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## Experiencing the Alhambra, An Illusive Site of Oriental Otherness

### Abstract

*Two travellers, the French romantic poet and novelist Théophile Gautier (1811–72) and the Finnish naturalist painter Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), both visited the Alhambra palace in Granada: Gautier in 1840, Edelfelt in 1881. Their accounts of the palace are strikingly similar, although forty years separate their travels; written several years later, Edelfelt's narrative is imbued with a romanticism related to Gautier's. The aim is to show that the ambiguity of Gautier's and Edelfelt's statements of the Alhambra is due to their romantic preconceptions. I will compare their experiences by analysing what they saw during their journeys and how it was expressed in their texts; Gautier published his Voyage en Espagne in 1843, while Edelfelt's impressions are recorded in his letters to his mother. The result is that the Alhambra represented a dream world, which in many senses did not live up to the visitors' expectations. While Gautier was in constant search for the authenticity of the place, Edelfelt was deeply touched by the magnificence that met him in a labyrinth of fabulous beauty. However, the preconceived mental image they both held resulted in an experience that in many ways fell short of the idea they had formed of it in advance.*

### Keywords

Théophile Gautier  
Albert Edelfelt  
Alhambra  
nineteenth century  
travels  
authenticity  
mental image

Before going any further, we must warn our readers, in case they may consider that our descriptions, though scrupulously accurate, do not come up to the ideas which they have formed of the Alhambra, that this fortress-palace of the ancient Moorish kings does not look in the least like what one had imagined. One expects to find terraces rising tier above tier, minarets, with a lacework of carving, and endless vistas of columns. In reality there is nothing of the sort; outside, one only sees great massive brick-red of toast-coloured towers, built at different

periods by the Arab princes; inside, it is nothing but a series of halls and galleries, decorated with the utmost delicacy, but with nothing grand about them.<sup>1</sup>

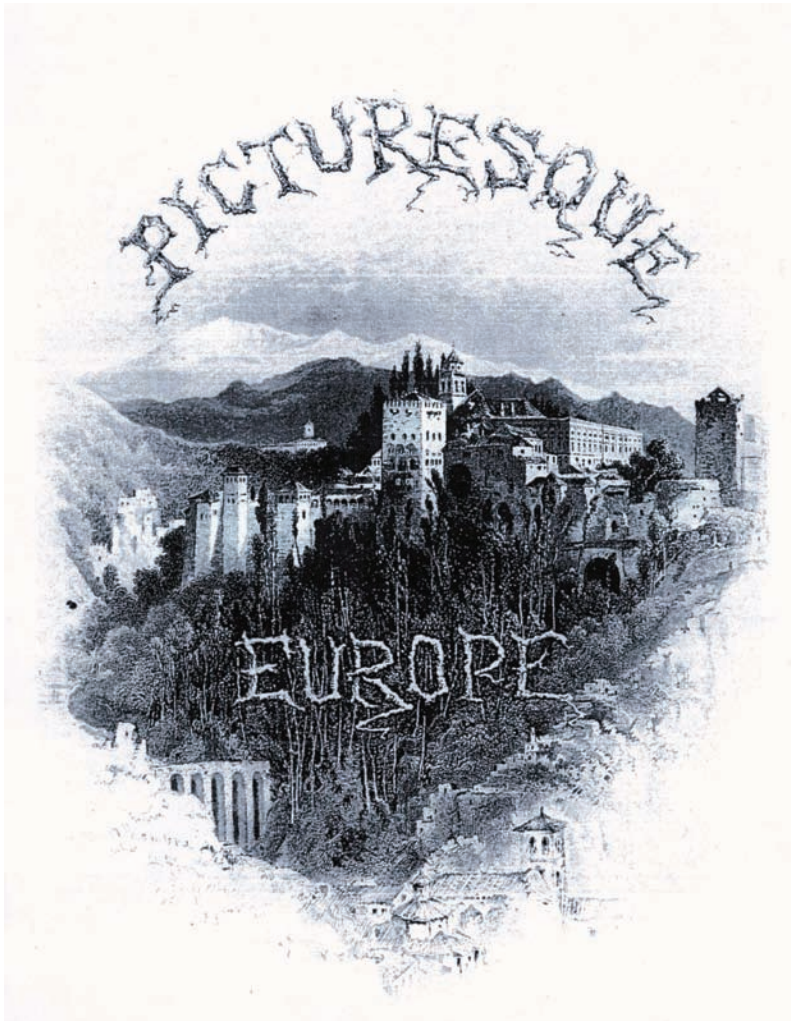
(Théophile Gautier about the Alhambra, 1840)

Two travellers, the French romantic poet, novelist, art critic and journalist Théophile Gautier (1811–72) and the Finnish naturalist painter Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), both visited Granada in Andalusia in southern Spain in the nineteenth century. The accounts of their encounter with the oriental splendour in the city, as epitomized in the Nasrid palace in the Alhambra, are strikingly similar, although forty years separate their travels. Gautier visited the city in the 1840s, while Edelfelt stayed there for only a few days in April 1881. Whereas the influence of Gautier was strongly felt in the period of changing sensibilities in French literature from the early Romantic period to the aestheticism and naturalism of the late nineteenth century, Edelfelt was, from the 1870s onwards, Finland's most promising painter, becoming the country's leading figure painter, remaining extremely influential within Finnish cultural politics until his death in 1905.<sup>2</sup>

The aim of the article is to show that the ambiguity of Gautier's and Edelfelt's statements about the Alhambra is due to their romantic preconceptions; in many cases, they were disappointed when confronted with reality, and their idea of the Alhambra did not live up to their expectations. I will compare their experiences by analysing what they saw during their journeys and how it is expressed in their texts. The sociologist Dean MacCannell's seminal book, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (1976, reprinted 1989 with a new epilogue by the author), functions as a theoretical frame, particularly his theory of staged authenticity, which is of central significance in scrutinizing the traveller's quest and the touristic desire for authenticity in tourist sites.<sup>3</sup> Even though MacCannell's theory has been criticized (for example by K. Olsen, who argues that the concept is out of date and therefore should no longer be used),<sup>4</sup> the concept still has a place within the theories of the sociology of tourism. It is an enduring concept that emerges and evolves alongside more postmodern concepts. The concept of 'staged authenticity', as MacCannell first described it in 1976, establishes the foundation of current touristic research and thinking in this area – authenticity still matters as an important concept within tourism research, as the work on tourism expands and develops into the twenty-first century.<sup>5</sup> E. Cohen, for example, argues that more current definitions of authenticity correlate well with MacCannell's original concept and further argues that this way of looking at the 'true' or 'real' is appropriate to the unexpected sites of tourism that are frequently described as authentic.<sup>6</sup>

Gautier's travel account from 1843 was preceded by a series of 'letters', published in French daily newspapers while he was still in Spain.<sup>7</sup> In this article, I focus on the subsequent travelogue, *Voyage en Espagne*,<sup>8</sup> which Edelfelt read and referred to on at least two occasions.<sup>9</sup> Edelfelt's impressions are expressed mainly in his letters to his mother Alexandra<sup>10</sup> and to the chairman of the Finnish Art Society, Berndt Otto Schauman; the latter was written because the Society had granted Edelfelt a travel grant, and he was obliged to report what he was doing during his stay.<sup>11</sup> Regarding the travelogues and travel accounts, Michael Harbsmeier notes that they can be defined as a kind of *rite de passage*, which obliged returning travellers to tell their nearest, relatives, neighbours and perhaps some wider

audience, at least something about where they have been 'for so long', what they have been doing 'all the time' and what they saw 'out there'. Travel accounts are, in this sense, a universally obligatory ritual linked to an activity of travelling to real or imaginary distant places. Harbsmeier wants to stress the 'clearly socially obligatory performances' of travel accounts.<sup>12</sup> This is evident, for instance, in the following comment by Edelfelt to his mother, included in the very beginning of his first letter from Granada: 'I cannot let one of the most interesting days in my life pass without writing to my beloved Mother.'<sup>13</sup>



Bayard Taylor's book with the same name, published 1875–79.

*Figure 1: Picturesque Europe, title page to Bayard Taylor's book with the same name, published 1875–79, with a view of the Alhambra in the middle.*

## The Exotic Spain

Spain, which comes in contact with Africa, as Greece does with Asia, is not suited for European manners. The genius of the East keeps appearing in every guise, and it is perhaps a pity that the country has not remained Moorish and Mahometan.<sup>14</sup>

(Théophile Gautier about his entry into Andalusia, 1840)

The epigraph above aptly illustrates the idea Gautier (and his contemporaries) had formed of Spain before he set out on his journey: he imagined the country as an extension of Africa into Europe, a 'fact' I will return to later in this subsection; the view of Spain's connection with Africa is present in both Edelfelt's and Gautier's texts about Spain, and illustrates the concurrent construction of Spanish tourist imagery at the time. The mental image of Spain depended on literary sources and visual images of the faraway country. In order to position these two writers within this image formation, their statements about Spain form the basis for a more thorough analysis of the Alhambra (and Granada) set up as a mental picture. Most travellers sought the authenticity of the sights, and this was a central concern among the moderns. Gautier, for instance, found the authenticity of the Alhambra by getting off the beaten track, exploring new sites. Later, Edelfelt was guided by Gautier's travel book, which he read before and probably during his visit. The potential viewers of the travel pictures or readers of travel accounts had to feel that the image gave a true depiction of reality, even though it often did not. The notion of authenticity was achieved by bestowing both visual and textual images with authentic, albeit fragmented elements that were drawn from real life.

Gautier's Spanish travelogue might be labelled 'orientalist' because, throughout his journey, he sought out the Arabic influence on Spanish culture.<sup>15</sup> It is a pursuit of the Other, as stated also by Edward W. Said in his famous book, *Orientalism*, which appeared in 1978. In his book, Said talks about orientalising the Oriental, and the imaginative Other in Western thought, which is apparent in almost all of the representations discussed in this article.<sup>16</sup> It also supports MacCannell's view of the tourist experience (or, the experience of any traveller) as an experience of otherness by strangers.<sup>17</sup> Said describes how the Western view of the 'Oriental' countries is based on a differentiation between a 'Western' and 'Eastern' field.<sup>18</sup> The Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality and experience. As Malcolm Kerr has observed, Said wished to show

... that a wide variety of French and British writers and travellers of the past two centuries tended consistently to take an a priori view of the Near East as an exotic, degenerate, sensual, fanatical, and generically different (yet undifferentiated) culture, defined fundamentally by the Islamic tradition.<sup>19</sup>

Spain can certainly, at least part of it, be regarded as an 'Oriental' country due to its history: the Muslims had ruled large parts of Spain for several hundreds of years until the fall of Granada. The Muslims left a considerable heritage in Spain, ranging from imposing architecture to tradition. At its largest, the Muslim territory included most of the peninsula but, during the nineteenth century, the country's 'Arab' heritage was most visible in Andalusia: in Granada in particular but also in Seville and Cordoba.

Like Gautier before him, Edelfelt's Granada with the Alhambra was oriental. He preferred Muslim architecture to more recent buildings. In a letter from Madrid to the chairman of the Finnish Art Society he writes:

A propos the Moors – God knows if it not was fortunate that they were here [in Spain]. At least they have left so many beautiful traces that hardly anything would remain if the 700 years of Arab rule were wiped out. Besides the visible remnants, the architecture, the plantations, aqueducts or such things, here is still so much of the pure Arabic in the language, folk-poetry, the type, dances, in particular in Andalusia, that one may find the purely Spanish in all this only with great effort.<sup>20</sup>

Such a statement reminds us of Gautier's opinions on Muslim architecture. While in Spain, Edelfelt seems to have been guided by Gautier's travel account. He had no problem reading French, which he spoke fluently, and Gautier's texts were freely available in Paris. The poetic verse of Gautier's texts must have attracted him, as did Gautier's constant search for the authentic Spain. In his letters to his mother, he even wrote in the same manner! Expressions like 'Never have I seen anything like this' are common in both Edelfelt's and Gautier's texts; Edelfelt appears to have found a model in Gautier for being a painter-tourist in Spain.

In the introduction to her English translation of Gautier's book, *A Romantic in Spain*, from 1926, Catherine Phillips states that when Gautier begins his narrative he is imbued 'with the spirit of the old, heroic Spain, the land of hidalgos and paladins, of the cloak and sword and the *Pundonor*'. But, she continues,

... when he awoke to the light of day, he found another Spain than that of his dreams. It was [to] Gautier's merit that he could cast aside all literary preconceptions, and, looking upon Spain as it was, paint it with a mastery which can never be surpassed. Enchanted palaces, gardens and fountains, chilly cloisters and arid sierras: he brings them all before us in a superb series of pictures, so vivid that it seems as though we had seen them ourselves.<sup>21</sup>

My concern is to determine whether Edelfelt – or Gautier – were able to cast aside 'all literary preconceptions', and whether they managed to look upon the Alhambra as it was. But, as we will see, both travellers were filled with preconceptions about their destination, as they were certainly influenced by French orientalist painters, who frequently used the interiors of the Alhambra as backgrounds in fantasy pictures. For instance, an interior from the Alhambra is included in Jean-Léon Gérôme's *Grief of the Pasha*, painted in 1882. Here we see a dead tiger covered with flowers, lying on an oriental rug under the vaults, its grieving master seated next to it on the floor. According to Gerald M. Ackerman, the subject was taken from Victor Hugo's poem 'La Douleur du Pasha' in *Les Orientales*.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the considerable number of painters in France, Britain and Germany, for instance, and who exhibited composed oriental milieus, held a dominant position in maintaining Spain's status as a tourist destination. As a rule, the orientalist view of Spain always returned to the Nasrid palace in Granada, supplementing their compositions with odalisques, black slaves and opulently dressed rulers.<sup>23</sup>

Both travellers described their entry to the southern parts of Spain as if they were entering a different world – Africa – and that they were, as

Gautier phrased it, 'indeed no longer in Paris.'<sup>24</sup> In travel literature, Spain was frequently presented as the gateway to Africa, and trips to Tangier were often included in nineteenth-century guidebooks.<sup>25</sup> A relevant parallel can be drawn to the inclusion of trips to Belgium and Holland in French guidebooks from the same period. According to Greg M. Thomas, this practice 'integrated' these countries with France.<sup>26</sup> The circumstances for Spain were quite the reverse; the connection with North Africa integrated Spain with the Orient. The proclaimed exoticism and 'otherness' of Spain turned the country into a desirable travel destination. Prints of the Alhambra palace in Granada circulated in France and Britain, emphasizing the medieval and Romantic nature of the historical sites, as did travel accounts and guidebooks.<sup>27</sup>

According to Jonathan Culler, reproductions, copies, souvenirs, post-cards and other reminders of the spot – such as travelogues – are powerful means of maintaining the status of the original object, which in this case is a specific geographical area, Granada with the Alhambra (Figure 2). Travelogues determine which sights (or sites) are considered important or, more accurately, worth seeing because of their perceived 'authenticity'. As Culler remarks, the authenticity of the place depicted must be assured, for example, through previous images, guidebooks or simply a signpost claiming



Illustration in Rafael Hertzberg's booklet *Geografiskabilder. Spanien II och Portugal*, Helsingfors, 1890, 12.

*Figure 2: The entrance to the Hall of the Ambassadors in the Nasrid palace in the Alhambra.*

that this is a sight.<sup>28</sup> Travellers constantly long to see 'the real thing', observing mainly what they identified as being 'authentic'.

The painter Edelfelt's journey took place in 1881, with Madrid and the Prado museum as the apparent main attraction. In his application for a travel grant in 1879, he included places renowned for their Arab heritage – Cordoba, Granada and Seville – and considered extending his itinerary to Tangier in Morocco.<sup>29</sup> 'The possibility of seeing a piece of real Arabic life would not be so bad,' he stated when he described his travel plans to his mother.<sup>30</sup> It is notable that this occurred the same year he wrote a critical comment on the orientalist's works at the Salon.<sup>31</sup> I would like to stress that the word 'real' in the letter quoted above, is of essential importance here: *he* sought the real thing, the authentic, unlike the orientalist's ready-made scenes at the Parisian Salon. Edelfelt held the implicit view that Spain's Arabic heritage, strictly speaking, was neither *really* real, nor authentic. Although the Muslim heritage in Andalusia was real – the Arabs did rule Spain for several hundreds of years – the fact that their culture did not survive in any significant way may have made Edelfelt think that the 'Arabicity' of southern Spain was less authentic than that in North Africa.

But even before reaching Andalusia in 1881, Edelfelt feared that there would not be time for a trip to North Africa, a concern that we know was well founded.<sup>32</sup> Still, one year after his journey, when recalling his stay in Spain, he added that 'next time' (he travelled to Spain), he intended to stay all winter in Andalusia and to 'drop by' Morocco.<sup>33</sup> Edelfelt thus retained his desire for the 'real' Orient, but for reasons unknown to us, he never travelled beyond Europe.

Spain's connection with Africa thus integrated the country with the Orient. As Michael Scholz-Hänsel has shown, in the process of 'rediscovering' Spain during the nineteenth century, the country's Muslim heritage was particularly important.<sup>34</sup> Some scholars argued that it was the Arabs who had brought the Gothic style to Europe, thereby influencing travel literature and drawing attention to the Arab culture in Spain (and elsewhere).<sup>35</sup> In 1779, Henry Swinburne published one of the first scholarly texts on Islamic art and architecture, illustrated with images from the cities in Andalusia on which the stamp of Arab rule was most visible: Granada with the Alhambra palace; Cordoba; and Seville. This may be seen as the beginning of a literary genre, concerned with the Muslim heritage in southern Spain. Already by 1800, Muslim history and Arab antiquities were fashionable among the cultural elite in Europe.<sup>36</sup> Prints of the Alhambra, for instance, circulated in France and Britain, emphasizing the medieval and Romantic nature of the site, as did travel accounts and guidebooks. The result was that many painters, and authors, sought out the places mentioned in richly illustrated books.

French and English Romantic literature was, indeed, reflected in later travellers' oeuvre, literary as well as visual. Particularly the texts from Spain written by the American author Washington Irving (1783–1859) contributed to the widespread view that Spaniards were mysterious, exotic and oriental. The American published several books on Spanish themes. The most important is *The Alhambra* from 1832 (the revised edition from 1851 was entitled *Tales of the Alhambra*). The text focuses on the history and the legends of Andalusian Spain. In this collection of short stories (old legends), descriptions of the locals and the history of the region intertwine. Irving must, nevertheless, be accredited some accuracy in his descriptions, since he had been living in Spain for several years, as it happens within the Nasrid palace in the

Alhambra, where he occupied several rooms.<sup>37</sup> The book had wide-ranging consequences for the formation of subsequent travellers' image of Spain.

The otherness of the foreign culture as seen in Andalusia thus functioned as a sign of a lost world, perhaps a better world, a lost Paradise. MacCannell's notion, that 'reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and cultures',<sup>38</sup> applies to tourism in southern Spain and its dependence on its Muslim heritage. Touristic nostalgia, travellers' constant search for authenticity in lost cultures and history, was present in the shaping of a Spanish imagery right from the start. James Buzard regards such Western European and American touristic desires as a measure of what tourists' own society denies them.<sup>39</sup> They seek experiences – aesthetic and cultural – that would be impossible to experience at home.

### Visiting the Alhambra

I cannot let one of the most interesting days in my life pass without writing to my beloved Mother. All day, I have wandered as if intoxicated, even though I have not been drinking wine. This morning in the Alhambra, with Andalusia and Granada before me, with roses, oleander and spring air in my nose, has put me in such a state of enchantment that I feel that I am still young and still able to do plenty, because otherwise the pulse would not beat so fervently, the heart feel so warmly, the eye see so clearly!<sup>40</sup>

(Albert Edelfelt in a letter to his mother, Alhambra, 13 April 1881)

The epigraph above aptly illustrates that Edelfelt's first impression when he encountered the Alhambra was favourable. As stated above, the Romantics were predominantly drawn to the southern part of the country, where the Muslim heritage was still particularly visible. Several scholars, for instance Arcadio Pardo, point to the French poet's preference for the oriental Muslim character of the cities in southern Spain. However, as Pardo remarks, Gautier's view of Spanish architecture was twofold: Gautier sought both the country's African heritage and its Gothic stamp. This turned Spain, at least according to Gautier, into a bridge between cultures on two continents.<sup>41</sup>

When recounting his journey by train from Madrid to Andalusia, Edelfelt describes the passage through the Sierra Morena and the Puerta de los Perros (or, more accurately, Puerto de Despeñaperros) through which the Muslims were allegedly expelled from Spain.<sup>42</sup> On the other side of the mountains, he found a land quite different from what he had seen before: 'Palm trees, stone-oak, olive trees all over – cactus and aloe. It was the South, Africa!'<sup>43</sup> Such declarations of a movement from one realm to another are understood as a decisive step, as can be seen in Gautier's travel account as well:

As soon as one has crossed the Sierra Morena the aspect of the country undergoes an entire change; it is as if one has suddenly passed from Europe into Africa [...] One feels that one has really got to another place, and is indeed no longer in Paris.<sup>44</sup>

Gautier, like Edelfelt, felt that he had suddenly entered into a new world where a totally different landscape unfolded before his eyes. As a marginal remark, Edelfelt's first encounter with Granada took place in moonlight, which appropriately reflects his romantic preconceptions. Right from the start,



he seems to have been searching for something particular, for the picturesque and authentic. For instance, he was immensely disturbed when he discovered an advertisement for Singer sewing machines: 'Oh, these present times! Oh, these practical Americans, oh horror!' He had put his eyeglasses on quite in vain.<sup>45</sup> In its modernity, and hence inauthenticity, the Singer advertisement was at odds with Edelfelt's mental image of Granada.

While in Granada, Edelfelt, like most visiting painters, lived at the famous hostel Fonda de los Siete Suelos, which was situated at the Alhambra inside the walls near the Puerta de los Siete Suelos. Gautier had been even more successful, since he spent several nights in the actual Nasrid palace, sleeping each night in a different hall.<sup>46</sup> Naturally, the first thing Edelfelt visited on his first morning in Granada was the Nasrid palace. He was completely saturated by the atmosphere. In a letter to his mother he described the beautiful spring morning – thousands of birds singing, the aroma of roses and his young heart beating rapidly. He notes that *this* is what great authors have written about. According to the description of his entry into the Alhambra through the Puerta de la Justicia – the Judgement Gate – his eyes were filled with tears. Deeply touched by the finery of the Arabian ornaments, he described them as 'the first purely oriental that the eye meets in this labyrinth of fabulous beauty'.<sup>47</sup> Surely, *this* was what he had expected of Granada, the lost world of the ancient Arab rulers – and not the Singer advertisement. To his mother Edelfelt explained that

... any guidebook gives [...] a minute description of all these corridors, courtyards, halls, baths and so forth that constitute the Alhambra, but what the books do not reproduce is the impression I had when I, alone on a wonderful spring morning, hungrily swallowed this grandeur.<sup>48</sup>

The guidebooks gave information, created expectations, but did not succeed in generating the sensation of authenticity, of really being there, the kind of experience that Edelfelt and other travellers sought during their journeys.

Furthermore, when compared to the 'real' Arab world in northern Africa, southern Spain and the Alhambra had the advantage that no Muslims lived there anymore: no man (except for the Sultan and his eunuchs) would ever have been admitted into the Sultan's private harem.<sup>49</sup> Still, when Edelfelt visited the Alhambra, his thoughts come close to an orientalist approach; for instance, when he tried to put aside his disillusionment in the famous Court of the Lions (Figure 3). Like Gautier, he ought to have seen plenty of (distorted) images of this frequently reproduced courtyard (i.e. illustrations in guidebooks or Salon pieces). But the court's nakedness did not please Edelfelt. It was too neat, and in his mind he fantasized about the courtyard filled with 'flowers, sultanas [*sic*] and slaves'.<sup>50</sup>

With the oriental luxury and the Granadian panorama before him, time passed swiftly in the Alhambra, and Edelfelt let himself be rocked into a pleasant and dreamy state of mind.<sup>51</sup> The 'fairytale' castle stimulated his fantasy, he dreamed himself away into times long gone, bestowing an extended meaning on the palace. His vision of the Alhambra was imbued with its history, recalling MacCannell's notion that authenticity is thought to reside in other historical periods and cultures.<sup>52</sup> According to Michael Harkin, signs of history establish another level on which authenticity is sought, a level 'where lives can be "relived"'.<sup>53</sup> Edelfelt returned frequently to the stories of the people who once inhabited the Alhambra. For instance, he noticed that you could

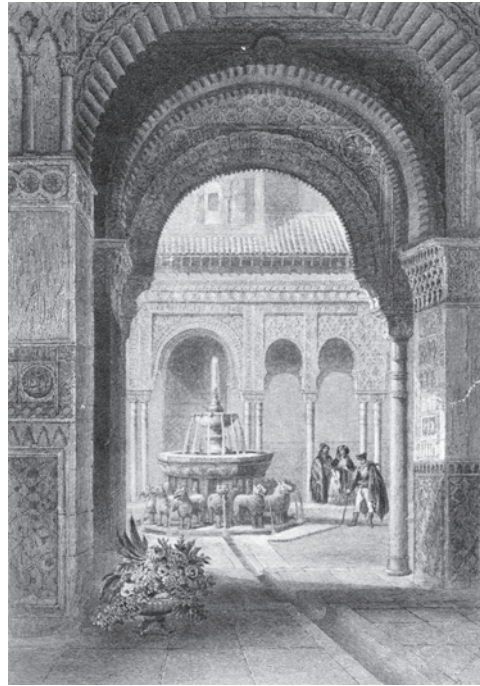


Illustration in Théophile Gautier, *A Romantic in Spain* (New York & London: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926).

Figure 3: The Court of the Lions, the Alhambra.

still see the 3000-year-old cypress [*sic*], where the Sultana Zoraya met her lover.<sup>54</sup> Through the tree's connection to the history of the people who actually had been there, albeit several hundreds of years ago, the cypress represents the palace's history and marks its authenticity.

Echoes of living (Arab) history are thus frequently present in Edelfelt's accounts; in this sense, his point of view is similar to the orientalists' portrayal of the Orient, which, Timothy Mitchell argues, defines the Orient as a place that simply 'is'. The Orient 'is a place of mere being, where essences are untouched by history, by intervention, by difference'.<sup>55</sup> In this sense, the Orient resembles a dream world, just as Edelfelt imagined the Alhambra.<sup>56</sup>

At the same time, this world of dreams confused Edelfelt and left him a little disoriented. From the Alhambra he wrote that he 'felt like an Oriental', sometimes against his will. However, nothing in art had managed to make a larger impact on him, and his imagination departed on the most peculiar wanderings, filling up the halls with characters who seemed as if they had arrived directly from the pages of the *Arabian Nights*: sultanas, Abencerrages,<sup>57</sup> Christian prisoners. Before one dream was over, another began.<sup>58</sup>

However, Edelfelt did not paint much in the Alhambra, except for two watercolours and one painting from the gardens of the Generalife. Only one interior from the Alhambra is known, a picture that depicts a grey-brownish hall with a green wall to the right. Another hall in the Alhambra, drenched in sunlight, is visible through a double, horseshoe-shaped window opening, as seen in several paintings and photographs of the interior.<sup>59</sup> (The present locations of these



Private Collection.

Figure 4: Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), Mariano – Gypsy King of Granada, Granada 1881. Oil on canvas, 37 × 27 cm.

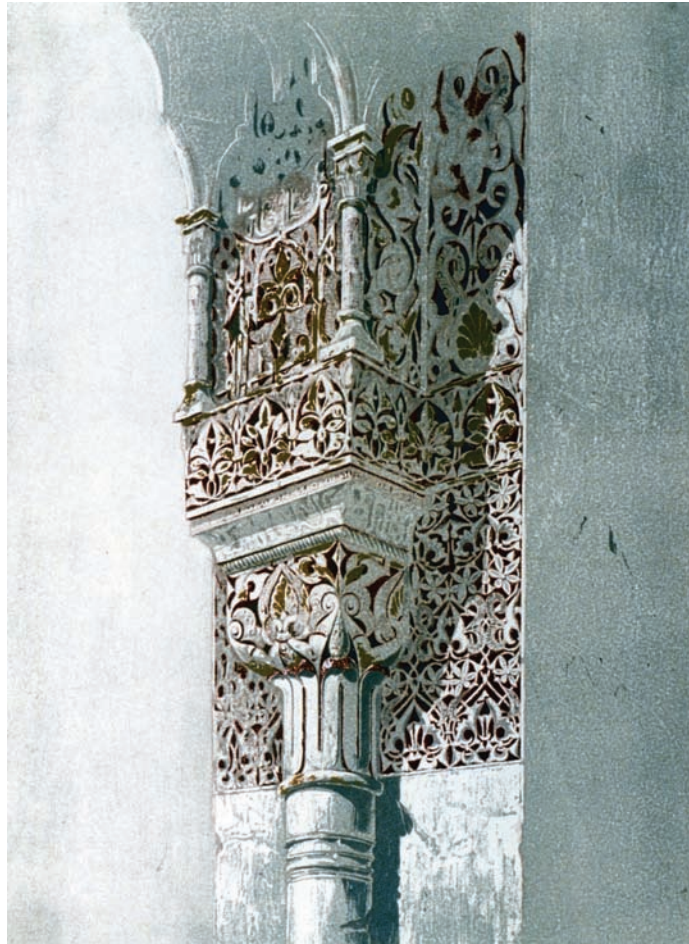
paintings are, unfortunately, unknown.) But we do know a painting which Edelfelt most probably painted in the Alhambra, a portrait of a man named Mariano, also called the *Gypsy King of Granada* (Figure 4). He was a professional model who worked in the Alhambra, dressed in an outmoded, local costume and earning his living by posing for visiting painters and tourists.<sup>60</sup>

The portrait of the gypsy is thus, in addition to a figure painting depicting a dancing, young gypsy girl (another romantic, Spanish cliché), one of the few paintings that he painted during his visit in Granada. Edelfelt wrote about his attempts to work in the palace:

Like everyone else, I started to make studies in the Alhambra, but I soon abandoned my task. Photography alone can render a faint image of these fine ornaments, which with a never-ending variation cover the walls, ceiling and floor.

Their colours pleased him as ‘immensely fine, such as it now is, worn-out and pale’.<sup>61</sup>

The same notion of the faded colours is present also in Jules Goury and Owen Jones’s magnificent opus of the Alhambra, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra* (London 1842–45).<sup>62</sup> Included is a picture of ‘The actual



Goury and Jones, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra* (London: 1843–45).

Figure 5: The actual state of the colours, plate.

state of the colours', which is strikingly pallid when compared with other plates of opulent and gilded ornaments in the large-sized book<sup>63</sup> (Figure 5). As a large number of orientalist paintings and prints, such as Goury and Jones's collection, testify, travellers tended to improve and exaggerate what they had seen on the walls of the Alhambra, making the colours stronger. The palace was thus 'recreated' and imagined in accordance with more or less fixed fantasy imagery.

However, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the Romantics discovered the palace's potential as a source of inspiration, the gardens were untended, the walls were decaying and overgrown by vegetation. Centuries of neglect, the Napoleonic wars (1808–14) and political turmoil had damaged several parts of the surrounding wall and many towers had been destroyed. It was only during the latter part of the nineteenth century that the Alhambra was converted from inhabited areas to a cultural site, from a decaying to a recreated monument.<sup>64</sup> When the reconstruction process began, the palace

looked quite different from the orientalist's images exposed at the Parisian Salon. For instance, the relatively late photographs (from 1923) by Torres Molina show the state of the palace before restoration, with scaffolding – as seen also in some, much earlier photographs – erected in order to prevent the walls from falling apart, and large chunks of plaster missing.<sup>65</sup> As a Swedish painter, Egron Lundgren commented during a visit in 1849: it looked as if lace-work had been mended with pack-thread.<sup>66</sup>

All these early photographs reveal an Alhambra in ruins.<sup>67</sup> In other nineteenth-century photographs of the Alhambra,<sup>68</sup> we see sections that were profoundly remodelled by architects such as Rafael Contreras, whom Edelfelt also met.<sup>69</sup> Soon – when it comes to photography as well as paintings – a certain voluntary or arbitrary selection of vantage points appeared.<sup>70</sup> The commercial image (pictures designed for tourists), which spread all over Europe and America, was more attentive to the restored areas of the Alhambra. Only a few, more or less unique photographs show the state of the site before the extensive restorations began: the deteriorated parts of the palace were non-existent in Western imagery. From this we can conclude that photographers as well as painters frequently chose perspectives where the damage was less perceptible, showing only the restored or well-preserved areas.<sup>71</sup> This enhanced the 'fairy-tale' character of the palace, and visitors were frequently disappointed when they experienced the actual state of the site. The Swedish painter Anders Zorn's pictures from the Alhambra, for instance, do not reproduce the ornaments, halls and vaults; for him, the surroundings of the palace were at least as important (Figure 6).<sup>72</sup> His free technique may also be connected to the need to conceal the actual state of the palace. By applying an apparent vagueness to his forms, he could avoid presenting the palace as the ruin it actually was. The watercolour technique allowed for a certain degree of abstraction. The palace could still be imagined as an astonishing apparition, as it had been depicted in numerous earlier (fantasy) pictures. As a result, the Alhambra's reputation as a fairytale castle survived on an imaginary level also during the Impressionist era.<sup>73</sup>

Visitors thus continued to search for the areas they were familiar with from earlier images, which depicted a restored and reconstructed luxury. As in all encounters with otherness, they needed these preconceived vantage points in order to orient themselves in the strange milieu.

Gautier tried to act differently. His text about the Alhambra was slightly less enthusiastic than Edelfelt's, but both express the disillusionment they felt before the sights. Gautier states in his *Voyage*:

The general appearance of Granada in many ways falls short of the idea which one has formed of it in advance. In spite of oneself, in spite of the many disappointments one has already experienced, one had not reckoned with the fact that three or four hundred years and whole seas of bourgeois have passed over the scene of so many deeds of romance and chivalry. One pictures to oneself a city half Moorish and half Gothic, in which open-work spires are mingled with minarets, and gables alternate with flat roofs; one expects to see carved and storied houses, with coats of arms and heroic mottoes, fantastic buildings with the stories projecting one beyond the other, with jutting beams and windows decked with Persian carpets and blue and white pots – in fact, the original of a scene at the Opera, representing some marvellous mediæval scene.<sup>74</sup>



Zorn Collections, Mora (Sweden).

Figure 6: Anders Zorn (1860–1920), Alhambra, 1887. Watercolour, 45.5 × 28.7 cm.

Gautier's view is quite perceptive, since he was able to judge his own behaviour as a traveller/tourist. He discussed the emergence of 'whole seas of bourgeois' that had passed the city, implicitly destroying it. His view is also 'objective' in that he sought out examples of what the city was really like, that is, he sought authenticity. He recognized his mental image of Granada as a 'scene at the Opera' – from whence the step to MacCannell's theory of staged

authenticity is short. Gautier did not find the Spain that he expected; instead, he encountered ‘many disappointments’. He constantly compared the mental image of the Alhambra that he had obtained prior to his journey with what he actually saw around him. For instance, he observed that the multitude of English engravings and the many drawings which had been published of the Court of the Lions in the Alhambra

... give only a very partial and quite misleading idea of it: they are almost all of them out of proportion, and, overloaded as they are by the necessity for rendering the infinite detail of Arab architecture, they give the idea of a building of a much more imposing character.<sup>75</sup>

Gautier also felt that he had to ‘destroy’ the illusion of the palace’s ‘fairy-tale luxury’, preferring the Arabs’ marvellous ‘art of modelling, hardening and carving plaster, which acquires beneath their hands the hardness of stucco without its shiny surface’. He continues:

... it is the absolute truth: with the exception of the columns, which are generally turned all in one piece, and are hardly more than six to eight feet high, a few slabs in the pavement, the basins of the fountains, and the little chapels for leaving slippers in, there is not a single scrap of marble used in the internal construction of the Alhambra.<sup>76</sup>

Gautier wanted to present the palace not as it appeared in earlier prints, but as it really was, authentically, and wanted his readers to believe that he was acting like a connoisseur, a collector who found (and marked) new sights. By this, he implicitly portrayed himself as a serious traveller and connoisseur, implying that he did not merely skim the surface of what he saw.

### The Alhambra Set up as a Picture

How will you manage to talk about Spain once you have been there?<sup>77</sup>  
(Heinrich Heine to Théophile Gautier, 1840)

The question in the epigraph above illustrates that Heinrich Heine thinks that Gautier’s romantic imagery of Spain might be crushed during his stay, because of the widespread idea that Spain and above all the Alhambra was, at the time, perhaps unconsciously, understood as an imagery space which might be hard to describe after the visitor’s encounter with reality. But what has been discussed above is perhaps better understood if we think about Gautier’s and Edelfelt’s experiences of the Alhambra – the sight – by viewing what they saw as if it were an exhibition; in front of the sight, ‘discovery’ and ‘reconstruction’ occurs through differentiation.<sup>78</sup> Harkin agrees with MacCannell that the

... relationship between the authentic original and mechanical reproduction is essential to the marking of an authentic tourism object or sight, or what [MacCannell] calls ‘sacralisation’. It is what Walter Benjamin called the ‘aura’ of the original.<sup>79</sup>

The Alhambra was imbedded in such an aura. A set of signs marks the object, in this case the Alhambra, as authentic, framing the sight and focusing attention on certain aspects of the sight.

A concept similar to MacCannell's theory on staged authenticity is discussed by Mitchell, who argues that nineteenth-century visitors to foreign lands were 'forced' to encounter the otherness of the country they visited through an act of framing the world in preconceived pictorial terms. For instance, the otherness of the Orient, a geographical, albeit more or less abstract realm to which southern Spain was also considered to belong, was present at every universal exposition in the second half of the nineteenth century. Mitchell states that these exhibitions gave a central place to the representation of the non-Western world. The giant exhibitions were a prime example of the organization and planning of the Western world, constructing a 'world-as-exhibition'.<sup>80</sup> MacCannell's notion of staged authenticity seems here to be relocated to Paris, where everything was exhibited as though it were the model or the picture *of something*.<sup>81</sup>

Mitchell asks what happened when Europeans visited places whose images they had invariably already encountered in books, spectacles and exhibitions. How did they experience the 'real' world such images had depicted, when this 'reality' was a place whose life was *not* lived as if the world were an exhibition? Europeans in Eastern countries solved their problem by viewing the world as if it were a picture. Otherwise, it would be impossible for the visitor to grasp the whole. He suggests that grasping the real as a picture was the only way for foreigners to come 'to terms with disorientation' and to recover one's self-possession.<sup>82</sup> This is exactly what occurred when travellers visited the Alhambra: it included an act of re-framing what they saw as a picture, making sense of what they saw around them. It is a matter of orientation in a strange country. In making sense of the world around us, particularly in encounters with 'disordered' otherness such as seen, for example, in the 'real' Orient, we rely on previous images and ideas we might have of the object. This goes for all encounters with otherness, which turn our previous image of the sight before us – be it a monument, landscape or people – into a marker of what to expect, which helps us to grasp what we see.

## Conclusions

For Gautier and Edelfelt, the Alhambra seems to have functioned as a gateway to oriental otherness, but this otherness was, however, more 'real' in their minds than in reality. By viewing (universal) exhibitions, or reading written accounts and looking at pictures, the visitors learned to view the world as if it were a giant show or mental picture.<sup>83</sup> Consequently, when travellers went to see the 'real' thing, they had problems grasping what they experienced. In line with Mitchell's argument, we see that the problem for visitors in Andalusia was not 'just to make an accurate picture', as in this case, of the Alhambra, but to set up the Alhambra as a picture, since one can copy or represent only what appears to exist representationally.<sup>84</sup> This applies also to travel writing, which forms a picture of that which is described.

Gautier's and Edelfelt's perception of Muslim architecture and the surrounding landscape shows that both travellers were filled with preconceptions about their travel destination. The Alhambra represented a dream world, which in many senses did not live up to the visitors' expectations. As Gautier stated, the general appearance of the place in many ways falls short of the idea that one has formed of it in advance, comparing his preconception to an opera scene.<sup>85</sup> Edelfelt, on his part, was deeply touched – despite some



disappointments – by the magnificence that met him in a labyrinth of fabulous beauty, rocking him into a dreamy state of mind.<sup>86</sup> He advised his mother to employ the most flaming oriental fantasy to create a picture of the palace and the landscape.<sup>87</sup>

But neither Edelfelt nor Gautier found the Alhambra of their dreams. They certainly were not alone, since most travellers seek the authenticity of the sights, observing mainly what they identified as being ‘authentic’, a kind of staged authenticity that corresponds to the preconceptions the travellers had formed of it in advance. The visitors were forced, so to speak, to re-frame the site in preconceived pictorial terms, and to view the site as if it were a picture. And it is in this respect that both Gautier and Edelfelt had problems in grasping what they saw. Both searched for an Alhambra they had previously encountered in illustrations and paintings, but they were more or less deceived. Their mixed feelings when experiencing the exotic, becomes evident in initial excitement, only to end up in disappointment due to the expectations they had gathered through the visualisation of images and book readings. The Alhambra as it was presented in texts, illustrations and paintings had turned the place into a dream world. The mental picture that both travellers had obtained prior to their journeys did not correspond with what they actually saw. This is aptly described by Gautier in his *Voyage*, which ends with him stating ‘*Le rêve était fini*’, the dream was over.<sup>88</sup>

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### Endnotes

1. Théophile Gautier, *A Romantic in Spain* (New York and London: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926), 190.
2. For more on Edelfelt, the English reader is referred to Rakel Kallio and Douglas Sivén, *Albert Edelfelt: 1854–1905* (Helsinki: Douglas Productions, 2004).
3. Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (London: Macmillan, 1976, reprint 1989), *passim*.

4. K. Olsen, 'Staged Authenticity: A Grande Idée?', *Tourism Recreation Research* 32.2 (2007): *passim*.
5. Wendy Hillman, 'Revisiting the Concept of (objective) Authenticity', conference paper (2007): *passim*.
6. E. Cohen, 'Authenticity in Tourism Studies: Après la Lutte', *Tourism Recreation Research* 32.2 (2007): *passim*.
7. Catherine Alison Phillips, introduction to *A Romantic in Spain*, by Théophile Gautier (New York and London: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926), xi.
8. I mainly use the English translation from 1926, which has been made from the 1843 edition of *Tra los Montes (Un Voyage en Espagne)*. Gautier's book was reprinted in many subsequent editions during the whole of the nineteenth century.
9. In one letter, Edelfelt commented on the Cathedral of Seville: 'But what Theophile Gauthier [*sic*] says of the dome's proportions, for instance that *Notre Dame de Paris* would be able to walk upright in the church, is the most impudent lie.' Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Seville, April 22, 1881, SLSA. Edelfelt also referred to Gautier's statements on the beautiful *madrileñas*. Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid, April 11, 1881, SLSA.
10. Edelfelt's letters from Spain to his mother are eight in total. Two letters were written in Granada.
11. I use Edelfelt's original letters, written in Swedish and kept at the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland (SLSA). All translations from Swedish into English are mine. The letters have also been translated into Spanish: María Carmen Díaz de Alda Heikkilä, Estudio preliminary, traducción, edición y notas, *Albert Edelfelt: Cartas del Viaje pos España (1881)* (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2006). Part of the letters have also been translated into Finnish by Sirpa Kähkönen and published in a volume consisting of Edelfelt's letters to his mother, see Anna Kortelainen, *Niin kutsuttu sydämeni: Albert Edelfeltin kirjeet äidilleen 1873–1901* (Helsinki: Kustannusosakeyhtiö Otava, 2001).
12. Michael Harbsmeier, 'On Travel Accounts and Cosmological Strategies: Some Models in Comparative Xenology', *Ethnos* 50.III–IV (1985): 282.
13. Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Alhambra, April 13, 1881, SLSA.
14. Gautier, *A Romantic in Spain*, 167.
15. Philippe Jullian, *The Orientalists: European Painters of Eastern Scenes* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1977), 38; Gilberte Guillaumie-Reicher, *Théophile Gautier et l'Espagne* (Ligugé, Vienne: Imprimerie E. Aubin et Fils, 1939), 163–64; Arcadio Pardo, *La visión del arte español en los viajeros franceses del siglo XIX* (Universidad de Valladolid: Secretariado de publicación, 1989), 269–94.

16. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London: Penguin Books, 1995, reprint with a new afterword), *passim*. Said's *Orientalism* marks the beginning of post-colonial studies. In his book, Said describes a Western system of thought and cultural production that defined much of the Western ideas about the Orient, particularly Islam and the Middle East. Said shows that the 'Orient' has very little relationship to lives of Middle Eastern and Islamic culture but shows a Western sense of superiority and its definition of the Self and the Other. Certainly both Gautier's and Edelfelt's travel accounts were shaped by the attitudes of the era of European imperialism that reigned in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which also is Said's point of departure.
17. For the most part, but not always, 'authentic otherness' is more or less staged, concretely or on an ideological plane. In the very beginning of *Orientalism*, Said describes the 'long tradition' of Orientalism as a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's special place in European Western experience. He states that the Orient, adjacent to Europe and the place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, is the source of the West's deepest and most recurring images of the Other (Said, *Orientalism*, 1).
18. Said, *Orientalism*, 142.
19. Malcom Kerr, 'Edward Said, *Orientalism*', book review in *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 12 (December 1980): 544.
20. Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Toledo, May 7, 1881, continued in Madrid, May 11, 1881, Finnish National Gallery FNG/Archives.
21. Phillips, introduction, v–vii.
22. Gerald M. Ackerman, *The Life and Work of Jean-Léon Gérôme* (Sotheby's Publications/Philip Wilson Publishers Ltd., 1986), 120, ill. 121. Because of copyright reasons, and the fact that the two versions of the painting are in private collections (Francis T.B. Martin Collection, Omaha, Nebraska and Crawford Collection, Lyndhurst, New Jersey), the reader is referred to the illustrations in Ackerman's book on pages 121 and 249.
23. Orientalist painters generally travelled in countries from southern Spain to northern Africa, Egypt, the Arabian Peninsula, Palestine, Turkey and Greece. Although all these countries, strictly speaking, were not oriental, their Arab history was regarded as enhancing the exotic stamp (Jullian, *The Orientalists*, 115–16; David Scott, 'The Literary Orient', in *The East Imagined, Experienced and Remembered: Orientalist Nineteenth Century Paintings*, ed. James Thompson (Dublin: The National Gallery of Ireland, 1988), 3–17.
24. Gautier, *A Romantic in Spain*, 168; Albert Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Alhambra, April 13, 1881, SLSA.
25. For example, Karl Baedeker, *Spain and Portugal: Handbook for Travellers* (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1898).

26. Greg M. Thomas, 'The Topographical Aesthetic in French Tourism and Landscape', *Nineteenth-Century Art World-Wide: A Journal of Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture* 1.1 (Spring 2002): fn 6, accessed May 7, 2002, [http://19thcartworldwide.org/spring\\_02/articles/thom.html](http://19thcartworldwide.org/spring_02/articles/thom.html).
27. Michael Scholz-Hänsel, "'Antigüedades árabes de España": Wie die einst vertriebenen Mauren Spanien zu einer Wiederentdeckung im 19. Jahrhundert verhelfen', in *Europa und die Orient 800–1900*, Hrsg. Gereon Sievernich und Hendrick Budde (Berlin: Berliner Festspiele, Bertelsmann Lexikon Verlag, 1990).
28. As Culler observes, there is nevertheless an unresolved paradox in having to mark the place as authentic before it can be considered 'authentic'; as soon as it has been marked, it loses its position as an 'authentic' spot and becomes deprived of its novelty (Jonathan Culler, *Framing the Sign: Criticism and Its Institutions* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 164).
29. Edelfelt's supplement to his application for a travel grant, Helsingfors, October 6, 1879, *Proceedings of the Finnish Art Society, 1879*, FNG/Archives.
30. Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, [Paris] April 1, 1881, SLSA.
31. Albert Edelfelt, 'Från konstverlden i Paris: Salongen 1879. II', *Finsk tidskrift för Vitterhet, Vetenskap, Konst och Politik* (1879): 124.
32. Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid, April 11, 1881, SLSA.
33. Edelfelt to Pietro Krohn, Gatchina slott [Gatchina Castle], February 1, 1882, according to Bertel Hintze's transcript and translation of Edelfelt's autograph letters, FNG/Archives.
34. Scholz-Hänsel, 'Antigüedades árabes de España', 368–69; *passim*.
35. Tonia Paquejo, 'The "Arab Cathedrals": Moorish Architecture in Spain as seen by British Travellers', *The Burlington Magazine* 1001 (August 1986): 555–56.
36. Richard Twiss's *Voyage en Portugal et en Espagne* from 1772 was probably the very first illustrated travel book from Spain. [Catalogue], 'Libros de viajes', in *Imagen romántica del legado Andalusi*, ed. El legado de andalusí (Granada: Lunweg Editores, 1995), 182–98. For more on early travelogues from Spain, see Scholz-Hänsel "'Antigüedades árabes de España'", 368–70; Paquejo, 'The "Arab Cathedrals"', 560; Pardo, *La visión del arte español*, *passim*.
37. See for example, Washington Irving, *Tales of the Alhambra* (Granada: Suárez, 1990 (1832/1851)).
38. MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 3.

39. James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture 1800–1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).
40. Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Alhambra, April 13, 1881, SLSA.
41. Jullian, *The Orientalists*, 38; Pardo, *La visión del arte español*, 270–73.
42. In a letter to his mother, Edelfelt presents his belief that the Muslims were expelled from Spain. He presents the '*Puerta de los Perros*' as if it were a fact. Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Alhambra, April 13, 1881, SLSA.
43. Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Alhambra, April 13, 1881, SLSA.
44. Gautier, *A Romantic in Spain*, 168.
45. Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Alhambra, April 13, 1881, SLSA.
46. Gautier, *A Romantic in Spain*, 201 ff.
47. Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Alhambra, April 13, 1881, SLSA.
48. Ibid.
49. Lynne Thornton, *The Orientalists: Painter-Travellers* (Paris: ACR Édition Internationale, 1994), 7.
50. Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Alhambra, April 13, 1881, SLSA.
51. Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Granada, Whit Monday April 18, 1881, FNG/Archives.
52. MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 3.
53. Michael Harkin, 'Modernist Anthropology and Tourism of the Authentic', *Annals of Tourism Research* 22.3 (1995): 654.
54. Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Alhambra, April 13, 1881, SLSA.
55. Timothy Mitchell, 'Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Other', in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Donald Preziosi (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 465.
56. Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Whit Monday [April 18, 1881], SLSA.
57. The Abencerrages became the archetypical literary representation of the gallant Moor both in Spain and in the rest of Europe. The Abencerrages (from the Arabic for 'Saddler's Son') were a family or faction that is said to have held a prominent position in the Moorish kingdom of Granada in the fifteenth century.

58. Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Whit Monday [April 18, 1881], SLSA.
59. Bertel Hintze, *Albert Edelfelt* (Porvoo: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö, 1953), 523, fns. 165, 166, 167.
60. Marie-Sofie Lundström, *Travelling in a Palimpsest: Finnish nineteenth-century painters' encounters with Spanish art and culture* (Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 2008), 300–07.
61. Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Granada, April 18, 1881, FNG/Archives.
62. The French architect Jules Goury ended his days in Granada prematurely in 1834.
63. Jules Goury and Owen Jones, *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra: From Drawings Taken on the Spot in 1834 [...]* (London: 1842–45).
64. Javier Piñar, introduction to *Images in Time: A Century of Photography at the Alhambra 1840–1940*, Tf. Editores (Granada: Tf. Editores, 2003), 9.
65. *Images in Time: A Century of Photography at the Alhambra 1840–1940* (Granada: Tf. Editores, 2003), 166–86, particularly the photographs on pages 168 (by G. de Beaucorps c.1858), 175, 176, 177, 182, 184, 185.
66. Egron Lundgren, *Italien och Spanien. Utdrag ur dagböcker of bref* (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1873–74), 183ff.
67. These early pictures may include Gautier's or his travel companion's daguerreotypes from 1840. Although no daguerreotypes of the Alhambra by Gautier or his travel companion in Spain, Eugène Piot (1812–90), are preserved, Javier Piñar finds it probable that such were taken, since they travelled with a camera. They stayed in the Nasrid palace for four days and nights, and their daguerreotypes would be the first of Granada and the Alhambra. Marie-Loup Sougez argues that we are indebted to Gautier for a 'contemporary, realist vision' of the Alhambra, faithfully reproduced by the daguerreotype operated by himself or Piot. Marie-Loup Sougez, 'The Alhambra, the ideal camera shot', in *Images in Time: A Century of Photography at the Alhambra 1840–1940* (Granada: Tf. Editores and Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, 2003), 12.
68. *Images in Time*, 166–86, particularly the photographs on pages 169 (from 1880, cf. photograph on page 168, c.1858), 181, 183, 186.
69. Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, April 18, 1881, FNG/Archives. Rafael Contreras y Muñoz (1826–90) was in charge of the restoration works in the Alhambra. He also kept a studio with reproductions of the Alhambra and its ornaments, which added to the palace's celebrated reputation (*Imagen romántica del legado andalusí*, ed. El legado de andalusí (Granada: Lunwerg Editores, 1995, 212).

70. The Alhambra has been documented by photography from the 1850s onwards (*Images in Time*, 9).
71. Javier Piñar, 'Restoration procedures', in *Images in Time*, 166–67. It was not until the early 1920s that a specifically documentary form of photography of the Alhambra emerged (e.g. Torres Molina's photographs). For a series of photographs of the restoration work at the Alhambra, see *Images in Time*, 168–86.
72. The sentimental and intimate harem milieus by the Swedish painter Frans Wilhelm Odelmark (1849–1937) constitute a sharp contrast with Zorn's luminous Alhambra interiors. In Odelmark's Moorish Palace, the background is inspired by the vaults of the Alhambra. Such images were widespread, establishing the foundation for the (subsequent) imagery of the palace's now lost oriental splendour. For more on the subject, see Karin Ådahl, *Orientalismen i svensk konst: Islamiska föremål, förebilder och influenser i konst och konsthantverk* (Höganäs: Wiken, 1989), 144–47.
73. This point of view is supported by Albert Boime's analysis of the birth of French Impressionism. After the disastrous years 1870–71, painters started to favour everyday subjects and a free technique in order to avoid depicting the ruined Paris. They painted the people, not the buildings, and if they did paint buildings, they used what would develop into the Impressionist painting manner in order to conceal the actual state of the built environment. Albert Boime, *Art and the French Commune: Imagining Paris after the War and Revolt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).
74. Gautier, *A Romantic in Spain*, 178.
75. *Ibid.*, 197.
76. *Ibid.*, 195.
77. Théophile Gautier, *Voyage en Espagne*, (Paris: Pierre Farré, 1843), 2.
78. MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 13.
79. Harkin, 'Modernist Anthropology and Tourism of the Authentic', 653.
80. Mitchell borrows the term 'world-as-exhibition' from Martin Heidegger's 'The Age of the World Picture' in *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays* (New York: Harper Collins College Division, 1977) (Mitchell, 'Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Other', 468, 471 fn. 22).
81. Mitchell, 'Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Other', 455–61.
82. *Ibid.*, 467–68.
83. *Ibid.*, 465.

84. Ibid., 468–69.
85. Gautier, *A Romantic in Spain*, 178.
86. Albert Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Granada, Whit Monday April 18, 1881, FNG/Archives.
87. Albert Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Alhambra, April 13, 1881, SLSA.
88. Gautier, *Voyage en Espagne*, 289; Gautier, *A Romantic in Spain*, 324.