

This article was downloaded by:[Uma/Fac.Psicologia]
On: 21 December 2007
Access Details: [subscription number 770490157]
Publisher: Routledge
Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954
Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Journal of Intercultural Studies

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:
<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=t713432188>

A Romantic in Spain: The Finnish Nineteenth-Century Painter Albert Edelfelt's Andalusian Dream

Marie-Sofie Lundström

Online Publication Date: 01 August 2006

To cite this Article: Lundström, Marie-Sofie (2006) 'A Romantic in Spain: The Finnish Nineteenth-Century Painter Albert Edelfelt's Andalusian Dream', Journal of Intercultural Studies, 27:3, 331 - 348

To link to this article: DOI: 10.1080/07256860600779311

URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07256860600779311>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Full terms and conditions of use: <http://www.informaworld.com/terms-and-conditions-of-access.pdf>

This article maybe used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The accuracy of any instructions, formulae and drug doses should be independently verified with primary sources. The publisher shall not be liable for any loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

A Romantic in Spain: The Finnish Nineteenth-Century Painter Albert Edelfelt's Andalusian Dream

Marie-Sofie Lundström

Nineteenth-century painters were an important part of the creation of a particular Spanish imagery. This construction was produced through differentiation and the exaggeration of (cultural) stereotypes: Flamenco dancers, bullfighters, gitanos, sun-drenched cityscapes and ethnographic pictures of the local people. This imagery is still valid and further cemented within the frames of heritage tourism, which mirrors a relatively unaltered, however reconstructed imagery that previously was experienced by 'adventurous' nineteenth-century artists.

The Finnish painter Albert Edelfelt's (1854–1905) letters and pictures from his Spanish journey in 1881 reveal that his view of Spain was dependent on a previous, Romantic imagery. During the 1870s, Edelfelt studied in Paris, and his view of Spain is hence to be seen through the concurrent French espagnolisme. Particularly the French writer and art critic Théophile Gautier's (1811–1872) Voyage en Espagne (1843) constituted a powerful referent and guide. In Spain, Edelfelt visited all the main attractions: the art collections in Madrid, Granada with the Alhambra palace, Flamenco performances in Seville, the great mosque in Cordoba and the medieval Toledo. The painter Edelfelt was, indeed, acting like a tourist in Spain, who participates in and takes snapshots of the most 'typical' features of foreign culture. The idea of Spain was a mental construction, which the visiting painters sought in reality during their journeys.

In my article, I analyse Edelfelt's travel pictures from Granada and his travel letters within the frame of semiological tourism research. From the early nineteenth century, Spain was regarded as a place where one still could experience a pre-modern time. The motivation for tourism, as the sociologist Dean MacCannell argued in 1976, is that reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and cultures, in purer, simpler lifestyles. Therefore, the increasing interest in Spain is to be seen as associated with the nineteenth century anxiety against modernity, a phenomenon

Marie-Sofie Lundström is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Linguistics, Åbo Akademi University, Finland. She is currently researching Finnish receptions of Spanish art (c.1850–1950). Correspondence to: Marie-Sofie Lundström, Department of Art History, Åbo Akademi University, Finland. Email: marlunds@abo.fi

that evolved from the rapid economic development, industrialisation, urbanisation and the dilution of national characteristics, in addition to a feeling of timelessness. Travels to Spain were hence an expression of nostalgia, which is one of the main forces of tourism. Nostalgia for history and authenticity are plainly articulated also in Edelfelt's letters and pictures from Granada.

Keywords: Authenticity; Historicity; Nineteenth-century painting; Nineteenth-century travel and tourism; Granada (Spain)

Introduction: Imagining, Experiencing and Remembering Spain

In the course of the nineteenth century, the tourist industry, initially in England and France, began to exploit the countryside to satisfy the general public's search for the picturesque. As Thomas has explained, the French admired, for example, the Swiss landscape due to its harsh nature, cultivated despite its ruggedness, while Italy found her place in the hearts of travellers because of her unique union between art and nature (Thomas 2002: 6–7). Developing Thomas's thesis, I propose that Spain can also be included in this new aesthetics. In addition to the country's exotic heritage and *the picturesque* (that tourists had initially sought in England), Spain was a place where the dichotomy between Nature and Fine Art met. Spain was not (yet) a frequented tourist site, which made her an acceptable alternative for aspiring Realists in the early 1840s, when the quest for authenticity and new experiences grew in opposition to the emerging view of Orientalism as a merely superficial construction. As Thomas argues, a 'transformed naturalism' within art acted reciprocally with the growing tourism of that time (Thomas 2002).

In April and May 1881, the Finnish painter Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905) spent five weeks in Spain. Like many of his fellow painters in Paris, Edelfelt was inspired by a phenomenon that may well be labelled *espagnolisme*. This nineteenth-century, predominantly French art trend, favoured Spanish topics and re-evaluated and re-used the painting manner of the Old Spanish Masters. Luxenberg defines *espagnolisme* as a mainly literary mode that became fashionable in France in the mid-1830s. The term signifies 'a specifically Spanish way of feeling and behaving', and was applied to the rediscovery of Spanish themes and art by the *litterati* of the Romantic period (Luxenberg 1991: 42). She observes that the term was never used to describe later generations of painters interested in Spanish things. These painters were more 'image-oriented' than text-oriented because of the rising Realist trend (1991: 42–3, 29). Due to the subsequent painters' dependence on Romantic sources and the persistence of specifically Romantic Spanish imagery, however, I will expand the use of this term to incorporate painters active during the later nineteenth century, taking into account Löwy and Sayre's argument that Romantic ideas lingered throughout this period. After its' early literary phase, Spanish iconography soon entered the visual arts. Pictures of bullfighters, Flamenco-dancers, ethnographic types, Gypsies, sun-drenched vistas and townscapes constitute one side of the coin, subdued colours

and solemn light conditions borrowed from Spanish seventeenth-century painting of the other.¹

From the 1870s onwards, Edelfelt was Finland's most promising painter becoming the leading figure painter in Finland and remaining extremely influential within Finnish cultural politics until his death in 1905.² Edelfelt has frequently been characterised as a cosmopolitan artist. His first work to receive public recognition in Paris was *Queen Blanca* (1877, Finnish National Gallery, Helsinki). The painting is an early example of Edelfelt's ability to depict female beauty, gorgeous costumes and historical settings, a genre which characterises his entire *oeuvre*. Particularly during the 1880s, he portrayed beautiful and fashionably dressed women, often in the opulent and artistic setting of his atelier in Paris, at 147, Avenue de Villiers: Edelfelt showed a preference for the female figure (Sinisalo 2004: 7–8). This is apparent also in his Spanish subjects; particularly *Gitana Dancing I*, analysed more thoroughly below, admitted the painter to apply the sensual approach, which he preferred, to the subject. By and large, his *oeuvre* follows the artistic currents in Paris. For instance, when paintings of the life and customs of the common people—considered exotic subjects by the French *bourgeoisie*—became fashionable, Edelfelt seized upon the new trend with enthusiasm (Sinisalo 2004: 8).

Lately, the *manière espagnole*—a nineteenth century painting manner that involves painting in a 'Spanish way'—has been thoroughly investigated. Several publications on Spanish influence in Western nineteenth century painting have appeared in the last two decades. The exhibition at Musée d'Orsay in Paris may be seen as the climax of this development: the *Manet/Velasquez. La manière espagnole au XIX^e* exhibition was on display during the autumn of 2002. The exposition continued at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 2003. The catalogues for these grand exhibitions are, of course, fundamental for any research concerning the *manière espagnole*, but they provided surprisingly little new information and interpretations of the painters' actual travels in Spain, which is my main concern (Luxenberg 2004; Tinterow and Lacambre 2003).

Edelfelt's Spanish journey in 1881 thus offers a quintessential example of nineteenth-century French *espagnolisme*. He learned about the peculiarities of Spain whilst he was studying for Jean-Léon Gérôme's (1824–1904) at the *École-des-Beaux-Arts* in Paris during the 1870s, and began to create a predominantly Parisian view of what Spain was all about. Edelfelt's love of Spanish art (mainly Velázquez) was a life-long engagement, and in this respect, he follows the mainstream.

Therefore, Edelfelt's short stay in Granada in 1881 offers an opportunity to analyse the more widespread interest in Spanish Gypsy culture as well as Orientalism, but also the reasons for why he travelled to Spain in the first place. Orientalism developed into a genre of painting during the first half of the nineteenth century. Painters working within this genre mainly travelled to southern Spain, northern Africa, the Arabic Peninsula, Palestine, Turkey and Greece; the latter may be characterised as the last outpost for Orientalism. Although these countries were not strictly Oriental, their Arab history secured the Oriental stamp (Jullian 1997: 19–31). The yearning for

more authentic and simpler lifestyles, exemplified in this article by the perceived *authenticity* of Spanish culture, was a phenomenon typical of the nineteenth century. New approaches to history gave way to Historicism, and past periods were rehabilitated in several different ways.

The stereotypical French view of the Spanish country and its people, their customs, art and history, can be traced in visual and textual travelogues from Spain. An important source and reference point for my understanding of the nineteenth century perception of Spain is, therefore, contemporary travel literature. Peter Stadius observes that nineteenth-century (published) travel accounts were frequently written in epistolary form in order to achieve a highly personal tone within the narrative. These 'sketches of reality' provide useful information about the traveller and the visited places, but also about the traveller's expectations. Travel books are particularly useful for the study of stereotypes: however fantastic the description, it was 'true' for the author. They are thus a valuable means of understanding a person's ideas, cultural clashes and encounters (Stadius 2002, 310).

Théophile Gautier's (1811–1872) significant travel account, *Voyage en Espagne* (originally published in 1843), has been essential for my reconstruction of travels in Spain as well as understanding the emerging stereotypes of Spain during the nineteenth century.³ The influence of this poet, novelist, art critic and journalist was strongly felt during a period marked by changing sensibilities in French literature from the early Romantic period to the aestheticism and naturalism of the late nineteenth century. Gautier travelled to Spain in 1840, and 40 years later, Edelfelt read the resultant book. Edelfelt was also a conscientious writer while he was in Spain; in elaborate letters, written in a style which might be characterised as a personal travelogue, he described his experiences in detail to his mother Alexandra (*Letters to Alexandra Edelfelt*).⁴ The similarities between Edelfelt's and Gautier's observations are remarkable: Edelfelt's comment on the cathedral in Seville, for instance, is exactly the same as in Gautier's *Voyage en Espagne* (*Letters to Alexandra Edelfelt*, Seville, 22 April; Gautier 1926: 285). A connection between Romanticism and later travels in Spain is thus established. *Voyage en Espagne* constitutes the referent to Edelfelt's later experiences, although numerous travelogues were, of course, published during the nineteenth century. Gautier's book was widely read throughout the century, and is therefore a quintessential example of the French view of Spain around 1840 (Tinterow and Lacambre 2003: 380). In particular painters were drawn to his colourful descriptions, mainly because of his ability to recreate visual images in words, to draw 'word-pictures' (Gautier 1926: viii–ix).

Edelfelt and Spanish Imagery: Tourism or 'Serious' Art Studies?

Since the first half of the century, Spain was regarded as a place where one could experience a pre-modern age. Journeys to Spain were thus associated with the *Angst* that arose from the swift economic development, industrialisation and urbanisation in other parts, which brought about a fear that specific national qualities soon would

be eroded, along with a feeling of timelessness. Modernity was regarded as a threat. Consequently, travellers sought places that had not yet been influenced by the modern era. The common view during the nineteenth century was that in Spain one could still experience a culture that modern urban society had lost. Journeys to Spain were thus an expression of one of European tourism's driving forces: nostalgia.

Edelfelt's artworks with Spanish iconography, created between 1878 and 1883, function as visual testimonies of *espagnolisme*. The model for *La Señorita* from 1878, for instance, was his friend and colleague in Paris, Antonia Bonjean, dressed in a Spanish costume and *mantilla* (see Kaisla 2001: 138–40). Edelfelt had not yet been in Spain, but managed nevertheless to create a typical image of a *señorita* by using the appropriate studio props: a white lace mantilla and flowers in the hair. The presence of contemporary Spanish painters in Paris, most significantly Mariano Fortuny y Marsal (1838–74), strengthened the vogue of interest in Spanish culture, particularly when Fortuny's retrospective exhibition was held there in 1876. His popularity continued well into the 1880s through followers such as Raimundo de Madrazo Garreta (1841–1920) (Lundström 2006). The potency of French *espagnolisme* is exemplified by the fact that Finnish painters also gave in to its charm: Finland and Spain are remote, both culturally and geographically, yet Spain still managed to lure them, however briefly.

During his stay in Spain in 1881, Edelfelt visited all the main sights: the art collections in Madrid, the Alhambra in Granada, Flamenco dance and bullfighting in Seville, as well as Cordoba's mosque-cathedral and the medieval town of Toledo. Edelfelt's encounter with the foreign milieu in Spain was highly touristic, and can thus be analysed in terms of tourism theory (Lundström 2006). The sociologist MacCannell analyses sightseeing in terms of differentiation, which is the act of recognising something as different (1976: 11).⁵ all tourist encounters can be regarded as experiences of *otherness* by strangers (Said 1995: 142).⁶

In the following, I focus on Edelfelt's weeklong stay in Granada, exploring his perception of authenticity. Edelfelt had his first glimpse of Spain when travelling by train from Paris to Madrid. In Madrid, he was mainly a culture tourist, and spent his days wandering about and visiting art galleries. He felt, however, that the city was uninteresting and dull (*Letters to Alexandra Edelfelt*, 9 April – 12 May 1881; *Letters to B. O. Schauman*, May 1881). Only when he arrived in Andalusia, did he become excited: 'It was the south! Africa!' he exclaimed (*Letters to Alexandra Edelfelt*, Alhambra, 13 April 1881). Spanish Orientalism was concentrated to the Alhambra palace and its interiors, which frequently served as background settings in rather deceptive and artificial compositions (Scholz-Hänsel 1990; Calvo Serraller 1995). Travel literature also elevated the palace to be Spain's finest site, and Edelfelt was of the same opinion (Calvo Serraller 1995; Jullian 1977: 116; *Letters to Alexandra Edelfelt*, Alhambra, 13 April 1881).

Composed settings of Orientalist milieus engaged a considerable number of painters, Jean-Léon Gérôme was one of these. During his travels in Spain, he worked mainly in the Alhambra palace. One end result of his pursuits is *The Grief of the*

Pasha (Francis T.B. Martin Collection, Omaha, Nebraska) from 1883, in which we see a literary subject, a dead tiger covered with flowers and his grieving Master, framed by the vaults of the Alhambra (Ackerman 1986: 119–20). Additionally, illustrated guidebooks presented Spain as the gateway to Africa; Gautier's *Voyage en Espagne*, for instance, is filled with remarks of the country's Oriental character (Gautier 1926).⁷ The Moorish heritage was extremely important for maintaining Spain's desirability as a travel destination.

Edelfelt's interest in the Alhambra can be regarded as a legacy of his teacher. The American Julian Alden Weir (1852–1919) and the Italian Filadelfio Simi (1849–1922), two of Edelfelt's fellow students, also travelled to Spain in 1876, inspired by their teacher. When they returned to Paris, they had numerous beautiful studies and photographs with them. They claimed, however, that 'it is quite impossible to describe the Alhambra or to conceptualise it through photographs or the like: it has to be *seen*' (*Letters to Alexandra Edelfelt*, Paris, 14 November 1876).

This focus on seeing the 'real thing' may be explained by considering the Alhambra as an exhibition: before a scene, 'discovery' and 'reconstruction' occurs through differentiation (MacCannell 1976: 13). Mitchell argues that nineteenth century visitors to foreign lands were forced to encounter the otherness of the country they visited through an act of enclosing the world in preconceived pictorial terms. The Otherness of 'the Orient', a more or less abstract realm to which also southern Spain was considered to belong, was present at every Universal Exhibition in the second half of the nineteenth century. Organising and grasping the world as though it were an exhibition reduced the world to a system of objects. At the World Fairs, this effect was achieved by applying a fragment of apparent realism in the representation, such as real donkeys from Egypt along with Frenchmen dressed in Arab costumes, performing in a constructed Cairo street. Everything seemed to be set up as though it were the model or the picture of something. Thus, the visitors learned to grasp the world in the same manner, and when travellers went to see the real thing, they consequently looked at the world as if it were a picture. Grasping the real in this way was the only way for foreigners 'coming to terms with disorientation' (Mitchell 1989: 455–61).

As regards to the Otherness of the sights in southern Spain, it functioned as a sign for a world lost to modern society. MacCannell observes that 'reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and cultures...'. Such nostalgia is a measure of what tourists' own society *denies* them (1976: 3).

Edelfelt in Granada in the Pursuit of the Authentic

Like Gautier before him, Edelfelt's Granada was Oriental (*Letters to Alexandra Edelfelt*, Alhambra, 13 April 1881). Notions of transgression are present in Edelfelt's as well as Gautier's travel accounts: 'As soon as one has crossed the Sierra Morena the aspect of the country undergoes an entire change', Gautier stated, 'it is as if one had suddenly passed from Europe into Africa... One feels that one has really got to

another place, and is indeed no longer in Paris. . .’ (1926: 168). The first place Edelfelt visited in Granada was the Alhambra. 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, and told her to employ ‘the most flaming Oriental imagination to create a picture of the landscape’. He was extremely touched by the Arabian splendour, the fabulous and ‘purely Oriental’ ornaments [my emphasis] (*Letters to Alexandra Edelfelt*, Alhambra, 13 April 1881). This was what he had expected of Granada: the dazzling, historical past. Signs of history constituting another level on which authenticity is sought (Harkin 1995: 654). The oriental splendour before him, Edelfelt let himself be rocked into a pleasant and dreamy state of mind. The ‘fairytale’ castle, as he described the Alhambra, stimulated his imagination (*Letters to B. O. Schauman*, Granada, 18 April 1881; *Letters to Alexandra Edelfelt*, Alhambra, 13 April 1881). Alhambra was reminiscent from the past, a monument of a dead epoch, which managed to satisfy the visitors’ search for nostalgia. Nevertheless, Edelfelt did not paint much in the Alhambra (Hintze 1953: 523).⁸ Instead, painters like Edelfelt were urged to search for inspiration from *real* life. They should ‘get off the beaten track’ and search for genuine encounters among the locals (Buzard 1993). This meant turning their backs on the Alhambra.

Most of Edelfelt’s paintings from Granada can be characterised as ethnographic genre paintings (see Hintze 1953: 522–525). He attempted to reproduce the reality around him as truthfully and as accurately as possible, and his search for authenticity is obvious. His most important picture from Granada is *Gitana Dancing* (Figure 1), a genre portrait of a dancing Gypsy girl (*Gitana Dancing I*; *Gitana Dancing II*). Initially, Edelfelt regarded the *gitanos* in Granada as ‘a terrible swarm of beggars’ who lived in caves that nobody dared to visit in fear for vermin, in spite of the caves’ picturesque features (*Letters to Alexandra Edelfelt*, Alhambra, 13 April 1881). However, they were the only models available and Edelfelt soon found himself acquainted with several of them, partly because of the three days that he spent at the caves at the Sacromonte, when the thirteen-year-old *gitana* posed for him (*Letters to B. O. Schauman*, Alhambra, 18 April 1881). His growing acceptance of the *gitanos* during his relatively short stay in Granada can be compared to MacCannell’s argument that the traveller’s ultimate goal is to reach the absolute back region of the sights, to see *the real thing*: ‘the *empirical* action in tourist settings is mainly confined to movement between areas decorated to look like back regions, and back regions into which tourists are allowed to peak. *Insight*, in the everyday, [...] is what is obtained from one of these peeks into a back region’ (1976: 100–02).

Sightseeing is a kind of collective striving for a transcendence of the modern totality, a way of attempting to overcome the discontinuity of modernity, of incorporating its fragments into unified experience. ‘Of course’, MacCannell claims, ‘it is doomed to eventual failure: even as it tries to construct totalities, it celebrates differentiation’ (1976: 13). Fragments of this ‘unified experience’ can also be considered as souvenirs, which are by-products of the tourist experience. When examining Edelfelt’s Spanish travel pictures within the larger context, I look upon



Figure 1 Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Gitana Dancing I*. Oil on canvas. 65 × 54 cm. Gösta Serlachius Fine Arts Foundation, Mänttä.

them as souvenirs, as visual testimonies of Edelfelt's encounter with otherness. Souvenirs function as reminders of the act of differentiation, which all tourists and travellers go through: the souvenir depends on differentiation. Like a photograph, a painting or drawing can also be understood as a souvenir; pictures encompass and create memories. According to Harkin, 'the souvenir is an extension of the primary semiosis of the sight: a durable and portable signifier' (1995: 657).

Gitana Dancing: the Nineteenth-Century Gypsy Myth

I am totally crazy about by the Spanish dances. I have tried to execute rough sketches and I even dared to try and paint a dancing *gitana* (for three days I had a model) but the study I managed to produce is only a faint afterglow of what I felt and wanted to depict. (Edelfelt, *Letters to B. O. Schauman*, 7 May 1881)

The significance of Gypsy iconography for nineteenth century painters and the concept of authenticity are central in the discussion that follows; while in Granada, Edelfelt's search for authenticity is obvious. I shall consider his perceptions of Granada, visual and literary, in the light of MacCannell's concept of 'staged authenticity'. I regard Edelfelt's painting of a young Gypsy girl, *Gitana Dancing I*, as a souvenir, since anything that is part of a tourist experience may be seen as a souvenir. Edelfelt's letters from Granada constitute a frame of reference for his opinions, together with contemporary texts about Spanish Gypsies by, above all, Théophile Gautier.

By examining the iconography of Edelfelt's *Gitana Dancing*, we soon discover that it directly relates to the prevailing nineteenth-century Gypsy myth. Edelfelt's picture shows a young *gitana* in half-length, standing in the typical pose of a Flamenco dancer, with one hand raised over her head, the other crooked downwards in a twisted gesture. She is dressed in a red-and-white outfit, wearing a sash in the same colours draped over her shoulders. Her hair is black and fastened in a chignon, with a red flower attached above her left ear.

Marilyn R. Brown has investigated the emergence of the myth of the gypsies in nineteenth century France; in particular, the Spanish *gitanos* were central to the mythification process of the European Gypsies, and soon became burdened with notions of their wild and untamed 'Gypsy temperament' (198: 21, 191).⁹ For the French bourgeois, Gypsy legends justified a sense of 'primitivism' that the Gypsies inspired in them and the *gitanos* were thought to be the lost link to the ancient and hermetic wisdom of the East. The primitive and inexplicable natural force that determined their wandering instinct was thought to be superior and stronger than modern industrial progress (Brown 1985: 21–2). Such nostalgia is promoted also by tourism, which offers experiences to their clients through encounters with 'purer and simpler lifestyles', as phrased by MacCannell (1976: 3).

In 1843, Gautier claimed that *real* Gypsies were found only in Spain (Brown 1985: 21–2). He characterised the Spanish *gitanos* as an Oriental, exotic race and a link to the Orient's 'antique and mysterious melancholy' (Gautier 1926: 206).¹⁰ Moreover, he defined the 'true Spanish feminine type' as something that did not exist, at least not according to how it was understood in France. According to Gautier, the women in Madrid, for instance, 'in no way answer to one's previous idea of them':

When we speak of a *señora* or a mantilla we usually imagine a long, pale, oval face, great black eyes beneath velvety eyebrows, a slender, rather arched nose, a mouth as red as pomegranate, and over all, a warm, golden tone justifying the words in the song: 'She is as yellow as an orange'. This is the Arab or Moorish type, not the Spanish.

And this type, Gautier concluded, was found only in southern Spain among the *gitanos* (1926: 86–7).

A girl of the same appearance as in Edelfelt's *Gitana Dancing* is seen in a photograph by one of Granada's first professional photographers, José García Ayola (1863–1900).¹¹ Here we see the caves at the Sacromonte in Granada under a towering roof of aloe, cactus and grass. Some women and a girl have gathered around a large

stone cross in the foreground to the left, a few figures are seen in the rear. The features and outfit of the girl kneeling straight before the cross resembles the *gitana* in Edelfelt's image, particularly her profile, coiffure, dress and shawl. He has been sure to include fragments of the true characteristics of a *gitana*, conscious of the contemporary demand for accuracy.¹²

Edelfelt's use of the young (and poor) girl as model, painting her out in the open, reflects the concurrent Gypsy myth. A steady number of pictures of Gypsies were exhibited at every Parisian *Salon* from 1831 to 1881 (Brown 1985: 4, 41). Edelfelt's (as well as other painters') choice of motif thus mirrors the many similar images of Gypsies that were exposed in Paris; these images presented a more or less superficially authentic character of the model. Their emergence is mainly due to popular literature; Romanticism transformed the Gypsies into a 'mythic prototype of the social wanderer' (Brown 1985: 22). This kind of nostalgia was also prevalent in the emerging tourist industry, which offered experiences to their clients through encounters with 'purer, simpler lifestyles', according to MacCannell.

Immediately after his return from Spain to Finland, Edelfelt painted a replica of *Gitana Dancing* (Hintze 1953: 523). The two versions differ in that the second includes a window-recess with green shutters in the background, and the shadow of a tiled roof. In one place, plaster has fallen off the wall, revealing the underlying bricks. Nochlin calls such use of authenticating details 'the reality effect' (1989: 37).¹³ Edelfelt has obviously added these details to further authenticate his image, enhancing its documentary quality and thus making it more "real" than it actually is. MacCannell's concept of 'staged authenticity', defined as consciously and intentionally constructed scenes of the 'typical' and 'authentically real', is given new meaning here (1976: 91–108).

Moreover, several of Edelfelt's paintings from Spain have titles suggesting an act of remembering.¹⁴ The first version of *Gitana Dancing* refer to memory, seen in the clearly visibly signature 'Granada –81', which functions as a reference for Edelfelt of the time when he was in Spain. MacCannell calls such inscriptions 'truth-markers' which locate certain imagery in place and time. A marker is a piece of information that may take many different forms, ranging from guidebooks and travelogues to slide shows. The marker's function is to make a certain sight or object distinguishable from its 'less famous relatives', which in this case is achieved by adding the inscription. Without the marking, Edelfelt's dancing girl could be any girl anywhere (or, at least from the Mediterranean area). Similarly, the use of a local word in the title, *gitana*¹⁵ instead of 'Gypsy', enhances the picture's exotic quality, stressing the otherness of the motif, its 'Spanishness' and 'Granadianess', authenticating it and increasing its value as a souvenir.

'Mariano', the Epitome of Tourist Art?

'Staged authenticity', as seen in both versions of Edelfelt's *Gitana Dancing*, was important for painter tourists, but also for the locals, who soon learned to exploit it

(Orton and Pollock 1980: 326). Another of Edelfelt's models in Granada, a *gitano* whom he called Mariano, is one example of this practice. Edelfelt wrote from Granada to the curator of the Finnish Art Society, B.O. Schauman:

Tomorrow, if the weather is fine, I will execute studies in the gardens of the Generalife. As guide I have used a Gypsy who was Fortuny's model and who also has posed for a few of my studies. This figure lives mostly on painters who come here. (*Letters to B. O. Schauman*, 18 April 1881)

Thus, 'Mariano' presented himself as a tourist sight, ready to be immortalised in travel pictures.

Additionally, Edelfelt brought one of his model's Andalusian costumes. He takes care to state that Mariano's outfit is an authentic *Andalusian* costume. He apparently bought the man's clothing as a kind of souvenir to be used in later paintings, and clearly felt that it signified 'Spanishness' in an authentic way (*Letters to Alexandra Edelfelt*, Granada, 21 April 1881). Indeed, identifiable local clothing is among the most popular souvenirs even today, since they are powerful reminders of their place of origin. Such items, as Gordon notes, 'evoke an image of their country to both the returned tourist and passers-by. Like their marker, clothing can be 'read', but both as a functional and metonymic sign, it is doubly satisfying' (1986: 143).

In one of Edelfelt's pictures from Granada, we see Mariano posing in his local clothing (Edelfelt, *Patio in Granada*; Hintze 1953: 522, 162; *Albert Edelfelt 1854–1905: Jubilee Book*: 53). His richly decorated outfit brings to mind Gautier's description of the Granadian local costumes. When Gautier toured Spain in 1840, he was pleased that the lower classes in Andalusia did not follow Parisian fashion, but had

retained the pointed hat with a velvet brim [...] the jacket embellished with embroideries and cloth appliqué in all kinds of colours, at the elbows, cuffs and collar [...] the red or yellow sash [...] the leather gaiters open up on the side and showing the leg. (1926: 180)

All this was more brilliant, florid, ornate, festive and loaded with tinsel and tawdry trimmings than in other provinces. He also noted that no self-respecting *majo* would dare to appear in public without his *vara*; the long walking stick, on which Edelfelt's model is also leaning. Gautier's immediate reaction to the gaudy Andalusian costume was to acquire one. However, Gautier was soon informed of a most depressing situation: it was only the English who bought Spanish costumes anymore! (1926: 180–81). The Andalusian costume Edelfelt had purchased for later use in paintings was thus, indeed, reminiscent of a lost period.

Edelfelt also used his Granadian model for a close-up study, a painting at present entitled *Mariano* but known too by the title [*The Gitanos-King of Granada*] (Hintze 1953: 522).¹⁶ His dark expression is enhanced by the look of his untended beard and whiskers, only his eyes gleaming under a broad-brimmed Andalusian hat. His features and intense gaze of Edelfelt's painting of Mariano brings to mind a real Granadian Gypsy, who was known by the name 'Chorrojumo', seen in a photograph

taken by Ayola around 1900 (for an illustration see Ramírez *et al.* 1985: 64). The most obvious similarities to Edelfelt's model (in addition to the costume) are the intense gaze, beard, whiskers, the bulky shape of the nose and the thick lips.

Due to the remarkable similarities among the two men's features, I assume that Edelfelt's study of 'Mariano' depicts the same man, Chorrojumo, as seen in Ayola's photograph. Further evidence for this assumption is that the King of the Gypsies was, indeed, Chorrojumo, a person whom Ortiz de Villajos describes as being the last of Granada's Gypsies who was permitted to use such a '*titulo tan pomposo*'. In another photograph, we see Chorrojumo standing by the *Puerta de la Justicia* in the Alhambra, where he exercised his profession of selling pictures of himself to tourists who visited the palace (Villajos 1949: 113). In a letter to B.O. Schauman, Edelfelt makes a similar observation: Mariano earned his income from posing for visiting painters (*Letters to B. O. Schauman*, Granada, 18 April 1881).

Ortiz de Villajos notes that the death of Chorrojumo indicates the end of an exorbitant period, marked by what he describes as a false and theatrical *costumbrismo*. The Gypsy was normally seen wandering about Granada, dressed in a traditional Andalusian dress: a brightly coloured *pañizuelo* around his head, a short jacket with silver buttons, a red girdle around his waist, an embroidered waistcoat, knickers (short pants) with a decorative fringe, and leather gaiters. A faded, conical headgear in velvet functioned as his crown. He always carried a white, bifurcated *vara*, a long walking stick. This living legend, Ortiz de Villajos declares, was the undisputed monarch of the Granadian *gitanería* (1949: 55).

Chorrojumo the person is still a legend, and recent tourist guides occasionally include him in romantically tuned advertisements of Granada as a city of ancient times.¹⁷ In fact, he still waits for us in Granada, where a sculpture of him celebrates his legendary position, reminding us of the real *gitano* who lived in Granada over a century ago.

Closing Remarks: Painter-Tourists Constructing Authenticity

One appeal of Spain as a desirable place to visit may be due to its image as a place that offered 'feminine seduction' and 'masculine adventure'. These are, as Pritchard and Morgan propose, 'constructed to appeal to a largely male, heterosexual tourist gaze' (2000: 894). As Edelfelt's pictures reveal, he shows Spanish women as rather erotically loaded images. The general perception was that the dancing Gypsy was a wild and untamed type of woman, like Bizet's Carmen who exposed an unconcealed sexuality on the stage. Brettell also asserts that the nineteenth-century Mediterranean peasant woman was generally depicted in an idealised way, as 'innocent and available to fulfil the fantasies of the Victorian gentleman traveller' (1989: 163). As such, they would fit in a more generalised image of the sensual South. These pictures, Brettell concludes, were motivated mainly by 'sensual curiosity'. As regards Spain's place in this imagery, the Spanish peasant girl was seen as 'pure, true, and beautiful' and, above all, more beautiful than the peasant women at home (1989: 163; Pratt 1981: 158–71).

When Edelfelt painted Spanish men, like his naturalistic portrait of Mariano, his view was the reverse. In his choice of a male model in Granada, he was more faithful to his search for authenticity. Or was he? As we have seen, some Spanish topics are more like clichés than true renditions of nature, although individual parts of such pictures often have their equivalents in the real world. Maybe the composition's naturalistic execution now distanced it from tourist imagery. Edelfelt's painting manner is, indeed, strikingly different from that seen in his images of Spanish women; he depicted Spanish women mostly in idealised manner. Edelfelt's *Mariano*, on the other hand, is extraordinarily 'true-to-nature'. Its naturalism blatantly contrasts to *Gitana Dancing I*, although they were both painted in Granada around the same time; Edelfelt did not view his Gypsy King through rose-tinted glasses. But its iconography is, nevertheless, touristic, since his model was a professional who posed in a traditional costume.¹⁸ By choosing to depict Mariano, Edelfelt entered the realm of the touristic. In so doing, he documented a reality that was the world of the tourist. All pictures discussed here, photographs as well as painted genre-portraits, are thus, to varying degrees, examples of *staged authenticity*; their naturalism was produced by applying different methods and painting manners so as to give the impression that direct observation had occurred.

Through his travel pictures, Edelfelt gives evidence that he has seen 'the real thing', as travellers should to do. Although his Spanish imagery was founded on romantic stereotypes, he was eager to implant real experiences into his pictures. This staged authenticity appears to have been dual in nature: first, it is found in Edelfelt's studies, when defined as 'realistically staged' paintings; and then as another kind of 'staged authenticity' in pictures that, more or less, harmonise pre-conceived viewpoints (attitudes, ideologies) of what was beautiful, real, typical, and so forth. Edelfelt chose motifs that were in harmony with his pre-conceived imagery, but he shaped them according to a sincere study of nature, going to considerable trouble to achieve a 'true' picture of his models. This 'true' imagery was nevertheless firmly based on established tradition within Spanish tourism iconography. The imagery reciprocally affected the painters' and tourists' wide-ranging expectations that, since the Romantic era, were cemented further through travel writings and exhibited tourist art. The phenomenon relates directly to the tourist desire to visit places and cultures that were about to disappear. On an ideological level, the *gitanos* in Granada fit within this framework since they were felt to be in the possession of a more authentic life-style, unaffected by the modernity of the present times. A polemic is nevertheless at hand; as a rule, those who were sceptical of the advantages of the modern world (like Gautier), also needed modernity the most, as Berman argues in his *All That is Solid Melts into Air* (1995: 123). Modernity needed these 'other, simpler lifestyles' to be able to profile as 'modern'.

In conclusion, when Edelfelt visited Granada in 1881, the city was already saturated by performances intended for tourists, staged by the eager assistance of local, living legends, such as Chorrojumo and the *gitanos* at Sacromonte. Edelfelt nevertheless managed to capture at least some of the 'real' Spain, as any tourist or traveller ought

to do, but several of his illusions had been destroyed.¹⁹ His Granadian pictures reveal that he was dependent on a previous, Romantic imagery, produced through differentiation and the exaggeration of (cultural) stereotypes. Today, this mythical presentation of 'Spain' is further cemented within the frames of heritage tourism, which mirrors a relatively unchanged, however reconstructed imagery that was previously experienced by 'adventurous' nineteenth-century artists. The idea of 'Spain' was thus mainly a preconceived mental construction that foreign visitors sought in reality during their journeys.²⁰ Edelfelt's experiences in Granada constitutes a summarising example of the process of idealisation of the *picturesque*, which later were exploited by the forces of tourism.

Notes

- [1] For more on Finnish, nineteenth century painters in Spain, discussed in the light of travel theory, see Marie-Sofie Lundström, 'Finnish Nineteenth-century Painters' Encounters with Spanish Art and Culture', Unpublished manuscript for doctoral thesis in art history, Åbo Akademi University, 2006.
- [2] For more on Edelfelt, the English reader is referred to: Raket Kallio and Douglas Sívén, *Albert Edelfelt: 1854–1905*, trans. Jüri Kokkonen (Helsinki: Douglas Productions, 2004).
- [3] In my quotations, I use the English translation from Théophile Gautier, *A Romantic in Spain*, trans. Catherine Alison Phillips (New York and London: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926). Only when an element is omitted from the translation, do I draw on one of the many French versions of Gautier's book: Théophile Gautier, *Voyage en Espagne*, ed. Pierre Farré (Paris: 1843).
- [4] All translations of Edelfelt's autograph letters into English are mine (original language Swedish).
- [5] By 'differentiation' MacCannell means 'to designate the totality of differences between social classes, life-styles, racial and ethnic groups, age grades, political and professional groups and *the mythic representation of the past to the present*'. He defines differentiation as 'roughly the same as societal development or modernisation, which can also be interpreted as the differentiation of Western civilisation as opposed to the 'un-civilized' East.
- [6] Said describes how the Western view of the 'Oriental' countries is based on a differentiation between a 'Western' and 'Eastern' field, which initially occurred during the Middle Ages. He notes that a field is an enclosed entity, and that the idea of representation is like an idea from the world of theatre. The Orient is the scene that encloses the East: different figures perform on this stage representing the larger totality that they come from. This theatrical stage exposes a cultural repertoire alluding to a fairytale world: the Sfinx, Cleopatra, the Garden of Eden, Troy, Sodom and Gomorra, Astarte, Isis and Osiris, Saba, Babylon, devils, heroes, agony, pleasure and a range of additional characters and themes. According to Said, European imagery drew on this repertoire.
- [7] Several scholars have observed Gautier's liking for Oriental art and culture, see e.g. Arcadio Pardo, *LA VISION DEL ARTE ESPAÑOL EN LOS VIAJEROS FRANCESES DEL SIGLO XIX* (Universidad de Valladolid Secretariado de Publicaciones, 1989), 269–94.
- [8] Hintze, in his catalogue of Edelfelt's oeuvre, mentions only two watercolours from the Alhambra and one from the gardens in Generalife. Their present locations are unknown.
- [9] The English writer George Borrow's books about Gypsies in Spain were the primary nineteenth century sources of information on Bohemian customs and language. In France, Paul Bataillard published a vast number of books on Gypsies. Marilyn Brown regards other contemporary scholarly works as more or less redundant.

- [10] In his travel account, Gautier writes: 'I have seen very few pretty ones, though their faces were remarkably typical and characteristic. Their swarthy skin sets off the clearness of their Eastern eyes, whose fire is tempered by a sort of mysterious melancholy, the memory, as it were, of an absent fatherland and a fallen greatness. Their mouths are rather thick-lipped and highly-coloured, recalling the full mouths of Africa; their narrow brows, and the arched forms of their noses, betray their common origin . . .', 206.
- [11] For an illustration, see Ramírez's *Granada en Memoriam*, 1996, p. 31 ('*Cuevas de Gitanos*'). Ayola was one of Granada's first photographers, active during the last decades of the nineteenth century. In his pictures, he documented Granada: panoramas, streets, individual people and popular types.
- [12] A certain amount of artificiality is always present in the selection of characters who pose for painters and photographers. Many of Ayola's pictures are set in his atelier, where his models are standing before a vignette of a land- or cityscape with only minimal props, dressed up in outfits appropriate for the occasion. His '*tipos árabes*' represent more voluptuous variety, but also his portrayals of local people from Granada show the models in national, mostly peasant costumes: *Mujer con pañuelo a la cabeza, Hombre con atuendo de torero, Mujer con mantilla y falda con madroños, Mujer con mantón de manitilla, Andaluza con guitarra* . . . The list continues. It is probable that those who posed for painters chose their 'best', which they certainly perceived as being their most genuine and characteristic outfits: This is the way we want to be seen and comprehended. But it was also the way that the painters wanted to see them, due to a previously learned imagery. See Ramírez (1996) and Ayola (1997).
- [13] Nochlin follows Roland Barthes's definition. The details are supposedly there to denote the real directly. As Barthes points out, the major function of accurate details is to announce 'we are the real'. They are there to give credibility to the 'realness' of the work as a whole.
- [14] For a further discussion on travel pictures and their function as 'tangible memories', see Lundström 2006 (forthcoming).
- [15] The Spanish word for the Gypsy, *gitano/gitana*, is a nineteenth-century term, which derived from the French *égyptien*, referring to the Bohemians' own legend that they originally were expelled Egyptian Christians. See Brown (1985: 21–2).
- [16] This painting appeared at the auction market in the 1990s (*Christie's*), and is definitely the same painting that is listed in Bertel Hintze's catalogue of Edelfelt's works as '*Granadan Gitanos-kuningas*' (The Gypsy-King of Granada). It was painted in Granada about mid-April 1881.
- [17] One example is the following advertisement on the internet: 'Granada, crossroad of so many civilisations, is a mixture of cultures and traditions that have inspired writers like Washington Irving, Alexandre Dumas, Gustave Doré, Pedro Antonio de Alarcon or Angel Ganivet; naturalists like Chapman and Bruck, who through their work give us the vision of Granada in the time they visited it. With us you will travel like in a 'time machine', to live up those moments in Granada, when there were '*aguadores*' (men who sold water in the streets) with their donkeys, announcing themselves by shouting loud; when in every house there was a treasure buried; and come with us to a cave in Sacromonte, where 'Chorrohumo' is waiting for us . . .'. *Granada Holidays*. Available: <http://www.granadaholidays.com/visits05.html>, 3 June 2003.
- [18] The Gypsy Chorrojumo is still a legend in Granada. Even today's tourist guides sometimes include him in their romantic descriptions of this city of ancient times. Granada is portrayed as a crossroad of many civilisations, a mixture of cultures and traditions. Travelling to Granada is travelling in time, 'to live up those moments [...] when there were aguadores (men who sold water in the streets) with their donkeys, announcing themselves by shouting loud; when in every house there was a treasure buried; and come with us to a cave in Sacromonte, where 'chorrohumo' is waiting for us . . .' *Granada Holidays*. The text does not inform its readers that the Chorrojumo, who is waiting for them at the Sacromonte, in fact is

a sculpture. Chorrojumo is also sometimes included in Granadian *cante gitana*, such as the *bulerías* 'Manolo Reyes': '... y Chorrojumo el calé // el más viejo de toda Graná // en cuestiones del querer // le quiso así aconsejar', *Manolo Reyes*. Chorrojumo was not only a person but a living legend who still is remembered in Granadian folklore and history.

- [19] Edelfelt was particularly disturbed by a performance of Spanish national dances for tourists, which he saw. Consequently, when Edelfelt continued to Seville, he was filled with expectation to see at least then what he considered the best Spain could offer: beautiful Andalusian women and Spanish national dances. (Albert Edelfelt, *Albert Edelfelt's Letters to His Mother Alexandra Edelfelt*, Archives of the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, Helsinki, 13 April 1881.
- [20] This view is supported by Griselda Pollock's argument that a painting of an 'exotic' subject however never can be really 'authentic'. The objects depicted in such (modernist) paintings were always 'deprived of their own authenticity ... [their] historical, cultural and social specificity. Thus the artistic tourists tour here and there in search of an origin in apparently pre-modernist societies and cultures, which can only momentarily appear as sites of authenticity'. But, she concludes, '[t]he pre-modern or the non-modern cannot be conserved in the midst of the modern. That is the tourist fantasy of the trip ...' Griselda Pollock, *Avant-Garde Gambits 1888–1893: Gender and the Colour of Art History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992), 70–2.

References

- Ackerman, Gerald M. *The Life and Work of Jean-Léon Gérôme, with a Catalogue Raisonné*. Sotheby's Publications: Philip Wilson Publishers Ltd, 1986.
- Ayola, José García. *José García Ayola, Fotógrafo De Granada (1863–1900)*. Colección Artistas Plásticos. Ed. Fundación de Granada. Vol. 74. Granada: Fundación Caja de Granada: Proyecto Sur de Ediciones, 1997.
- Berman, Marshal. *Allt SOM ÄR FAST FÖRFLYKTIGAS. Modernism OCH MODERNITET*. 1982. Arkiv förlag, 1995.
- Brettell, C. 'Nineteenth Century Travelers' Accounts of the Mediterranean Peasant'. *Ethnohistory* 30.2 (1986): 159–73.
- Brown, Marilyn R. *Gypsies and Other Bohemians: The Myth of the Artist in Nineteenth century France*. Studies in the Fine Arts: The Avant-Garde. Vol. 51. Ann Arbor MI: UMI Research Press, 1985.
- Buzard, James. *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800–1918*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- Calvo Serraller, Francisco. 'Los Viajeros Románticos Franceses Y El Mito De España'. *La Imagen Romántica Del Legado Andalusi*. Exhibition Catalogue. Granada: Casa de la Cultura y Almuñécar, 1995. 139–43.
- Edelfelt, Albert. *Albert Edelfelt 1854–1905: Jubilee Book*. Helsinki: Ateneum Art Museum, Finnish National Gallery, 2004.
- . *Albert Edelfelt's Letters to B.O. Schauman*. Archives of the Finnish National Gallery, Helsinki.
- . *Albert Edelfelt's Letters to His Mother Alexandra Edelfelt*. Archives of the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, Helsinki.
- . *Albert Edelfelt's Sketchbook from Spain*. 1881. The Finnish National Gallery, Helsinki.
- . *Gitana Dancing I*. 1881. Gösta Serlachius Fine Arts Foundation, Granada.
- . *Gitana Dancing II*. 1881. Private collection.
- . *La Señorita*. 1878. Private Collection.
- . *Mariano*. 1881. Private Collection.
- . *Patio in Granada (Court View in Granada)*. 1881. Private collection.

- Gautier, Théophile. *A Romantic in Spain*. Trans. Catherine Alison Phillips. New York and London: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926.
- . *Voyage EN Espagne*. Ed. Pierre Farré. Paris: 1843.
- Gordon, Beverly. 'The Souvenir: Messenger of the Extraordinary'. *Journal of Popular Culture* 20.3 (1986): 135–46.
- Granada Holidays*. Available: <http://www.granadaholidays.com/visits05.html>. 3 June 2003.
- Harkin, Michael. 'Modernist Anthropology and Tourism of the Authentic'. *Annals of Tourism Research* 22.3 (1995): 650–70.
- Hintze, Bertel. *Albert Edelfelt*. Porvoo: Verner Söderström Osakeyhtiö, 1953.
- Jullian, Philippe. *The Orientalists: European Painters of Eastern Scenes*. Oxford: Phaidon, 1977.
- Kaisla, Kirsi, ed. *Edelfelt i Paris*. Åbo: Koteva, 2001.
- Kallio, Rakel, and Douglas Sivén. *Albert Edelfelt: 1854–1905*. Trans. Jüri Kokkonen. Helsinki: Douglas Productions, 2004.
- Löwy, Michael, and Robert Sayre. *Romanticism against the Tide of Modernity*. 1992. Trans. Catherine Porter. Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2001.
- Lundström, Marie-Sofie. 'Finnish Nineteenth-century Painters' Encounters with Spanish Art and Culture'. Unpublished manuscript for doctoral thesis in art history. Åbo Akademi University, 2006.
- Luxenberg, Alisa. 'Léon Bonnat (1833–1922)'. Dissertation. New York University, 1991.
- . 'Manet/Velázquez: The French Taste for Spanish Painting by G. Tinterow, G. Lacambre with D. Roldan and J. W. Bareau'. *Nineteenth century Art World-Wide: a journal of nineteenth century visual culture* 3.1 (2004): 1–16. Available: <http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org>
- MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. Schocken Books Macmillan Press, 1976.
- Manolo Reyes*. Available: <http://www.terra.es/personal/microsof/10126.htm>. 3 June 2003.
- Mitchell, Timothy. 'Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Other'. *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*. Ed. Donald Preziosi. Oxford History of Art. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1989. 455–72.
- Nochlin, Linda. 'The Imaginary Orient'. *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth century Art and Society*. 1989. London: Thames and Hudson, 1991. 33–59.
- Orton, Fred, and Griselda Pollock. 'Les Données Bretonnantes: La Prairie De Répresentation' *Art History* 3.3 (1980): 314–44.
- Pardo, Arcadio. *La Vision Del Arte Español En Los Viajeros Franceses Del Siglo Xix*. Universidad de Valladolid, Secretariado de Publicaciones, 1989.
- Pollock, Griselda. *Avant-Garde Gambits 1888–1893: Gender and the Colour of Art History*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1992.
- Pratt, Mary L. 'Mapping Ideologies: Gide, Camus, and Algeria'. *College Literature* 8 (1981): 158–71.
- Pritchard, Annette, and Nigel J. Morgan. 'Privileging the Male Gaze: Gendered Tourism Landscapes'. *Annals of Tourism Research* 27.4 (2000): 884–905.
- Ramírez, Javier, et al., eds. *Granada in Memoriam*. Málaga: Arguval, 1996.
- Saïd, Edward W. *Orientalism*. 1978. Penguin Books, 1995.
- Scholz-Hänsel, Michael. 'Antigüedades Arabes De España'. 'Wie Die Einst Vertriebenen Mauren Spanien Zu Einer Wiedernetdeckung in 19. Jahrhundert Verhelfen'. *Europa Und Der Orient 800–1900*. Eds. Gereon Sievernich and Hendrick Budde. Berlin: Berliner Festspiele Bertelsman Lexikon Verlag, 1990. 368–82.
- Sinisalo, Soili. 'Albert Edelfelt, the Cosmopolitan'. *Albert Edelfelt 1854–1905: Jubilee Book*. Helsinki: Ateneum Art Museum, Finnish National Gallery, 2004. 6–10.
- Stadius, Peter. 'Reseberättelsen SOM KULTURHISTORISKT FORSKNINGSOBJEKT' *Historisk Tidskrift för Finland* 87.3 (2002): 292–314.

- Thomas, Greg M. 'The Topographical Aesthetic in French Tourism and Landscape'. *Nineteenth century Art World-Wide: a journal of nineteenth century visual culture* Spring 2002. Available: <http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org>
- Tinterow, Gary, and Geneviève Lacambre, eds. *Manet/Velázquez: The French Taste for Spanish Painting*. New Haven London: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Villajos, Candido Ortiz de. *Gitanos De Granada (La Zambra)*. Granada, 1949.