islamiques à l’École des Arts

Industriels de Genève”, in *Der Orient in der Schweiz. Neo-islamische Architektur und Interieurs des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts = L’Orient en Suisse. Architecture et intérieurs néo-islamiques des 19e et 20e siècles*, edited by Francine Giese, Leïla el-Wakil, and Ariane Varela Braga, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019, 165–183.

Varela Braga 2021

Ariane Varela Braga, “Il Gusto Moresco. Amateurs and Artists in Florence and Rome during the second Half of the Nineteenth Century”, in *Mudejarismo and Moorish Revival in Europe*, edited by Francine Giese, Brill: Leiden, 2021, 173–191.

Velichenko/Miroliubova 1997

Marina Velichenko and Galina Miroliubova, *Dvorets velikogo kniazia Vladimira Aleksandrovicha*, Sankt-Peterburg: Almaz, 1997.

Vil’chkovskii 1911

Sergei Vil’chkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo. Putevoditel’*, Sankt-Peterburg: R. Golike & A. Vil’borg, 1911.

Viñes Millet 1982

Cristina Viñes Millet, *Granada en los libros de viaje*, Granada: Miguel Sánchez, 1982.

Vinogradov 2013

Viktor Vinogradov, “Plastichne ozdoblennia arkhitekturi Ialti oriëntal’nogo napriamku 1880-kh–1910-kh gg.”, *Visnik KhDADM*, no. 1, 2013, 65–69.

Vitiazeva 1997

Vera Vitiazeva, “Peterburgskaia mechet’. K istorii stroitel’stva”, in *Pamiatniki stariny. Kontseptsii. Otkrytiia. Versii. Pamiati V.S. Beletskogo, 1919–1997*, edited by Anatolii Kirpichnikov, Sankt-Peterburg: IIMK, 1997, 147–162.

Volait 2009

Mercedes Volait, *Fous du Caire. Excentriques, architectes et amateurs d’art en Égypte 1863–1914*, Montpellier: L’Archange minotaure, 2009.

Vollan 1894

Grigoriï de Vollan, *Po Belu Svetu. Putevyia zametki*, Vol. 1, Sankt-Peterburg: Obshchestv. pol’za, 1894.

Wageman/Kouteinikova 2010

Patty Wageman and Inessa Kouteinikova (eds.), *Russia’s Unknown Orient. Orientalist Painting 1850–1920*, Exhibition Catalogue, Rotterdam: Nai, 2010.

Walsh/Allom 1838a

Robert Walsh and Thomas Allom, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor Illustrated in a Series of Drawings from Nature by Thomas Allom*, Vol. 1, London/Paris: Fisher Son & Co., 1838.

Walsh/Allom 1838b

Robert Walsh and Thomas Allom, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor Illustrated in a Series of Drawings from Nature by Thomas Allom*, Vol. 2, London/Paris: Fisher Son & Co., 1838.

Weinitz 1907

Franz Weinitz, *Das Fürstliche Residenzschloss zu Arolsen. Geschichtliches, Bau- und Kunstgeschichtliches*, Leipzig: Grumbach, 1907.

Wenger 2012

Michael Wenger, “Alhambra am Neckar. Die Stuttgarter Wilhelma – nur maurisch?”, in *Karl Ludwig von Zanth. Der Erbauer der Wilhelma in seiner Zeit*, Exhibition Catalogue, edited by Annemarie Röder and Michael Wenger, Stuttgart: Haus der Heimat des Landes Baden-Württemberg, 2012, 113–140.

Wilder 2008

Kelley Wilder, “Schneider, Trupert (1804–99), Heinrich (1835–1900), and Wilhelm (1839–1921), German Daguerreotypists”, in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, edited by John Hannavy, New York/London: Routledge, 2008, 1249–1250.

Williams 2014

Haydn Williams, *Turquerie. An Eighteenth-Century European Fantasy*, London: Thames & Hudson, 2014.

Wischnitzer 1964

Rachel Wischnitzer, *The Architecture of the European Synagogue*, Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1964.

Wolff 1994

Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe. The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.

Wyatt 1851

Matthew Digby Wyatt, *The Industrial Arts of the Nineteenth Century. A Series of Illustrations of the Choicest Specimens Produced by Every Nation, at the Great Exhibition of Works of Industry, 1851*, London: Day and Son, 1851.

Zagoskin 1839

Mikhail Zagoskin, *Toska po rodine. Povest'*, Vol. 1, Moskva: N. Stepanov, 1839.

Zaitseva 2003

Natalia Zaitseva, *Istoriia inter'rov Iusupovskogo dvortsa v kontekste razvitiia russkogo dvortsovogo inter'era, 30-e gody XIX – nachalo XX vv.*, PhD Diss., Sankt-Peterburg: Sankt-Peterburgskii gosudarstvennyi universitet, 2003.

Zaitseva 2009

Natalia Zaitseva, “Frantsuzskii Vostok' v Iusupovskom dvortse. K istorii sozdaniia vostochnykh zalov Iusupovskogo dvortsa”, in *Rossia – Vostok. Kontakt i konflikt mirovozzrenii*, Vol. 1, Conference Proceedings, edited by the GMZ Tsarskoe Selo, Sankt-Peterburg: Gosudarstvennyi Ėrmitazh, 2009, 125–136.

Zanten 1977

David van Zanten, *The Architectural Polychromy of the 1830s*, New York: Garland, 1977.

Zanten 1982

David van Zanten, “Architectural Polychromy. Life in Architecture”, in *The Beaux-Arts and the Nineteenth Century French Architecture*, edited by Robin Middleton, London: Thames and Hudson, 1982, 196–215.

Zanth 1855

Ludwig Zanth, *Die Wilhelma. Maurische Villa seiner Majestät des Königes Wilhelm von Württemberg*, Stuttgart: Autenrieth'sche Kunsthandlung, 1855.

Zhatkin/Kruglova 2013

Dmitrii Zhatkin and Tatiana Kruglova, “Val'ter Skott i Briullovy”, *Mir nauki, kul'tury, obrazovaniia* 3 (40), 2013, 232–234.

Zherikhina 2011

Elena Zherikhina, *Usad'by ust'ia reki Moiki*, Sankt-Peterburg: Alaborg, 2011.

Zimin 2012

Igor Zimin, *Zimnii dvorets. Liudi i steny. Istoriia imperatorskoi rezidentsii, 1762–1917*, Moskva/Sankt-Peterburg: Tsentrpoligraf/Russkaia troika, 2012.

Image Credits

- 1, 2: Arkhangelskoe State Museum-Estate
- 3, 4, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 23, 27–30, 51–53, 77, 90, 92, 97, 98, 101–103, 122, 130, 145, 174, 176, 178, 180, 181, 184, 193, 194, 196, 200–202, 204, 205, 207, 208, 211–213, 215, 223, 224, 226, 227, 232–244, 246, 248–251: Katrin Kaufmann
- 5: theartnewspaper.ru
- 6: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg/Volker Rödel
- 7: Image from *Illustrirovannoe opisanie* 1896, pl. 9
- 10: shutterstock.com, oto 1363824701
- 13: Tbilisi State Academy of Arts, Tbilisi
- 15: Gatchina State Museum-Preserve
- 16, 31, 35, 225, 252: Central State Archive of Documentary Films, Photographs, and Sound Recordings of St. Petersburg
- 17: wikimedia.org
- 18, 36, 66, 148, 173, 192, 197, 199: National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg
- 19: Image om Evangulova 1999, 21
- 20: Oberlin College Library, Oberlin
- 21, 22, 39, 44, 45, 55, 69–71, 73–75, 80, 86, 150–154, 159–163, 170, 177, 179, 185–191: Scientific-research Museum of the Russian Academy of Arts, St. Petersburg
- 24, 25: University Library Basel
- 26: George Washington University Libraries, Washington, D.C.
- 32: Peterhof State Museum-Preserve, photo 2023
- 33, 46–48, 56, 59, 175, 245: State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg
- 34: dreamstime.com, photo 45502108, Alexandre Fagundes De Fagundes
- 37: State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow
- 38, 42, 49, 60: Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles
- 40: Biblioteca acional de España, Madrid
- 41: Arachne, Köln, <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/917582>
- 43: ETH Library Zurich, Rar 9840, <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-9057> / Public Domain Mark
- 50: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg/Horst Fenchel/Thomas Scheidt
- 54: Architekturmuseum der Technischen Universität Berlin, Berlin
- 57, 65, 96, 105, 119, 125, 209: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg/Thomas Scheidt
- 61: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid
- 62–64, 67, 68: Nikita Andreev
- 72, 78, 109, 117, 155: ETH Library Zurich, Rar 9878, <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-35466> / Public Domain Mark
- 79: Museum für Islamische Kunst der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Johannes Kramer CC BY-NC-SA 4.0
- 81, 195, 198: Victoria and Albert Museum, London
- 82: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
- 84: Archivo ABC, Madrid

- 85: Museo Casa de los Tiros de Granada, fondo documental
- 87: Image from Kondakov 1914, 104
- 88: Image from Kondakov 1914, 105
- 89: Image from Fernández-Puertas 1997, 14/Katrin Kaufmann
- 91, 93–95, 104, 106, 107, 112, 114, 116, 118, 120, 121, 123, 124, 126, 127, 129, 131–134, 137–141, 143, 144, 146, 147: Scientific-research Museum of the Russian Academy of Arts, St. Petersburg/University of Zurich
- 99: Image from González Pérez 2017b, 82/86
- 100, 113, 115, 157: Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, Granada
- 108: dreamstime.com, photo 6040654, Hartemink
- 111: ETH Library Zurich, Rar 56422: 4, <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-35761> / Public Domain Mark
- 128: dreamstime.com, photo 129562361, Peter Apers
- 136: Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie, Genève
- 142: Image from Gonzalez Pérez 2017b, 114
- 149: goskatalog.ru
- 156: ETH Library Zurich, Rar 9981, <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-35467> / Public Domain Mark
- 164, 169: State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg
- 165: Sarah Keller
- 167: The New York Public Library, New York
- 168: Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal
- 171: State Archive of the Russian Federation, Moscow
- 172: Patrimonio Nacional, XAP014_20141010_01
- 183: Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- 210, 214: Central State Historical Archive of St. Petersburg
- 216, 217, 219–221, 228–231: Nikita Andreev/Katrin Kaufmann
- 218: Biblioteca Regional de Madrid, Madrid
- 222: Image from Biriukova et al. 1996, 159
- 247: Anna Matochkina

Index of Persons

- 'Abd al-Aḥad Ḥān, Emir of Bukhara 21
- Abdulmejid I, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire 43
- Adelheid-Marie, Princess of Anhalt-Dessau 66
- Adolph, Duke of Nassau 66, 67
- Ahmed III, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire 33
- Aivazovskii, Ivan 36, 43
- Akhmatova, Anna 57 (fn), 194
- Alarcón, Pedro Antonio de 97, 99
- Alcalá Galiano, Antonio 56
- Aleksandr Nikolaevich, Grand Duke of Russia
(see Alexander II)
- Aleksandra Fiodorovna, Grand Duchess and Empress
of Russia 50, 52, 67–69, 76, **Cat. no. 4**
- Aleksandra Iosifovna, Grand Duchess of Russia
41, 142
- Alexander I, Emperor of Russia 50, 52
- Alexander II, Emperor of Russia 44, 45, 94, 99, 142,
161 (fn), 172, 174, 179 (fn)
- Alexander III, Emperor of Russia 131 (fn), 139 (fn)
- Alexandra, Princess of Saxe-Altenburg
(see Aleksandra Iosifovna)
- Allom, Thomas 38
- al-Ṭanṭāwī, Muḥammad 'Ayyād 39 (fn), 45
- Armand, Alfred 163
- Arshakunin, family 22
- Augusta, Dowager Princess of Wales 34 (fn)
- Bakh, Evgenii-Karl 179
- Bakhman, Lev 205, 208, **Cat. nos 28–31**
- Baranovskaia, Olga 20 (fn)
- Bariatinskaia, Maria 168
- Bariatinskii, Aleksandr 168 (fn)
- Bariatinskii, Vladimir 165, 168 (fn), **Cat. no. 11**
- Barry, Charles 142
- Bashutskii, Aleksander 67, 71, 72
- Basin, Nikolai 204, 205, **Cat. no. 25**
- Bazilevskii, Aleksandr 132 (fn)
- Beauharnais, Maximilian de, Duke of Leuchtenberg
40
- Beauharnais, Zinaida de (see Skobeleva, Zinaida)
- Beine, Karl 81–83
- Belinskii, Vissarion 80 (fn)
- Benois, Alexei (see Benua, Aleksei)
- Benois, Nicolas (see Benua, Nikolai)
- Benua, Aleksei 22 (fn)
- Benua, Nikolai 83
- Bergmasko, K. 212
- Bestuzheva-Marlinskogo, Aleksander 50
- Blore, Edward 22 (fn)
- Boeswillwald, Émile 199 (fn)
- Bogdanovich, Foma 179
- Bonaparte, Napoleon (see Napoleon I)
- Bopp, Karl 172 (fn)
- Bosse, Gara'd (see Bosse, Harald Julius von)
- Bosse, Harald Julius von 76–79, 165–169, 177,
Cat. nos 6, 7, 11
- Bosshard, Julius 172 (fn)
- Botkin, Vasilii 80, 81, 180, 181
- Botta, Grazioso 185 (fn)
- Bourgoin, Jules 178, 213
- Briullov, Aleksandr 22 (fn), 40–43, 59–64, 67–74, 76,
79, 82, 84, 141 (fn), 168, 175, 217, **Cat. nos 2–4**
- Briullov, Karl 36, 60, 62
- Briullov, Nikolai 84, 175, 177, 202, 203, **Cat. no. 16**
- Brodsky, Joseph 194
- Brogliè, Joseph 17 (fn)
- Brusnitsyn, Aleksandr 205, 206, **Cat. no. 26**
- Brusnitsyn, Georgii 205, 206, **Cat. no. 26**
- Brusnitsyn, Nikolai 205, 206, **Cat. no. 26**
- Bugreev, I. 33

- Bulla, Carl 42, 47, 204
 Byron, Lord (George Byron) 50
- Castro y Serrano, José 96, 98, 99
 Catherine I, Empress of Russia 52 (fn)
 Catherine II, Empress of Russia 32, 34–36, 40, 44 (fn),
 46
 Cavos, Alberto 73–75, **Cat. no. 5**
 Cervantes, Miguel de 56
 Chambers, William 34, 35, 48
 Charlotte, Princess of Prussia
 (see Aleksandra Fiodorovna)
 Charlotte, Princess of Württemberg
 (see Elena Pavlovna)
 Chernyshiov, Zakhar 34
 Chichi, Antonio 140 (fn)
 Cole, Henry 139
 Contreras Granja, Mariano 95 (fn), 150, 157
 Contreras Muñoz, Francisco 107, 109, 116, 118
 Contreras Muñoz, José Marcelo 107, 109
 Contreras Muñoz, Rafael 93 (fn), 95, 96, 98 (fn), 103,
 107, 109, 110, 112, 113, 116–118, 120, 131–137, 139, 148,
 150, 157, 181, 186, 187, 216
 Contreras Osorio, José 95 (fn), 120
 Coste, Pascal 77, 78 (fn), 178, 190
 Crayon, Geoffrey (see Irving, Washington)
 Cruchet, Claude-Philippe-Albert 163 (fn)
 Cruchet, Jean-Philippe 163 (fn)
 Cruchet, Michel-Victor 162, 163 (fn)
- Daguerre, Louis Jacques Mandé 17 (fn)
 Danini, Silvio **Cat. no. 40**
 Davillier, Jean-Charles 130
 Derviz, Pavel von **Cat. no. 32**
 Derviz, Sergei von 205, 207, 215, **Cat. no. 27**
 Desarnod, Joseph 36–38
 Diebitsch, Carl von 83 (fn), 87, 159, 172 (fn), 187
 Diutel', Iulii 99 (fn), 180 (fn)
 Dolgorukov, Dmitrii 56, 57
 Doré, Gustave 130
 Dzhorguli, Anton 42 (fn)
- Egorov, Aleksandr **Cat. no. 41**
 Elena Pavlovna, Grand Duchess of Russia 66
 Elena Vladimirovna, Grand Duchess of Russia
 187 (fn)
 Elizaveta Mikhailovna, Grand Duchess of Russia 66
- Fel'ten, Iurii 40 (fn), 44 (fn)
 Fernández Castro, Diego 113, 132, 133, 135, 137
 Fischer von Erlach, Johann Bernhard 48
 Ford, Richard 79, 103 (fn)
 Fortuny y Marsal, Mariano 131 (fn), 133 (fn)
 Foster, John 79
 Fototipia Lacoste 200
 Frederick William III, King of Prussia 50, 52 (fn)
 Freidenberg, Boris 19 (fn)
 Frisch, Friedrich 172 (fn)
 Fufaevskii, Leonid **Cat. nos 36, 37**
- Gagarin, Grigorii 36
 Galland, Antoine 30
 García Guerra, Eduardo 98, 103
 Gau, Édouard (see Hau, Eduard)
 Gautier, Théophile 140, 180
 Gavriil Konstantinovich, Grand Duke of Russia
 42 (fn)
 Gayangos y Arce, Pascual de 96
 Georg Viktor, Prince of Waldeck and Pyrmont 65
 Gilse van der Pals, Hendrik van 205, 210, **Cat. no. 38**
 Giodike, Robert 175
 Girault de Prangey, Joseph-Philibert 55, 88, 103, 149
 Glinka, Mikhail 81
 Gödicke, Robert (see Giodike, Robert)
 Gogen, Aleksandr von **Cat. no. 33**
 Gogol, Nikolai 59
 Gómez Moreno, Manuel 158
 González Bande, José 98 (fn)
 Gorchakov, Aleksandr 173
 Gornostaev, Ivan 175
 Gornostaeva-Monighetti, Vera **Cat. no. 13**
 Gortschakoff, Prince (see Gorchakov, Aleksandr)
 Goury, Jules 55, 70, 72, 77, 79, 88, 94, 103, 116, 129, 130,
 151, 161, 168, 173, 191, 192, 200
 Grigorovich, Konstantin 91, 92, 93 (fn)
 Grimm, David 91–93
 Grimm, German 180–182
 Gromov, Il'ia 186, 215 (fn), **Cat. nos 21, 22**

- Grozmani, Vladimir 20 (fn)
 Gun, Andrei 189
 Gwinner, Arthur von 91
- Hackländer, Friedrich Wilhelm 172 (fn)
 Hau, Eduard 44, 69, 72
 Helene, Princess of Nassau 65, 66
 Héré, Emmanuel 35
 Hittorff, Jakob Ignaz 163, 173 (fn)
 Honegger-Näf, Heinrich 172 (fn)
 Horodecki, Władysław 22 (fn)
 Hugo, Victor 50, 55 (fn)
- Iogansen, Vil'iam 205, 210, **Cat. no. 38**
 Irving, Washington 54, 56, 57, 148, 149, 156, 180, 181
 Isabella II, Queen of Spain 107
 Isfandiyār, Khan of Khiva 21 (fn)
 Ismā'il I, Sultan of Granada 112, 120, 129
 Iusupov, family 17 (fn), 161, 165, 214, 217
 Iusupov, Feliks 17, 212, **Cat. no. 34**
 Iusupov, Nikolai the Younger 17, 18, 161, 162, 165,
Cat. nos 9, 10
 Iusupova, Tatiana 17, 161, 162 (fn), 165, **Cat. no. 10**
 Iusupova, Zinaida (1809–1893) 161
 Iusupova, Zinaida (1861–1939) 17, 212, **Cat. no. 34**
 Ivanov, Grigorii 22 (fn)
 Izmailovich, Vladislav 187 (fn)
- Jensen, David 163
 Johannsen, Wilhelm (see Iogansen, Vil'iam)
 Jones, Owen 55, 56, 70, 72, 77, 79, 87, 88, 93, 94, 103,
 107, 110, 115, 116, 118, 124, 129, 130, 139, 150, 151, 153,
 156–158, 160, 161, 168, 169, 171–173, 175, 178, 190–192,
 194, 200, 205
 Jong, Hijman Louis de 135 (fn)
- Kalugin, Sergei 19 (fn)
 Kantemir, Dmitrii 186 (fn)
 Karl, Crown Prince of Württemberg 172
 Kavos, Al'bert (see Cavos, Alberto)
 Keller, Maria Wilhelmina Louise (see Bariatinskaia,
 Maria)
 Kiel, Lev (see Kil', Lev)
 Kil', Lev 83
- Kitner, Ieronim 187, 189, 190–194, 205, **Cat. nos 15, 42**
 Klasen, Vil'iam 203
 Kloeber, August von 50, 52 (fn)
 Knaus, Ludwig 67
 Kochubei, Lev 77, 78, **Cat. no. 7**
 Kochubei, Mikhail 78
 Kochubei, Viktor 78 (fn)
 Koenig, Iurii **Cat. no. 42**
 Kokorev, Aleksandr **Cat. no. 40**
 Kol'b, Aleksander 83
 Kollmann, Karl (see Kol'man, Karl)
 Kol'man, Karl 23, 84, 141–143, 145–159, 179, 217, 222
 Kondakov, Sergei 91 (fn), 101
 Konradi, Andrei-Liudvig 20 (fn)
 Konstantin Konstantinovich, Grand Duke of Russia
 42 (fn)
 Konstantin Nikolaevich, Grand Duke of Russia
 41, 42 (fn), 43, 45, 47, 142
 Korovina, Liubov' **Cat. no. 39**
 Kossov, Viktor 179, 180
 Kotov, Grigorii 179, 180
 Kovsharov, Anatolii 205, 206, **Cat. no. 26**
 Krakau, Aleksandr 83–88, 90, 91, 169–177, 179, 189,
Cat. no. 12
 Krasnov, Nikolai 20 (fn)
 Krasovskii, Aleksandr **Cat. no. 32**
 Kromhout, Willem 135 (fn)
 Kuz'min, Roman 77 (fn)
- Laborde, Alexandre de 53, 54, 58 (fn), 71, 103
 Lange, Ludwig 153 (fn)
 Leszczyński, Stanisław, former King of Poland 35
 Lermontov, Mikhail 48, 50, 56 (fn), 213
 Lewis, John Frederick 55, 85, 86, 88 (fn), 89, 103, 115,
 122, 149
 Linares, Enrique 133 (fn), 135 (fn), 138
 Lorents, Nikolai 178
 Ludovika, Princess of Bavaria 45
 L'vov, Aleksei 73–76, 79, **Cat. no. 5**
- Maksimov, Aleksandr **Cat. no. 41**
 Malov, Aleksei 208, **Cat. nos 29–31**
 Maria Aleksandrovna, Grand Duchess and Empress of
 Russia 45, 79 (fn), 175

- Maria Nikolaevna, Grand Duchess of Russia
139 (fn), 142
- Maria Pavlovna, Grand Duchess of Russia 187,
Cat. no. 15
- Marie, Princess of Hesse (see Maria Aleksandrovna)
- Marie, Princess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin
(see Maria Pavlovna)
- Mathivet, Léonard 136
- Maximilian Joseph, Duke in Bavaria 45
- Mayr, Heinrich von 44, 45
- Mengden, Marie Constance Elise 94 (fn)
- Menshikov, Vladimir 186
- Mérimée, Prosper 56
- Mesmakher, Maksimilian
(see Messmacher, Maximilian)
- Messmacher, Maximilian 175
- Meyer, Wilhelm 81 (fn), 83 (fn)
- Mikhail Pavlovich, Grand Duke of Russia 66
- Mikhailov, Grigorii 99
- Mikhnevich, Vladimir 194
- Miloradovich, Mikhail 52
- Mol'ner 180
- Monighetti, Ippolito 35–42, 45–47, 161, 162, 165, 175,
176, 216 (fn), **Cat. nos 8, 9, 10, 13**
- Montferrand, Auguste de 51, 52, 56, 72, **Cat. no. 1**
- Moore, Thomas 50, 52
- Mordovtsev, Daniil 181
- Muḥammad III, Sultan of Granada 88, 119
- Muḥammad V, Sultan of Granada 107, 115, 124, 129,
158
- Muḥammad VII, Sultan of Granada 129, 146, 158
- Muḥammad 'Ālim Ḥān, Emir of Bukhara 21 (fn)
- Muḥammad Raḥīm Ḥān II, Khan of Khiva 21 (fn)
- Müntz, Johann Heinrich 34 (fn)
- Murphy, James Cavanah 53, 55, 58, 62, 64, 70, 71, 103,
Muruzi, Aleksandr 194, 196, 197, 199, 202, **Cat. nos 17,**
18, 19
- Napoleon I, Emperor of France 56, 103
- Napoleon III, Emperor of France 172
- Neiолоv, Il'ia 32, 35
- Nicholas I, Emperor of Russia 35, 36, 38 (fn), 39 (fn),
40, 41, 50, 52 (fn), 65, 67, 72 (fn), 91, 94, 172, 174,
Cat. no. 4
- Nikolai Maksimilianovich, Duke of Leuchtenberg
139 (fn)
- Nikolai Pavlovich, Grand Duke of Russia
(see Nicholas I)
- Notbek, Pavel 84, 91–131, 135, 137, 139–141, 146, 149,
150 (fn), 158, 159, 176, 179, 189, 218, 220–221
- Nottbeck, Carl 97 (fn)
- Nottbeck, Paul (see Notbek, Pavel)
- Nottbeck, Wilhelm von 94 (fn)
- Olenin, Aleksei 59
- Olga Nikolaevna, Grand Duchess of Russia 172
- Orlov, Grigorii 32, 41 (fn)
- Owen, Hugh 93
- Palacio, Manuel del 98 (fn), 99 (fn), 130
- Parland, Al'fred 179
- Parvillée, Léon 48 (fn), 178
- Pashkov, Ivan 76–78, **Cat. no. 6**
- Pauline, Princess of Württemberg 65, 66
- Pavel Aleksandrovich, Grand Duke of Russia 175
- Pavlishcheva, Olga 65 (fn), 71 (fn)
- Pellechet, Auguste Joseph 163
- Pemberton, Caroline H. 96
- Pérez, Tomás 109, 110
- Pérez Baquero, Francisco 116, 117
- Persius, Ludwig 79 (fn)
- Peter I, Emperor of Russia 52 (fn)
- Peter of Castile, King of Castile and León 39 (fn)
- Petrov, Piotr 82 (fn)
- Piotr Nikolaevich, Grand Duke of Russia 20, 204,
205, **Cat. no. 25**
- Polovtsov, Aleksandr (1832–1909) 202, 203,
Cat. no. 16
- Polovtsov, Aleksandr (1867–1944) 21 (fn)
- Premazzi, Luigi 170, 171
- Prisse d'Avennes, Émile 178, 184
- Prokov'ev, Nikolai **Cat. no. 39**
- Prussakov, Vasilii **Cat. no. 33**
- Prutkov, Kož'ma 176
- Pushkin, Aleksander 50, 56 (fn), 57, 65
- Pushkin, Sergei 65 (fn), 71 (fn)
- Pushkina, Nadezhda 65 (fn), 71 (fn)

- Quarenghi, Giacomo 35
- Rachau, Karl (see Rakhau, Karl)
- Racinet, Albert 178
- Rakhau, Ivan 135
- Rakhau, Karl 23, 84, 135, 141–146, 148–159, 179, 183–186, 194, 197, 202, 217, 222, **Cat. nos 14, 21, 22**
- Rastrelli, Bartolomeo Francesco 67, 186 (fn)
- Redkovskii, Andrei 159, 160, 164, 165
- Repnin, Nikolai 33, 35
- Rezanov, Aleksander 48 (fn), 77 (fn), 83, 84, 187, 188 (fn), 189–194, **Cat. no. 15**
- Riaño y Montero, Juan Facundo 139
- Ribeaupierre, Alexandre de 161 (fn)
- Ribeaupierre, Tatiana (see Iusupova, Tatiana)
- Rinaldi, Antonio 31 (fn), 35, 41 (fn)
- Rimskii-Korsakov, Nikolai 57 (fn)
- Rivas, Natalio 97, 98
- Robert-Houdin, Jean-Eugène 165
- Roberts, David 55
- Rohault de Fleury, Charles 18, 19, 159, 161, 163, 165, **Cat. no. 9**
- Ronconi, Giorgio 97, 98
- Rossi, Carlo 36, 38, 39, 73 (fn)
- Rus Acosta, Rafael 133 (fn), 135 (fn), 138
- Salias de Tournemir, Evgenii 180
- Saltykov, Aleksei 80, 165
- Samoilova, Iulia 60–63, 65, **Cat. nos 2, 3**
- Sánchez Sarabia, Diego 71
- San-Galli, Franz Friedrich Wilhelm 183–187, 215 (fn), **Cat. no. 14**
- Sayger, Carl 36–38
- Schinkel, Karl Friedrich 50, 52
- Schneider, Heinrich 16–18, 168
- Schneider, Trupert 17 (fn)
- Schneider, Wilhelm 16–18, 168
- Schröter, Viktor 187, 189–193, 202, **Cat. nos 15, 20, 23**
- Scott, Walter 62 (fn)
- Seco de Lucena Paredes, Luis 158
- Selim III, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire 32 (fn)
- Semionov, Vladimir 22 (fn)
- Semper, Gottfried 79 (fn)
- Serebriakov, Aleksei 194–202, **Cat. nos 17, 18, 19**
- Sergeev, G. 31
- Shamil, Imam of the Dagestan 168 (fn)
- Shaposhnikov, Ivan 205, 208, **Cat. nos 28–31**
- Shchedrin, Aleksandr 142
- Sheremetev, Aleksandr **Cat. no. 33**
- Shestov, Piotr 194–196, 198–201, **Cat. nos 17, 18, 19**
- Shreiber, Piotr 205, 207, 215, **Cat. no. 27**
- Shrioter, Viktor (see Schröter, Viktor)
- Shtaubert, Aleksandr (see Staubert, Alexander)
- Shtiglits, Aleksandr von (see Stieglitz, Alexander)
- Shuvalov, family 161 (fn)
- Sidorov, Vasilii 181
- Sil'vanskii, T. **Cat. nos 36, 37**
- Simpson, William 92, 93 (fn)
- Siuzor, Pavel 20 (fn)
- Skobeleva, Zinaida 215 (fn), **Cat. no. 24**
- Skotti, Mikhail 36
- Sleptsov, V. **Cat. nos 36, 37**
- Somov, Andrei 141
- Sorokin, Evgraf 91, 92, 99
- Spiridonov, Nikolai 205, 209, **Cat. no. 35**
- Spitz, Ignatii 100
- Spontini, Gaspare 52
- Stasov, Vasilii 67 (fn)
- Stasov, Vladimir 205
- Staubert, Alexander 67 (fn)
- Stepanov, Aleksandr 19, 212–216, **Cat. nos 24, 34**
- Stibbert, Frederick 133 (fn)
- Stieglitz, Alexander von 169–171, 174, 175, 177, **Cat. no. 12**
- Stier, Wilhelm 67, 68
- Sultanov, Nikolai 194–196, 198–201, **Cat. nos 17, 18, 19**
- Svin'in, Vasilii 205, 209, **Cat. no. 35**
- Swinburne, Henry 53
- Tafel, Otto 172 (fn)
- Tarasov, Nikolai 22 (fn)
- Taubenheim, Wilhelm von 172 (fn)
- Texier, Charles 48
- Tischendorf, Lobegott Friedrich Konstantin von 142 (fn)
- Tolstoi, Aleksei 176 (fn)
- Tolstoi, Leo 213
- Ton, Konstantin 141 (fn)

Torres Balbás, Leopoldo 133 (fn)
Trambitskii, Aleksei 179
Tsyganko, Vladimir 21 (fn)
Turgenev, Vasilii **Cat. no. 33**
Tuschinski, Abraham Icek 135 (fn)
Twiss, Richard 53

Uhde, Constantin 178
Ustinov, Mikhail **Cat. no. 20**

Vallin de La Mothe, Jean-Baptiste 161 (fn)
Vanni, Antonio 135, 136
Vasil'ev, Nikolai 213 (fn)
Veldten, Georg Friedrich (see Fel'ten, Iurii)
Vereshchagin, Vasilii 213
Vinter, J. A. 162
Viollier, Henri François Gabriel 31 (fn)
Vladimir Aleksandrovich, Grand Duke of Russia
187, 188, **Cat. no. 15**
Vollan, Grigorii de 181
Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet) 35 (fn)
Vorontsov, Mikhail 22 (fn)
Vorontsova, Maria **Cat. no. 8**
Vuchikhovskii, German **Cat. no. 23**

Walsh, Robert 38
Wilhelm I, King of Württemberg 172
Winckelmann, Johann Joachim 175 (fn)

Xifré Downing, José 199 (fn)

Yūsuf I, Sultan of Granada 112, 115, 120, 124
Yūsuf II, Sultan of Granada 158

Zagoskin, Mikhail 58,
Zaitsev, Dmitrii **Cat. no. 33**
Zanth, Ludwig von 79 (fn), 172–174, 176
Zhemchuzhnikov, Aleksandr 176 (fn)
Zhemchuzhnikov, Aleksei 176 (fn)
Zhemchuzhnikov, Vladimir 176 (fn)
Zheren, Nikolai 49
Zhukovskii, Vasilii 52 (fn)
Zubov, Platon 44 (fn)

