

VULNERABLE IMAGES: TOLEDO, THE ARID CITY AND ITS HIDDEN GARDENS¹¹

Victoria Soto Caba and Antonio Perla de las Parras¹²

Today Toledo is one of the most popular Spanish cities with tourists. A World Heritage City since 1986, its location on the River Tagus and the landscape of its surroundings are a great attraction for visitors, while the layout of the town provides a fascinating museum of artistic buildings, the city having long been a melting pot for successive cultures. Churches, mosques and synagogues; a maze of narrow, winding streets; archaeological remains and museums are the spots most visited by tourists. But very few would imagine that there is yet another feature, that of secluded gardens, hidden within the city walls, and which merit protection. For centuries this little world of gardens and orchards has passed unnoticed, since it belongs to the private, unseen world of domestic and convent architecture. But there is another reason, that of being a vulnerable image, since it is difficult to imagine these gardens in a city where stone, walls and buildings all predominate over any element of nature. Toledo, which, since ancient times, has taken on a series of metaphors (Martinez Gil 2007), became tinged with negative stereotypes from the Baroque period, to become the "arid city": a waterless town. This is an image constructed and disseminated by chroniclers and travelers, which has endured for centuries, accompanied by the slow decay of the city. In the late nineteenth century the city was to become the paradigm of lack of fertility and poverty.

¹¹ This article is the result of fieldwork and research promoted and subsidized by the CONSORTIUM of the city of Toledo in 2009: STUDY ON GREEN AREAS IN THE CITY OF TOLEDO. INTERIOR GARDENS, COMMON AREAS, ORCHARDS, TERRACED GARDENS, AND VIEWS, conducted by Victoria Soto Caba and Antonio Perla de las Parras, professors.

¹²Victoria Soto Caba, PhD in Art History. vsoto@geo.uned.es Antonio Perla de las Parras aperla@geo.uned.es Universidade Nacional de Educacion a Distancia.

The image of the city is not something static but rather growing and developing. And our perception of it changes, transforms and is sometimes tampered with to the point of creating a false image. Eighteenth-century travelers who visited Toledo, especially scholars like Antonio Ponz, were the first to describe the city as arid and infertile, stressing the barren surroundings, lack of trees and wasteland surrounding the city (Ponz 1988, vol. I, T.I, C.I: 108-215).



Fig. 1. Photograph by Laurent. 1865

A comment that surprises and contrasts with the impressions of Andalusian geographers' centuries earlier (Delgado 1986 and 1987): the view of an oasis, a fertile city, surrounded by cultivated fields and full of gardens. Muhammad Al-Idrisi (c. 1100-1172) was one of the first writers to provide one of the most complete references on Toledo, surrounded not only by a fertile orchard but also by gardens, whose maintenance and irrigation was based on a hydraulic system which transported the water into the city (García Mercadal 1999, Vol. 5: 515). Toledo was heir to a culture and farming techniques which were introduced by the Arabs. We do not have an in-depth knowledge of Roman and Visigoth Toledo but what we do know is that until the fifteenth century, orchards and

irrigated fields were the predominant landscape; of vineyards, olive trees, pomegranate and other fruit trees (Molenat 1997: 461-491). The large-scale orchards were located outside the city walls, as part of a domestic architecture that combined agriculture and gardening, known as *almunias* or large orchards (Ramos 1998: 51-55), while small landscaped kitchen gardens and orchards or "hortus" were located within the city walls.

Toledo was, for Cervantes, "the best city in Spain". Populous, it had a strong textile industry and of all the Castilian towns it has been least affected by the recession (Kagan 2014: 47). However, in the mid-fifteenth century it had already been singled out for its sterility and absence of trees, as indicated by the traveler, León de Rosmithal (Villar Garrido 1997: 68), a feature that was to be mentioned by other travel writers, such as the reference found in the letters from Ambassador Andrea Navagero after his trip round the peninsula in 1523. The city had not yet been dubbed as *arid* but rather with a synonym, equivalent to sterile, that of *barren* (Covarrubias 1611: 97V) had been applied to it, since it "is located on a barren mountain". Navagero expressed an opinion on only a number of extramural orchards in the vicinity of the river; the rest was "sterile and without a tree" and the walled city "without even a plot or garden" (García Mercadal 1999: 19). This quality of harshness was mentioned by chroniclers of Toledo's sixteenth century laudatory hagiography, such as Pedro de Medina, for whom the city was located "in a high and barren place" (Medina 1549: sheet Lrrrv), while for Pedro de Alcocer the city complex was set upon a "high, barren, most solid and impregnable rock", with fresh and beautiful poplar groves along its banks. Alcocer offers two parameters of great interest: the island character of the city, as the Tajo forms a shape "by way of isle", and secondly, that of a place of breathtaking views; city of "peaceful and spacious views of the river and its coves" (Alcocer 1554: sheet 10 et seq.).

These are two allusions associated with the impassability of Toledo's fortified rock, its isolated and closed nature, always inward-looking, thus promoting the growth of patios, and vegetable and flower gardens within its walls. But the city was also a lookout tower, seeking out its views; the skyline, from its long, narrow country house or *caseío*, reversing the perspective outwards. A horizon we still see today from many points in the city.



Fig. 2. View of Toledo, by Pedro Nobilibus and Ambrosio Brambilla, 1585. In sight three clear *almunias* (of the 10 that have been documented) to the south, east and west (this is probably the real *almunia*) are appreciated. Also seen a large *azuha*, representing undoubtedly the many who populated the river.

A profound change was to transform the image of the city of Toledo during the Baroque era. Characteristically a city in the mainstream of the Counterreformation, and therefore ideologically distanced from the "Orientalism" of its Spanish-Muslim past, the city within the walls gradually filled up with churches, convents and monasteries (Martinez-Burgos 2008: 43), a sacred area to which private and public chapels and shrines were added. This was an accumulation which surprised travelers such as Sobieski or Jouvin, who miss out any reference to the landscape but highlight the lack of water, since the machine which transported water up from the River Tagus up to the city was unusable (García Mercadal 1999. Vol. 3, 184, 601), referring to the "ingenious aqueduct" built by Juanelo Turriano, and which operated from 1569 until the early seventeenth century (Jufre 2008: 16-18). The absence of water was from that time a theme repeated constantly by visitors, such as the Marquise D'Aulnoy, Esteban Silhouette, Edward Clarke or the Baron of Bourgogne, who report that the population was forced to go right down to the river to get their water supply. This was the new view of a dry and thirsty Toledo, even although the river bank areas outside the walls were covered with crops, vegetables and fruit

trees; vineyards and olive groves between poplar groves, according to the *General Interrogation* prior to the Cadastre – or Census – of Ensenada (Toledo 1990: 39-40). Contrary to this view, it is true that the water was supplied by water carriers who filled tanks up manually and brought the water up from the river or other more distant sources (depending on the quality of the water required), however the facts reveal that the number of wells in the city with running water was considerable and they remained active at all times, many of which are still in use to this day.



Fig. 3. View of Toledo from Alfred Guesdon, 1854.
The landscape has become a kind of rocky desert

The ancient Arab *azuhas* or waterwheels "that pumped the river water everywhere, to then assign it for irrigation of the high ground" disappeared in the nineteenth century (Martin Gamero 1862: 32).

Another image that strengthens this image of aridity during that century is its ruined country house, a persistent observation, such as the one offered by Hans Christian Andersen after his visit to the city in mid-century: "...demolished churches, a desert of stone, desolate nature ..." (Villar Garrido 1997: 286), an aspect that for Spaniards was the result of the War of Independence and the *Laws of*

Expropriation (Parro 1857: 566). Toledo: isolated, barren, dry and crumbling, was advancing towards another cliché during the last third of the century: a place of calm, quietness and relaxation, a witness to its past history: in other words, towards the image of "the dead city" in comparisons such as, "...It has become like the lava and ashes of Vesuvius in Pompeii... a great urn" (Assas 1848: 510); "a vast archive of memories; an honorable pantheon" (Madoz 1849: 816); a town in which "throughout the day a solemn stillness prevails (Robertson 1988: 289); "an abandoned citadel where all appears naked, dry, rough ... where not a soul is to be seen" (Suarez Quevedo 1990: 20); "a mummy ... with an air of descent into dusty old age" according to Maria Bashkirtseff on her visit to Spain (Garcia Mercadal 1999: vol. 6, 455). The writer, Benito Perez Galdos, who was thoroughly acquainted with the city, stated that the city was "a complete history of Spain" but "in an inaccessible location, barren, sombre, dark, silent...; inconvenient, inhospitable, sad, full of convents and palaces that are falling apart, stone by stone ...; a city of seclusion and melancholy, whose appearance brings one down and suspends feeling at the same time, like all the illustrious tombs which, though sumptuous and magnificent, still enclose a corpse"¹³ (Pérez Galdós [s.a.]: 37).

It is true that many of the metaphors attributed to the city of the River Tagus were endorsed by the legends and literary works published over the years from Tirso de Molina to Gustavo Adolfo Becquer. The city was the scene of many novels in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The most famous was undoubtedly Blasco Ibáñez's *The Cathedral* (1903), which puts the finishing touch to the idea of a city "where the time does not pass" with its "dead and silent lanes" which, however, was visited by the first foreign tourists arriving from Madrid on the morning train"; "simpletons from England "who came to take a look at the cathedral and take "notes for their albums" (Blasco Ibañez 2001: 37, 59, 27, 120, 42). A major boost was given to the city with the first state-run

¹³ A comment that surprises and contrasts with the impressions of Andalusian geographers centuries earlier (Delgado 1986 and 1987): the view of an oasis, a fertile city, surrounded by cultivated fields and full of gardens. Muhammad Al-Idrisi (c. 1100-1172) was one of the first writers to provide one of the most complete references on Toledo (cfr. transcripts: Al-Idrisi 1866; Saavedra 1881; Blasquez 1901), surrounded not only by a fertile orchard but also by gardens, whose maintenance and irrigation was based on a hydraulic system which transported the water into the city (Villar Garrido, A. y J. 1997: 22 y ss; García Mercadal 1999 Vol. 5: 515).

tourism department; the creation of the National Tourism Commission in 1905; and the Royal Commissioner for Tourism in 1911. This was directed by the Marquis de la Vega Inclán. With Vega Inclán Toledo benefitted from a new museum, the House of El Greco, thanks to the interest the painter had begun to arouse. In parallel, new images were created from the texts and essays of intellectuals of the Generation of '98 and the Free Institution of Education.



Fig. 4. Casa del Greco, photograph of the early twentieth century. Colección General de Arquitectura. CGA129 F3-C71 r. 9880 (ACCHS-CSIC).

Toledo was the metaphor of the Spain of three cultures: “a living history of civilizations that trod upon Spanish soil”, a city that had been seized by religious fanaticism and a very unique idea of liberalism, as opposed to the pure Castilian Catholicism of that time (Varela 1999). Thus, Toledo became an example and model of the virile Castilian warrior spirit. The city-museum became a formal entity from the early decades of the twentieth century, to become a “great museum of rare and picturesque organization ...” (Gonzalez Simancas 1929: 6). But it was not until the reconstruction after the

Civil War that the imperial city, "compendium of the history of Spain", obtained the status of "sacrosanct" or "untouchable" - in all senses - as stated in a brief article of 1941, to allow "Toledo to sleep a slumber of centuries"; to be "a museum city, the pride and glory of the Spanish" (Fernandez Vallespin 1941). Nevertheless, the tremendous physical wounds of the war would first have to be healed and a process of adaptation undergone to the concept that the city had fashioned for itself in the minds of its scholars.

From a "dead city" Toledo has become a "museum-city" and never fails to amaze us as to how it gradually transformed its image from the fertility of the Toledo Taifa, with its orchards and gardens; a garden culture which can still be glimpsed - if one decides to look at the city with fresh eyes and at other corners off the beaten track for tourists. It is almost a quest in search of the remains and vestiges of an old plant world; survivors of Toledo's intramural gardens. This is when that barren, arid image became tempered, and in certain urban areas even disappeared. Yet these small domestic gardens and convent orchards, landscaped cloisters and courtyards, could make a field day for property speculators, so it is essential to bring out their value through restoration, in most cases, and a constructive policy of conservation and maintenance. It should be recalled that during the decades of development, in the 60s and 70s, vested interests of all types, coupled with inadequate legislation, resulted in a significant loss of green spaces in cities, although in the Castilian cities, less vibrant and the target of a more minority and select type of tourism - today we could speak of "cultural tourism" - were more fortunate. Such was the case of Toledo, since it preserved most of those *recluses* green spaces, albeit in a state of terrible neglect.

The existence of a garden tradition meant a need for water for irrigation, and this clashed with the idea of an arid and dry city that had been adopted in the past. In effect, water was scarce in Toledo: from the modern age it had come up from the river through hydraulic devices, as well as from rain, but our fieldwork made us understand the importance of a network of wells, mines and ponds which are also vestiges of a more distant past; a system that always provided water to the city, and which dates back to Roman times (Ruiz Taboada 2012: 11), which gave further strength to the fortification through an aqueduct. Like any city in Moorish Spain, it stored water within its walls through two systems: firstly the system

termed *qnat* (also known as a water mine): a number of underground galleries and tunnels built by the Arabs, where water was retained "in layers of permeable sand, on top of other impermeable layers" (the permeable sands functioned like a filter) within a complex of underground wells which could extend from natural springs until coming to the surface as a fountain or final water trough or pool, from which water was distributed via ditches or *saqiyas*. The other system was that of tanks called *aljibes*, mostly covered by vaulting that was sometimes dug out of soft rock, and which were present in almost all houses of certain standing in Moorish Spain (Pavón Maldonado 1990: 185-13). Water is a precious commodity in Toledo, so to ensure its supply, mechanisms were designed that made living spaces, orchards and gardens possible with a considerable degree of refinement. And this occurred because water was not wasted but rather channeled and used. Some travelers understood the secret aquifer of Toledo, as was the case of George Borow, who travelled across the peninsula between 1836 and 1840 and was the author of *The Bible in Spain*, where he relates the importance of the water tanks in Toledo homes, made up of "a quadrangular courtyard in the center and a huge water tank below, to collect rainwater. All houses in Toledo have similar tanks, where, in the rainy season, the water is collected from the rooftops by a number of channels. This is the only water used for drinking; the water from the Tagus, considered unhealthy, is only used for cleaning, and they carry it up the steep, narrow streets in clay pots on the backs of donkeys. As the city is on a granite mountain, they have no springs. As for rain water, after it settles in the tanks it tastes very good and is drinkable; the wells are cleaned twice a year", and he adds that the ancient water tanks or *aljibes* cooled the atmosphere of the courtyard during the summer and "serve the same purpose as the fountains in the southern provinces of Spain" (Villar Garrido 1997: 250). Depending on the size of the house, we find that in some, two water tanks were housed in their courtyards (one for filling up and the other for collection), and even two wells. In the terraced systems, the gardens used the sloping land, creating tanks for water collection and putting the orchard or garden on top. The gardens we have discussed may be only explained in relation to the origin and the peculiar morphological development of the city: its Muslim origin. It is therefore primarily an interior space. The city had barely any open public spaces, except for a few squares. This is

one of the cities that have best preserved the Muslim layout of streets and blocks until today and its Moorish past weighs heavily upon its layout: a narrow and winding complex of streets, full of projections, overhangs, cul-de-sacs, and wall-top *chemins-de-ronde* or circular walkways (Torres Balbas 1968).

The proliferation of religious foundations and the formation of an essentially monastic city from the late sixteenth century were also to have an effect on the green spaces. Most monastic complexes (see the convents of Santo Domingo el Real; Santa Clara; the Imperial Monastery of San Clemente; or the Barefoot Carmelites, to name but a few), are the result of uniting and concentrating pre-existing "main houses", homes that may derive from a former palace of the nobility, of late medieval origin and originally dating back to Muslim Spain, as indicated in the memoirs of a chronicler writing to Philip II: "the houses of this town are of various different architectures, since some are built upon the foundations of older ones, whether Arab, Goth or Jewish" (Hurtado de Mendoza 1963: 509).



Fig. 5. Aerial photograph of the 70s of last century, in which the stepped roof garden of the convent of the Concepción Francisca is appreciated

These foundations were to grow with the purchase of adjoining properties, absorbing and appropriating *chemins de ronde* or "wall-walks", streets and servants' passageways, sometimes preventing

the natural exit towards city views i.e. to the circular promenade or *paseo de ronda*. We see this at the end of the Calle del Azor, part of the Carmelite Conciliar Seminary. The street originally gave public access to a lookout point over the city wall, making this one of the views of the city.

The grounds, kitchen gardens and courtyards were originally interior, as they date back to the Moorish tradition in Spain, however their secluded, hidden aspect was to be given even greater importance in the complexes of monasteries enclosed between high walls, sheltered from view. While these buildings underwent transformations, they were neither attacked nor destroyed by municipal ordinances or planning regulations imposed from the sixteenth century. In this regard it has been noted that "as opposed to the concept of Italian Renaissance house, where the life of the family in the courtyard is revealed to the exterior through a large door open to passers-by, in the ordinances of sixteenth century Toledo, the home is still considered as something private to be protected, and courtyards are very often not visible from outside" (Diaz del Corral 1987: 144).

Arguably Toledo gardens had two essential formulations, always within the concept of "hortus conclusus". The first was in the form of terraces, given the mountainous topography of the city, which over time was to become terraced gardens, located on sloping land within the city limits and inside the walls. A clear example of terraced garden is the Convent de la Concepción Francisca, located on the site of the palace of al-Hiram, built by King Yahiya al-Mammon, with splendid gardens and pools (Delgado 1987: 211-212 and Pérez Higuera 1984). It is perfectly structured, with a retaining wall that avoids a significant drop in level, and which has undergone significant changes in recent times. The terraced orchards of the north façade of the city have also survived: and of the Convent of Santo Domingo el Real, termed a "disorderly town" due to the amalgam of adjoining buildings; the Carmelite Convent and the New Nuncio, a former Mental Hospital.



Fig. 6. Photography from the north of the convent of Santo Domingo el Real. Archivo Rodríguez. About 1920. Archivo Provincial de Toledo (APHT). From left to right, all buildings formed the convent of Santo Domingo el Real (currently those on the left are the convent of Comendadoras): a compendium of different buildings. At the foot, the terraced gardens, terraced clambering up the Bajada de la Granja.



Fig. 7. Convent of Santo Domingo el Real. Patio del Moral. Archivo Rodríguez. APHT. Álbum F-026. 20s of last century.

These were all originally landscaped but today the divisions are blurred and most of them suffer from tremendous abandonment. Many orchards and gardens divided by garden walls belong to the monastic orders, such as the Convent of San José and the Convent of Santo Domingo el Antigua. On the other side of the city is one of the greenest areas of the city, consisting of the botanical garden of San Juan de los Reyes and the garden of the Convent of Santa Ana. In the southern area of the city, bordering the banks of the Tagus, where the city has its most impressive sudden drop, was one of the clearest and most suggestive examples of the old terraced kitchen gardens of Toledo, sadly absent today, although it is possible that it may be partially underground. It is visible on Arroyo Palomeque's map of Toledo (with the reference to the Convent of San Francisco Descalzo, alluding to the convent of San Gil) and in the remains of

one of the points of its perimeter; the protective wall of the Tower of Ben Alfarax.

Another typical architectural feature of Toledo is the courtyard or cross-shaped cloister cruise, the origin of which is to be found in the garden in the shape of a cross, designed in the Taifa and the Almohad period. It is possible that even in Christian times they may still have existed, their remains being preserved in the basement of some monastic cloisters. The layout is unmistakable: "*a rectangular space with terraces or walks on their natural axes, marking out the shape of a cross*", with another walk or pavement bordering the courtyard walls on the inside, thus "*fenced off between each other, with the arms of the cross forming four squares or beds for vegetation.*" An essential feature of the cross-shaped garden was that the "pavements and walkways united and lengthened the outside paved area of the neighboring houses, and in the squares, whose floors were usually lower, flowers and fruit trees grew freely amongst the vegetation of the paths" (Torres Balbas 1983: 30). The most distant precedents of the model of cross-shape in the West is to be found in ancient Persia; its transmutation occurred through Iraq and came to the peninsula through the Almoravid expansion in the late eleventh and early twelfth century, and whose best known example is the Almoravid palace in Marrakus, dating from around 1130. However, in Spain we still find examples from even earlier; from the first half of the tenth century in the palatal complex of Madinat al-Zahra, whose gardens are set out in the form of an axial cross through avenues. We must date the Aljafería in Zaragoza in the century to follow, and later the excavated cross-shaped garden of Castillejo de Monteagudo (second half of the twelfth century). Torres Balbas stated that the cross-shaped courtyard lasted until a much later date throughout North Africa and Al-Andalus. As a typology it is repeated with variations, not only in the Alcázar of Seville, of Almohad origin, albeit transformed or newly constructed following similar principles (Courtyard of Contracting, Courtyard of the Cross, and the Courtyard of the Maidens, the latter belonging to the palace of King Don Pedro), but also in the New Alcázar of Córdoba, as late as the Alhambra in Granada, now in the fourteenth century. It also continued as a feature in the gardens of the most modest residences in the city of Fez until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Thus, the cross-shaped garden that appeared in Spain in the tenth century, and became defined in the following centuries, was to maintain its

characteristic features in the architecture of Moroccan gardens (García Mercadal 1951: 56-57 and Winthuysen 1990).

Currently the most immediate reference for this model is perhaps the garden restored in the Old Trading House in Seville, which was originally dated back to the twelfth century (Vigil Escalera 1999), however new archaeological surveys have placed it as later, and as part of the Christian Alcázar, although in actual fact it was positioned on top of an earlier garden of Almohad origin (Almagro 2007). The same applies to the garden of the Patio del Crucero (Courtyard of the Cross), where recent excavations have brought to light part of the Almohad structure (Tabales 2000). It may be deduced that the model of sunken or cross-shaped gardens must have been fairly common in the city of Toledo, making it feasible to believe that some of the existing courtyards originate from silted sunken courtyards and were therefore hidden, since, as in other Spanish Muslim cities, this model disappeared. Examples can be traced in one of the cloisters of the Convent of San Clemente; in the Cloister of Laurels; and in the Cloister of Moral de Santo Domingo el Real. We have no exact record that enables us to state with authority that these are cross-shaped gardens but there is little doubt about the direct references to these in the models which took shape in the Islamic period. There are, in any case, elements which point us directly to these genuine features and which in many cases still go undetected.

A final model should be included: what could be termed *pensiles* within the city: terraced gardens between high, solid walls, like the Casa Munárriz, the orchard garden of the Chapel of Our Lady of Grace, or the house in the Callejón de Granados, all built on top of earlier constructions of different types, making it possible to occupy the land and its slope to create orchard-gardens in the upper area.

Of all Toledo's gardens, we would like to conclude by highlighting the presence of two of these. The first, located at El Rincón, in the old district of Santa Catalina, as it is one of the most extensive, albeit rammed in between the large country house, completely concealed by a high brick wall and masonry. On sloping land, this constitutes a terraced garden, barely visible from the outside.



Fig. 8. Current Picture taken from Google Maps. Behind the church of San Sebastián can be seen to the left, the garden of El Rincón.

Abandoned, it still has lush vegetation, a pergola or trained vine and a well. The estate, for its size as a green space, merits particularly special and prompt attention, especially in these times, since it has been up for sale for many years, but particularly as a potential garden as regards its use and enhancement in future town planning. As is the case with the rest of the Toledo orchards and gardens mentioned, this is an area of great interest for future tourist development in the city's gardens.

The other garden we would like to end with is the former orchard of San Juan de los Reyes and the convent of Santa Ana, converted, predictably after the Confiscation (presumably around 1845), into a botanical garden, taking advantage of the two water mines to create a pond (now covered by a flat roof) with two separate wells.

From its layout and available literature, its origins may go back to an *almunia* or country estate for recreational purposes. The botanical garden was set out in walkways and square plantations, cut at right angles forming more than fifty plots.

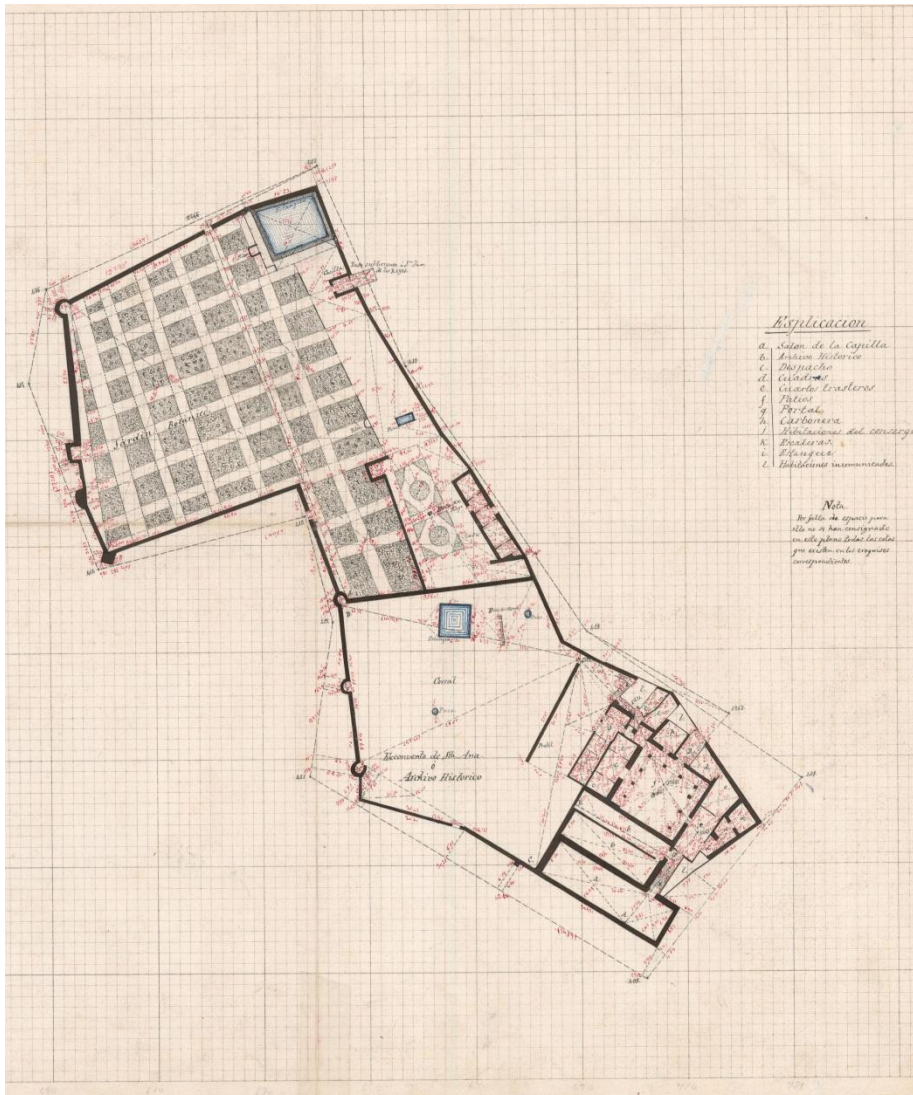


Fig. 9. Instituto Geográfico y Estadístico, 452498, 76/77, 28/01/1882.

Plan in which the Botanical Garden of San Juan de los Reyes and Corral with the garden of the former convent of Santa Ana is collected.

The botanical garden must have been a public space, since it was accessed along an alley by the name of Marble Alley. Devastated after the war, the garden was handed over to the monastery of San Juan de los Reyes and closed to the public. Today it has lost all trace of its former glory, and its recovery may be an important challenge for the city.

In closing, we would like to underline that this issue is not closed, as to conclude this work a detailed study of each of the complexes is needed, particularly researching existing documentation and, above all, discovering and thoroughly investigating each of the gardens.

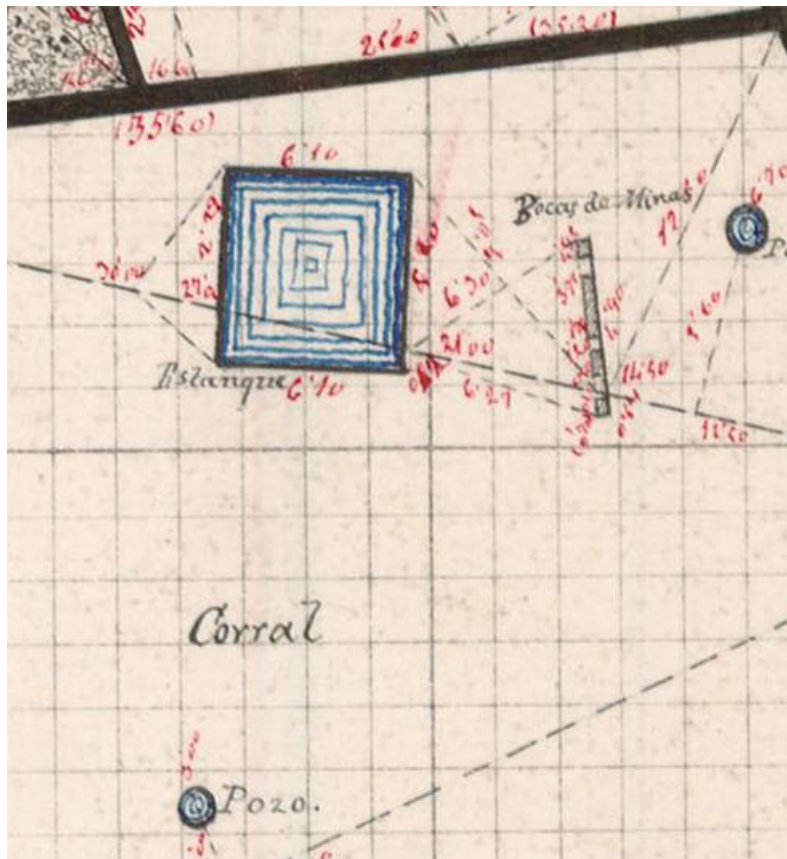


Fig. 10. Detail with the pond, the two wells and "Bocas de minas" that fed the pond for watering the garden and the orchard of the Botanical Garden

The interventions that have been accomplished for years in the city of Toledo, try to show her from aspects that go beyond the conventional visions of the recent past, unraveling unusual spaces that allow different looks. To recover some of her profiles, not an overly complex work, would contribute to the recovery of a renewed image of the past and with no doubt, it would be an element of cultural diversification of her itineraries. We are talking about the terraced gardens of the northern slopes (Carmelites, Comendadoras, Santo Domingo el Real and Nuncio the New), the Garden of Gilitos at the south side, next to the tower of Ben Alfarax, the "pensiles", the hanging gardens of the convent of the Concepción Francisca on the bridge of Alcantara and the terraced gardens of San Juan de Dios in front of San Martín's. This is a circuit that goes around the perimeter of the city. The recovery of the "pensiles" of the Malpica Palace and of the Cerro de la Virgen de Gracia would contribute to strengthening the contents of this tour that would be also increased by the actions already taken place in some of the hidden gardens within the walls of Toledo convents.

Bibliography

AL-IDRISI [ca. 1150] (1866), *Nuzhat al-Muttaq*, transcripción del texto árabe según R. Dozy et M.J. de Goeje en *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, reimpresión de 1968, Leiden, E.J. Brill.

ALCOCER, P. de (1554), *Historia o Descripción de la Imperial Ciudad de Toledo. Contadas las cosas acontecidas en ella, desde su principio, y fundación. A donde se tocan, y refieren muchas antigüedades, y cosas notables de la Hystoria general de España. Agora nuevamente Impressa Toledo: Por Juan Ferrer.*

<http://www.realacademiatoledo.es/index.php/publicaciones/libros-clasicos-tavera/1770-hystoria-o-descripcion-de-la-imperial-cibdad-de-toledo-por-pedro-de-alcocer.html>

ALMAGRO, M. (2007), "Una nueva interpretación del patio de crucero de la Casa de Contratación del Alcázar de Sevilla", *Al-Qantara (AQ)*, XXVIII, enero-julio, pp.181-228.

ASSAS, M. de (1848), *Álbum artístico de Toledo*, Madrid, Litografía de D. Bachiller. Vol. VI.

BLASCO IBÁÑEZ, V. (2001), *La catedral*, Toledo: Antonio Pareja editor.

BLAZQUEZ, A. (1901), *Descripción de España por Abu-Abd-Alla-Mohamd-al Edrisi*, Versión española, Madrid: Imprenta y litografía de Depósito de la Guerra.

COVARRUBIAS, S. de (1611), *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española*, Madrid: por Luis Sanchez, impresor del Rey N.S.

DELGADO, C. (1986), "Noticias sobre Toledo suministradas por los geógrafos musulmanes", *En la España Medieval*, Tomo V, Madrid: ed. de la Universidad Complutense.

DELGADO, C. (1987), *Toledo islámico: ciudad y arte*, Toledo: ed. Zocodover.

DIEZ DEL CORRAL, R. (1987), *Arquitectura y mecenazgo. La imagen de Toledo en el Renacimiento*, Madrid: Alianza Forma.

FERNÁNDEZ VALLESPÍN, A. (1941), "Toledo", *Reconstrucción*, nº 9.

GARCÍA MERCADAL, F. (1951), *Parques y Jardines. Su historia y sus trazados*, Madrid: Imp. Afrodisio Aguado.

GARCÍA MERCADAL, J. (1999), *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal*, Salamanca: Ed. Junta de Castilla y León.

- GONZÁLEZ SIMANCAS, M. (1929), *Toledo. Sus monumentos y el Arte Ornamental*, Madrid [Valladolid, editorial Maxtoe, 2005].
- HURTADO DE MENDOZA, L. (1963), *Memorial de algunas cosas notables que tiene la Imperial Ciudad de Toledo, 1576*; reeditado en *Relaciones histórico-geográficas-estadísticas de los pueblos de España hechas por iniciativa de Felipe II*, vol. III, Madrid, ed. facsímil.
- JUFRE, D. X. (2008), *El artificio de Juanelo Turriano para elevar el agua al Alcázar (s. XVI). Modelo con escaleras de Valturio*, Lleida: Editorial Milenio.
- KAGAN, R. (2014), “La Toledo del Greco, una vez más”, in MARIAS, F. (ed.), *El Griego de Toledo. Pintor de lo visible e invisible*, Madrid: ediciones El Viso.
- MADOZ, P. (1849), *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España y sus posesiones de Ultramar*, Madrid, T. XIV.
- MARTÍN GAMERO (1862), *Historia de la ciudad de Toledo, sus claros varones y monumentos*, Toledo: Imprenta de Severiano López Fando.
- MARTÍNEZ-BURGOS GARCÍA (2008), “El paisaje de toledo en la pintura del Greco. Fragmentos y enigmas” en el Catálogo de la exposición *El Greco. Toledo 1900*, Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura-Castilla-La Mancha.
- MARTÍNEZ GIL, F. (2007), *La invención de Toledo. Imágenes históricas de una identidad urbana*, Ciudad Real: Almud ediciones.
- MEDINA, P. de (1549), *El libro de grandezas y cosas memorables de España agora de nuevo fecho y copilado por...*, Sevilla, fol. Lrrrv, [ed. facsímil Maxtor, Valladolid, 2009].
- MOLENAT, J.-P. (1997), *Campagnes et monts de Tolède du XII au XVe siècle*, Madrid: Casa de Velázquez.
- PARRO, S.R. (1857), *Toledo en la mano, o descripción histórico-artística de la Magnífica Catedral y de los demás célebres Monumentos y cosas notables...*, Toledo: Imprenta de Severiano López Fando.
- PAVÓN MALDONADO, B. (1990), *Tratado de arquitectura hispano-musulmana*, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- PÉREZ GALDÓS, B. [s.a.], *Toledo, su historia y su leyenda*. Madrid: Editorial Renacimiento.
- PÉREZ HIGUERA, T. (1984), *Paseos por el Toledo del siglo XIII*, Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura.
- PONZ, A. (1988), *Viaje de España*, Vol. I. Tomo I. Carta I., Madrid: ed. Aguilar.

- RAMOS, J. (1998), "Las almunias de la ciudad de Toledo", *Tulaytula, Revista de la Asociación de amigos del Toledo islámico*, Año II, N° 3, pp. 51-76.
- ROBERTSON, I. (1988), *Los curiosos impertinentes. Viajeros ingleses por España desde la accesión de Carlos III hasta 1855*, Madrid: ed. Serbal-CSIC.
- RUIZ TABOADA, A. (2012), *Arquitectura residencial y religiosa: Toledo (siglo X a XVIII)*, Madrid: Ediciones La Ergástula.
- SAAVEDRA, E. (1881), *La geografía de España del Edrisi*, Madrid, Imprenta Fortanet.
- SÁNCHEZ BUTRAGUEÑO, Eduardo (2012), *Toledo olvidado*, Toledo: DB Comunicación.
- Idem (2013), *Toledo olvidado 2*, Toledo: DB Comunicación.
- SUÁREZ QUEVEDO (1990), "Toledo y Edmundo de Amicis" en las actas del Simposio *Toledo Romántico*, Toledo: Colegio Universitario de Toledo.
- TABALES RODRIGUEZ, Miguel Angel (2000), "Investigaciones arqueológicas en el Alcázar de Sevilla. Apuntes sobre evolución constructiva y espacial", *Apuntes del Alcázar*, Mayo, n° 1, pp. 12-45.
- TOLEDO (1990), *Toledo 1751. Según las respuestas Generales del Catastro de la Ensenada*, Madrid: Tabapress.
- TORRES BALBÁS, L. et alt. (1968), *Resumen histórico del urbanismo en España. La Edad Media*, Madrid: IEAL.
- TORRES BALBÁS, L. (1983), "Patios de crucero" (1958), *Crónica de la España Musulmana*, 6, en *Obra Dispersa*, recopilada por Manuel Calamar, vol. I, Madrid: Instituto de España.
- VARELA, J. (1999), *La novela de España. Los intelectuales y el problema español*, Madrid: Taurus.
- VILLAR GARRIDO, A. y J. (1997), *Viajeros por la historia. Extranjeros en Castilla-La Mancha*, Toledo: Servicios de Publicaciones/ Consejería de Educación.
- WINTHUYSEN, X. (1990), *Jardines Clásicos de España*, Madrid: ed. Facsímil Doce Calles/Real Jardín Botánico-C.S.I.C.