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The “Splendor of the Caliph’s Dwellings” in Saint Petersburg. Aleksandr Briullov as a Pioneer of Neo-Moorish Style in Russia

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Abstract

From the 1830s onward, Russian architects frequently used decorations of the Nasrid Alhambra palaces as models for neo-Moorish designs. Especially in the former capital Saint Petersburg, there used to be, and still are, a large number of neo-Moorish interiors. The objective of this article is to trace back the beginnings of the so-called Moorish Revival within Russia’s architecture. So far, only little attention has been paid to the fact that particularly one architect was crucial for establishing the new style in Russia—Aleksandr Briullov, upon whose pioneering role the article will shed light by discussing two of his early works.

KEYWORDS: Russia, Saint Petersburg, architecture, interior, Orientalism, Alhambra, Moorish Revival, nineteenth century, Aleksandr Briullov, Imperial Academy of Arts

Introduction

Similar to other countries, the explicit use of motifs taken from Islamic architecture was introduced to Tsarist Russia in the eighteenth century. Picturesque garden pavilions in “Turkish style” (*turetskii stil'*), which mostly imitated Ottoman architecture, were built across Europe and Russia as a result of a general and ever-increasing interest in Islamic art and culture. Built during the 1770s, the mosque-like pavilion, erected on the estate of Count Zakhar Chernyshiov (1722–84) in Iaropolets,¹ together with the Turkish Kiosk (Turetskii Kiosk) in Tsarskoe Selo,² are early Russian representatives of this architectural type.³ While reflecting a contemporary architectural fashion, due to being dedicated to the commemoration of the Russo-Turkish War (1768–74), which had been victorious for Russia, they also encompassed a clear political connotation.

Then, in the nineteenth century, with the “Moorish style” (*mavritanskii stil'*), a new architectural fashion emerged throughout Western Europe and Russia, featuring structural elements and ornaments borrowed from the repertoire of the Islamic architecture of al-Andalus, with a clear preference for the Alhambra in Granada, whose Nasrid decorations would be used primarily as the models for such designs. Travelers had rediscovered and promoted Spain's Islamic heritage in their travelogues; but also the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando played a critical role in this context, especially due to its two-volume publication on the Islamic architecture of Cordoba and Granada that also included several plates with depictions of key buildings.⁴ The popularity of Granada and the Alhambra grew even more with the books by Washington Irving (1783–1859), especially the *Tales of the Alhambra* from 1832.⁵ This happened at the same time when the fascination for Spain and Irving's texts spread throughout Russia as well, so that Spanish themes would make their appearance in Russian literature, music, and art.⁶ The first interiors in neo-Moorish style were built in Russia during the 1830s, with their numbers multiplying over the next decades; the most recent examples date from the beginning of the twentieth century. There was and still is an especially large number of such interiors to be found in Russia's former capital, Saint Petersburg, and it is the objective of this article to trace back the beginnings of the so-called Moorish Revival in Tsarist Russia's architecture, by identifying the earliest examples and the used templates, which in the first period of this movement were taken from printed works. What this study of the early stages of the Moorish Revival will furthermore reveal is that

particularly one architect had been extremely important for the establishment of the new style in Russia—Aleksandr Briullov (1798–1877)—a fact to which only little attention has so far been paid.

Vorontsov Palace: The Earliest Manifestation of the Neo-Moorish Style?

The Vorontsov Palace near Alupka on the Crimean Peninsula (Fig. 1), whose central wing was constructed between 1832 and 1837, is often mentioned as one of the early examples of neo-Moorish style in Europe.⁷ In this regard, there are two statements by nineteenth-century travelers considering the classification of the style still quoted today, the first of which claiming that the palace comprises various styles, while the other simply identifies the building as a “Crimean Alhambra.”⁸ Yet even though Vorontsov Palace indeed shows an eclectic blend of revivalist styles, including neo-Gothic and neo-Mughal,⁹ the label “Crimean Alhambra” is quite misleading. In spite of claims that the style of the southern garden façade with exedra is neo-Moorish, a “large hall in the style of the Moorish Alhambra,”¹⁰ there are only two details that do resemble decorations as found at the Alhambra. Said details are two polylobed, slightly horseshoe-shaped arches, and a frieze in the exedra with a characteristic, albeit somewhat clumsily executed, leaf decoration integrating a medallion of intricate interlaced ribbons and a pomegranate, as well as the motto of the Nasrids in Arabic letters. At a closer look, the general composition of the façade is more reminiscent of Persian architecture (or the later Mughal architecture), where a central

Figure 1

The Lion’s Terrace and View from the Alhambra, Alupka, Vorontsov Palace. Two historical postcards. © Courtesy of the author.

iwan—a vaulted space, walled on three sides—would be flanked by two minarets.

Count Mikhail Vorontsov (1782–1856), the Governor-General of Novorossiia, had hired British architect Edward Blore (1787–1879) for building this palace as a summer residence.¹¹ Instead of explicitly adopting the Alhambra in Granada, Blore used design principles that had already been quite fashionable in the United Kingdom but little known in Tsarist Russia, where neoclassicism was still popular. The style mix and the composition of the southern façade reveal close ties to British models that had a very similar external appearance,¹² a result of the country's Indian Revival spurred by the close commercial and cultural connections with its colony India.

An element further confirming that Blore did not copy Nasrid architecture is the aforementioned frieze with Nasrid motto, which had not been part of Blore's original design but was added in 1844.¹³ A few years later, six marble lion sculptures were placed on the stairway leading to the palace. This "Terrace of the Lions" (*L'vinaia Terrasa*) was a clear reference to the Alhambra's famous *Patio de los Leones*. Given these later additions, as well as the specific historical and geographical contexts, it is easy to understand how the name "Crimean Alhambra" had emerged. In this case, the term Alhambra did not so much refer to the real but to an idealistic notion of the historic monument as a dream-like place corresponding to the romanticism of Washington Irving's tales. The building's oriental touch, its picturesque location at Alupka on the shores of the Black Sea, together with the surrounding plantations provided a similarly dream-like image: "Exotic plants, of all kinds, fill the halls and covered galleries, making it really like fairy-land."¹⁴ What is more, not unlike Andalusia, the Crimea could relate to its own, albeit much more recent, Islamic past: Before its annexation in 1783 by the Russian Empire and the subsequent establishment of the Taurida Governorate, the peninsula had been the center of the Crimean Khanate for more than three centuries. Due to its architectural heritage and the local traditions of the Muslim Tatar population, as well as its landscape, foreigners and Russians alike regarded the peninsula as an exotic hinterland that would, similar to Andalusia and the Alhambra, spur the imagination of romantic writers.¹⁵ In an attempt to describe how Blore's designs accentuated the particular geographical location of the palace, one author wrote that "[h]owever apparently incongruous the combination, it somewhat happily represents the position, on the confines of Europe and Asia, the west and the east, the land of the feudal baron and the Oriental satrap."¹⁶

Although Vorontsov Palace should not be mistaken for the earliest embodiment of neo-Moorish style in Tsarist Russia, it certainly was a precursor of local eclecticism. The Russian elite, including Tsar Nikolai I (1796–1855, r. 1825–55) and his wife, would come to visit Count Vorontsov's palace, which would in turn motivate many aristocrats to

build their own residences on the Crimea, many of which would similarly highlight its special location at the crossroads between East and West.¹⁷

Early Russian Interiors in Neo-Moorish Style by Aleksandr Briullov

In Russia, the Moorish Revival would manifest itself mostly in interior designs. According to current knowledge, the first architect to create neo-Moorish interiors was Aleksandr Briullov (1798–1877).¹⁸ During the period when Vorontsov Palace was being built at Alupka, the architect was busy working on his first commission in Pavlovsk near Saint Petersburg. After a recommendation by her longtime companion Karl Briullov (1799–1852), who happened to be Aleksander's brother, Countess Iuliia Samoilova (1803–75) had appointed Aleksandr to redesign her manor, Grafaskaia Slavianka.¹⁹ After spending several years in Italy and France, the architect had returned to Russia just recently.²⁰ First drafts of the project go back to 1830, whereas the whole building process would actually last until 1835. Due to the Countess's passion for Italy, Briullov designed a manor in the style of Italian villas. Whereas the decor of the main façade of the two-story building would indeed echo neoclassicism, the garden façade would become an early example of eclecticism.²¹ The floorplan turned out just as innovative: Instead of constructing an enfilade of large parade halls, Briullov decided to install compact groups of smaller rooms, which allowed him to connect them rather freely and in various manners, resulting in a very comfortable environment.²² Two of these rooms would be the first to incorporate neo-Moorish elements.

Two paintings held at the State Hermitage Museum show one of the living rooms of Grafaskaia Slavianka from opposite perspectives (Figs 2 and 3). The very light octagonal room, structured by a three-arched arcade, is dominated by hues of red, blue, and gold. The frameworks of two large mirrors repeat the motif of a three-arched arcade, yet on a smaller scale, and the same motif covers, as a reiterated pattern, the lambréquins on the curtain rails above the doors.

Not all details are clearly visible in the paintings, however. Yet what can be gathered from them unambiguously is that some decorations had been inspired by the Islamic architecture of al-Andalus: The structure of the gilded arcade—a combination of polylobed arches and rectangular shapes—resembles similar arcades as seen at the Alhambra (Fig. 4),²³ with the central arch being slightly larger than the lateral ones. The spandrels feature a leaf pattern similar to the vegetal *ataurique* known from walls, friezes, and spandrels of the Alhambra. The ornaments at Grafaskaia Slavianka are open-worked, which is why the arcade is translucent. The painted decoration on the ceiling repeats the same pattern but is supplemented by a frieze with an Arabic inscription.²⁴ A large

Figure 2

Unknown artist, *Living room in the estate of Countess I. P. Samoilova "Grafaskaia Slavianka."* Oil on paper on canvas, 50 cm × 32 cm, Saint Petersburg, late 1830s–early 1840s. The State Hermitage Museum, ÉRZh-1971. © Courtesy of The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, Russia.

Figure 3

Unknown artist, *Living room in the estate of Countess I. P. Samoilova "Grafaskaia Slavianka."* (garden side). Oil on paper on canvas, 50 cm × 32 cm, Saint Petersburg, late 1830s–early 1840s. The State Hermitage Museum, ÉRZh-1972. © Courtesy of The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, Russia.

white tile stove, a chandelier, and a lantern with tassels, along with textiles and furniture, complete the room.

A third painting shows a smaller, more intimate interior (Fig. 5). This room is darker than the living room and barely wider than a window, furnished with chairs, tables, and various art objects, including a marble statue and Chinese vases. The walls are covered with a red-and-black fabric that repeats a lozenge ornament with some resemblance to the *sebka* motifs (repeated rhomboid patterns) frequently used for stuccoworks at the Alhambra. A painted frieze with an Arabic inscription, similar to that of the living room, circumscribes the ceiling decorated with a repeated pattern of stars resembling *armaduras*, the wooden ceilings found at some of the Alhambra halls.

Figure 4

Patio del Mexuar, Alhambra,
Granada. Fourteenth century. ©
Bildarchiv Foto Marburg/Volker
Rödel, 1994.

For this room, the neo-Moorish elements were limited to paints and fabrics, and applied to flat surfaces that could as well have served as the backgrounds for many other designs.²⁵ In contrast, due to its three-dimensionality, the neo-Moorish arcade of the living room surpasses the realm of mere surface decorations.

Inspirations and Models for Neo-Moorish Designs

In June 1835, Iuliia Samoilova wrote to Aleksandr Briullov “The Moorish room is turning out a jewel.”²⁶ It is unknown whether it was the Countess’s wish to have interiors in neo-Moorish style installed at her residence. Some letters archived at the State Russian Museum (GRM) prove that Samoilova and Briullov had discussed the furnishings of several rooms, and the Countess would contribute the artworks, decide on the materials to be used, and also propose the companies to be engaged for certain works.²⁷

It remains an open question what made the architect come up with the idea to install the neo-Moorish interiors in the first place. Had he seen such interiors during his stays in France or London? During his sojourns in Western Europe, Aleksandr Briullov had gained a reputation as a gifted portrait painter, which had helped him to get in touch with

Figure 5

Unknown artist, *Interior in the estate of the Countess I. P. Samoilova "Grafskaja Slavianka."* Oil on paper on canvas, 41 cm × 31 cm, Saint Petersburg, late 1830s–early 1840s. The State Hermitage Museum, ERZh-1973. © Courtesy of The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, Russia.

Figure 6

James Cavanah Murphy, *View of the south side of the Pateo del Agua and Ornament in the side of a window in the Golden Saloon.* From idem., *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain* (London: Cadell & Davies, 1815), plates XXXI and LXXV.

Figure 7

Alhambra Hall, Arolsen Castle, Bad Arolsen. © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg/Horst Fenchel, Thomas Scheidt, 2009.

aristocrats, artists, and writers.²⁸ In 1827, he planned to visit Count Semion Vorontsov (1744–1832), the father of the builder of the palace at Alupka, Mikhail Vorontsov, in London.²⁹ Although there is not any clear information available on these business relations, it seems legitimate to assume that Briullov freely moved among the higher echelons of society, whose members were susceptible to the latest fashions.

Briullov had not visited the Alhambra himself, which is why he must have used printed materials as his primary sources for designing the interiors at Grafskaja Slavianka. Among them, it is very likely that he knew *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain* (1815) by James Cavanah Murphy (1760–1814).³⁰ Not only did this publication include a view of the Patio de los Arrayanes with a tripartite arcade in the foreground, but also reproductions of architectural details and ornaments of the Alhambra (Fig. 6).

As already stated, the two interiors of Grafskaja Slavianka are very early examples of neo-Moorish style in Russia. Together with other works by Briullov, they confirm the architect's deep interest in historical styles.³¹ For Samoilova's villa, he had not only planned the described neo-Moorish interiors, but also thematic rooms in other historicist styles, including neo-Gothic.³²

The Rediscovery of Russia's Oldest Interior in Neo-Moorish Style

In the course of the research for this article, it has been possible to rediscover parts of the original decoration of the living room at Grafskaja Slavianka in Germany, to where they had been relocated already in the

Figure 8

Aleksander Briullov, *Bathroom of her majesty* (Detail). Pencil and watercolor on paper, 64 cm × 79 cm, Saint Petersburg, 1838. © The Russian Academy of Fine Arts Museum, A-20621.

middle of the nineteenth century.³³ Based on a visual analysis of the aforementioned paintings and the furnishing of the Alhambra Hall at Arolsen Castle in Bad Arolsen, it can be assumed that the latter had been assembled using parts of Briullov's interior (Fig. 7).³⁴ After comparing the Russian paintings with the German interior, it became apparent how accurate the artist had actually been in his depiction of the room at Grafskaia Slavianka. Based on these paintings, it was possible to identify the arcade, the mirrors, the large chandelier, the lantern, and even the furniture, among the objects found at Bad Arolsen.

The setting of today's Alhambra Hall in Bad Arolsen differs completely from the Russian original. The very delicate wooden-carved and gilded arcade was disassembled into three parts and mounted above a door, a window, and a divan to serve as a canopy.³⁵ The openwork ornaments were backed with red fabric, which made them lose their translucency. The mirrors cover parts of the paneling as they had not been originally created for this room. The blue paneling and a red wall

Figure 9

Eduard Hau, *The bathroom of Empress Aleksandra Fiodorovna*. Watercolor on paper, 41.5 cm × 31.5 cm, Saint Petersburg, 1870. The State Hermitage Museum, OR-14389. © Courtesy of The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, Russia.

covering without any neo-Moorish decorations complete the interior. In comparison to the Pavlovsk original, which Briullov had planned as a Gesamtkunstwerk and wherein all elements, including ceiling, furniture, and textiles, would be harmonized, the conception of the Alhambra Hall is less convincing.

The interior was installed at Arolsen Castle on the occasion of the wedding between Princess Helene Wilhelmine Henriette of Nassau-Weilburg (1831–88) and Georg Viktor (1831–93), Prince of Waldeck and Pyrmont, in 1853 after it had probably been part of a private room belonging to her mother, Pauline von Württemberg (1810–56), at the Paulinenschlösschen in Wiesbaden.³⁶ The history of how the interior had been relocated to the Duchy of Nassau not long after its completion will be the subject of further investigations.

Figure 10

Niche in the Patio de los Arrayanes, Alhambra, Granada. Fourteenth century. © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg/Thomas Scheidt, 2015.

A Bathroom in Neo-Moorish Style for the Tsar's Family

A few years after Graftskaia Slavianka was built, Aleksandr Briullov had the opportunity to design another neo-Moorish interior. Large parts of the Winter Palace—the Tsar's residence in Saint Petersburg—had burnt down during a fire in December 1837, so that Nikolai I commissioned the architect to design new private rooms for him and his family, among which one finds a bathroom for Empress Aleksandra Fiodorovna (née Princess Charlotte of Prussia, 1798–1860).

Even though the interior was redesigned toward the end of the nineteenth century, it is possible to grasp the original conception from two earlier drawings (Figs 8 and 9). Briullov's 1838 drawings prove that already back then he possessed very detailed information on the architecture and decorations of the Alhambra. By comparing his elevation with its obvious prototype, a niche at the Patio de los Arrayanes, it can be asserted that Briullov copied single details quite accurately while simplifying, replacing or even adding other elements (Fig. 10). This can be observed in the tilework of the lower wall zone, a frieze of the niche's wall, an ornament of the spandrels, as well as some friezes with Arabic inscription.

The accuracy of Briullov's reproductions of Nasrid decorations is striking. Also for this case, Briullov must have used printed materials as templates, since at that time any knowledge of the Islamic decorations

Figure 11

Jules Goury and Owen Jones, *Divan, Patio de la Alberca*. From idem., *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra* (London: Owen Jones, 1842), plate IX.

Figure 12

(Left) *An Arabian vase*. From Pablo Lozano y Casela (ed.), *Antigüedades Árabes de España* (Madrid: Imprenta real, 1787), plate XIX. (Middle) James Cavanah Murphy, *An Arabian Vase and Niche*. From idem., *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain* (London: Cadell & Davies, 1815), plate XLVII. (Right) Imperial porcelain factory, *Vase in neo-Moorish Style*. Porcelain, overglaze polychrome painting and gilding, 57 cm × 30 cm, Saint Petersburg, c. 1838. The State Hermitage Museum, ÉRF-5367. © Courtesy of The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, Russia.

of Spain was still chiefly disseminated through prints and books. Whereas the leaf decoration of the arcade at Graftskaia Slavianka clearly quotes Nasrid templates, albeit in a rather unprecise and partially clumsy manner, the ornaments of Briullov's sketches for the bathroom are nearly perfect reproductions of the originals. Yet in contrast to the earlier interior, where all ornaments were gilded, he this time used colors, with the four colors of the tilework with slanted stripes being almost identical to the original. This implies that Briullov must have used a more precise—and colored—template, such as plate IX of Jules Goury (1803–34) and Owen Jones's (1809–74) *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra* (Fig. 11). The full two-volume edition was published in 1842 and 1845, respectively, whereas its first three parts had already been published as early as 1836.³⁷ From an indication at the bottom of plate IX, we can gather that it belonged to these early parts.

According to a drawing by Eduard Hau (1807–87), four vases imitating the so-called Alhambra Vases were arranged on the fireplace of the Empress's bathroom (Fig. 9).³⁸ Their existence confirms the earlier assumption according to which Briullov had known Murphy's *Arabian Antiquities*. An engraving in the *Antigüedades Árabes de España*, published in 1787, first depicted the vase that would serve as the template of those at the Winter Palace.³⁹ Alexandre de Laborde (1773–1842) published a copy of the same engraving in 1812,⁴⁰ but only Murphy's 1815 version of the vase includes the simplified foliage ornament that also appears on the Russian vases (Fig. 12), for which the central Nasrid coat of arms had furthermore been replaced with that of the Russian Empire.

A detailed description of Briullov's bathroom is found in an account by Aleksander Bashutskii (1803–76) dedicated to the renovated Winter Palace, wherein the latter enthusiastically praises Briullov's interior as a place where visitors could gain a "genuine idea of the brilliance and splendor of the Caliphs' dwellings," as it displayed "all the luxury of the Moors from Granada."⁴¹ The new bathroom was crucial for the further spread of the neo-Moorish style throughout Russia, not least since other architects would use the remodeled interiors of the Tsar's palace as templates. The new conception and detailed furnishing of the private rooms of the Tsar and his family was a huge undertaking and had to be accomplished in the shortest time possible, which is why Briullov, who had been a teacher at the Imperial Academy of Arts since 1832, engaged many of his students as helpers, using their drafts on several occasions.⁴²

A Successful New Style

With his spectacular and—in comparison to Western Europe—very early interiors in neo-Moorish style, the architect Aleksandr Briullov was a pioneer of Russia's Moorish Revival.⁴³ Having reached the Russian court was one of the best preconditions for the style to subsequently

spread across Saint Petersburg. During the next few decades, neo-Moorish interiors, including boudoirs, studies, smoking rooms, and living rooms, became standard parts of the capital's palaces and villas, and many of Briullov's former students would later work on related projects. Yet, in contrast to their teacher, they would have access to more and more diverse Alhambra-related materials. Not only did the number of publications with detailed and colored plates increase; many Russian architects would also travel to Spain themselves in order to study its Islamic architecture and decorations on site.

In the aftermath of Briullov's pioneering work, Russian artists would continue copying the typical architectural elements and ornaments of the Alhambra uncountable times, but also modify and insert them into new contexts, or blend them with other styles. All these various manners of artistic appropriation bear witness to how great the visual appeal of the Islamic architecture of al-Andalus had become, not only for Western Europe but also for the Russian Empire.

Notes

1. Zakhar Chernyshiov was Minister of War under Empress Ekaterina II (1729–96, r. 1762–96). The pavilion in Iaropolets (Volokolamskii district, Moscow region), which was an exact copy of William Chambers's "mosque" in Kew Gardens (1761), has not survived.
2. Empress Ekaterina II commissioned the Turkish Kiosk for the park of her residence at Tsarskoe Selo (today Pushkin). The wooden pavilion, built by Il'ia Neiolov in 1779–82, burned down during the Second World War.
3. On Turkish style in Russia, see for example Ol'ga Sosnina et al., *Orientalizm: Turetskii stil' v Rossii, 1760–1840-e* (Moscow: Kuchkovo pole, 2017).
4. See Pablo Lozano y Casela (ed.), *Antigüedades Árabes de España*, 2 vols (Madrid: Imprenta real, 1787/1804).
5. See Geoffrey Crayon [Washington Irving], *The Alhambra: a Series of Tales and Sketches of the Moors and Spaniards* (London: Henry Colburn & Richard Bentley, 1832).
6. See Svetlana Amel'chenkova, "Ispanskoe vliianie na russkuiu kul'turu v XIX veke," Ph.D. diss., Moscow State University, 2008. On the reception of Washington Irving's texts in Russia, see Sergei Tiurin, "Retseptsiiia Vashingtona Irvinga v Rossii 20–30-kh godov XIX veka," Ph.D. diss., Nizhnii Novgorod State Pedagogical University, 2007, 99–117.
7. Today, the palace is renowned for having housed Winston Churchill and his delegation in February 1945, during the Yalta Conference.

8. See for example Charles W. Koch, *The Crimea: with a Visit to Odessa* (London: Routledge, 1855), 82; and Thomas Milner, *The Crimea, its Ancient and Modern History: The Khans, the Sultans, and the Czars. With Notices of its Scenery and Population* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1855), 311–12.
9. For more details on this topic, see for example Ekaterina Koliada, “Arkhitekturnye obrazy proshlovo v sadovo-parkovom stroitel’sve iuzhnovo berega Kryma pervoi poloviny XIX veka,” *Trudy Sankt-Peterburgskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta kul’tury i iskusstv* 186 (2009): 111–18, here 113–15.
10. Andrew Neilson [Mrs.], *The Crimea: its Towns, Inhabitants and Social Customs, by a Lady Resident near the Alma* [= Mrs. Andrew Neilson] (London: Partridge, Oakey, and Co., 1855), 10.
11. Count Vorontsov was a dedicated Anglophile. He had been educated in London, where his father—ambassador of Empress Ekaterina II from 1785 to 1806—and his sister still resided. The architect Edward Blore was later well known for his modification of Buckingham Palace. His project for Count Vorontsov was executed with slight modifications under the supervision of William Hunt. A previous project for the palace, proposed by Thomas Harrison, suggested a villa in neoclassical style and already included a large central exedra. See Leonid Timofeev, “K voprosu o genezise kompozitsii Vorontsovskogo dvortsa v Alupke,” in Leningradskii inzhenierno-stroitel’nyi institut LISI (ed.), *Istoriia i teoriia arkhitektury i gradostroitel’sva* (Leningrad: Mezhevuzovskaia tipografiia, 1980), 150–4; as well as Leonid Timofeev and Anatolii Tsarin, *Alupkinskii dvorets-muzei = Alupka Palace museum* (Simferopol’: Tavriia, 1981), 5–6.
12. Prints, such as the *Gate of the Lahl Bagh, Faizabad* by Thomas and William Daniell in *Oriental Scenery*, fourth series (London: 1801), inspired architectural projects alluding to Mughal architecture, including the Farm house at Sezincote estate from the beginning of the nineteenth century, a project by William Porden for Eaton Hall (unexecuted draft from 1804), or the former South and North gates (1831/32) to the Royal Pavilion in Brighton. Another template might have been an elevation in “Mohammedan style” by Edmund Aikin in his *Designs for Villas and other Rural Buildings* (London, 1808, plate 23). For more on this topic, see Patrick Conner, *Oriental Architecture in the West* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1979), 113–53.
13. See Timofeev, “K voprosu o genezise kompozitsii Vorontsovskogo dvortsa,” 154; and Valentina Gin’ko, *Russkie v Ispanii, vek XVII–XIX* (Moscow: Tsentr knigi Rudomino, 2012), 22, footnote 24.
14. Neilson, *Crimea: its Towns*, 10.

15. See Aleksandr Pushkin, *The Fountain of Bakhchisaray* (Moscow: Avgust Semen, 1824); and Adam Mickiewicz, *Crimean Sonnets* (Moscow: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu, 1826). Pushkin's poem was written under the impression of a fountain at the Khan's palace in Bakhchisarai, the most important architectural monument of the Crimean Tatars. Around 1850, a fountain alluding to that at Bakhchisarai Palace was installed in the park of Vorontsov Palace.
16. Milner, *Crimea, its Ancient and Modern History*, 312.
17. For a brief overview on Orientalist architecture in the Crimea, see Mariia Nashchokina, "Russkaia usad'ba v Krymu i mestnye arkhitekturnye traditsii," *Russkaia usad'ba, sbornik obshchestva izucheniia russkoi usad'by* 9, no 25 (2003): 226–52.
18. His role has not been emphasized enough in scholarly writing. Even the most comprehensive work on Orientalist architecture in Russia pays only little attention to Briullov, see Irina Andronova, "Vostochnaia tema v russkom inter'ere vtoroi poloviny XIX–nachala XX veka. Opyt rekonstruktsii," Ph.D. diss., State Institute for Art Studies University (Moscow), 2008.
19. *Grafskaia* is an adjective derived from the word for count, while *Slavianka* is the name of the nearby river.
20. Aleksandr Briullov was born in Saint Petersburg into a family of French artists. Together with his younger brother Karl, he attended the Imperial Academy of Arts from 1810 to 1820. After graduating with honors, in 1822 the brothers were sent to Europe to continue their studies with a grant from the Society for the Encouragement of Artists. For more on Aleksandr Briullov's biography and works, see Andrei Somov, *Biograficheskie svedeniia o chlenakh Akademii [Khudozhestv] i voobshche khudozhnikakh umershibh v 1875–1878 gg* (Saint Petersburg: Tip. Imp. Akad. nauk, 1879), 9–12; Galina Ol', *Arkhitektori Briullov* (Leningrad/Moscow: Gosstroizdat, 1955); and Valerii Shuiskii, "Aleksandr Briullov," in Valerii Isachenko (ed.), *Zodchie Sankt-Peterburga XIX–nachalo XX veka* (Saint Petersburg: Lenizdat, 1998), 313–24.
21. See Ol', *Arkhitektori Briullov*, 36–7; and Mikhail Mikishat'ev, "Aleksandr Briullov. Tvorcheskii metod zodchego pervogo etapa istorizma," in Committee for State Control, Use, and Preservation of Monuments of History and Culture of Saint Petersburg KGIOP (ed.), *Arkhitektura epokhi istorizma: traditsii i novatorstvo [Sbornik statei mezhdunarodnoi konferentsii, posviashchennoi 200-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia arkhitekтора Garal'da Bosse 1812–1894]* (Saint Petersburg: Palazzo, 2012), 41–51. The Second World War left the building in ruins, but the manor has been reconstructed just recently, between 2014 and 2016.
22. See Ol', *Arkhitektori Briullov*, 34–6; and Igor' Bartenev and Valentina Batazhkova, *Russkii inter'er XIX veka* (Leningrad: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1984), 122.

23. Unlike Briullov's design, in the Alhambra, arcades are supported by columns.
24. Painted decoration is very important in Briullov's works, who would often use it on walls and ceilings; see Bartenev and Batazhkova, *Russkii inter'er XIX veka*, 124.
25. In most cases, the floor plans and layouts of neo-Moorish rooms followed European conventions.
26. "La chambre moresque devient un bijou," letter from Iuliia Samoilova to Aleksandr Briullov, June 20, 1835, Briullov Archives (f. 31, op. 1, d. 97, l. 22–23), GRM, Saint Petersburg (English translation by the author).
27. See Briullov Archives (f. 31, op. 1, d. 97).
28. Among others, he drew a portrait of writer Walter Scott in Paris. See Aleksandr Briullov, *Portrait of W. Scott*, 1826 or 1829, The National Pushkin Museum, Saint Petersburg.
29. See Ivan Kubasov, *Arkhiv Briullovych*, Saint Petersburg: Russkaia Starina, 1900, 134–5.
30. See James Cavanah Murphy, *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain* (London: Cadell & Davies, 1815). For more on Murphy and his publication, see Lynda Mulvin's contribution in this issue.
31. In Italy, Briullov had studied the thermal baths of Pompeii—see Alexander Brulloff, *Thermes de Pompéi* (Paris: A. Firman Didot, 1829)—and later created several interiors in neo-Pompeian style.
32. See the Briullov Archives (f. 31, op. 1, d. 97, l. 2, 11–12, 18–19, 22–23).
33. The Graftskaia Slavianka (later the Tsarskaia Slavianka) was destroyed in the Second World War, and it was unknown that parts of the furnishings had been transferred to Germany already during the nineteenth century, which is why it was generally assumed that they had been lost.
34. It has not been possible to find archive material to confirm this assumption.
35. The material was quite stable and easy to transport. Nonetheless, the use of wood is very rare in this context. Similar neo-Moorish elements would usually have been made from stucco and therefore look heavier. The arcade and mirrors had perhaps been crafted at the workshop of Aleksander Briullov's father, Paul Bruleau, a master of woodcarving, gilding, and varnishing, who also taught at the Imperial Academy of Arts.
36. See Ludwig Marczoch, *Orientalismus in Europa vom 17.–19. Jahrhundert in der Architektur und Innenraumgestaltung*, vol. 1, Ph.D. diss., University of Mainz, 1989, 193; and Franz Weinitz, *Das Fürstliche Residenzschloß zu Arolsen. Geschichtliches, Bau- und Kunstgeschichtliches* (Leipzig: Grumbach, 1907), 29.
37. See Jules Goury and Owen Jones, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra* (London: Owen Jones, 1842/1845). The

detailed analysis of the decoration of the Alhambra palaces, as undertaken during the 1830s by the architects Jones and Goury, had a crucial impact on the Moorish Revival, especially in relation to the polychromy of neo-Moorish interiors.

38. As for the Alhambra Vases, which were produced in al-Andalus during the fourteenth century, under the rule of the Nasrid dynasty, see Summer S. Kenesson, "Nasrid Luster Pottery: The Alhambra Vases," *Muqarnas* 9 (1992): 93–115.
39. See Antonio Almagro Gorbea (ed.), *El legado de al-Ándalus: las antigüedades árabes en los dibujos de la Academia* (Madrid: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando and Fundación Mapfre, 2015), 204–5.
40. See Alexandre de Laborde, *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne*, vol. 2, part 1 (Paris: Didot l'Aîné, 1812), plate LXV.
41. "[...] vsia roskosh grenadskikh Mavrov; [...] nastoiashchuiu ideiu o blesk i velikolepii zhilishch khalifskikh." Aleksandr Bashutskii, *Vozobnovlenie zimnego dvortsa v Sankt Peterburge* (Saint Petersburg: Guttenbergovaia Tipografiia, 1839), 116–17 (translation by Thomas Campbell).
42. See Bashutskii, *Vozobnovlenie zimnego dvortsa*, 109. The furnishings of the bathroom are worthy of a separate investigation. Some of the bathroom's Orientalist furniture with mother-of-pearl inlays had been previously used for a bathroom designed by Auguste de Montferrand (c. 1830). However, more accurate information on this bathroom is lacking. See Tat'iana Pashkova, *Imperator' Nikolai I i ego sem'ia v zimnem dvortse, chast' vtoraiia, 1838–1855* (Saint Petersburg: Gosudarstvennyi Ėrmitazh, 2014), 258–61.
43. Briullov's oeuvre includes further works in neo-Islamic styles, for example the Turkish study for Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich at the Marble Palace in Saint Petersburg (built 1849–50, demolished in the 1930s). In contrast to such interiors for Russian aristocrats, Briullov's so-called Caravanserai at Orenburg (1837–46), which, in spite of its name, actually was a military barrack including a mosque, workshops, and a school, was created for a completely different context. The building was mostly dedicated to the Muslim Bashkir people, whose cultural identity should be represented by the use of stylized elements of Islamic architecture.