Changing the Enemy, Visualizing the Other:

Contacts between Muslims and Christians in the Early Modern Mediterranean Art

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Changing the Enemy, visualizing the Other: the State of Art in Italian and Spanish Art Historiography

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The image of religious otherness in the Mediterranean is one of the most significant fields of research in European historiography over the last few years. This spurred us into launching a call for papers a year ago, to gather innovative proposals on the image of the Other, in order to submit two panels at the annual meeting of the Renaissance Society of America, held in Chicago from 30th March to 1st April 2017. As a matter of fact, the texts published in this monographic supplement of the review «Il Capitale culturale. *Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage*» are a revision of the papers presented at that congress, accompanied by some other research which was not discussed in Chicago, which enriches and completes the complex context of the matter. Besides having been selected

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Even though this text was conceived by two authors, the first part of this introduction has been written by Giuseppe Capriotti and the second by Borja Franco Llopis.

by a call for papers, the texts that we present have also been submitted to a double-blind refereeing by international experts prior to their publication. Most of the authors are members of the Research Project HAR2016-80354-P, "Before Orientalism: Images of the Muslim other in the Iberian Peninsula (15th-17th Centuries) and Mediterranean Connections", having Borja Franco Llopis as a Principal Investigator. The project aims at reconstructing the perception of Islam in the Modern Mediterranean society, through the analysis of images. The essays are prefaced with this brief introduction presenting the current state of research on these subjects, in particular in Italian and Spanish art historiography, since the case studies in this supplement analyze the images produced in these territories. If on the one hand attention is drawn on the number of studies produced in this field over the last few years, on the other hand, the creation of otherness in the Modern Age still needs exhaustive research, to be carried from a multidisciplinary approach, by combining the methodologies pertaining to history, art history, anthropology and literature.

1. *Italian art historiography and the image of the Muslim in Italian art*

Although in Italy the theme of the representation of Muslims, Moors, Turks has recently aroused a growing interest in historical and artistical studies, a monograph focusing on such subject in an overall view has not been produced yet, unlike the image of Jews for example[1]. However, if the distinction between *image* and *picture* (allowed by the English language and less by the Italian[2]) is applied, things will change: on the *image* of the Turk, or better, on the construction of the image of the Turk in Italian (literary and non-literary) written sources, a recent and important monograph was published by Marina Formica in 2012. The volume reconsiders and systemises the research which has been carried out (and has partially been published) since 2008. It is based on a basic assumption which is argued in three chapters: between the 15th and the 18th century the Turk became «the Other par excellence, the symbolic place where fears, aspirations, the conflicts of the European civilization converged; in short, the mirror of fears and anguish, of qualities and faults of Western Christianity»[3]. In times of greatest difficulty, Western culture, unable to solve the upheavals caused by the confrontation with the outside world (the Americas, the East) and by its internal (religious or political) divisions, described the Ottoman as a paradigmatic (infidel and cruel) enemy, but also as a positive example of unity, obedience and fidelity that the divided Western was not able

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[1] Cf. Capriotti 2014.
[2] Mitchell 2017, pp. 5-17.
[3] Formica 2012, p. 4.

to find. Therefore, the Ottoman was a resource to solve domestic issues and to define a stronger identity, just as had happened with the Jews between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance[4].

Whereas Marina Formica, as a historian, has been working on written sources to reconstruct the image of the Turk in the Modern Age, another Italian historian, that is the medievalist Chiara Frugoni, has dealt with the issue of religious otherness and the image of Muslims in the Middle Ages[5], by using iconographical representations as historical resources and by applying a methodology based on the comparison of texts and images. As a matter of fact, images are considered as historical documents having the same dignity as written texts[6]. In 2008 she decoded the presence of the black holding a cane in the *Christ mocked* by Giotto in the Scrovegni Chapel. In such a context the image of the black is contextualized with the real presence of Moor slaves in the Veneto region during the accomplishment of the chapel, even if the representation of the black hitting Christ resumes the negative ideas that the Church used to attribute to coloured people, frequently associated with devil and precociously identified with the Muslim religion[7]. The theme related to the representation of the Other (including Muslims, Jews and monstrous beings living at the borders of medieval geographical maps) is dealt with in an article dated 2013 in which the scholar highlights that Muslims were often represented as deformed and black people in the Middle Age. Whereas conversion was envisaged for the Jews, as members of the people chosen by God, Muslims only deserved to be defeated and banished (as asserted by Innocent III) without any possibility of dialogue. For this reason, Muslims were normally represented as humiliated and defeated in the fight against Christians[8]. Such theme is widely treated by Chiara Frugoni in a monograph devoted to the relationship between Francis of Assisi and the Muslims. In particular, in the chapter dedicated to the analysis of the iconography, the author demonstrates that the images show a far more different evidence from the texts, in particular in the episode in which Francis proposes the sultan to make an ordeal[9] during his journey in Egypt. The story is only narrated in the *Legenda maior* by Bonaventura da Bagnoregio, according to whom Francis asked the sultan to authorize his priests to enter the fire alongside him: should the winner exit unharmed, he would be granted the conversion of his adversaries. According to the biographer, the sultan did not accept Francis's proposal, which remained purely verbal and therefore the fire

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[4] Capriotti 2014, p. 19, pp. 41-42; p. 59.
[5] The scholar dealt with the problem related to the representation of the different in a chapter issued in 2010 (Frugoni 2010, pp. 153-208). Though she mainly analysed the representation of Jews, the chapter is particularly interesting as an example of method.
[6] Frugoni 1994.
[7] Frugoni 2008, pp. 221-231.
[8] Frugoni 2013.
[9] Frugoni 2012, pp. 125-151.

was never lit. In the iconography things change considerably. In the *Fire Proof* in the Basilica Superiore in Assisi, Giotto depicts a lit fire, Francis is ready to enter it and the sultan's priests are fleeing in fright[10]. Besides being defeated and humiliated, the Muslim priests are wearing the Jewish *tallit*, according to a singular syncretism which approaches two different forms of religious otherness and infidelity. In the following iconographical representations of the episode, the same humiliating situation for the Muslims is proposed anew. In the apse of the church of San Francesco at Montefalco, Benozzo Gozzoli even goes so far as to paint Saint Francis who enters the burning fire[11].

Historians have been taken into consideration so far. What are art historians' views on these matters? In Italy, as a general rule, iconographical surveys are less practised than the traditional historical and artistical fields of research. This general situation affects the studies on the image of religious otherness as well. A pioneering book which has somehow opened research on these fields in Italy as for the Modern Age is *Le storie di Carpaccio. Venezia, i Turchi, gli Ebrei*, published by Augusto Gentili in 1996[12]. It is a specific work on Carpaccio which has revived the studies on the rich and complex subject of "Venice and Islam", to which an important exhibition[13] was dedicated in 2007. The paintings and the cycles of canvasses by Carpaccio are analysed by the author by a research method which he calls *contextual iconology*, that is a refoundation of iconology on the basis of a closer examination of the historical context of artworks. Thanks to this method, a few details which have been neglected so far are pointed out, thus enabling a wider comprehension of the works in the light of the conflict with the Turks and the dispute with the Jews. In the cycle depicting the stories of Saint Ursula, for example, banners with three crowns, or rather Mohamed's III tiara, appear on the side of the Hunnish executioners responsible for the slaughter of Christians: the Loredan family who commissioned the cycle, wanted to celebrate their naval battles against the Turks, comparing the ferocity of barbarians to the ferocity of the modern enemies of Venice and Christianity. Hence, the theme of hybridisation comes up, it appears again in the chapter dedicated to the cycle of the canvasses depicted for the scuola di Santo Stefano, who, according to sources, was martyrised by the Jews. Carpaccio represents the Jews as Turks, wearing rich Oriental clothes, showy turbans and exotic headdresses. Similarly, in the scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, established by the Dalmatians who were constantly attacked by the Turks, the figure of the dragon, prematurely associated to the fierceness of the Turk, conveyed the terribleness of the Ottoman enemy who is however destroyed by the *miles christianus*.

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[10] The fresco is analysed again in Frugoni 2015, pp. 289-301.
[11] Frugoni 2012, pp. 141-142.
[12] Gentili 1996.
[13] *Venezia e l'Islam* 2007. An exhibition had already been dedicated to the same subject in 1985 (*Venezia e i turchi* 1985).

Due to its relationships with the Ottoman world, Venice becomes the favoured field of research to analyse the image of the Turk directly or indirectly, especially in relation to the celebration of the victory of Lepanto. In such field, the research carried out by Cecilia Gibellini is very interesting, it connects texts and images to analyse how the victory was celebrated in the civil and religious ritual of the Serenissima and provides a few remarks on how the Turk was imagined and represented[14]. Other studies have highlighted that in other geographical areas the celebration of the victory of Lepanto caused the use or the elaboration of specific iconographies, such as the iconography of the humiliated Turk at the feet of the Virgin Mary, in the periphery of the Papal States and in Calabria[15], those relating to the Turkish slave in the tapestries of the Battle of Lepanto commissioned by Giovanni Andrea I Doria in Genoa[16], or the singular invention by Lattanzio Gambara in Palazzo Lalatta in Parma, where the Justice of Lepanto triumphs on Turks' vices, as a prelude to the spiritual and political renewal of the whole world caused by the victory over the infidels[17].

Another trend being rather investigated is hybridisation (as emphasized by Gentili in his studies on Venice): when the conflict with the Ottoman empire, even the military conflict, prevailed in the Modern Age, in the images representing the Passion of Jesus, the Jews, normally considered as the persons responsible for the deicide, were replaced by Turks, portrayed with showy turbans, long moustaches or with shaven heads and their characteristic tuft of hair. Even though a complete mapping of this phenomenon still does not exist, these hybridisations might be found in the whole Italian peninsula, as shown by the sample research carried out in the Sacri Monti of Piedmont and other surveys in the Venetian and Adriatic areas as well as in the periphery of the Papal States[18]. More in general, between the 15th and the 16th century, enemies of various kind, either political or religious enemies, took often the aspect of Turks in images, as showed by Francesco Sorce in his essay which is going to be published[19].

Thanks to him new studies are being carried out in a field of research which has been little investigated by art historians so far, that is the use of prints as documentary sources enabling to reconstruct and to comprehend how the West built the image of the Turk in the Modern Age. Although prints have unjustly been considered as the periphery of historical and artistical studies, they have played a crucial role in shaping the common sense and in crystallizing stereotypes before the Turkish threat, thanks to their widespread circulation and to the fact

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[14] Cf. Gibellini 2001, 2008, 2011.
[15] Capotorti 2006, 2013; Capriotti 2016, 2017.
[16] Stagno 2008.
[17] Sorce 2016.
[18] De Caria 2013; Capriotti 2012, 2016.
[19] Sorce in print.

that they could be viewed closely and in detail. The repeated representation of the Turkish menace in dragon shape is an emblematic example of this subject as well as the use of prints to support the prophetic and astrological literature announcing the conversion and the fall of Muslims[20].

Tough some have highlighted that the Turk has also been perceived with the interest and the fascination for the exotic[21], in Italy, the whole historical and artistical studies made on the image of Muslims in Italian art, have mainly focused on themes related to conflict and antagonism. On the contrary, recent research on Muslim history has pointed out the dimension of encounter, the high number of opportunities for contact in daily life, integration, hybridisation among people of different religious belief[22]. Thorough surveys should be made on the contrast between the results issuing from the analysis of the artistical representation, frequently dominated by hatred and polemical themes, and from the study on real interfaith exchanges which were often far from being conflictual. Such surveys should consider the functions and the reasons for the image of religious otherness in each context of analysis. The studies gathered in this monographic supplement examine the image of Muslims in different and specific geographical contexts of the Modern Age.

2. *Analyzing the image of Moriscos and Muslims in Spanish historiography*

Although the study of how the image of the Muslim was constructed in Spanish historiography goes back to the beginning of the twentieth century, it is only since the 1960s that it has started to have a wider impact. In 1985 García-Arenal noted that the study of images (understood as representations or symbolic expressions of reality in literature) and of the ideas that European Christianity had conceived of Islam and Muslims throughout its history had for some time been an exciting and fruitful field[23]. In contrast, in the field of art history, there has been some delay in producing more or less scientific studies on this topic, especially if we compare it to what has happened in European historiography[24], or to studies on literary representations and the creation of stereotypes in literary works. Still today, not a single monograph has been written on this topic. Instead, we have some rather unconnected case studies that tend to fragment historical reality; these need to be reorganized within the new methodological framework for analyzing religious alterity.This is all the more clear since other religious minorities, such as Jews, have been

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[20] Sorce 2007-2008, 2007, 2008.
[21] See, for example, Curatola 2006.
[22] Ricci 2011.
[23] García-Arenal 1985, p. 133.
[24] See, for example: Orbay 2000; Stoichita 2014; Born *et al.*; 2015.

painstakingly analyzed using multi-faceted approaches[25], and several doctoral theses are being written on the different modes of representation that have been applied to them[26].

Perhaps this deficiency can be accounted for by the difficulty of the task. We can identify different "typologies", if that is what we wish to call them, of Muslims living in or around the territories ruled by Spain. There is no single figure but rather a group of populations with different origins and ways of life, which in many cases are difficult to portray. There are the Moriscos, a community that developed out of the former Mudéjars, who were forced to convert to Christianity at the beginning of the sixteenth century, first in Granada and then during the Revolt of the Brotherhoods in Valencia. The sincerity of these converts' faith could thereafter be continually called into question. But there are also the Muslims of North Africa, an area where Charles V and Philip II had expansionist pretensions, seeking to keep the major strongholds out of Ottoman hands. The Muslims who lived in these areas were not always enemies of Spain but rather its allies, as was the case during the conquest of Tunis[27]. And, lastly, there were the Ottoman Turks, the common enemy of Christendom and the source of anxiety for European monarchies that were struggling to repel their encroachments by sea and by land.

To complicate matters further, the Moriscos themselves, like the Turks and North African Muslims, cannot be understood as a single community. Rather, several typologies can be distinguished within this group, according to their place of origin and degree of acculturation (which was often a function of the different migratory patterns of this group over a period of many years). This makes the study of images of Moriscos even more difficult.

As for art historiography, although it is true that researchers who specialize in the topic of Muslims in medieval art have gone into greater detail about how the latter were represented in the plastic arts of the time, in some regards this has led to conclusions that rely on stereotypes. All these researchers agree on three aspects of this representation: constant demonization, animalization, and deformation of the Other. Most images of the infidel from the Christian point of view are derogatory and damning; they are not a realistic depiction of their physical characteristics or provenance but rather portray Muslims as ugly, fierce, hairy, "black as Satan" – in other words, as metaphors for their rejection by Western society[28]. In this vein we can include studies by Monteira[29], which focus on the Spanish Romanesque. In his work, he carefully analyzes

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[25] Molina Figueras 2002, 2008; Rodríguez 2008; Espí 2009.

[26] We know of one on this subject currently being written at the Universidad de Valencia by Rubén Gregori, under the direction of Professor Amadeo Serra.

[27] On the mutability of the concept of the ally and the enemy in this period, see: Mechoulan 1973, p. 69.

[28] See Benito 1988, pp. 53-54.

[29] Monteira 2012.

Romanesque sculpture from the north of the Iberian Peninsula, looking for possible representations of Islam in, notwithstanding the lack of textual sources other than the *cantares de gesta* that would allow us to assert unequivocally that a given representation is indeed of a Muslim. His approach is very interesting, mainly in the context of the sacralization of the Holy War[30], and might be useful as a methodological blueprint for other art historians specializing in periods that have more extant documentation.

We can learn more about this image of Islam if we take a look at the *Cantigas de Santa María*, which presents an entire collection of more or less "realistic" physical typologies of Muslims, in accordance with their connection to the king or their propensity to convert. In the *Cantigas* Muslims are not always portrayed as enemies or criticized; rather, they are depicted in a more favorable light when it is in the interest of royal power to ennoble them or emphasize their inclination toward the Christian faith. In fact, as García-Arenal pointed out, despite the fact that Muslims were a problem for Spanish society, the images of them are not extreme and rarely tend toward caricature or elicit revulsion, as is the case, for example, with the way Jews were represented in the same types of works[31]. There are certain traits, however, in depictions of warriors that, in the manner of a common denominator, identify them as Muslims: a large nose, bulging eyes, and thick lips, as well as a wrinkled visage and dark skin, a trait that was considered unattractive by the aesthetic norms of Western Christianity[32].

Moving on to studies on the Renaissance and the baroque in the field of history, beginning with Cirot's pioneering research[33], there have been many scholars who have attempted to unravel the way alterity is constructed. Among them, we should mention Miguel Ángel de Bunes[34]. His analysis is interesting in that it proposes that the process of constructing religious alterity is multi-faceted. For example, he argues that the perception of Islam in Spanish culture was not always negative, because the prolonged coexistence between Muslims and Christians in al-Andalus had led to a respect for the adversaries' culture, way of life, and forms of warfare. According to De Bunes, in the mind of Spaniards, these Muslims, including Moriscos, would always be the most cultured and civilized among the followers of Islam, since their education had been influenced by the Spanish. Increasing contact with the Islamic world during these centuries had been the result of two things: trade and religiously motivated military confrontation, namely the war to reclaim lands that had previously belonged to the Visigothic monarchy. Both De Bunes and González

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[30] Flori 2003, pp. 221-222; Jardin 1991, pp. 23-32.
[31] García-Arenal 1985, p. 149. See also: Prado 2005; Klein 2007.
[32] Díez 1999; Molina 2011.
[33] Cirot 1928.
[34] Bunes 1983, 1989, 2002a, 2002b, 2006, among others.

Alcantud[35] concur that the negative view of the Other, mainly the Morisco as a possible ally of the Turk, became more extreme following the expulsion, due to the need to justify their exile and the Christians' hatred of Ottomans, who were assailing the coasts of Spain.

These negative views – expressed in historical and literary sources, but not always made visible in works of art – combined with a sort of pre-Orientalism that was linked to certain novels that have been said to reflect "Maurophilia", such as *El Abencerraje y la hermosa Jarifa* (1561), or the texts of Pérez de Hita, frontier romances that idealize the Other. The display of virtue by noble Moorish and Christian knights implied a surmounting of religious difference, but this process is too complex for us to go into here.

In art history, the approaches that have been taken to religious alterity in modern art can be divided into three categories. First, there are studies that analyze images of defeated Muslims in the hagiographical tradition, which is connected to the myth of the holy knights. This topic has been of interest to researchers both of the Middle Ages and of later periods. It is almost a staple of historiographical scholarship to approach the infidel through the figure of Santiago Matamoros (the Moor Slayer) and his Aragonese counterpart, Saint George. For many scholars, these depictions of the battle against and triumph over Islam are ever-present signs in modern visual culture of how Muslims were truly perceived in medieval and modern Spain. We do not deny that they were champions in the fight against the infidel, as is shown in the decorations on the armor that was used in battle by Charles V and Philip II. But an exclusive focus on the triumphalist view expressed in these images leads to a unbalanced assessment of how the Muslim was seen. In fact, a thorough study of the geographical distribution of this iconography remains to be undertaken, which we believe would show that images of the Moor Slayer prevailed mainly in border regions, in legal documents connected to military orders or the nobility, and in depictions reflecting the Habsburgs' triumphalist discourse and the need to justify the Morisco expulsion of 1609.

One of the biggest challenges that we face in art history is the excessive dependence on texts. That is why earlier art historians such as Cabrillana[36], in his analysis of the figure of Saint James Matamoros, could insist on how visual representations of Islam were nothing more than translations of written texts or, even more complex, of the perceptions of the Other than are developed in these texts. For him, these images were symbols of religious antagonism, which we believe to be a reductive understanding, although it is sometimes useful. Perhaps because of this, in the few studies on depictions of Muslims or Moriscos, so much attention has been paid to mythography[37], to those

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[35] González Alcantud 1993, p. 93.
[36] Cabrillana 1999, especially p. 44.
[37] As Burke points out, Man is a "mythogenic" being: "esta mitogénesis se explica

categories that were being developed in certain cultural contexts – namely, the brutal, unassimilable, treacherous Morisco or Muslim. These categories have been much discussed among historians, and today it seems clear that the debate has contributed to the characterization of Islam and Christianity as standing in clear opposition to one another. All this creates a perception that is not only artificial but that also reflects the interests of the ruling classes, and that becomes more and more skewed over time. This historiographical debate about distortion and reality has not yet been resolved in historical research but has at least been contained within sufficiently objective parameters. It is now up to us as art historians who work on this topic to address the plurality of our visual and bibliographic heritage, starting from case studies that are connected to one another, within a comprehensive methodological framework, and thereby to propose new lines of inquiry for future research.

The starting points are the same as in literary studies, and issues of race have had a large influence on the interpretations that have been put forward. The creation of these *topoi* prevents us from reaching a clearer understanding about visual representations of alterity, and thus they are generally harmful. However, they can provide a useful – we almost dare say didactic – outline of what happened. The creation of such a false stereotype was nothing other than a strategy by Western Christians, and later historians who accepted them, to define themselves – the well-known theory of the enemy in the mirror[38]. In fact, according to Blanks[39], Muslims became a photographic negative of how Christians perceived their ideal self – that is, Europeans as valiant and virtuous believers in the one God and true faith. By demeaning their rivals with these unflattering images, Christians sought to enhance their own self-perception, in an attempt to boost their confidence in the face of an enemy whose culture and military power was superior to their own. In fact, in analyzing the Muslim as historical and cultural enemy, some art historians have seen in Renaissance artistic representations certain parallels with medieval images of Jews. They argue that, after the expulsion of Jews in 1492, Islam takes Judaism's place as the vilified Other. This theory needs to be qualified. For one thing, the Muslim had always been an enemy within for Spanish culture and was portrayed as such with his own features, so it would not have been necessary to transpose the model of the Jew onto the image of the Muslim[40]. For another, the social position of medieval Jews makes it impossible to compare them to the multi-faceted figure of the "Moor" (who could be a Turk, a Muslim, or a convert).

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fundamentalmente por la percepción (consciente o inconsciente) de una coincidencia en algunos aspectos entre un individuo determinado y un estereotipo actual de un héroe o villano – gobernante, santo, bandido, bruja, etc. Esta coincidencia cautiva la imaginación de la gente y empiezan a circular historias sobre el individuo, al principio oralmente." Burke 2000, p. 75.

[38] Barkai 1984.
[39] Blanks 1999, p. 3.
[40] Arciniega 2012, p. 86.

The social and religious frictions that gave rise to the disputes between each of the two minorities and the Christian majority were so different that it is impossible to create parameters that are valid for both cases; in fact, such a comparison tends to distract rather than bring the issues into sharper focus.

Returning to the three ways that art history scholarship approaches the image of the Muslim in the modern period, the second would include those studies that focus on connecting the military strategy of the Spanish monarchy with its visual propaganda through paintings of battles that go beyond mere hagiographical depictions. During the centennial celebrations for the reigns of Charles V and Philip II (1998-2000), and even before, art historians began to engage in fruitful study of the visual manifestations that were created to glorify these monarchs' military victories (the conquest of Tunis, the Battle of Lepanto, etc.)[41], comparing these manifestations to, for example, the choir-stalls in the Toledo Cathedral, which show scenes from the conquest of Granada[42]. For years, Vermeyen's tapestries, as well as other pieces with similar themes, had been studied mainly as reflections of the emperor's or the king's taste and as propaganda for disseminating his military victories, justifying Spain's preeminence in Europe, and promoting the need to combat the Turks. All of this led to the fabrication of a negative image of the Ottoman Turk, a device meant to alarm Christians and convince them of the need to defend the integrity of their community from the threat posed by this "Other"[43]. These studies are based on the few visual manifestations that are extant, which were created mainly by foreign artists, not local ones. They include the paintings in the Queen's dressing room in the Alhambra[44], the above-mentioned works by Vermeyen[45], Cambiasi's canvasses and murals in the Hall of Battles at the Escorial[46], and the frescos in Viso del Marqués, which were painted by the Peroli family in imitation of the paintings in the Doria Palace in Genoa[47].

In analyzing all of the works cited above, the art historian must act to "correct" the distortions that have been created in different historical periods by stereotypes of the past – motivated by political or religious considerations – while avoiding contemporary intellectual categories and getting inside the mentality of those who created and enjoyed these works. It should not be forgotten that images are produced by human subjects. The same constellation of subjective perceptions of the Other that determined how Muslims were depicted makes it

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[41] To cite a few important publications: Checa 1980, 1987, and, regarding the tapestries and murals with depictions of military conquests, see: Carlos 1981; Bustamante 1991, 2004, 2008 and 2009; Falomir and Bunes 2001; Mínguez 2011; González 2015.

[42] Mata 1985; Pereda 2002.

[43] García Arranz 2012.

[44] Blázquez 1994; Gómez-Moreno 2007; Hinojosa 2007.

[45] The bibliography on this group of works is extensive; the most recent overview of much of this research is Gonzalbo 2016.

[46] Checa 1992, pp. 366-367; Brown 1998; Campos 2001; García-Frías 2003.

[47] López Torrijos 2009.

difficult for us to understand the images today. It is our job, as Eloy Benito saw it[48], to free ourselves to the extent that we can from the effects of subjectivity that in the past have manipulated and ideologized the image of the Muslim, and have led to understanding the construction of alterity as fixed, when in reality it was permeable and mutable over time[49].

The third approach taken by art history scholarship looks the representation of the Muslim in the triumphal entries and ephemeral architecture of the modern period, and much remains to be done in this area. Studies of alterity have usually focused on large altarpieces or tapestries created to magnify military victories. This narrow focus has left out, as was mentioned, one of the most interesting sources for understanding the visual apparatus that actually reached the people, since many altarpieces and tapestries were only seen by a very small segment of the population. As is well known, triumphal entries, royal funeral ceremonies, and celebrations to commemorate the conquest of different cities were events that brought the common people and the political elites together in the same spaces, with the goal of indoctrinating them. Each city created a visual apparatus either to pay homage to a particular figure or to glorify the city itself as triumphant over the infidel. This visual apparatus made use of hieroglyphs, poems, and other images. The study of triumphal arches and the paintings that were hung from the monarchs' catafalques in commemoration of the Hapsburgs' military victories or their wedding vows, in which literature mingled with art, should shed new light on this topic, which has not been adequately addressed, except in a few specific studies[50]. That is why the study that we present in this volume of «Il Capitale culturale» is essential. In it we analyze the use of certain clichés and iconographic types to create an image of the enemy – the Moor – in the Spanish Kingdoms, Venetian Republic, Genoa Republic and Pope State. Using a comparative lens, we attempt to map patterns of artistic creation, both geographically and chronologically, and to show how these patterns were molded and modified by the specific traditions and the political interests of the cities that organized the events for which the ephemeral art was created.

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[48] Benito 1988, p. 111.
[49] See: Bernabé 2016, pp. 205-224.
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