

The Architectural and Topographical views of Seville in the 1838 and 1864 sketchbooks of John Gardner Wilkinson (1797–1875)

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Abstract. The Egyptologist John Gardner Wilkinson travelled extensively throughout Europe from 1817 to 1864 and yet little has been written about his travels other than those in Egypt. Neither has there been an analysis of his notebooks and sketchbooks in which he kept a visual and written record of these travels, potentially providing a rich seam for the historian to mine. His ability to draw architecture and topography can be appreciated in his many and varied drawings of Spain, which appear in these sketchbooks on five occasions between 1818, on his second venture abroad, and 1864 on his last. This paper evaluates the truthfulness of representation of a series of architectural and topographical views of Seville and its environs in 1838 and 1864, and it is discovered that in many instances they provide invaluable visual evidence of the appearance of lost or altered buildings and landscapes. Since these drawings are as yet unpublished, this present study makes a significant contribution both to the understanding of Wilkinson as a traveller in Spain, and to the nineteenth-century visual account of the architecture of Seville.

Key Words: Patio de las Muñecas; Alcazar of Seville; Seville Cathedral; nineteenth-century travellers; towns of the Aljarafe.

[es] Las vistas arquitectónicas y paisajísticas de Sevilla en los libros de bocetos de 1838 y 1864 de John Gardner Wilkinson (1797-1875)

Resumen. El egiptólogo John Gardner Wilkinson viajó extensamente por Europa desde 1817 hasta 1864 y, sin embargo, poco se ha escrito sobre sus viajes a excepción de los realizados a Egipto. Tampoco existe un análisis de sus libros de viaje y cuadernos de bocetos que aporte un registro visual y escrito de estos viajes, lo que podría proporcionar una rica veta de investigación para el historiador. Su habilidad para dibujar la arquitectura y el paisaje se puede apreciar en sus numerosos y variados dibujos de España, que aparecen en estos cuadernos de bocetos en cinco ocasiones entre 1818 y 1864, fechas de sus segunda y última incursiones en el extranjero. En este trabajo se evalúa la veracidad de la representación de una serie de vistas arquitectónicas y paisajísticas de Sevilla y sus alrededores en 1838 y 1864, descubriendo cómo, en muchos casos, proporcionan un inestimable testimonio de la apariencia de edificios y paisajes ahora perdidos o alterados. Dado que estos dibujos aún no han sido publicados, el presente estudio hace una contribución significativa tanto a la comprensión de Wilkinson como viajero en España, como al relato visual del siglo XIX de la arquitectura de Sevilla.

Palabras clave: Patio de las Muñecas; Alcázar de Sevilla; Catedral de Sevilla; viajeros del siglo XIX; pueblos del Aljarafe.

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Summary: 1. Introduction. 2. Wilkinson's life, artistic development, and links with Spain. 3. Form, technique, composition and meaning in Wilkinson's drawings. 3.1. The Giralda, the gardens of the Alcázar, the nave of Seville Cathedral, and the Patio de las Muñecas in the large sketchbook of 1838. 3.2. The Guadalquivir, Seville, and San Juan de Aznalfarache in the small sketchbook of 1838. 3.3. Castilleja de Guzman, Itálica, and surrounding views, in the sketchbook of 1864. 4. Conclusion. References.

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1. Introduction

John Gardner Wilkinson's many encounters with Spain are abbreviated to a few lines in Jason Thompson's biography (1992, pp. 160, 215) primarily due to the impossibility of dealing with the quantity of material Wilkinson created during his long and productive life. The Wilkinson Archive at the Bodleian Library, Oxford University, extends to 37.7 metres, comprising 343 archival entries, of which twelve relate to Spain, and of those, three notebooks and three sketchbooks record details of his visits to Seville in 1838 and 1864 and form the focus of this paper. While these are no more than a footnote in his life's work, the first part of this paper draws out the significance of Spain in his life, and outlines his artistic development. Doing so contextualises the Seville drawings and allows for their thorough analysis, informed by his notebooks, and their accuracy is determined through comparison with other visual iconography. Though his experiences as a traveller in Seville were unremarkable, he was attracted to views overlooked by other artists, resulting in some of his drawings now being unique records of landscapes and buildings.

2. Wilkinson's life, artistic development, and links with Spain

John Gardner Wilkinson was born on October 5, 1797, and it was only in his first few years of life that he was to receive an art education, given by his mother, Mary Anne Gardner (ca. 1774–ca. 1804), who also taught him Latin and Greek. His father, Rev. John Wilkinson (ca. 1774–1806), was a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, in the same way he would become a fellow of the Royal Society. A reverend's income was dependent on the parish and could be quite considerable, providing a substantial living for landed gentry like Wilkinson's father. Tragically, Wilkinson's mother died when he was six years old and his father two years later, leaving him orphaned at eight years old. As the sole heir, the estate he inherited provided an income sufficient to lead the comfortable life of a gentleman and pursue a scholarly career.

At some point before attending Harrow School in 1813, he started keeping a sketchbook in which he drew local parish churches. Harrow was where George Gordon Noel Byron (1788–1824) was educated from 1801 to 1805, and whose short time spent in Seville and Cadiz in 1809 is well studied (Saglia, 1996). Thompson draws attention to Wilkinson's attraction to places with Byronic associations (p. 5).

After Harrow, Wilkinson went to Oxford University and travelled through Europe in his summer vacations, firstly in 1817 to France and Flanders, then in 1818 to Rome with a detour through Catalonia. The seven sketches in his sketchbook from this excursion (Wilkinson, 1818–19) consist of landscapes, architecture, domestic scenes, and people in traditional dress, interests typical for an aristocratic gentleman of his time and which reappear consistently in his later sketchbooks.



Figure 1. John Gardner Wilkinson, (above) view down the Guadalquivir, (below) La Puebla del Rio, Coria del Rio, and Seville Cathedral, September 4, 1838, pencil and watercolour on paper (23.9 x 14.4 cm), Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS. Wilkinson. dep. d. 13, fol. 13^v.
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When at Oxford, Wilkinson was undecided on his future. An uncle, General Sir Lovell Benjamin Badcock Lovell (1786–1861), who had fought in Spain in the Peninsular War (Falkner, 2011), suggested he await the opportunity to buy himself an officer position in the army, so with this in mind he left university to embark on his Grand Tour with an extension to Egypt. When crossing Europe, he “began to devote serious attention to the techniques of surveying, mapmaking, and fortification” (Thompson, p. 6). With this summer of studying and recording topography and his formative years learning to draw with his mother, he concluded his artistic education and can therefore be considered a self-taught artist. Although his accurate representation of perspective may suggest the use of an optical device, Thompson says that while many artists did make use of the camera lucida when drawing the monuments of Egypt, Wilkinson did not (p. 88). His precision in drawing views as well as plans and topography was an ability he shared with the traveller, antiquarian and topographer William Gell (1777–1836), whom he met in Rome and who would inspire him to embark on a life of a similar vein. Wilkinson’s intention to travel to Egypt as a tourist was replaced with the idea of passing an extended period of time there studying its antiquities. He spent a year in preparation, two months under the tutorship of Gell, who incidentally had been in Granada in November 1808 drawing the Alhambra (Gell, 1808), meaning three of the most influential people in Wilkinson’s life had been in Spain: his uncle Lovell Benjamin Badcock Lovell, Lord Byron, and William Gell.

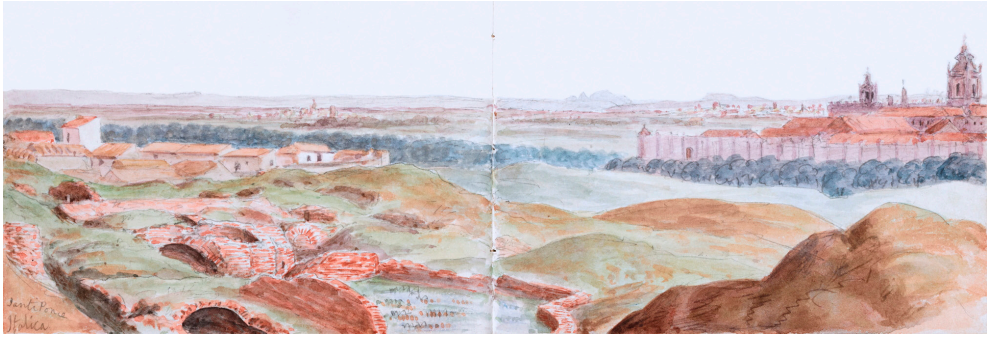


Figure 2. John Gardner Wilkinson, The lesser thermae of Itálica, Santiponce, La Algaba, and the monastery of San Isidoro del Campo, April 8, 1864, pencil and watercolour on paper (26.2 x 8.9 cm), Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS. Wilkinson. dep. e. 25, fols. 13^v, 14^r. Reproduced by kind permission of the National Trust.

On his return to London in 1833 after spending twelve years in Egypt, Wilkinson spent the following five years organizing his Egyptological notes and drawings for his book *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*. Meanwhile, the Scottish painter David Roberts (1796–1864), who had also returned to London in 1833 but from Spain, was working on his Spanish engravings and lithographs. Coincidentally, in 1838 both men made journeys to the countries the other had previously returned from. Wilkinson went to Cadiz and Seville, and had he taken a copy of Thomas Roscoe’s *The Tourist in Spain, 1836*, he would have enjoyed Roberts’ views of those cities. Similarly, it is unlikely Roberts would have made the journey to Egypt without a copy of Wilkinson’s book. Roberts was one year older than Wilkinson and the same age as Richard Ford (1796–1858), who also returned to London from Spain in 1833. Ford’s Spanish explorations would eventually form his *Handbook for Travellers in Spain*, which Wilkinson would use extensively in 1864. While Ford was working on his handbook in the early eighteen-forties, Wilkinson was working on the *Handbook for Travellers in Egypt*, and elsewhere in London, Roberts was working on his lithographs of Egypt. Despite these three men being published at some time by John Murray, and Ford providing Roberts with drawings for *The Tourist in Spain and Morocco, 1838*, they enjoyed little more than each other’s professional recognition.

Comparing their differing attitudes towards their work explains to some extent the eclectic subject matter of the Seville sketchbooks and perhaps why nothing came of them. Wilkinson’s interests were typical of “a man of leisure and an amateur scholar [and were intended to] bring him into contact with other like-minded gentlemen” (Thompson, p. 68) so he did not envisage his notes and sketches would be seen by an audience beyond his acquaintances. Ford, similarly, had no intention of publishing his experiences in Spain, and would not have done so had it not been for editorial pressure (Brigstocke, 2015, p. 381). In contrast, Roberts was born without means yet died the richest of the three as he would weigh the artistic –and consequently financial– potential of each journey abroad against its inherent financial risk (Giménez Cruz, 2015, p. 35). Wilkinson’s position lies somewhere between the two. He had a desire to publish but not always for financial gain. For example, he published *The Architecture of Ancient Egypt* at his own expense to promote the faithful reproduction of Egyptian elements in Victorian architecture (Thompson, p. 184).



Figure 3. John Gardner Wilkinson, Seville, the lesser thermae of Itálica, and San Juan de Aznalfarache, April 8, 1864, pencil and watercolour on paper (26.2 x 8.9 cm), Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS. Wilkinson. dep. e. 25, fols. 14v, 15r. Reproduced by kind permission of the National Trust.

In 1838, after the rapturous reception of *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, Wilkinson planned a visit to the Middle East but was prevented from doing so by his poor health. Instead he toured Europe with sojourns in Cadiz and Seville. He left London on August 24, drew the coast of Galicia and Portugal in passing, and after two nights in Lisbon he arrived in Cadiz on September, 2. He stayed near Alameda Apodaca, and socialised with the British consul and art collector John Macpherson Brackenbury (1778–1847) (Glendinning, 1989). As well as a bullfight, his notebooks describe a visit to a house with a tower which recalled the architecture he had seen in Egypt.

On September 4, Wilkinson took the passenger steamer to Seville and his views of the Guadalquivir are filmic in their expansiveness (Fig. 1). When in Seville, the British vice-consul Julian Benjamin Williams (d. 1866), who, like Brackenbury, was an art collector, acted as his host and introduced him to people whom Wilkinson sketched, such as the painter Antonio Cabral Bejarano and the bullfighter Juan de Dios Dominguez (Wilkinson, 1836–40). Unfortunately, the circumstances of their being acquainted are not recorded in the notebooks. Wilkinson, sometimes with Williams and at other times with Conde Diaz (unidentified), visited the typical tourist sights, principally the Alcázar, Casa de Pilatos, the tobacco factory (where the various processes and quantities were all noted in detail), the Lonja, the customs house, and the Torre de Oro. At the hospital of La Caridad, Wilkinson was awed by the works of Murillo and since neither Sir William Stirling-Maxwell's nor Sir Edmund Head's books on Spanish painting had been published at that time, Murillo's *Moses Striking the Rock* was a revelation.

On his visit to the Alcázar in Seville, Wilkinson debated whether the integration of Christian emblems within the fourteenth-century palace of Pedro I (r. 1350–1369) was coeval with the architectural fabric, or introduced into an earlier Islamic design. This is surprising since Pedro I's authorship of the palace had been understood for many years (Ponz, 1780, 158; Twiss, 1811, p. 81.) and Wilkinson explicitly refers to Antonio Ponz' *Viage de España* –in fact the only reference to any book in this journal– as the source from which he copied the Arabic inscriptions from the doors of the Salón de los Embajadores along with their Spanish translation (Ponz, 1780, p. 161). So he presumably knew something of the palace's history. He proceeded to

make numerous transcriptions of the Arabic and Kufic texts in the *yaserías* (decorative plasterwork) recognising that the same short phrases are repeated throughout the palace. Later, at the Casa de Pilatos he recognised the same Arabic inscriptions in the *yaserías* there, but of a finer quality. What captured his imagination most was the myth that the house was modelled on that of Pontius Pilate in Jerusalem and he drew the layout of the staircase to illustrate it. He also drew an ancient statue of Anubis (Pedestal de Isis, 101–200) which he understood had been bought by the Duque de Medinaceli in Italy in the sixteenth century but is now known to have been unearthed in Guadix. Towards the end of his stay in Seville he visited the Biblioteca Colombina, and Seville Cathedral, where he dutifully noted the paintings, sculptures and treasures.

On September 13, he returned to Cadiz and socialised a great deal. He met Serafin María de Soto (1793–1862) with whom he shared an interest in costume. A panoramic view of Cadiz, taken from the roof of the consul's house, stands out for its concept and execution and is perhaps his finest drawing of Spain (Wilkinson, 1836–40). He left for Gibraltar on September 22, three weeks after his arrival.

In the twenty-five years between his trip to Spain in 1838 and his return in 1863 he travelled extensively and published prolifically. He returned to Egypt in 1841 to collect up-to-date information for his handbook, and on his return voyage in September 1842 he drew the coast of the province of Granada, and the city of Tarifa from out at sea (Wilkinson, 1841–43). Then in 1843, after finishing his handbook, he made a trip to the eastern Mediterranean and sketched the coast of Spain on his return in September 1845, stopping in Malaga, where he drew a magnificent panorama of the city from the Alcazaba (Wilkinson, 1844–45).

The Islamic architecture he had seen in Andalucía was still present in his mind as he mentions the Giralda, and the *yaserías* of the Alhambra and the Alcázar in an essay, *On Saracenic Architecture* (Wilkinson, 1861), in which he charted the history of the pointed arch from its origins in Egyptian architecture to the Gothic. The origin of the pointed arch was quite a common topic of speculation and in fact, theories as to its origin predate his by at least a century (Mateo, 2016) though Wilkinson's knowledge of ancient Egyptian architecture made his an insightful addition to this discourse (Thompson, p. 169).

In the eighteen-fifties, when he was in his fifties, a mental and physical breakdown caused him to leave London for the healthier climate of Wales, where he met his future wife, Caroline Catherine Lucas (1822–1881), a botanist and accomplished artist, who, as well as editing her husband's work, published a book, *Weeds and Wild Flowers*, which she both wrote and illustrated. They wed on October 16, 1856 and the house where they lived on the Gower Peninsula was bright and looked south over the sea, with a library built to accommodate Wilkinson's collection, but despite these cheerful and propitious circumstances, their married life was increasingly marred by Wilkinson's deteriorating health and in 1863 the Wilkinsons abandoned plans to visit the eastern Mediterranean and instead chose to convalesce in the south of Spain. This trip would be his last time abroad.

On December 12, 1863 the Wilkinsons boarded a steamship bound for Gibraltar with a copy of Ford's handbook. Their destination was El Puerto de Santa María, a more agreeable place to stay than Cadiz since it benefitted from being "open without fortifications, close to the sea and with pleasant walks inland" (Wilkinson, 1863–75), and the four sketchbooks from this trip (Wilkinson, 1862–64, 1863–64, 1863–66,

1864–66) evidence his extensive exploration of the coast and hills. The few dates in the notebook for January and February limit the reconstruction of his time here and possibly imply he was resting. Still, the notebook filled up with a “miscellanea” of notes and sketches copied from the handbook or the *Penny Cyclopædia*. Amongst these is the numismatic collection of Don Joaquín Rubio y Muñoz (1788–1874) and the shells of the bay of Cadiz, which unfortunately have nearly all been cut from the book. Then towards the end of March, a burst of activity produced many drawings and watercolours of the castle of Doña Blanca, and a horizontal watermill below it.

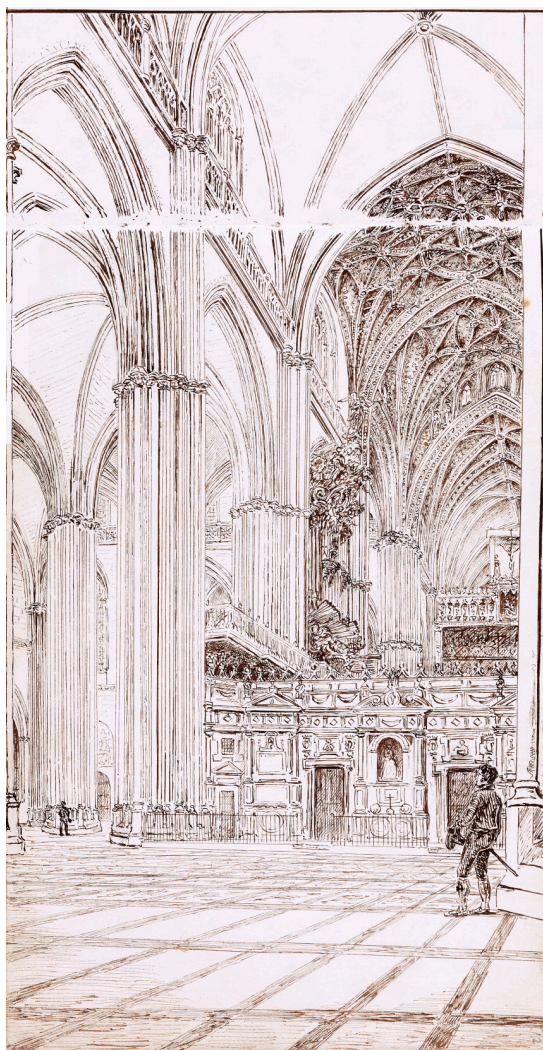


Figure 4. John Gardner Wilkinson, Interior of Seville Cathedral, 1838, ink on paper (17.5 x 33.7 cm), Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS. Wilkinson. dep. d. 11, fols. 11^v, 12^r. Reproduced by kind permission of the National Trust.

The Wilkinsons took the train to Seville on Wednesday April 6, 1864, stayed at the Fonda de Europa, and returned on Saturday April 9. On the Thursday they vis-

ited many places he had seen in 1838, such as the tobacco factory, the Alcázar, the cathedral and the hospital of La Caridad. He scarcely refers to his having been there before or any changes to the city apart from the Alcázar, “which has been done up and coloured” (Wilkinson, 1863–75). On the Friday, they made an excursion to the Roman city of Itálica at Santiponce using the handbook as their guide.

In the few final weeks spent in El Puerto de Santa María, he made an excursion to the Roman bridge and medieval towers at Alcantarilla. The final views of the towns of the province of Cadiz were drawn rapidly without ink or wash, giving a sense of his imminent departure. There are sketches of Vigo and La Coruña drawn from the boat on his return to Wales.

Wilkinson would live another ten years but in increasingly poor health. When visiting his cousins, the Harpur Crewes, at Calke Abbey he became gravely ill and died on the journey back to Brynfield in 1875. These cousins were to whom he would leave his life’s work, and his notebooks, sketchbooks and drawings resided at Calke Abbey until Oxford University expressed an interest in the Egyptological papers. Later, when the house passed into the custodianship of the National Trust, the entire archive was entrusted to the care of Oxford University and is now held in the Bodleian Library.

3. Form, technique, composition and meaning in Wilkinson’s drawings

No two of Wilkinson’s Seville notebooks or sketchbooks are the same size, and their distinct uses are signified by the adopted media. Clearly, a smaller sketchbook lends itself to rapid on-the-spot pencil sketches whereas a larger one is more appropriate for detailed finished ink drawings. Their varying dimensions also influence the composition to a certain extent though Wilkinson would often divide one folio in two, as in the topographical vistas of the Guadalquivir, diminutive in size yet depicting in detail landscapes of immense scale, where the defining natural features, settlements, and ancient man-made landmarks orientate us within their vastness and, as is shown in this paper, give an insight into Wilkinson’s appreciation of their historicity (Fig. 1). Conversely, even the smallest sketchbook did not prevent him from capturing complex views quickly and loosely in pencil and watercolour, such as the panorama drawn from Santiponce which extends over four folios (Figs, 2, 3). So in the moment of capturing the view, Wilkinson’s composition, media and technique challenge, as often as they conform to, the inherent limitations of each book.

There are four books from his time in Seville in 1838. Two are notebooks, smaller and similar in size but one was used as a field notebook (Wilkinson, c.1838–58, 114 x 178 mm) filled with pencil notes and drawings recorded on the spot, many of architectural details of Seville Cathedral, the Alcázar, and Casa de Pilatos, including transcriptions of the Arabic and Kufic script in the yaserías of both palaces. These were copied into the other (Wilkinson, 1838–39, 101 x 159 mm) in ink, along with diary entries and further details. These two notebooks are complimented by two sketchbooks. The larger (Wilkinson, 1836–40, 268 x 175 mm) has highly finished ink drawings which may have been drawn on the spot in pencil and finished later in ink (Thompson, p. 7) incorporating details from the smaller field-notebook. These larger architectural views are quite formally composed, generally framed by

the edges of the paper and with a heightened sense of perspective as can be seen in the interior view of Seville Cathedral (Fig. 4). The smaller sketchbook (Wilkinson, 1838, 238 x 143 mm) has watercolour views painted from onboard the steamer, and opening it from the other end, there are pencil and watercolour portraits of people Wilkinson met in Seville along with other drawings of people in traditional dress. Although these drawings are beyond the scope of this paper, it is apt to draw attention to Thompson's remarks that throughout his travels, Wilkinson amassed enough material on folk costume to have published a book had he so wished (p. 172) and his observations of the traditional and modern dress worn in Seville in 1838 could have formed part of this hypothetical work. Even the portraits are as much studies in attire as likeness, something reflected in their annotations such as "Don José María de Palacio [unidentified] dressed as a *Majo*" (Wilkinson, 1836–40, fol. 32^v). His interest was such that he detailed the leatherwork of the *Majo* jacket in his pocket notebook (Wilkinson, c. 1838–58, pp. 26, 27). Similarly, in a drawing of a lady dressed in black lace, she peers at the viewer from behind her fan, underneath which he wrote "vamos andando" (let's walk) (Wilkinson, 1836–40, fol. 30^v) which insinuates an opportune moment to become acquainted, thus relating the accoutrements of a nineteenth-century Spanish lady to evident social customs. In another of a woman wearing a peineta and mantilla he records the passing of styles, "ya no se visten" (now no longer worn) (Wilkinson, 1836–40, fol. 31^v).

Of the four sketchbooks from his four months in El Puerto de Santa María in 1864, only the smallest has drawings of Seville (Wilkinson, 1863–66, 130 x 89 mm), or rather of his excursion from Seville to the Roman city of Itálica at Santiponce on Friday April 8, following the route suggested in Ford's handbook. These rapid watercolour sketches were most probably painted on the spot as was possible by that time, after all J. M. W. Turner (1775–1851) had a travelling watercolour kit purchased in London. Despite obviously being quickly sketched, it is remarkable that the five views cover twelve folios, which gives an idea of the rapidity and assurance with which he translated what he saw to paper.

Notwithstanding this, were he to have been referred to as an artist or an amateur, Wilkinson would undoubtedly have been affronted. Even if some of his drawings are highly finished and attractive, he was not practising drawing to emulate or aspire to a higher form of art or for pleasure (Sloan, 2000, p. 107), but rather out of necessity; to record architecture and topography truthfully and without embellishment or picturesque arrangement to be of use to other like-minded gentlemen, which characteristically defines him as a nineteenth-century gentleman scholar and antiquarian. His architectural and topographical preoccupations continue the established military and scientific survey of antiquity and anticipate developments in archaeology (Sloan, p. 108). These drawings balance a topographical correctness with military usefulness whilst paying attention to the economic productivity of the landscape (Bermingham, 2000). Bermingham also describes how the eighteenth-century preoccupation with accuracy evolved into a more complex representation of the landscape from which a "touristic pleasure of exploring, viewing, surveying and comparing" can be derived (p. 91) and this is evident in all Wilkinson's drawings. While a preference for Islamic and Christian medieval architecture, informed by his time in Egypt, might be expected, it is more often complimented by Roman and Renaissance architecture. Symbols of these ages are simultaneously represented at different scales in most views, from the Roman columns and Umayyad capitals incorporated into the fourteenth-century

Patio de las Muñecas, to the Roman baths and medieval monastery of San Isidoro del Campo in the view from Santiponce, thus allowing for the comparison of architectural styles within the same view as much as between drawings. The dialogue between these architectural styles is enhanced compositionally as the areas of greater interest are often organised around the edges of the picture leaving an emptiness directly ahead; the perspective point in the drawing of the Patio de la Muñecas is a window to the gardens, while the interior view of Seville cathedral is centred on a column that vertically divides the picture in two. The eye roams over these pictures looking at each detail in turn, creating relationships between the symbolic elements whilst doing so. Despite the insightful choice of subject matter his journal rarely elucidates his thoughts on what he drew, so with regards their interpretation, it is left to the viewer to draw their own conclusions. Bearing in mind that Wilkinson's genius in his writings on Egypt was to draw out the relevancies of the lives of the ancient Egyptians to those of the Victorian audience (Thompson, p. 151), interpreting their lived experience through their architecture and the symbolism that adorned it, architecture for Wilkinson was a lens through which earlier times could be understood. Rather more fundamentally "he realised that the land had influenced the development of the [Egyptian] civilisation" (p. 143), hence his sensitivity to topography in all his views, against which the vicissitudes of architectural styles can be read as enduring annotations of the transience of cultures. In his drawings of changing fashions as in those of architecture, the past and present cohabit the same space where the limitations of their historicity are artificially imposed. It is the challenge for the historian to deconstruct these limitations in an attempt to ascertain a truer meaning, and Wilkinson's intuitive surveying of landscape and thoughtful framing of architecture goes some way towards achieving this.

3.1. The Giralda, the gardens of the Alcázar, the nave of Seville Cathedral, and the Patio de las Muñecas in the large sketchbook of 1838

Unfortunately, the folio with the lower half of an ink drawing of the Giralda is missing. Still, the facing folio retains the top of the tower with the inscription 'fortissimo',² and the drawing is annotated "La Giralda [...] Archbishop's Palace [...] walls of Alcázar", leaving no doubt it was a drawing of the north elevation. David Roberts painted the same view from the same spot in oils in 1833, which Wilkinson could have learned from Julian Williams, or seen copies of when in Seville, or may have seen himself in London. It seems more than coincidence that this view and the one of the interior of Seville Cathedral should be so similar in composition to Roberts' two great paintings made in Seville. He writes in his diary that he spent three hours the first morning in Seville working on this drawing. However, there is a page of drawings of the *sebka* (interlocking brick lozenges) and *ajimezes* (biforas) of the north elevation of the tower in the final pages of Seville drawings in the field notebook, which creates some discord between the chronology of the field notebook, diary and sketchbook.

In the drawing of the gardens of the Alcázar (Fig. 5), they are viewed from above as renaissance gardens are intended to be, yet this simple view is complicated by

² Inscribed on the four faces of the upper body of the Giralda is the phrase 'Turrus Fortissima Nomen Domini' taken from Proverbs 18, 'The name of the Lord is a Strong Tower'.

Wilkinson looking beyond the medieval palace walls to the open country to the south, towards Cadiz, from where he had come, and as such introduces a topographical scale to a view of what is essentially an enclosed space. The walls date to the last quarter of the twelfth century when the Alcázar was extended to enclose kitchen gardens then outside the city (Valor Piechotta, 2008, p. 73). These were converted into gardens in stages, reflected in the receding terraces in the picture. Closest, at the bottom of the picture, are the tops of the trees of the Jardín de la Danza laid out at the end of the sixteenth century. The main focus of the picture are the pictographic myrtle parterres of the Jardín de las Damas which were laid out by the Italian architect Vermondo Resta (1555-1625) who also oversaw the construction of the rusticated *Galería de los Grutescos*, whose stratified stonework was constructed over the Almoahad walls between 1612 and 1621. While the overall impression is of a baroque garden, Baena Sánchez is conscious that the underlying geometries of this mannerist garden not only recall the earlier Arabic gardens, but further subvert the traditional classical garden through the incorporation of ceramic decoration traditional to Seville (2003, p. 17). Above the trees beyond these parterres projects the pyramid roof of the dining pavilion of Charles V whose architecture, consisting of an external arched gallery around a domed room, is classical in detail yet strongly recalls an Islamic burial shrine. The smaller tower, *La Torre de la Alcoba*, behind the cypress tree, still exists though is now isolated folly-like in the gardens after the demolition of the adjoining Almoahad walls in the nineteenth century.

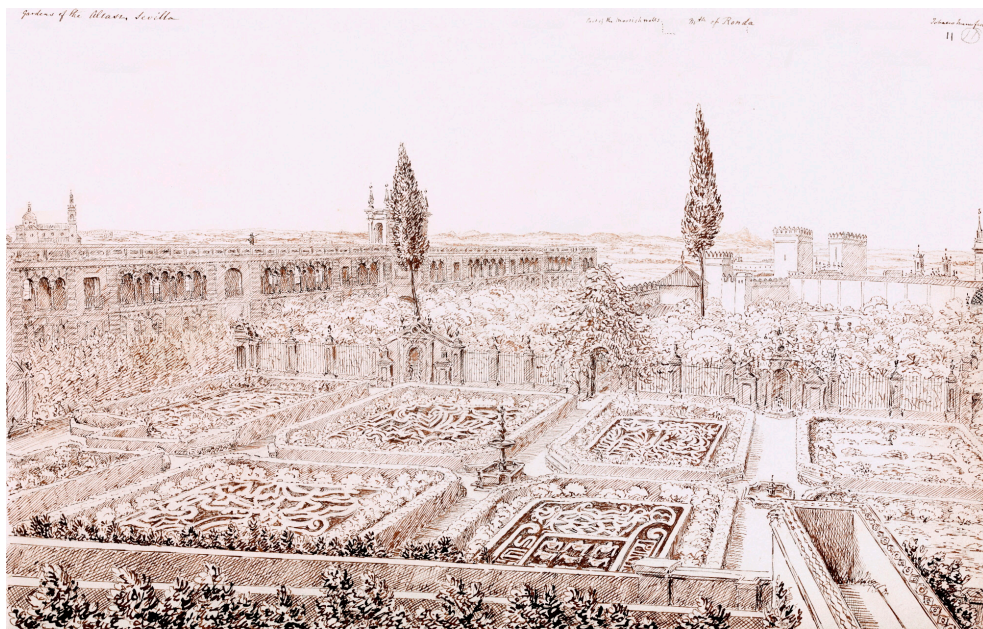


Figure 5. John Gardner Wilkinson, *Gardens of the Alcázar, Seville*, 1838, ink on paper (26.8 x 17.5 cm), Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS. Wilkinson. dep. d. 11, fol. 13^r. Reproduced by kind permission of the National Trust.

Despite their ancient appearance, the two towers date to 1760, and flanked the *Puerta Nueva*, which was the last gate of the city to be constructed, effectively outside

the walls, and demolished a little over a century later, in 1878 (Suarez Garmendia, 1989). To their right are the cupola and bell-gable of the chapel of the tobacco factory, built by the engineer Sebastián Van der Borcht between 1756 and 1763 (Gámez Casado, 2020, p. 197). At the right-hand edge of the picture is the entablature of the factory itself, built by the same engineer between 1750 and 1766 (p. 76). At the other extremity of the picture to the left is the church of San Bernardo, and to its left, albeit out of frame, is the cannon foundry. So, the view was framed to omit, to left and right, the two most significant industrial buildings of the time, the cannon foundry and tobacco factory. Wilkinson was standing on a modern terrace adjacent to the thirteenth-century palace of Alfonso X (r. 1252–84) and near the viewing tower of the fourteenth-century palace of Pedro I (r. 1350–69) and would have been aware that the aspect, despite the baroque garden below, had not changed greatly in the five intervening centuries. More significantly, the architectural interventions – formal gardens extending over vegetable gardens, mannerist grottos constructed over medieval walls, and renaissance pavilions that recall Islamic burial shrines – construct a discourse of continuity that subtly yet eloquently reveals the palace’s evolution through the symbolic architecture of the cultures that contributed to its appearance.

The drawing of the nave of Seville Cathedral looking towards the choir screen is compositionally similar to Roberts’ great oil painting but without the pomp and circumstance of *Corpus Christi* (Fig. 4). Wilkinson looks obliquely across the nave to pillars whose central position divides the picture vertically. On the left the lofty spaces between these massive pillars communicate the grandeur, simplicity, and solemnity of this vast five-aisle church whose fifteenth-century Gothic architecture seemed imbued with Divine presence in the experiences of the nineteenth-century British traveller, and on the right, the enclosed space of the sixteenth-century choir, and the fifteenth-century altar, both symbolise the rites of the Catholic church, even in the absence of actual ceremony. The choir screen and the mouldings of the base of the pillar are drawn from the small field notebook.

Wilkinson’s thoughtful decision to draw the diminutive Patio de la Muñecas (Fig. 6A) rather than the grander Patio de las Doncellas may have been influenced by the fact that it retains its spoliated Roman columns and Umayyad capitals, syntactical representations of earlier Iberian civilisations, accentuated through his attentive depiction of the subtleties of form of each column and capital.

The view looks across the patio and through the Salon de los Reyes Católicos to the Jardín del Príncipe, to the south east of the fourteenth-century palace. When compared with its appearance today (Fig. 7) the cosmetic transformation that the patio underwent during its 1847 ‘restoration’ is striking, particularly the excessive exotic embellishment of the upper floors of the patio. Other areas of the drawing that invite scrutiny are the doorway and window directly ahead, and the epigraphic inscriptions in the yaserías over the column on the right in the foreground.

The ‘first floor’ as it appears in the picture is an entresol of awkward height inserted between the roof of the fourteenth-century gallery and the first floor of the palace, which is understood to have been constructed c.1500 by Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon (Almagro, 2017, p. 109). The historical material relating to this patio is not as extensive as might be expected and Chávez González’s exhaustive research in the archive of the *Reales Alcázares* was not able to ascertain the earlier configurations of the upper galleries of this patio. However, Wilkinson’s view corresponds to descriptions of the patio from the early 1840s, where over the lower floor of Islamic

order is an entresol with smooth undecorated walls and an upper floor of Corinthian order (Wells, 1846, p. 334; Chávez González, 2004, p. 73). The bases of these Corinthian columns are visible at the very top of Wilkinson's drawing, which goes some way to validating its fidelity, thus allowing in turn a more critical appraisal of other early graphic representations of the patio, the earliest being an engraving by the daguerreotypist Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey (1804–1892) drawn on a tour of Spain in 1832–1833 and published in 1839 in France (Gámiz Gordo et al., 2021, p.4.; Girault de Prangey, 1836–39, fol. 5). The arches and yaserías of the ground floor gallery are accurately represented, but the frieze over the arches and everything above it is almost certainly an invention of the artist (Almagro, 2017, p. 110; Chávez González, 2004, p. 60). An engraving by Isidore-Justin-Séverin Taylor (1789–1879) published in 1860 (Taylor, 1860, pl. 44) was based on his own drawing, made either on a tour of Spain in 1827 (which would confirm the artifice of the upper floors in Girault de Prangey's view) or 1836. His view depicts a plain architrave above the frieze which would discount the projecting roof visible in Girault de Prangey's view; a detail that is supported by two drawings by Cecilia Montgomery (1792–1879) dated May 21 and 27, 1838, mere months before Wilkinson (Sorowka, 2021).



Figure 6A. John Gardner Wilkinson, Patio de las Muñecas, Alcázar, Seville, 1838, ink on paper (17.5 x 26.8 cm), Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS. Wilkinson. dep. d. 11, fol. 13^r. 6B.

Enlarged detail of the script in the yaserías above the column in the foreground of figure 6A. The phrase above reads 'May Prosperity Continue', and below it reads 'Only God is Victorious'. Both figures 6A and 6B reproduced by kind permission of the National Trust.

The second area of interest is centred on what is seen when looking directly ahead. The arch in Wilkinson's view has been partially infilled to allow a door to be hung, beyond which the connection with the garden is through a rectangular opening cut through the palace wall, visible in the 1759 plan of the Alcázar (Van der Borcht, 1759). The window is unlikely to be original since the medieval palace was an introverted arrangement of patios, but it is unknown when these apertures were pierced (Almagro, 2017, p.73; 2007, p. 179). Significantly, this is the only view of the window before its transformation into an ajimez (Chávez González, 2004, p. 126).



Figure 7. Patio de las Muñecas, Alcázar, Seville, 2021. Author's image.

The epigraphic details incorporated into the frieze of the decorative frame of the arch in the foreground (Fig. 6B) differ from those which appear today and which appear in a photograph of 1857 (Pedrosa), which suggested, tantalisingly, that the original script before the patio's 1847 transformation was different. Since Wilkinson could read both Arabic and Kufic script, presumably he transcribed the *yeserías* accurately, and he did, only not from here. The script can be identified from separate shorter phrases from elsewhere in the palace complex which were deciphered and transcribed in his notebooks (Wilkinson, c.1838–58, pp. 5, 6; Wilkinson, 1838–39,

fols. 9r, 9v). The phrase above, “May Prosperity Continue,” is easily identifiable from his notebooks and can be clearly read in a cartouche in the doors of the Patio de las Doncellas and in the Salón de Embajadores (Caño Ávila, 2004, 2015). However, the phrase below is not so easily identifiable, and –to this author’s illiterate eye– represents closely but not exactly, “Only God is Victorious,” which is repeated throughout the palace of Pedro I from the triumphal portico on the Patio de Montería to small medallions on doors and in the yeserías (de los Rios, 1875, 124). As a result it cannot be said from where exactly it was copied. Perhaps Wilkinson chose these phrases as emblems of the Alcázar given their repetition at different scales and across different materials throughout the fourteenth-century palace. Furthermore, his incorporation of the script into the drawing elucidates his drawing practice. Although the drawing itself is undated, the script in the picture was entered early in his notebook, perhaps while he toured the Alcázar with Julian Williams, the consul, and the details of the yeserías and arches appear later in the notebook, implying he returned to the Alcázar at a later date (Wilkinson, c.1838–58, fol. 25). These sketches, and a pencil sketch of the arch in the foreground on the facing page of the sketchbook, show he practised areas of the drawing in pencil before integrating them in ink into the finished drawing, on the spot or later at the hotel. His mentioning that the drawing of the Giralda was finished in three hours in a morning suggests it was either finished in ink, or at least finished to such a degree that details and shading could be completed in ink later. This may explain why the script is not an exact transcription of what was there, and the mistake in the number of *sebka* above the arch at the back of the patio on the right. Still, the overall accuracy of the image more than compensates for any unreliability in the epigraphy as it makes a considerable contribution to understanding the architectural evolution of this small but exquisite patio.

3.2. The Guadalquivir, Seville, and San Juan de Aznalfarache in the small sketchbook of 1838

The other, smaller sketchbook from 1838 contains watercolours drawn from onboard the steamboat that carried Wilkinson up the Guadalquivir. The first drawing on his way to Seville looks down the river towards the “mirage of the Guadalquivir,” and depicts the river’s unending muddy banks stretching out on either side (Fig. 1). The other view shares the same page and looks up the river, giving a picturesque impression of the towns of La Puebla del Río and Coria del Río situated on rocky headlands overlooking the river, unrecognisable nowadays due to the river’s twentieth-century channelling that pulled it away from the cliffs. The sailing boats at different distances communicate the temporal quality of the river, and those in the distance beyond what can be seen of the river lead the eye to the monumental edifice of Seville Cathedral and the Giralda clearly distinguishable beyond the fluvial plains.

The small drawing of the Torre del Oro (Fig. 8) looks upstream towards the bridge of boats with the tower on the right, and again it is a view that Roberts both painted and published (Roscoe, 1836). Whether Wilkinson was drawing from a boat mid-stream, or from the same side of the river further downstream at Las Delicias is difficult to determine, complicating the identification of the roofs, which may belong to the convent of La Merced, now the art gallery, the Maestranza bullring, or the church of Santa María Magdalena. Regardless of their identity, his depiction of Seville as

being almost entirely screened behind the trees of the riverside promenade is enlightening as it effectively discounts the existence of the buildings that appear in Roberts' view.



Figure 8. John Gardner Wilkinson, Bridge of boats and Torre de Oro, Seville, September 1838, pencil and watercolour on paper (14.4 x 7.1 cm), Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS. Wilkinson. dep. d. 13 fol. 14^v. Reproduced by kind permission of the National Trust.

On his approach to Seville, at the final bend of the river, Wilkinson was attracted by the twelfth-century Almohad fortifications encircling the hill at San Juan de Aznalfarache (Fig. 9) and made a quick ink sketch between the lines of text in his diary. This watercolour, being after that of the Torre de Oro and taken from a position slightly upstream, may have been painted on his leaving Seville.-

The iconography of this view dates back to the sixteenth century. In a sketch of Seville and Triana drawn by Anton van den Wyngaerde (1525–1571) in 1565, the fortress at San Juan is seen in the background with ruined buildings extant within the walled precinct (Wyngaerde, 1567), and these ruins appear in an early seventeenth-century map (Obando, 1628) though clearly, by 1838 there is no trace of Almohad or later medieval structures within the walls. What is seen is the recently abandoned sixteenth-century convent, whose accuracy of depiction compares favourably with views by Richard Ford (Ford, 1963, pl. 47; Ford, n.d., Witt). However, it is the inclusion of the town itself on the lower southern fringes of the hill that is significant since there are such few representations of it. In Wilkinson's view, a tower rises conspicuously above the other houses, as it does in a view by Richard Ford (Ford, 2014, p. 266, il. 103). It no longer exists, and while it may well be the tower that appears on the 1828 map, alternatively it might have formed part of the eighteenth-century convent of San Cayetano whose origins and demise are almost unknown, and so this drawing alone may shed some light on its appearance.



Figure 9. John Gardner Wilkinson, San Juan de Aznalfarache, September 12, 1838, pencil and watercolour on paper (23.9 x 14.4 cm), Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS. Wilkinson. dep. d. 13, fol. 15^r. Reproduced by kind permission of the National Trust.

3.3. Castilleja de Guzman, Itálica, and surrounding views, in the sketchbook of 1864

The first view in this small sketchbook, drawn on excursion to Itálica, following the route suggested in Ford's handbook, is of the convent of San Juan de Aznalfarache, which he had drawn on his visit to Seville in 1838. The outline of the convent is seen through an unidentified arch and the vertical brushstrokes at the foot of the hill could be the bottle ovens of the ceramics factory established in the town in 1854. It is annotated '*Hisn el Fárag*' and again in Arabic script.

Though annotated Castilleja de la Cuesta, the town depicted in the second drawing is Castilleja de Guzman (Fig. 10); a town that has undergone drastic urbanisation in recent decades, yet the topography in Wilkinson's view is immediately recognisable on passing between the hills to the north as if returning from Itálica. The church of San Benito formed part of the palace of Los Guzmanes and was demolished in the nineteenth century when the palace was rebuilt and the streets realigned (Ortega Santos, 2004. p. 29). Following Ford's handbook, Wilkinson might have mistakenly believed he was looking at the house of Hernán Cortés, which may have inspired him to draw it. Nevertheless, it is fortunate he did as there is no iconography of the town before late nineteenth-century photographs, making this small rapid watercolour the solitary record of the town's appearance before its nineteenth-century transformation.

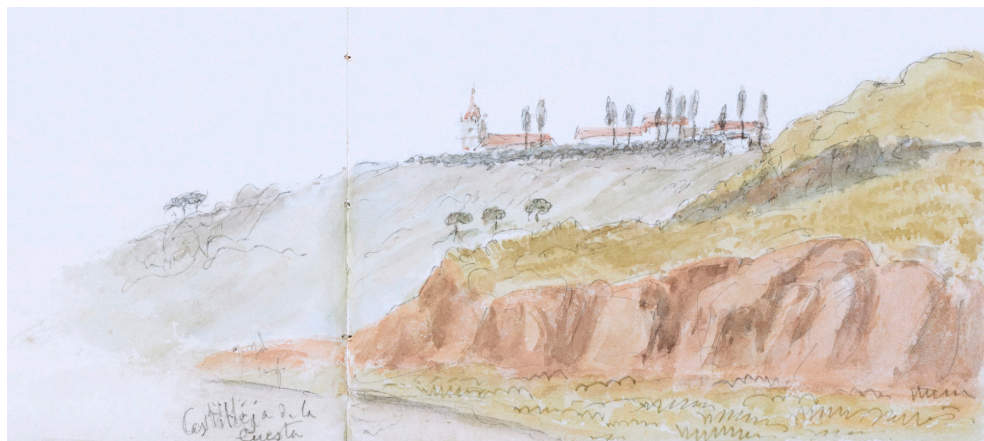


Figure 10. John Gardner Wilkinson, *Castilleja de Guzman*, pencil and watercolour on paper (20.0 x 8.9 cm), Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS. Wilkinson. dep. e. 25., fol. 13^r. Reproduced by kind permission of the National Trust.

Wilkinson found the situation of the Roman city of Itálica prettier than that of Seville when imagining the Roman houses and gardens overlooking the plains (Wilkinson, 1863–75, fol. 55^r). He captured the extensive vista the citizens would have enjoyed over two double folios of his small sketchbook (Figs. 2, 3). In the foreground to the left are the remains of the lesser *thermae* of Itálica, where water has pooled over the impermeable floor of the *caldarium*, identifiable by the curved wall and adjacent barrel vault, which remain visible to this day (Gómez Araujo, 2010, p. 124). This also clearly situates the view slightly to the west of the baths facing south-east. The town of Santiponce is lower down the hill and in the mid-distance, the town of La Algaba with the fifteenth-century tower of Los Guzmanes is clearly depicted below the ridge of hills. The panorama is centred on the Baroque tower of the early-fourteenth-century fortified monastery of San Isidoro del Campo, and Seville sprawls behind it and to left and right. Across the monastery garden, the cathedral and Giralda are easily identifiable. Further right, the monastery of La Cartuja can be distinguished by the chimneys of the Pickman ceramic factory, and to its right the churches of Triana and a solitary farmhouse. On the far right of the view, the lesser *thermae* extend in front towards San Juan de Aznalfarache, seen in profile.

Although the panorama appears to extend uniformly across four folios of the sketchbook, the cone of vision is not the same in each –more like a nautilus shell than a fan– where the folio looking towards La Algaba encompasses a much wider view than the one towards San Juan de Aznalfarache. The consequence of this is that La Algaba appears too close to the northern limits of Seville, and the convent at San Juan de Aznalfarache would not be so clearly defined, being ten kilometres distant. Notwithstanding these errors, it is a remarkably accurate sketch that details two thousand years of history across an immense geographical area.

Strangely for Wilkinson, his drawing of the Roman amphitheatre at Itálica looks towards the hill out of which it is formed, reducing its topographical context. Viewing it from the north, as other artists did, would have allowed for Seville and the Giralda to form a picturesque backdrop.

The last view of Seville is a landscape that covers three folios but, unlike the panorama reproduced here, it is at first glance almost as devoid of architectural as it is topographical interest. It looks from Santiponce north across the vast flat plains of corn that seem to stretch as far as the hills to the north and onwards towards Cordoba. The two identifiable features are the Baroque tower of the monastery of San Isidoro del Campo, seen at the far left of the view but not in its entirety, and La Algaba on the right of the first folio. The following two folios represent only the endless cultivated plains, which in April would be near harvesting and so their productiveness seems to have made an impression on Wilkinson as it did on most British travellers on passing.

4. Conclusion

This article is the first to regard Wilkinson as a nineteenth-century traveller independent of his Egyptological studies and to evaluate his sketchbooks as a resource for the historian. Limiting the study to his drawings of Seville and its environs permits a more penetrating analysis of each, and consequently it can be seen that their authenticity and reliability is unquestionable. While there are some errors and improvisations in certain details, these appear in the more finished drawings and can be put down to Wilkinson's drawing practice in that these drawings were finished in ink at a later time. Undoubtedly, the historical value of each drawing outweighs any deliberate or accidental derivations from what was actually there. It could be said that his observation was more penetrating in 1838 as so much time and energy was invested in each drawing. Even apparently simple drawings reveal layers of meaning through their composition, construction and details. Conversely, in 1864 the views are more spontaneous and personal, reflected in their rapid sketching in watercolour. Consequently, the original subject matter means some drawings exist nowadays as unique documents of lost buildings and views. What unites all his views is the symbolic representation of architecture within the historical landscape, enhanced by the diversity in his technical approach.

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