

THE MUSLIM ARTISTIC INFLUENCE IN GUATEMALAN CREATION

J. Haroldo Rodas

The present work partially summarizes the general approach regarding the Muslim influence on the thought, idiosyncrasy, and culture of the Guatemalan people. It was presented within the Program of Thought, Culture, and Identity of the Guatemalan People of the Directorate General of Research at the University of San Carlos, and its coordination remains within the Center for Folklore Studies.

This review focuses on the most characteristic and significant artistic aspects of Muslim influence within Guatemala.

The artistic influx

The Muslim influence can be observed during a visit to Guatemala from the artistic perspective of the Fine Arts, the Applied Arts, and the culinary arts.

In the first instance, architecture emerges with greater vigor; we can understand that it is, of course, a Mudejar-Spanish implantation that, in the particular case of Guatemala, becomes an incredible harmony of values, giving rise to a unique form of design that distinguishes Guatemalan creations.

So far, studies have not gone beyond pointing out the plasterwork and relief forms that appear in La Merced and the University of San Carlos, both in Antigua Guatemala, as well as the roofs, extending also to Chiapas and the rest of Central America.¹

Recent studies also highlight the creative force that the Muslims left on our soil, but it always focuses on citing the same plasterwork and monumental roofs.²

Let us now examine some specific cases in this regard, starting from the most important moment of the Hispanic period: the Cathedral of Santiago de Guatemala, which was a suffragan of the one in Mexico and, in turn, of the one in Seville. These cathedrals emulated each other in the new constructions undertaken in the forming kingdom.

It should be noted that the Cathedral of Seville was built on an old mosque that was not entirely demolished. For example, the minaret tower of the mosque was transformed into a bell tower, beautifully adapted, which still dominates the entire city and is known as La Giralda, becoming a symbol of the blend of Islamic-Christian culture.

In this building, remnants such as the Patio de los Naranjos (Courtyard of the Orange Trees) remained, which undoubtedly influenced constructions in the Americas. In Guatemala, the use of the orange tree courtyard adjacent to churches is common, as evidenced by the buildings of the temples of San Juan del Obispo and San Pedro las Huertas, which have orange trees next to the temples.

¹ Manuel Toussaint. *Arte Mudejar en América*. Editorial Porrúa. México, 1946.

² Tomás Irving. *La Artesanía Mudéjar en las Américas*. se. Estados Unidos de Norteamérica, 1991.

The churches located on the outskirts of what is now Antigua Guatemala also clearly reveal the influence of the Patio de los Naranjos of the Seville Cathedral. This influence has persisted to the present day, although in a much-transformed form. However, we must not overlook that these are very old temples in our country and are among those that received significant direct Spanish influence in their construction.

It would be too lengthy to determine multiple aspects, but we will start from the basis of concrete analysis of some unique aspects that appear in the creations preserved in our territory.

Plastic arts

Architecture

Architecture adopted very original models within the area of the Captaincy General of Guatemala. The most evident example, which stands out with great richness, is the monumental complex of Antigua Guatemala, but there are also architectural examples scattered in various points of the region that currently comprises Guatemala.

There were multiple aspects that allowed for better accommodation to models based on Mudejar concepts. Firstly, the climate and geographical sense required the construction of complexes with thick walls coated with stucco, where plasterwork created an unparalleled decorative explosion.

Furthermore, the continuous seismic assaults necessitated structures to be not only low but also to use wooden roofs, a material that could initially result in more technically resistant to the constant seismic tremors. Moreover, one must not dismiss the principle that wood emerges with great vigor within architectural creations, as it is abundant in the area and allows for the utilization of a chromatic richness in inlays, thus generating even greater richness in the roof creations themselves, which acquire color modalities with the natural tone of the woods.

Finally, the desire to display extraordinary wealth and splendor with lightweight materials, such as brick and ataurique, which acquire shine with the application of glazed tiles. Their creation is based on harmonious geometric examples formed by tiles in Muslim palaces and mosques, of course, with the variants that we will detail later.

These factors reveal with greater strength the Muslim influence within the Captaincy General of Guatemala, standing out even among other regions of Latin America, where perhaps the Muslim influence was felt in other aspects or diminished its presence.³

³ Manuel Toussaint. Op. cit.

The description of the architectural elements of Muslim influence that appear in Guatemala during the Hispanic era will be followed in alphabetical order, with the purpose of facilitating their location and reading.

We must start with the Aguaniles or Acuamaniles, an element that until now is more defined within the Christian sense as fonts or holy water containers. These remind us of the fountains placed in front of mosques where Muslims wash their hands and feet before entering the mosque to offer their prayers.

The Christian sense incorporates them but places them within the church and shapes them as small fonts in which the faithful dip their hands to moisten their fingers with holy water and then sanctify themselves on the forehead.

The word "aguamanil" is defined by the dictionary as the pitcher for pouring water into the basin and for giving water to the hands, also being classified as a basin or sink intended for washing hands.⁴

However, within the Christian world and especially as a derivation from the Muslim world within the cultural manifestations of the Hispanic world, it has a deeply religious connotation and constitutes the point where Christians converge to confirm their faith in baptism.

Although due to the reforms promoted by the Second Vatican Council, many of these pieces have ceased their use within monumental ensembles, the containers still remain in the form of marble or metal shells, or as glazed earthenware deposits to contain some of that water.

These pieces still remain in some remote corner of the walls of Christian temples, but despite this, their use persists and maintains clear evidence of the creative force with Muslim influence.

One of the most significant examples is the Aguanil in the sacristy of the church of San Agustín Acasaguastlán, El Progreso, of large dimensions and resembling more of a pitcher, but it could have originally been consecrated for the blessing of water, which was distributed among the residents of that town.

Today, that beautiful piece has been turned into a sink, and the spouts from which the water emanates have faucets, which has destroyed the original concept of this piece. It measures 1.50 meters wide and 0.85 meters high up to the basin, then another segment attached to the wall, which rises with tiles and mascarons, which were the true water spouts. The entire set measures 1.50 meters in height in its entirety.

This fountain is covered with tiles, which gives it greater richness and splendor influenced by Muslim culture.

⁴ Diccionario de la lengua española. Océano. Barcelona, España, 1987.

The tiles come from Santiago de Guatemala and feature an original design of glazed pottery from that region, with geometric motifs and colors made with oxide, in shades of gray, yellow, green, and blue.⁵

Additionally, we have holy water fonts preserved in the churches of San Francisco de Guatemala, Santo Domingo, and the Chapel of Our Lady of Mercy, crafted in marble, while others, like those in the Cathedral of Antigua, are made of metal. Ceramic fonts also appear, such as the example found in the church of Concepción in Ciudad Vieja, Sacatepéquez, and La Merced in Antigua.

There's no need to delve further into these aspects since the fountains are small and embedded in the walls, sometimes with shell variants or simply as receptacles in the shape of a water jug.

Bells

The bell tower, or Christian bell tower, is a reminder of the sense of the minarets or towers that the Arabs built in each of their mosques to call to prayer.

The caliphs would ascend at a certain hour to call the followers of Muhammad to direct their gaze and prayer towards the point that faces Mecca.

The unparalleled transformation of this architectural piece is evident in the minarets of the Mosque of Córdoba and Seville; these were transformed in the 16th century into bell towers. The Christian sense added a body to place the bells; examples of this are: La Giralda, the Mosque-Cathedral of Córdoba, and the Tower of Miguelete in Valencia.⁶

This bell tower stands apart from the main ensemble and provides temples with a very unique characteristic, which was taken up and brought by the Spanish to America. These aspects were strengthened in Guatemala in the design of the facades of several temples, and it is feasible to observe them in the facades and towers of various churches. As an example of this, we have the typical silhouette of San Agustín in Antigua Guatemala, Santa Ana in El Salvador, and a much more extraordinary example is the interior bell tower of the cathedral in Santiago de Guatemala, which appears depicted in some documents and whose existence is further confirmed in Ramirez's painting of the construction of the cathedral of La Antigua.⁷

We could delve into these aspects in more detail, but the purpose of this study is to provide an overview of how Muslim culture influenced our environment in a general sense.

Sources

⁵ Luis Luján Muñoz. Historia de la Mayólica en Guatemala. s/e. Guatemala, 1975.

⁶ Pedro Martínez y otros autores. Op. cit.

⁷ Luis Luján Muñoz. El arquitecto Mayor Diego de Porres, 1677-1741. Editorial Universitaria, Guatemala, 1982.

Although fountains and pitchers cannot be considered as architectural aspects, they do complement them, so they are included in this paragraph as they are part and complement of architecture. The function of the fountain is varied, and three variants appear: The Pond, The Fountain proper, and The Pitcher.⁸

When we delve into these theses, we observe that the ponds are directly derived from the flowing water that emerges in the Arab palace in Spain. Suffice it to exemplify the marvelous legacy of the Court of the Myrtles in the Alhambra fortress, with its characteristic rectangular design that forms a continuous flow of water imitating rivers, creating an artificial mirror and contributing to the essence of the pleasure of living and the meditation to which the Muslim is continuously subjected.

The concept of the pond was reintroduced in Guatemala in the cloister of the Recoletos, leaving behind architectural evidence that emerges from the archaeological remains and lays down a foundation for considering the reuse of this Muslim concept in the context of the Guatemalan environment.⁹

In addition to this, there is the immense pond recently discovered in the Dominican convent of La Antigua Guatemala.¹⁰ Here, the dimension is larger, although in the center it has a fountain. The depth of this pond allows us to reconstruct, according to the account of Tomás Gage, how the friars entertained themselves by moving around in small boats within it.¹¹

Fountains and pitchers are relatively more common elements, once again highlighting the Muslim influence in the Courtyard of the Maidens and the Court of the Lions of the Alhambra with its round fountain and animal figures. When transferred to Guatemala, they become round fountains within the cloisters, with notable examples including those at La Merced, Santo Domingo, San Francisco, and the beautiful bowl from Santa Clara, adorned with glazed tile, now displaced to the Palacio de los Capitanes Generales in Antigua.

The use of the fountain was not limited to the Hispanic period; it transcended into the 19th century and remains commonplace even to this day.

Los Búcaros

They are water supplies attached to the wall, located in the middle of houses or residences, having only a half-circumference basin at the front and above it, the water spout is located, where various figures and whimsical shapes emerge, achieving a splendor where the Muslim-rooted plasterwork intertwines with Renaissance forms, to

⁸ Luis Luján Muñoz. Fuentes de Antigua Guatemala. Editorial José de Pineda Ibarra. Guatemala, 1977.

⁹ Verle Lincoln Annis. La arquitectura de Antigua Guatemala. 1543-1773. Editorial Universitaria. Guatemala, 1968.

¹⁰ Zoila Rodríguez Girón. "Programa de Arqueología Colonial, Investigaciones Arqueológicas en el Convento de Santo Domingo, Ciudad de Antigua Guatemala", en Estudios No. 2/92. IHAA. Escuela de Historia. USAC. Guatemala, 1992. Págs. 73-89.

¹¹ Cfr. Thomas Gage. Los viajes de Thomas Gage en la Nueva España. Vol. # 7. Biblioteca Cultural Popular, Ministerio de Educación Pública. Editorial José de Pineda Ibarra. Guatemala, 1950.

forge our extraordinary Baroque, which is the product of the remnants of varied forms from earlier periods.¹²

Geometric designs

Although the geometric design was originally conceived by Muslims for the application of tile decoration, creating patterns of 6, 8, and 12 sides, in addition to ceramics and tiles, in Guatemala these motifs are applied architecturally in the conception of the famous recessed and hexagonal windows that provide light to the interior of the ensemble. Examples of this can be seen in the windows of the former building of the University of San Carlos of Guatemala in Antigua Guatemala, the interior windows of La Casa Popenoe, and the windows of numerous temples that appear on the fronts of the facades to provide light to the interior of the choirs.

However, the octagonal design is not limited to this aspect and is applied in the Mudejar-style roof, detailed in the paragraphs below, and in the plans of some constructions, such as the apse in the church of San Cristóbal Totonicapán, which are a design with a clear octagonal sense split in two, based on the symmetrical ensemble of the Muslim-Spanish tower.

We could mention many more designs, such as the half-hexagon breaks that appear in lintels and the wonderful geometric combinations of the fountains of Santo Domingo and San Francisco, where these examples are perceptible at first glance.

Roofing

The Mudéjar influence was strongly felt in the roofs of buildings in Guatemala, both in its flat variant, called "alfarjes," and in the geometrically complex forms, constituted as coffered ceilings, whose technique derives from the Mudéjar influence.

Alongside these two aspects emerge from the variant known as the Spanish terrace, which combines wood, brick, and painted clay, which are the most significant examples of this influence.

The richness that this type of roofing generated in America has been extensively studied¹³, while in Guatemala, it has been the subject that has inspired greater treaties and studies by some specialists.¹⁴ They clearly indicate that the richness of the Muslim influence is evident in these contributions, citing mostly the prominent examples in Antigua Guatemala, to which we must add the "alfarjes" raised in Nueva Guatemala, exemplified today by the roof of San Miguel de Capuchinas and the house located on 7th Avenue, between 9th and 10th streets in Zone 1, to mention just a few examples. In these,

¹² Luis Lugan Muñoz. Fuentes de Antigua. Op. Cr

¹³ Manuel Toussaint. Op. cit.

¹⁴ Verle Lincoln. Op. Cit. y Pál Kelemen. Baroque and Rococo in Latin América. 2da. Edición. Dover Publications Inc. New York, 1967.

wooden beams carved with grooves appear, accompanied by boards where designs resembling "atauriques" emerge, with pyrography techniques.

As an external example to the city, the coffered ceilings of Tecpán,¹⁵ partially restored today, Comalapa, and Patzún appear. The original layout of the coffered ceiling of Patzún, which I saw destroyed due to the earthquake of 1976, remains faintly in memory. Later, my interest in preserving the legacy damaged by the earthquake led me to participate in the Cultural Heritage Rescue Program organized by the School of History of the University of San Carlos of Guatemala, coordinated by Dr. Josefina Alonso de Rodríguez. I returned once again to that beautiful ensemble, this time teaching the people of the area how to rescue, meter by meter, the segments of the roof of their proud architectural gem.

Patzún, now partially recovered, presents this complex almost fully restored to showcase its exemplary decoration with richness. These roofs were designed to cover very spacious areas, with little load on the walls. Inside, geometric designs, stars, floral motifs, and inlays in various woods emerge, making the ensemble shine, reminiscent of the delicate wooden lacework of the Caliphate within the Alhambra. In Guatemala, they have variations as Hispanic applications: Sun, Moon, and zoomorphic motifs, intertwined with Christian shields such as the ovals where the shield of the Franciscan Order appears, belonging to the roof of Tecpán and now in the process of restoration at the IDAEH Workshop.

We could indicate much more about each of these roofs, but this would even be part of an astonishing treatise that would fill pages of incredible beauty, where we could imagine the tales of the Arabian Nights reemerging, transformed into a unique language.

Plasterwork

The plasterwork is undoubtedly one of the elements through which Muslim art shone with the greatest splendor, both in its ceilings, forming its marvelous domes, especially those scattered within the ensembles, such as the case of the Nasrid Palace of the Alhambra, which alternates with the "mocárabes," the name given to the extremities of the lobes of an arch, or is even formed by the hanging pegs of a wooden ceiling or by ceramic elements, particularly plasterwork.

With this element, Muslims consolidate the image of splendor within their residences, as it provides them with great beauty and richness with lightweight and inexpensive materials, which are adorned with color and shine, thus generating sumptuousness to the monument.

In Guatemala, the descendant generations of the conquerors also formed their own interpretation of luxury and magnificence, taking up Muslim ideas and transforming them into new artistic contributions. We can even define this as an indigenous version of

¹⁵ Manuel Alvan. "España presente en la reconstrucción de la Catedral de Tecpán", en Revista Encuentro. Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, No. 4. st.

Islamic art since the plasterwork appears in Guatemala with a Creole flavor, providing sumptuous detail to architectural ensembles.

Of course, the masters who worked with stucco in our region were not content with merely copying Muslim models; they recreated upon them and generated plasterwork with great originality. Plasterwork thus became the element that covers the walls in much of the regions of Hispanic America, but in areas like ours, it acquires a special vigor, driven by the limited use of stone cladding on facades and interiors of churches and residences. This necessity to provide splendor through lighter materials such as stucco or plasterwork arose from the compactness of the architecture of the Captaincy General and the limited use of stone on the walls, which was a result of continuous seismic activity. This meant that the architecture did not convey an image of permanence, but in exchange, plasterwork and stucco provided it with grandeur and splendor, as well as great originality.

In most factories, we can observe a strong influence and reinterpretation of the so-called "Baroque Mudéjar Plasterwork," as it leaves flat spaces in stucco to section off squares of sumptuous lacework. As a result of this influence, true lace-like plasterwork appears on the facades of temples in Guatemala.

It is also here where we must seek technical differentiation between what we will determine as "Stucco" and "Plasterwork," as they are initially synonymous terms, but in terms of artistic application, we must establish that stucco is the direct coating on the wall, which remains smooth, although it should be clarified that this is a composition that is also made of plaster, lime, and sand; but plasterwork is the element formed solely by hand-modeled plaster or mold, which is then incorporated into the walls of a construction.

As a result of this influence, throughout the territory of the former Captaincy General of Guatemala, true lace-like plasterwork appears, the analysis of which I will concentrate on some examples that are preserved in the current territory of Guatemala.

First, let's start with the seat of the former city of Santiago de Guatemala, where the facade of the Church of La Merced emerges with great splendor. Its artistic achievement fused Muslim influence with indigenous contribution to create an ancestral message in which plasterwork covers the entire facade with delicate vegetal forms accompanied by birds, employing a Muslim technique to create lacework in which shapes and messages of the indigenous soul appear.

The motifs of La Merced in Antigua have been discussed by numerous specialists and have even sparked real controversies in an attempt to clarify whether the fruits appearing on the branches, where hummingbirds fly, are "Cacao" or "Grapes". Indeed, the motif is purely indigenous, and the fruits are almost undoubtedly "Cacao", and even corn cobs shapes appear on the facade. All of these are accompanied in a marvelous celebration by small hummingbirds, which hold great significance, as it should not be forgotten that this bird represents the spirit and divine force.

Of course, the entire city of Antigua is filled with marvelous plasterworks, exemplified in the vegetal and animal forms that appear on the walls of Christian temples, reminiscent of Arab atauriques.

Plasterwork takes on more whimsical, varied forms, showing a strong "Renaissance" decorative influence, as designs of mermaids,¹⁶ Atlantes, lions, and other motifs emerge, fully affirming the ideal of unity between Christian, Muslim, and indigenous forms.

Outside of La Antigua, the plasterworks of the temples of Santa Ana and San Pedro Las Huertas stand out, both with a wealth of floral designs. As a more distant influence, there is the magnificent facade of the temple of San Cristóbal Acasaguastlán in the present-day department of El Progreso, where the explosion of plasterwork makes the facade one of the most splendid examples of its kind.

Among all, the Cathedral of La Antigua stands out with its plasterwork of strong Plateresque design. Its interior provides shelter for the monumental angels that appear in the pendentives of the main dome, holding their censers in a sign of veneration. This same design reappears, with a more popular flavor, in the four simulated pendentives below the four lowered arches that support the high choir of the Cathedral of Escuintla, on the southern coast of Guatemala, thus exemplifying the Muslim influence within the capital of the former Captaincy General of Guatemala and its significance towards the regions inland.

There are numerous examples such as the atauriques on the facade of Santa Clara in La Antigua, the designs of the temple of San Pedro Las Huertas, the scallop shells adorning the bell towers of the parish church of Ciudad Vieja, Sacatepéquez, and many others that can be seen in detail in a recently conducted study about plasterwork in the ancient temples.¹⁷

Arches

Although this element should have been mentioned at the beginning among those accompanying architecture of Muslim origin, I purposely left it for last, as it carries a strong influence of Muslim architecture and is perceived more easily.

The four types of arches that characterize this style are: "horseshoe arches", "pointed arches", "lobed arches", and "muqarnas arches". The first ones were adopted by the Arabs from the Visigothic culture and are reminiscent in shape of horseshoes, from which their name derives. There are also pointed arches that combine a certain straight line, forming a break similar to horseshoe arches, in a virtual fusion of Gothic forms with later Arab designs.

¹⁶ Luis Luján Muñoz. La Sirena en el Arte Guatemalteco. CIRMA, Vol. 2. Guatemala, junio, 1981. Págs. 137-152.

¹⁷ Seminario alumnos del Departamento de Bellas Artes, Facultad de Humanidades, "El Estuco de La Antigua Guatemala". Guatemala, 1989.

The lobed motifs emerge with whimsical forms, as do the muqarnas arches, very evident in some cloisters in Guatemala, such as the arcades of the University of San Carlos in La Antigua Guatemala, the Tridentine College, and the entrance arches of various private houses.¹⁸

We must also mention the use of "Ajimez" and "Alfiz" in the windows, which we can see exemplified in the Church of San Gaspar Chajul.¹⁹ The "Ajimez" consists of an arched window divided in the center by a column, and the "Alfiz" is a reminder of the Arab arch that starts from the impost or from the ground.

Painting

Painting and the arts of color may be abundant within Muslim culture, but despite this, they appear in key points such as ceilings, on plasterwork, on carpets, and of course in ceramics and artistic leatherwork. However, to facilitate its application, we will focus here on the significance that painting with Muslim influence has in the particular case of pre-Hispanic Guatemala, on the baseboards, ceilings, and particularly on the motifs that appear in the extraordinary attire with which wooden sculptures were adorned.

There are naturally ceramic contributions and others, including tiles, but all of this will be addressed in specific references in the applied arts.

Alongside painting, we must consider the drawings and geometric designs that appear in books and documents, all of which are clearly of Muslim influence.²⁰

Now we will consider each of these details and carefully examine the achievements they offer us. First, the "alfarjes" and "artesonados," whose construction we will not repeat here, as it was indicated in the architecture section, but it should be clarified that they are adorned and acquire brilliance through the application of color.

Each of the carvings that appear overlaid on the woodwork is coated in stucco and then painted with geometric, floral designs, adding Renaissance elements and Christian religious representations, thus forming ceilings with a certain flavor that links to the Cisneros trend.²¹

In addition to this, we must consider the baseboard, a decoration that typified the grace and luxury of the interiors of Arab constructions, which appear at the base of palaces, providing sumptuousness to the ensembles.

In Guatemala, the baseboard appears in the interior of houses and convents, mostly painted directly on the wall or sometimes covered with tiles, in rare exceptions.

¹⁸ Cfr. Verle Lincoln Annis. Op. Cit.

¹⁹ Roberto Gabriel Palomo Manrique. Iglesia de San Gaspar Chajul, proyecto de Restauración. Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala. Guatemala, mayo de 1979.

²⁰ There are numerous documents in the archives that preserve these designs, for example: AHAGP. Census of the town of Jacaltenango, section 4, box 14, or the watercolor located in A.G.D.C.A. A.3. Leg. 1140-20339.

²¹ Diego Angulo Iniquez. Op. Cit.

The importance given to the baseboard stands out in the sense that we can observe in painters of great relevance like Joseph de Valladares, who appears with his disciples executing this type of painting for private residences²². The baseboards appear at the bottom of houses and public areas, their designs are asymmetrical, floral. Arab *atauriques* were mostly executed in red colors, as the material used for painting was annatto and cochineal. Examples of these can be found in the baseboards of the former headquarters of the University of San Carlos, La Recolectión, the Convent of Santa Clara, San Francisco, Santo Domingo, and others, now disappeared, painted in the Cathedral.²³

Added to the pictorial contribution of Muslim influence are the marvelous "estofados" of the wooden carved images, which give the country so much fame for their extraordinary quality. Here it is evident how a relatively lightweight material, since it is not stone, is coated with "blanco de España" (Spanish white) and then adorned with gold leaf, which is subsequently decorated with floral designs and various motifs that concentrate the Muslim influence, which becomes particularly evident in the splendor and technique, but also in the reinterpretation of models and designs that recall to some extent the "atauriques" that appear in Mudéjar constructions.²⁴

The stars, floral motifs, and even the geometric designs that appear on the garments of the sculptures resemble the damasks and Arab tapestries, thus forging a wonderful Muslim tribute to the process of mestizaje, evident in art.

Applied arts

In addition to the Fine Arts, the Muslim influence became evident in our region in the field of Applied Arts, perceptible through tiles and ceramics, as well as in the artistic course, tapestries, and carpets, placing us in a prominent role in this field, as some of these techniques have even passed down to our days.

We see first and foremost Tiles and Ceramics, which although separated by their own functional use, have the same production process and a similar technique. Both are processed in artisan workshops with clay, which is molded into squares that will serve as the base for the tiles or for pots, pitchers, pots, candlesticks, masks, which can be classified as domestic use ceramics.

Both have color applied in the form of vitrified glazes based on lead or tin, the latter for the white base²⁵. Muslim tiles were used to cover walls and give them sumptuousness and elegance, but above all, the typical color stands out. They excel outdoors, as in the

²² Juan Haroldo Rodas Estrada. *Pintura y Escultura Hispánica En Guatemala*. ediciones América. Guatemala, 1992. Pág. 60.

²³ AHAGP. *Cuentos Obras Pías*. s/c. (1804-1805). F. 6-7-8.

²⁴ Luis Luján Muñoz y Miguel Álvarez Arévalo. *Imágenes de Oro*. Editorial Litorama. Guatemala, 1993.

²⁵ Luis Luján Muñoz. *Historia de la Mayólica en Guatemala*. Op. Cit.

case of Persia, or indoors, as exemplified by the Spanish area, from which the Guatemalan tradition derives.

As Spanish examples, we find the Alhambra, the palaces in various parts of that country, which were reinterpreted in Guatemala with the application of tiles on fountains and baseboards in the interiors of convents and private houses.

We can exemplify these with the fountains that appear in the Casa de Los Leones, which is occupied by the Hotel Posada de Don Rodrigo, the Fountain of the Convent of the Clarisas, and the baths of the Capuchinas, where the troughs are covered with tiles.

Regarding ceramics specifically, we can find forms of plates, pitchers, jugs, and animal-shaped water vessels, which are produced by the main Spanish production centers concentrated in Málaga, presenting a decoration of coppery reflections, and blue decoration; Valencia with red metallic reflections, and Mayorca, from where the name Majolica²⁶ comes.

Based on the above, we can clarify that in Guatemala, there is glazed pottery with various variations, in which the Muslim influence can be observed, but this cannot be classified with the name of one of the Spanish variants like the case of ancient Majolica²⁷, as Guatemala's is a creation of its own that deserves to be typified with its specific name, which while being defined, can only be referred to as "Glazed Ceramics" of Muslim influence with variations in Totonicapán and Antigua Guatemala.

In these pieces, a mixture of colors characteristic of the Muslim sense is observed, along with geometric shapes that emerge with great vigor, as well as animal forms and the representation of the sun and the moon. The Guatemalan fauna is also highlighted, thereby reaffirming cultural interrelation.

Alongside these motifs, the representation of Muslim epigraphy becomes evident in some pieces, as seen in a plate from a private collection, where the Arab influence in Guatemala is clearly typified. This is curious, as here it cannot even be said that the Arabic writing system is known.

Tapestry

Regarding tapestry, we can indicate that it holds a place of great importance within the Muslim community, typically nomadic, which requires them to live in tents. Therefore, tapestry acquired peculiarities unique to each region and demanded manufacturing centers that resulted in their own variations.²⁸

In Guatemala, the use of tapestries and carpets appeared regularly during the Hispanic period. Although generally intended for religious use, they also appeared in

²⁶ Joseph Gauthier. Op. Cit.

²⁷ Luis Luján Muñoz. Historia de la Mayólica en Guatemala. Op. cit.

²⁸ Marie Louise Ploorin. Historia del Tapiz en Occidente. Seix Barral, S.A. Barcelona, España, 1955.

residences, and in some cases, non-woven carpets were presented, painted, and walls were upholstered.²⁹

However, the use of the carpet is undoubtedly of great importance within the Christian temple, but it is part of the Hispanic-Muslim *mestizaje* that later, upon arriving in our land, linked with the pre-Hispanic custom of creating sacred spaces through flowers and pine, thus generating undeniable richness, which we can even appreciate to this day transformed into the famous sawdust and flower carpets for processions.

But the significance of tapestries is not only through carpets; it is also seen as a tribute from families, who, with European ancestry, possessed tapestries of great fame and quality, which were taken to the streets for the passage of processions, placed in front of them, on balconies.³⁰

All of this led to the Muslim influence transcending and persisting in the Hispanic-American world, and therefore in Guatemala, where it acquired a very unique sense that has been preserved to contemporary generations.

As a point of connection in Muslim textile art, we also find embroidery, which is used to adorn clothing pieces and serves to hierarchize social position. Of course, the embroidery that arrived in American lands has a distinctly Mudéjar sense, done in gold threads with vegetal and floral motifs, as well as geometric designs, stars, and some Christian motifs.

Embroidery was applied during the Hispanic period to the garments of sculptures for dressing,³¹ to the damasks to be placed on the walls of churches for some festivities³², to the pavilions and banners of processions, to funeral cloths, and in the fabrics that form the seats and backs of episcopal thrones, such as the one that appears in the church of Santa Ana in Antigua Guatemala.

In the civil and military spheres, it served to adorn the uniforms of soldiers and some garments.

Cabinetmaking

The other artistic contribution that emerges within the Muslim influence is woodworking, based on Mudéjar principles that adorn the architectural interiors of furniture with incredible marquetry craftsmanship, featuring inlays of various types of woods, bone, ivory, and mother-of-pearl, forming geometric figures.

The technique known as inlaying involves making shallow cuts and recesses on the wood that forms a piece of furniture, which are then filled with small pieces of colored wood or other materials.

²⁹ AHAGP. Tramo 3, Caja 63. f. 306.

³⁰ Marie Louise Ploorin. Op. Cit.

³¹ Juan Haroldo Rodas Estrada. Op. Cit.

³² AHAGP. Bienes de la Iglesia de Río Hondo. Tomo 7. Caja 60 Pv.

As a result, furniture adorned with intricate marquetry emerges, often featuring star shapes, geometric figures with typical compositions of 6, 8, and 12 sides, which the Arab culture uses to decorate tiles.

The colored woods allow for greater visual appeal of the ensemble, providing pieces with alternating shines and a variety of colors, complemented by bone, ivory threads, or mother-of-pearl, which add luxurious details.

These furniture pieces appear with great variety in various temples in Spain, with notable examples including doors and frames, as well as furniture and chests of drawers in the sacristy of the Carthusian Monastery of Granada, and others that can be observed in the sacristies of different cathedrals on the Iberian Peninsula.

In Guatemala, this technique was applied with the same vigor, but it was embellished even more by the diversity of woods found in the region, allowing for a contribution of great uniqueness and beauty. As an example of the creations achieved here, we have the furniture from the sacristy of La Merced church, dating back to the 18th century, which form a chromatic harmony on the pieces provided with great movement. There are four dressers that have whimsical padded shapes, and on these, spaces covered with doors, resembling a "bargueño" or small chest of drawers.

Additionally, there are two chairs, called "fraileros," which feature wood and ivory inlays on the armrests and the backrest, and a frame of a painting placed on the giant wardrobe inside the sacristy of said church in Guatemala City.

In the temple of San Francisco in the same city, there is an 18th-century dresser with incorporated drawers that showcase wood marquetry, and at the center, shields of the Virgin, Saint Joseph, and the Franciscan Order made of ivory, in a clear Christian interpretation of Arabic motifs.

In addition, there are other pieces in private homes, especially chests and tables that feature intricate marquetry on their supports, displaying great originality.

As a testament to the significance of this contribution, today we find the application of marquetry in the making of small chests, tables, and other small pieces manufactured in La Antigua, evoking a Muslim cultural influence in our environment.

Another element that can be added as woodwork influenced by Muslim culture are lattice screens. These pieces evoke the intricate stone and plaster latticework found in various parts of Muslim palaces, allowing residents to view the happenings in the gardens and points of interest outside.

The use and function of these screens can initially be seen on balconies at the front of houses, from where scenes on the street can be observed. However, they are fundamentally a strong and characteristic application of Muslim influence within our

culture. Notably, the Mudéjar influence is evident in the corner balconies of Córdoba, which in Guatemala become a unique feature in the 18th century.

Parallel to these, we see concrete examples of lattice screens inside homes, such as the cupboard doors in the hallway leading to the kitchen of Casa Popenoe.³³

Here, a star-shaped design can be observed, based on the geometric design principles of Muslim tiles. This same pattern is repeated in various points in the homes of La Antigua, and many contemporary models even adopt this design to create doors and window lattices.

Another lattice screen of this type, featuring the same geometric patterns as the one in Casa Popenoe, comes from the baptistery of San Agustín Acasaguastlán. This screen is larger than the one in Casa Popenoe, gilded, and framed in red moldings.³⁴

There would be many more examples to mention, but we must limit ourselves to the ones above, as this would greatly expand the topic, which is not the objective here.

To conclude with examples of carpentry with Muslim influence, we must mention the geometric designs of the doors in homes and temples in various parts of La Antigua Guatemala. These designs especially feature rhombuses combined with squares and rectangles, omitting, of course, the nail-studded and mascarón decorations that follow other influences.

The creation of artistic leatherwork in the Hispanic American world reveals a strong Moorish influence, as a result of a long ancestral process that shaped a rich heritage in guadamaciles and cordovanes. Once these techniques were transferred to America, they formed a new legacy full of shapes and designs that persist in contemporary leathercraft.

The art of working with leather stems from the importance Arabs placed on the material, as they used it to create Tahalíes, boxes in which they stored the Quran to carry with them during travels and military campaigns.³⁵

During the Muslim presence in Spain, carved and gilded leathers³⁶ were created, which gained great fame and were called "Ghadamesi." When this term was adapted into Spanish, it became "guadamicil," also accepted as "guadalmecí."³⁷

In each Spanish region, the creation of carved and gilded leathers flourished, but the ones from Córdoba stood out the most due to their high artistic quality. These leathers

³³ Verle Annis. Op. Cit. Pág. 344-345.

³⁴ Juan Haroldo Rodas Estrada. Historia del Templo de San Agustín de la Real Corona, Un Acercamiento Socio-artístico, Tesis de grado. Escuela de Historia, Universidad de San Carlos. Guatemala, 1985.

³⁵ Tomás G. Larraya. Cuadernos Artísticos (coreoplastia). Historia y técnicas Gráficas. Barcelona, 1956.

³⁶ The term "Estofado" refers to the application of gold leaf on pieces properly prepared with bole and gesso, on which fabrics and other vegetal designs are drawn and painted.

³⁷ Op. cit. Pág. 9.

were used for personal items, household furnishings, horse harnesses, and even for partially or fully upholstering the walls of buildings.³⁸

Of course, its use was also applied to the making of quivers, shields, saddles, bookbinding, chair seats and backs, wine skins, and even in the making of containers resembling bottles, doors for mirror cabinets, chests, and furniture coverings.

Artistic leatherwork was also sought after in Christian temples, where leather altar frontals were placed.

The leathers were embossed with various tools, including punches, modeling tools, flatteners, tracers, contouring tools, and filleting tools.³⁹ They were then decorated with gold or silver leaf and finally painted, giving them an appearance similar to that of estofado wood.

This tradition reached Guatemala; although there are no known pieces of altar frontals made of wood, there are archival references, including inventories, that mention this material.⁴⁰ From this period also comes the banner with the heraldry of the Franciscan Order, which bears the image of Saint Francis of Assisi, the patron of the church of the same name, and is an example of the influence of Muslim art in our region.⁴¹

There are some isolated pieces in private collections that show on a small scale the impact this art had in our region. This tradition continues to the present day in leatherwork and artisanal leather crafts, where the creation of leather items features pre-Hispanic representations, landscapes, or designs reflecting the rich Hispanic decorative style.

The Muslim heritage left in America a taste for decorative plants and pots that appear in the inner gardens of residences, with variations in species that highlight the influence we are now discussing.

Among the gardens that serve as exemplary bases for determining the Muslim influence or heritage are those of the Generalife at the Alhambra, where the importance of green spaces for complementing the joy of living, as valued by Muslims, is evident.

This influence is transferred in a Mudéjar sense to the famous patios decorated with geranium pots in Córdoba, Seville, and Granada. Additionally, there are the orange groves, with their blossoms symbolizing purity and love in Muslim culture, which grow in the backyards and main gardens.

³⁸ Ibid

³⁹ Ibid. Pag. 35.

⁴⁰ Tomás G. Larraya. Op. Cit.

⁴¹ Juan Haroldo Rodas Estrada. Arte e Historia del templo de San Francisco de la Nueva Guatemala. Maxiimpresos. Guatemala, 1980.

Accompanying these are the palm trees, which have been with Muslims since their origins, as mentioned in the section on architecture, recalling the essential oases in the deserts of the Arabian Peninsula, necessary for sustaining life in the desert.

To complete this ancestral influence, there are pomegranates, the symbolic fruit of the city bearing the same name. These filled the patios and orchards of most convents and houses in Guatemala, and also appeared as decorative tributes on the facades of some churches. Notable examples include the colossal pomegranates of the church in Ciudad Vieja, Sacatepéquez, or the balcony ornaments like the symbols from Granada that adorn the window grilles of the Metropolitan Cathedral and the house currently occupied by the Liceo Francés in Zone 1 of Guatemala City.

Certainly, the sense of gardening gained particular strength in Guatemala, as the variety of plants here is broader due to the climate's ease, which allowed for the cultivation of species that adorn residential gardens, even to this day.

Olfactory arts

Within the realm of applied arts, there is a classification dedicated to olfactory arts, which involves perfumes and aromatic essences that humans use to create welcoming and profound spaces.

Arabs deeply appreciate this aspect; they immerse themselves in natural scents emanating from the flowers surrounding them in gardens, but they also create exquisite blends of aromas through their perfumes and aromatic essences made from natural products.

Moreover, they maintain the use of myrrh and frankincense as elements typifying Eastern culture, which indeed intertwined deeply with Christian sensibilities.

While some of these aspects might be inferred from the Hispanic period, they are confirmed by certain archival documents revealing the importance attributed to the use of aromas during religious festivities, suggesting the Mudéjar influence.

It's important to note that artistic dialogue not only encompasses visual arts but also requires a musical and, indeed, olfactory dimension. This ensures that humans engage all their senses to grasp the essence of a message.

In this regard, olfactory arts play a significant role, as they can even concentrate the human brain on a specific time or celebration. For example, the typical aroma of Holy Week or Christmas is part of this Mudéjar heritage in Guatemala, which naturally appears with local variations.

Regarding the Muslim sense, it's worth noting that they include the use of natural flowers on altars, or the application of "scented water" for the perfuming of the Blessed Sacrament.⁴²

Furthermore, there were trades⁴³ or constant commerce involving musk, an odorous substance, oily to the touch, extracted from the musk deer's gland, used in medicine and perfumery.⁴⁴

This allows us to highlight to some extent the importance of aromas in Muslim culture, and consequently within our context, where the use of perfumes of Muslim origin is recorded.

Undoubtedly, one of the creations that had a significant impact on the Hispanic-Muslim world was in the realm of taste, where the use of various spices and the experimentation with multiple recipes reflect a love for culinary delights.

The Muslim ancestor, upon reaching America, intertwined with the culinary contributions inherent to each region. In Guatemala, it merged with the sense of pre-Hispanic cuisine and generated a variety of recipes that even gave rise to certain regional tastes in the realm of culinary art.

Let's start from the abundant savory recipes to the sweets considered so "typical," but which ultimately reveal that creative blend of Arab, Spanish, and Creole influences.⁴⁵

Regarding the use of ingredients, they are mentioned in countless recipes that have endured to the present day, confirmed by documents from earlier times, including shipments on ships, where various loads of ingredients appear.

Among these ingredients, "farina," equivalent to flour⁴⁶, is mentioned. Spices include "aonl" or affonjolin, cinnamon, cloves, saffron, asulema, anise⁴⁷, storax, garlic⁴⁸, as well as oil and olives.⁴⁹

These ingredients entered Guatemala via the Port of Acapulco, from where in 1758 Joseph González Roves brought 54 1/2 "churlos" of cinnamon⁵⁰, meaning sacks made of agave fiber canvas covered in leather, in which cinnamon or other spices were transported.

⁴² AHAGP. Cuentos obras Pias, Siglo XIX. s/c. en el año 1828-29 en cuentas de la archicofradia del Santisimo de Catedral Metropolitana.

⁴³ AGDCA PROTOCOLO AL. 3057-29329.

⁴⁴ IBID. F. 84.

⁴⁵ Luis Luján Muñoz. Libro de Cocina. Editorial Universitaria. Guatemala, 1972. Págs. 93-96.

⁴⁶ AGDCA AL.27094. leg. 2909.

⁴⁷ AGDCA AL 26833, 2899.- año 1774.

⁴⁸ AGDCA AL 20774. 2897 año 1775.

⁴⁹ AHAAGP, tramo 6, caja 15, expediente de 1802. st.

⁵⁰ AHAAGP, tramo 1, caja 111, f. 1758.

To the numerous mentions of sweets made in Guatemala with Muslim influence cited in previous studies,⁵¹ we can add fruit preserves that were prepared for festivities⁵². These were made in special containers to store the fruit only in honey.⁵³

Of course, for each celebration, an countless number of dishes were prepared, including foods of Arab origin. These included hams, sausages, "farras" (preserved pork), chorizos, mustard, almonds, oregano, chickpeas, pickled dishes, capers, and more.⁵⁴

Other recipes and components also emerge, which we can carefully examine to observe how ingredients of Muslim origin blend with those of pre-Hispanic and Spanish heritage to create a cuisine of incredible variety, the taste of which continues to be enjoyed even today.

Auditory arts

I saved for last a mention of one of the deepest and most intangible arts: music. It is a point where the contact and language through which other arts can communicate more profoundly with humans originates. It is the feeling that links and deepens the language of Fine Arts and Applied Arts, as it envelops the human being in a complete apotheosis that elevates them.

The Muslim influence in this field appears in multiple aspects. We cannot fully comprehend the magnitude of the impact that Moorish musical compositions had in our environment, as many of the scores are lost or their study is still in progress⁵⁵, making it difficult to grasp a true formal understanding of this appreciation.

However, we can certainly highlight the Muslim presence through musical instruments that arrived in Guatemala to showcase this influence magnificently. Foremost, the use of certain instruments can be inferred through painting, where we find scenes depicting the use of guitars, trumpets, and other instruments brought by the Spanish.

The use of these elements is confirmed by the citation of various documents where they are recorded, reinforcing the thesis that these instruments helped create the ideal musical atmosphere for people of that time. Among these are the trumpets used by the indigenous people of San Juan Ixcay around 1684 in ceremonies at the church of Chiantla.⁵⁶

In addition, the use of violins among the indigenous people is mentioned, commonly referred to as "Rabel," reminiscent of the classical Turkish rabab. Furthermore,

⁵¹ Luis Luján Muñoz. Libro de Cocina. Op. cit.

⁵² AHAGP, tramo 6, caja 15, expediente año 1802. s/f.

⁵³ AHAHP. Tramo 5, caja 45, folio 6, clausura 12.

⁵⁴ Ibid

⁵⁵ There are Choirbooks and other musical pieces where formulas of apparent Muslim influence appear. They are preserved in the Metropolitan Cathedral and San Francisco Church in Guatemala City.

⁵⁶ AHAGP. Caja 5, tramo 7. Año 1684.

the use of guitars and shawms is cited as part of the Arab flavor that arrived in our region.⁵⁷

Certainly, the aforementioned appreciation, based on a careful examination of documentary sources, is also confirmed in the pastoral visit of Friar Mauro de Sarreategui y Colum to the town of San Miguel Totonicapán. In the inventory, he mentions that within said church there are sets of shawms, trumpets, a bugle, and an organ⁵⁸, highlighting among the mentioned instruments some of Muslim origin.

We can also highlight that part of the instruments, especially the trumpets, were made of wood, as is the case with those found in Jacaltenango⁵⁹, which reinforces the thesis of this study.

Of all the instruments of Muslim origin, undoubtedly the one that had the greatest impact was "the guitar," which has been present since the beginning of this influence. It reminds us of the sentiment felt by the Arabs upon leaving the conquered territories of Spain. The melancholy that can be felt in the notes emanating from the strings of this instrument is undoubtedly embraced by the inhabitants of America, particularly in Guatemala. Here, they accompany the sung narratives of historical events of the people through corridos.⁶⁰

All of this has been carried through to our days, forming with the guitar and other string instruments of clear Muslim origin, melodies to accompany the new melancholic songs with which Guatemalans narrate their refuge in other lands, to defend their lives, but also sing with a voice of hope, hoping that one day freedom will emerge.

It is thus evident that Muslim life, its philosophy, its joy of living, its melancholy, and many other aspects transcended from the Arabian Peninsula to the Iberian region, and from there to Hispanic America, specifically in Guatemala. They emerged in the profound mestizaje (cultural blending) of the peoples inhabiting these lands, making us a bit Moorish, Christian, Spanish, and indigenous.

⁵⁷ AHAGP. Caja 5, tramo 7. Año 1684.

⁵⁸ AGDCA. Hemeroteca. Paquete 125. Folklore Musical de Guatemala. Tipografía Nacional, 1962. AHAGP. Visitas patronales. tomo i. No. 63. Año 1670-1707.

⁵⁹ AHAGP, tramo 7, caja 60. Visita Pastoral.

⁶⁰ Cfr. Estudios inéditos de Alfonso Arrivillaga Cortés y Enrique Anleu Díaz en el Centro de Estudios Folklóricos, USAC.

Bibliography

ALONSO DE RODRIGUEZ, Josefina.

ALVAREZ AREVALO, Miguel.

ANGULO INIGUEZ, Diego.

-----.

-----.

-----.

-----.

-----.

El arte de la platería en la Capitanía General de Guatemala. Tomos I y II. USAC. Delgado Impresos, Guatemala, 1980.

(Compilación en introducción). **Legislación Protectora de Bienes Culturales de Guatemala.** Serviprensa Centroamericana, Guatemala, 1980.

Historia del Arte. Tomos I y II. Raycar, S. A. Impresos. Madrid, 1975.

Historia del Arte Hispanoamericano. Tomos II y III. Salvat Editores, S. A. Madrid, 1950.

Planos de Monumentos Arquitectónicos de América y Filipinas. 7 Vol. Sevilla, 1933-1939.

Arquitectura Mudéjar Sevillana de los siglos XIII, XIV y XV. Sevilla, 1932.

y Marco Dorta, Enrique. **Historia del Arte Hispanoamericano.** Tomo I. Barcelona, 1945.

Historia del Arte. Vol. I, Caps. XIII (Arquitectura Árabe); XIX (Arte Árabe y Mudéjar) y XII (Correspondiente a la Arquitectura Mozárabe y Miniatura

- ARUNDEL, Honor. **La Libertad en el Arte.** Editores Grijalba. México, 1973.
- BAYON, Damian.
- BERAN, Bernard. **"Arquitectura colonial en Iberoamérica"** en HISTORIA DEL ARTE. Tomo 9. Salvat Editores, S. A.Barcelona, 1976. Págs. 87-103.
- BOSH, Rafael. **Historia de la Arquitectura Española.** Juventud. Barcelona, 1950. Pág. 293.
- CASTRO, Heliodoro. **El trabajo material y el arte.** Editorial Grijalva. México, 1972.
- DE LOS RIOS, R. Amador. **Alcalá de Hemaus. Guía ilustrada.** Imp. Reforma. España, 1929.
- DESMOND, Stewart. **Toledo (Monumentos Arquitectónicos de España)** Vol. I. Madrid, 1905.
- DIAZ, Víctor Miguel. **El Antiguo Islam Grande.** Epocas de la Humanidad. Time Life. Ed. Offset Latina, S.A. México, 1977.
- F.I.S.A. **Las Bellas Artes en Guatemala.** Folletín del Diario de Centroamérica. Tipografía Nacional. Guatemala, 1934.
- FISCHER, Ernest. **Toda Córdoba.** Editorial Escudo de Oro, S. A. España, 1972.
- FLEMING, William. **La necesidad del Arte.** Península, Barcelona, 1975.
- Ediciones **Arte, música e ideas.** Nueva Editorial Víctor Leru. México, 1977.

- GONZALEZ CANO, Marcelino. **Producción artística y realidad social en Santiago de Guatemala (1543- 1773)**, en Perspectiva No.3. Talleres Editorial Universitaria. Guatemala, 1984.
- GRIMBERG, Carl. **Las Invasiones Arabes, en Historia Universal Daimon**, Vol. 4. Ediciones Daimon, s/fecha.
- GOMEZ MORENO, Manuel.
-----.
-----.
- GOMEZ, Rafael. **Una Excursión a través del arco de herradura**. 1906.
Arte Árabe Occidental. Col. Labor.
El Arte del Islam. Historia del Arte. Labor.
- HAUSSER, Arnold. **Una aproximación al Arte Mudéjar**. s/f s/e.
- HAUSSER, Arnold. **Introducción a la Historia del Arte**. Ediciones Guadarrama. Madrid, 1973.
- HADJINICOLAU, Nicos. **Historia del Arte y lucha de clases**. Siglo XXI. México, 1974.
- JUARISTI, Victoriano. **Esmaltes con especial mención de los españoles**. Labor. Barcelona, 1933.
- KELEMAN, Pal. **Barroque and Rococo in Latin American**. Dover Publications. USA, 1967.
- LACAVE, J. L, ARNENGOL M. y Ontañón F. Sefard - Sefar. **La España Judía**. Editorial Anaya. 5to. Centenario. España, 1992.

LOZOYA, Juan
Contreras.

MAS GRAU, Juan.

MARGOLISOTH D.

MEYER, F. S.

MITRE FERNANDEZ,
Emilio.

MORFFITT, John F.

RAFOLAS.

SANCHEZ VASQUEZ,
Adolfo.

SIMPSON, Marianna
S.

SOLA, Miguel.

De los Jardines Españoles. Cigüeña 17899 Ilustr.
Madrid, 1950. Págs. 195,145.

El Arte Arabe. Ediciones G.P. Barcelona, s/f.

Islamismo Traducido de la 3a. Edición Inglesa por Carlos
Riba 1949-207 ilustr. 2a. Edición. Labor. Barcelona, 1930.

Manual de Ornamentación. Editorial gustavo Gili, S. A.
Barcelona, 1976.

**Cristianos, Musulmanes y hebreos, la difícil
convivencia de la España Medieval.** Ediciones Amaya,
Biblioteca Iberoamericana, 1988.

**Tepozotlán. "¿El Islam Latente en América?:
observaciones a la portada esculpida hispánica".** En
Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, UNAM.
No. 57. P.101.

Techumbres y Artesonados Españoles, las fuentes de
España. Espora, Calpe. Madrid, 1944.

Las ideas estéticas de Marx. Ediciones Era. México,
1975.

**El Arte Islámico. Asia: Irán, Afganistán, Asia Central e
Indica.** Ediciones Paidós. Barcelona, 1986.

Historia del Arte Hispanoamericano. Col. Labor. 1934.

SORDO, Enrique.

El Andaluz; Puerta del Paraíso. Córdoba-Sevilla-Granada. Fotografía de Win Smaau. Argo, C. Barcelona, 1964.

SARTHOU CARRERAS, Carlos.

Catedrales de España; su pasado y su presente. Calpe. Madrid, España, 1946.

TALBOT RICO, David.

Arte Islámico. Editorial Hermes, S. A. México-Buenos Aires, 1967.

-----.

El Corán.

TORRES BALBAS, Leopoldo.

Arte Almoravida y Almohade. Instituto de Estudios Africanos (Instituto Diego Velázquez). Madrid, 1955.

-----.

La Mezquita de Córdoba y las ruinas de Adinat Al-Zahra. Plus Ultra 19952.. Madrid.

-----.

La Alhambra y el Generalife. plus Ultra. 19503. Madrid. p. 158.

TOUSSAINT, Manuel.

Arte Mudéjar en América. Porrúa. México, D.F. 1946. p. 143.

Universidad Oxford.

El Legado del Islam. Madrid, 1944.

VERNET, Juan y Masats, Ramón

Al Andaluz. Editores Lunwerg ESS. 5to. Centenario. España, 1992.