

MARIE-SOFIE LUNDSTRÖM

Travelling in a Palimpsest

FINNISH NINETEENTH-CENTURY PAINTERS' ENCOUNTERS WITH
SPANISH ART AND CULTURE



TURKU 2007

Cover illustration:

El Vito: Andalusian Dance, June 1881, drawing in pencil by Albert Edelfelt

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I want to comment on the title of my thesis, *Travelling in a Palimpsest*. The word “palimpsest” has, of course, to be understood metaphorically. My adoption of this rather odd term should be credited to research fellow Churnjeet Kaur Mahn (University of Glasgow), who employs the term in a similar manner. Listening to her short presentation on the textualisation of Greek landscape in nineteenth-century British travel writing at a conference in Leeds in 2004 (*Visualising Paradise: the Mediterranean*), the last pieces of my puzzle on nineteenth-century painters in Spain fell into place. My presentation, at the same conference, of Albert Edelfelt’s short stay in Granada 1881, also convinced her that our research tasks have many similarities and connecting points, particularly from a theoretical point of view.

My choice of title was preceded by many years of research. My curiosity about Spain started over fifteen years ago, when Eeva Maija Viljo, acting Professor in art history at Åbo Akademi University, pointed out to me that artistic travels to Spain from Finland had not been thoroughly investigated. I was about to choose a subject for my master’s thesis, and hinted that I would like to write something about artistic travels to northern Africa. However, back then, in the late 1980s, the recommendation was that only one Finnish art historian should conduct research on one particular subject, and the subject I suggested (the travels of a Finnish painter in Morocco) was already “occupied”. One of the odd consequences of this decision – rather ironically – was that my new choice resulted in my becoming one of a group of art historians in Finland who revised earlier research on Finland’s perhaps most important painter, Albert Edelfelt. I did not set out to study Edelfelt, my subject chose him for me. It was my focus on Spain that ultimately made Edelfelt’s experiences an essential part of my research. In the initial stages, his journey was, nevertheless, only one of many included in a descriptive survey of Finnish painters in Spain during the nineteenth century, a survey that also included painters active during the first two decades of the twentieth century.

This was the first step on a long journey. Neither my supervisor Viljo nor I could, at that time, imagine that my research into this subject would end up as a doctoral thesis. I completed my master’s thesis in 1991, when Åsa Ringbom was acting Professor, and my licentiate five years later. During that time, I had the pleasure of receiving supervision from the late Professor Sixten Ringbom, who, unfortunately, never saw the outcome of my efforts. My work continued while Dr Annika Waenerberg was acting Professor at our department for a short period, followed by a few years when we worked together in a project concerning artistic travels in general. My ambition was to investigate how the reception of Spain changed during a rather long period, from Adolf von Becker’s journey to Spain in 1863 to the emergence of mass tourism after the Second World War. My licentiate thesis incorporated my master’s in a more or less unchanged form.

After completing my licentiate thesis, however, I soon realised that several questions concerning artistic travels to Spain, and how nineteenth-century and later travellers com-

prehended “Spanishness”, remained unanswered. Professor Bo Ossian Lindberg had, during the work with my licentiate thesis, repeatedly asked me to define my standpoint in these matters, but at that point my capacity to do so was not sufficient. My licentiate thesis was, nevertheless, well received, and I felt that I had to look deeper into the subject and venture – according to my opinion at that time – into the rather hazardous project of writing a doctoral thesis. During the entire project, Professor Lindberg acted as my “tour guide”. He led me from the initial confusion of a novice researcher through the, perhaps, unavoidable over-ambitious stage and the predictable disorder this causes. Finally we reached the particularly rewarding stage when the supervised feels that her ideas also make sense to her Professor.

When Lindberg’s period as Professor came to an end in 2002, I still had the fortune of receiving Professor Emeritus Lindberg’s guidance, however now with the additional help of another adviser, the Professor in art history, Riitta Konttinen (University of Helsinki). She was a considerate reader who could point out where in the manuscript my analyses were farfetched, where they made no sense and when they worked. I particularly value that she unselfishly shared her research material pertaining to Venny Soldan and Helene Schjerfbeck. Furthermore, after a period when the professorship in Art History at Åbo Akademi University had been vacant for one and a half years, yet another professor entered the scene. I believe that the most truthful way to describe Professor Lars Berggren’s role in the completion of my thesis would be to quote the old Swedish adage: “One can lean only against that which offers resistance.”

Special thanks go to my two expert readers: Associate Professor Alisa Luxenberg, University of Georgia, USA, and the Professor in art history, Ville Lukkarinen, University of Tampere. Their suggestions as how to improve the manuscript have directed my attention to sections of the text where my argumentation has been, at times, unconvincing or confusing. I am, in particular, grateful for their complimentary remarks, which increased my confidence in my work. I also appreciate that Professor Lukkarinen disclosed unpublished manuscripts on issues (partly) concerning Edelfelt “as a tourist”; our approaches to Edelfelt’s art have proved to be surprisingly similar.

However, I would never have managed to write a thesis in English without the relentless proofreading of my text(s), which was carried out by a native English speaker and lecturer in English, Dr Lydia Kokkola at the University of Turku. During the entire span of the writing process, she corrected the grammatical errors as well as provided suggestions on idiomatic fluency and how to structure an academic text in English.

I am also greatly indebted to the staff at the department of Art History at Åbo Akademi University: Heidi Pfäffli, Ulrika Grägg and Leila Tuuli. I feel that I received special treatment: I was allowed to move half of the department’s books on Spanish painting to my study so that I could work in peace. Dr Kari Kotkavaara, whom I might call my mentor, was of great help in the time-consuming task of solving the linguistic problems, which frequently surfaced during my work. I also want to thank Siv Österlund for her help with the

digitalisation of my abundant picture material; without her, the hours of the day would not have been enough.

If it takes a whole village to raise a child, a similar range of help from people outside the immediate work community is needed to breed a researcher. I would like to address a special thanks to my colleagues at the sister department at the University of Turku; my friendship with research fellow Riitta Kormano has proved particularly fruitful. Her open mind and sharp intellect have both inspired and invigorated my own thinking.

A research encounter, which has proved to be exceptionally rewarding, has been my contact with research fellow Marina Catani (University of Helsinki). Catani is currently preparing her doctoral thesis on Edelfelt's atelier praxis, collaborating with conservator Tuulikki Kilpinen at the Finnish National Gallery, who performs the technical investigations. Their joint expertise has guided me in the reconstruction of Edelfelt's working methods concerning particular Spanish drawings, studies and finished works. Catani has a profound knowledge of the particulars of Edelfelt's life and artistic career. With her help, I have been able to locate a number of Edelfelt's paintings with Spanish subjects. She also read my manuscript with an eye on the minutiae of Edelfelt's art and life, for which I am genuinely thankful. Furthermore, Catani curated the Edelfelt-exhibition in Turku in 2001; I was consulted on matters concerning Edelfelt in Spain and wrote an article for the catalogue. About that time, my work took a leap forward. Seeing a number of Edelfelt's travel pictures hanging side by side, was an eye-opener; I realised that these paintings could be analysed as souvenirs. This revelation ultimately led me to employ tourism theory as a theoretical framework for my research.

Another person who generously shared his knowledge with me is Professor Heikki Hanka (University of Jyväskylä), who, when he came upon material connected to my work, always sent a friendly note with references mainly to copies of Old Spanish Masters by Finnish painters. Moreover, I would never have located the two of Adolf von Becker's Spanish copies, which were for sale a couple of years ago at Hagelstam's Auctions in Helsinki, without the notification by Curator Christian Hoffmann (Turku Art Museum). At this point, it is appropriate to mention all those private collectors who, when required, allowed me to visit their homes, and the staff at auction houses and museums who willingly have imparted their information on pictures. On several occasions, I have received permission to reproduce artworks for free.

Research on artistic travels to Spain naturally required that I travelled to Spain, where I received substantial help from Professor María de los Santos García Felguera, Javiér Portús Pérez and Jesusa Vega in Madrid. A particularly warm thought goes to Virginia García del Castillo in Seville, who escorted me on several of my (many) attempts to reconstruct Edelfelt's stay in the city, retracing his itinerary. Furthermore, I wish to acknowledge a number of scholars who share my interest in Spain and Spanish art and who have kindly taken their time to answer my enquiries: Nigel Glendinning, Ignacio Gómez Álvarez, Ri-

chard L. Ormond (who also disclosed sections of his manuscript on J.S. Sargent before publication) and Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt.

In addition, being one of the first five doctoral students in the recently established Finnish Graduate School in Art History, I have had the fortune of receiving both supervision and intellectual fellowship within the entire field of academic art history in Finland. I address a collective thanks to all those scholars and research fellows who have not been mentioned.

Besides “immaterial” help, a researcher needs funding and working space, and I am grateful for the opportunity to conclude a work that has taken longer to finish than I could ever imagine. My main benefactors have been Åbo Akademi University Foundation, Åbo Akademi University and the Finnish Academy. The Finnish Academy also finances the Finnish Graduate School in Art History, administrated by Professor Riitta Nikula (University of Helsinki). Furthermore, I was fortunate to be granted a study at the Research Institute of the Åbo Akademi University Foundation. This peaceful environment provided most enjoyable circumstances for conducting research. I am also pleased that the Finnish Academy of Science and Letters agreed to publish my thesis in their *Humaniora*-series. I hope that all researchers, who wish to publish a manuscript of this size and length, would have the fortune of receiving such meticulous readers as its co-editor, Kaj Öhrnberg, and chief editor, Professor Heikki Palva; I greatly value their goodwill, time and patience.

My gratitude also encompasses all those persons who involuntarily have become part of my life as a researcher and author of a doctoral thesis: my husband Johan, my parents, brother and sister, parents-in-law and friends. A special thought goes to my children, Maj and Max, who think that everything will change once “the book” is finished.

Marie-Sofie Lundström

Åbo, 2 February 2007

*Äfven om man ej känner detta sollysta land och dess skönhet,
torde man ej fara vilse, då man tillitsfullt emottar hr Edelfelts bilder från Spanien, så fulla af
natur och så pulserande af lif, utan ett grand af öfverdrift.*

*

Even if you don't know that sunny country and its beauty,
you will not get lost if only you let yourself be guided by Mr. Edelfelt and his pictures of
Spain, so natural, so unexaggerated – and so pulsating with life.

Anonymous exhibition reviewer in *Morgonbladet*, 10 October 1881

INTRODUCTION:
TRAVELLING IN A PALIMPSEST

Encountering Spanish Art and Culture: Nineteenth-Century *Espagnolisme* and Finland

“The world is all a palimpsest.”¹

The nineteenth century was the century of *espagnolisme*, a predominantly French art trend that favoured Spanish topics and re-evaluated and re-used the painting manner of the Old Spanish Masters. Alisa 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.² 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.³ 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 later during the nineteenth century.⁴ After its early literary phase, Spanish iconography soon entered the visual arts. Pictures of bull-fighters, 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 the other.

The focus of my investigation is on the actual journeys and the lure of Spain, and the travelling painters’ encounters with Spanish art and culture. Few Finnish painters travelled to Spain,

1 *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (accessed 21 September 2004): “1929 Oxford Poetry 17.”

2 Luxenberg 1991, p. 42 (fn 88) refers to *Dictionnaire de la langue française*, t. II (Paris 1970), which attributes the “coining” of the term to *La Vie de Henry Brulard* by Stendhal (pseudonym of Marie-Henri Beyle, 1783–1842), written in 1835. *La Vie de Henry Brulard*, in which Stendhal deals with the corruption under Louis-Philippe, was an unfinished work and published posthumously in 1890. Stendhal’s employment of “espagnolisme” as a specific way to behave, refers directly to modality (compare my discussion further below in this chapter). Stendhal is also known as one of the first defenders of contemporary [Romantic] modern taste. However, one of the misfortunes of Stendhal’s life was that his literary career went almost unnoticed by his contemporaries (Calinescu 1987, pp. 38–41, 47). It thus remains unclear whether Stendhal “coined” the term (*espagnolisme*), as suggested by the entry in *Dictionnaire de la langue française*, or simply was the first to apply, in writing, a (modal) expression that was commonly in use (for instance, Alfred de Musset published his fictional *Contes d’Espagne et d’Italie* as early as 1829, see Chapter 6). For examples when “espagnolisme” appears in Stendhal’s text, see a copy of his original manuscript at Bibliothèques Municipales de Grenoble, “Les Manuscrits de Vie de Henry Brulard [Stendhal]”, electronic document available at http://www.arkhenum.fr/cgi-bin/bm_grenoble/pg-recherchepro.pl?K=espagnolisme&firstnb=1, accessed 12 October 2006.

3 Luxenberg 1991, pp. 29, 42–43.

4 My standpoint is also supported by Löwy and Sayre’s argument that Romantic ideas lingered throughout the nineteenth century (see Löwy & Sayre 2001).

and initially interest in Spanish art was articulated through the use of reproductions of Old Spanish Masters as models for copies. This unimpressive start was followed by a small number of painters who actually visited Spain during the second half of the nineteenth century: Adolf von Becker (1831–1909), Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905) and Venny Soldan (1863–1945). I examine how their perception of the Southern country was manifested in their pictures in response to the growing tourist industry in nineteenth-century Europe. This analysis uses methods normally applied to tourism research.

Thus, explaining these Finnish painters' use of Spanish iconography must take an extremely large context and time span into consideration. Discussion of travel literature and other sources, that created a particular Spanish imagery, is also relevant and important. Determining what motivated painters to travel to Spain is complex: it includes an understanding of the Spanish Baroque, but also requires an examination of nineteenth-century French painting. A vogue for things Spanish ruled in Paris from the mid nineteenth century onwards, and numerous painters felt encouraged to travel to Spain. The majority of the Finnish painters discussed here studied in Paris: Becker, Edelfelt as well as Soldan. Edelfelt, for instance, learned about the peculiarities of Spain whilst he was studying in Jean-Léon Gérôme's (1824–1904) atelier during the 1870s, and began to create a predominantly Parisian view of what Spain was all about. In *La Señorita* from 1878, for instance, he dressed his friend and colleague in Paris, Antonia Bonjean, in a Spanish mantilla (*Fig. 1*).⁵ The presence of contemporary Spanish painters in Paris, most significantly Mariano Fortuny y Marsal (1838–1874), strengthened the vogue of *espagnolisme*, 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 y Garreta (1841–1920). 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.

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

Adolf von Becker's copies of and formal borrowings from the Old Spanish Masters form the basis for my argument that direct contact with original artworks was essential for the emerging view of Spanish painting as a particularly suitable model for a Realist and pending Naturalist artist. Edelfelt's images and letters from Spain, on the other hand, constitute the most fruitful "vehicles" by which I can explain the painter's role as a tourist, answering questions such as why did painters travel to Spain, where did they go and what did they paint? From the 1870s onwards, Edelfelt was Finland's most promising painter, and accordingly developed into the leading figure painter in Finland, remaining extremely influential within Finnish cultural poli-

5 *La Señorita* is probably Edelfelt's first painting with a Spanish subject (Lundström 2001c).



1. Albert Edelfelt, *La Señorita*, 1878. Private Collection.

gave it all a bizarre and captivating appearance that inevitably imprinted on one's memory. It was a glimpse of this poetic and lost Spain of courageous Moors, proud knights, beautiful Andalusian women, serenades and duels.⁶

Edelfelt's text describes one of many similar events taking place in Paris in the 1870s. His Romantic and nostalgic description captures the French *espagnolisme* in a nutshell. My aim is to clarify how Finnish painters, as well as artists from other European countries and America, tended to imagine Spain prior to their real experiences with it and how their experiences were remembered in travel pictures and later artworks. Whenever possible, the origin of a certain stereotypical visualisation of Spain is traced. As we will see, the perception of an "authentic" Spain was created through differentiation, a process that includes exaggeration and a synopsis of (cultural) stereotypes.

6 Albert Edelfelt, "Ett och annat från vida världen", *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 21 March 1878: "Med en förundransvärd ensemble läto [den spanska musik- och dansgruppen] oss en stund höra ömsom sprittande boleros och smäktande cantilenor – och så fortsatte tåget genom quartier latins gator. Hvarhelst spanjorerna upptäckte en vacker flicka i de öfverfyllda förnstren, aftogo de sina hattar med äkta spansk galanteri under det att folket skralade: lefve Spanien! [De] blefvo t.o.m. så lifvade att de villforo hopens önskingar att dansa en bolero utanför Figaros hotell, midt på Rue Drouet. Alla vagnar hejdades, musikanterna stälde sig i ring och en af de yngste kastade sin svarta mantel på marken och utförde med utsökt grace en bolero. Gaslyktorna från Figaros hotel gäfvö det hela ett bizarrt och fångslande utseende, som ovillkorligen präglade sig i minnet. Det var en glimt av detta poetiska och försvunna Spanien med tappra mohrer, stolta riddare, sköna andalusiskor, serenader och dueller."

tics until his death in 1905. Soldan's encounter with Spain in 1890, on the other hand, follows the pattern of earlier journeys.

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; in Finland, Edelfelt's interest in Spanish art and culture offers a quintessential example of nineteenth-century French *espagnolisme*. In a letter from Paris, published in *Helsingfors Dagblad* in 1878, which is three years prior to his journey to Spain in 1881, he observes:

With an ensemble worth wondering at, [the Spanish musicians and dancers] allowed us to hear sometimes gay and lively Boleros and sometimes languorous *cantilenas* – and then the procession continued through the streets in the Latin Quarter. Any place where the Spaniards discovered a beautiful girl in the overcrowded windows, they removed their hats with a genuine, Spanish gallantry while the people roared: Long live Spain! [Their] excitement rose to such a height that they complied with the requests of the public and danced a Bolero outside Figaro's hotel, in the middle of Rue Drouet. All carriages were stalled, the musicians arranged themselves in a ring, and one of the younger ones swept his mantle to the ground and performed a Bolero with exquisite grace. The gas lamps from Figaro's hotel

Travellers to Spain sought something that I refer to as a palimpsest, a “superposition of modern and ancient patterns”.⁷ By comparing artistic travel with the development of travel in general, I investigate whether and/or how nineteenth-century Spanish imagery was “inscribed” with specific meanings among foreigners, mainly Europeans and Americans. Journeys to Spain can be interpreted in relation to the fear of modernity, plainly articulated in the nostalgia for history and authenticity, which was also expressed in nineteenth-century Finland. Early nineteenth-century accounts of Spain regarded the country as a place untouched by recent progress. Even today, this expression of Romantic nostalgia is one of the foremost forces of tourism. The motivation for tourism, as the sociologist Dean MacCannell argues in *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (1976), is that reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere, in other historical periods and cultures, in purer, simpler lifestyles.⁸ The many nineteenth-century pictures of Flamenco dancers, bullfighters or Gypsies, as well as formal borrowings from the Old Spanish Masters or Romantic images of Moorish architecture may – metaphorically – include overlapping, or palimpsestic, cultural layers.⁹

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)*, the Greek word *palimpsestos* stands for a parchment or other writing surface from which earlier texts have been removed, but in which the original writing is often partially visible. In extended use, the term is defined as “a thing likened to such a writing surface, especially in having been reused or altered while still retaining traces of its earlier form”.¹⁰ In architecture analysis, for example, the term is used to describe structures characterised by superimposed features produced during two or more distinct periods. The term is thus used to refer to cases where something – such as a text or image – has been changed but which shows signs of earlier stages of its existence. Original structures and patterns are still recognisable, for example in architecture or in particular cultural patterns, but they have been subsequently altered, physically and/or in meaning and practice.¹¹ A striking and recent example of the use of “palimpsest” in this

7 My reflections on the concept “palimpsest” and how it brings together the theme(s) of my thesis are based on the definitions in *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, accessed 21 September 2004 (*s.v.* palimpsest). I am aware of that the term is also used in connection with (post)structuralist theory, specifically when analysing intertextual relations in literature and, by extension, in the visual arts. The respective approaches to intertextuality in relation to art as “palimpsest” by Gérard Genette and Julia Kristeva, the two most important contributors to the field, are not taken into consideration in the present work. Elsewhere, in an article from 2006, I do use the term intertextuality to refer to instances when “codes” from anachronistically overlapping periods are superimposed on another text or image. (This results in a “palimpsestic” composition.) The article is, nevertheless, but a short commentary on Romanticism’s persistence in art and literature by the means of “palimpsested” Spanish subjects and is, as such, not particularly relevant for the present text. Rather, the article should be considered a mental exercise in methodology and theory (see Lundström 2006a). For more on Genette’s and Kristeva’s respective adoptions of “intertextuality” and “palimpsest”, see e.g., Genette, Gérard, *Palimpsests: literature in the second degree*, Lincoln University of Nebraska Press 1997 (comp. Culler 1981) and Kristeva, Julia, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, New York 1980.

8 MacCannell 1976, p. 3. In 1999, a third edition of MacCannell’s book was published, including a new foreword by Lucy R. Lippard and an epilogue by the author. I refer to the third edition only when citing the foreword or the epilogue (MacCannell 1999), elsewhere I refer to the first edition from 1976.

9 The adjective “palimpsestic” describes “that which is or involves a palimpsest; especially having a form in which traces of an earlier form or forms can still be discerned. Also (in quot. 1836): that creates a palimpsest” (*Oxford English Dictionary Online*, accessed 17th March 2004, entry “palimpsestic, *a.*”).

10 *Ibid.*

11 The word “palimpsest” can, indeed, be described as a practice. Used as a verb, “to palimpsest” stands for “to

sense can be found in Andreas Huyssen's *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (2003).¹²

Tourist imagery can also be thought of in the same way since it selectively reuses and commemorates earlier patterns, even though new meanings are re-inscribed and new forms applied. Used as a metaphor, the word “palimpsest” thus relates to travelling in and between different layers of history – more or less in a “void” – seeing only what one desires to see, rewriting history and the present according to one’s own preconceptions and ideas. This palimpsestic form of travel involves looking back. The modern pattern was anomalous to the earlier one, and thus perceptions of “Spain” were transformed and used outside Spain as inverted signs of modernity. A similar phenomenon can be observed in nineteenth-century travel literature from Greece. According to Churnjeet Kaur Mahn, ancient, rather than modern Greece, became the focus of attention of these writers. The narrative “privileges a Greece in the ruins of antiquity to such an extent that the modern Greek landscape finds itself being written out of the travel narrative”. Kaur Mahn considers the textual descriptions of Greece to be “a palimpsest of temporal layers in which some layers, such as those of antiquity, are rendered more ‘visible’ than others”.¹³

Among modern travellers in Spain, a recurrent device was to identify Spain’s “backwardness”, in order to define their own modernity. By erasing the present, the country’s culture and history could be written and visualised anew.

ON THE DISPOSITION

The main text commences with a survey of early travels in Spain and a rather descriptive review of European *espagnolisme* until the mid-nineteenth century. Curiosity about Spain in Finland is related to similar expressions of Spanishness in central Europe as well as in the other Nordic countries, mainly Sweden (Chapters 1 and 2). After the survey, I concentrate on Becker’s copies and formal borrowings from the Spanish Baroque by re-examining their place within the canon of Spanish art and contemporary Finnish and French painting during the 1860s and 1870s. Edelfelt’s apprenticeship and various phrases of his career are all scrutinised in the subsequent chapter, where I contextualise his interest in Spanish art and

make into a palimpsest; to write again on (parchment, etc.) after the original writing has been effaced; to overwrite”. Great part of the earlier forms can be “palimpsested” beneath more recent forms. *OED* gives an example from 1991: “The toll of classical authors was very heavy: amongst those palimpsested we find Plautus and Terence, Cicero and Livy” (*Oxford English Dictionary Online*, accessed 17 March 2004, entry “palimpsest, *v.*”).

12 The book analyses the relation of public memory to history, forgetting and *selective* memory in Berlin, Buenos Aires and New York, and the symbolic value of the transformation of spatial and temporal experience by memory.

13 See Churnjeet Kaur Mahn, “Travel in the Palimpsest: Textualising Greek Landscape in the 19th Century”, abstract for the *Visualising Paradise: the Mediterranean*, three-Day International Conference, 13–15 September 2004, University of Leeds: The Centre for Mediterranean Studies, in association with the Centre for Cultural Analysis and Theory.

culture from the 1870s onwards. Edelfelt's love of Spanish art (mainly Velázquez) was a life-long engagement. Paying particular attention to art education and the cultural climate of the period, my focus is on the international congregation of painters assembled in Paris and their shared interest in Spanish culture. After this point, I leave France and shift my focus to Edelfelt's encounter with Spain and the tourist experience. The disposition follows his Spanish itinerary, which functions as a case study of a nineteenth-century painter travelling in Spain.

Following in Edelfelt's footsteps, I concentrate on different topics in each chapter. Edelfelt's stay in Granada offers an opportunity to analyse the more widespread interest in Spanish Gypsy culture as well as Orientalism; the importance of Exoticism and Orientalism is brought to the fore in Chapter 5. "Orientalist" can be regarded as an umbrella term for Arab, Muslim and Moorish themes. Painters working within this genre mainly travelled to southern Spain, northern Africa, Egypt, the Arabian Peninsula, Palestine, Turkey and Greece, of which the latter may be characterised as the last outpost for Orientalism. Although all these countries were not strictly Oriental, their Arab or Islamic history secured the Oriental stamp. As John M. MacKenzie has observed, "Orientalism" is recurrently understood as an "essentially art-historical term" with a relatively restricted meaning. Interestingly, he notes that this usage is usually ascribed to the French author and journalist Théophile Gautier (1811–1872), who used the term to describe a group of mainly French, nineteenth-century painters who exhibited subjects from the Middle East and Northern Africa.¹⁴ Gautier travelled to Spain in 1840, expecting to encounter an Oriental world; his Spanish travelogue, *Voyage en Espagne* from 1843 (see Sources), is recurrently taken into account in the following text.

Edelfelt's "Impressionism" and pending Naturalism, frequently commented upon in connection with some of his Sevillian works, are reconsidered in terms of iconography in the section on Seville; his paintings are less "direct" than the technique may suggest. In this context, Venny Soldan's half-year-long sojourn in Spain in 1890 (when she mainly worked in Seville) constitutes an example with which to compare Edelfelt's and earlier journeys to Andalusia.

The Romantic obsession with history and nostalgia (the imagined past) is discussed in the chapter on Edelfelt in Cordoba, Toledo and Madrid. The concept of nostalgia also relates to the function of both tourism and nationalism. Within this framework, I reflect on Edelfelt's concerns with (Finnish) National Romanticism in order to establish an ideological connection between Finnish, French and Spanish Romanticism; the results support the employment of this approach. The central concepts and ideas are discussed alongside my analyses of individual works. In the final two chapters, I draw all the threads of my analyses and arguments together, so that the very last chapter can be read as my closing statement

14 MacKenzie 1996, p. 43. For more on Orientalism in art and architecture, see MacKenzie 1996, pp. 43-70; 71-104.

on the different factors that established the ideological conditions of the period under investigation. Without these principles and ideas, many artworks with Spanish (and Finnish) subjects would never have been painted.

RESEARCH TOOLS

In order to establish why nineteenth-century painters were drawn to Spain, why they employed Spanish topics and styles as well as admired Spanish art, I have deployed a variety of methodological tools. Combined, these can best be defined as a hybrid of traditional art historical methods (formal analysis and iconography) and methods derived from tourism theory. The starting point was formalist, combining an examination of the nineteenth-century canon of Spanish art with questions of style. When examining a perceived “Spanishness” of nineteenth-century revivalist art – the *manière espagnole* – I also deployed the concept of modality.¹⁵ This line of enquiry enabled the description of how Spanishness was achieved by employing formal and expressive elements, mainly inspired from the Spanish Baroque.¹⁶ My focus is nevertheless on the Spanish experience and the general importance of travelling. Therefore, the phenomenon of painters travelling abroad in search of inspiration and new topics soon became more significant than my earlier concerns with questions of style (the modal function) or the canon of Spanish art; this is largely because most of my primary sources are concerned with Edelfelt’s Spanish journey. I do discuss the canon of Spanish art and the formal inspiration from the Spanish Baroque, because understanding the motivation for journeys to Spain involves understanding these processes as well; the Prado Museum may be described as a major “site” for visiting painters.

15 In two earlier articles, I used the term *modus hispaniensis* to describe a revivalist Spanish painting manner (see Lundström 2001b, 2002a). In the present investigation, I use the French term *manière espagnole* for describing a distinct manner of expression, or a particular technique by which something is created (a *modus operandi*). Poussin’s theory of the musical modes in relation to painting forms the basis for modal notions of art (Poussin 1989, pp. 135-137; Kuusamo 1996, p. 220). Meyer Schapiro (1944) defines a modus as a way of achieving a particular expression through the selection of specific elements corresponding to the content (Bialostocki 1961 (1966), p. 27, fn 11, referring to Meyer Schapiro’s “Besprechung: Morey, Early Christian Art”, *The Review of Religion*, VIII, 1944, p. 181). For more on the “Theory on Modes” (according to Northrop Frye and Alois Riegl) see Alpers 1987 (1979), p. 140 ff., p. 147). Alpers also discusses modality in an article on Velázquez’s *Las Meninas*, “Interpretation without Representation, or, The Viewing of *Las Meninas*”, in 1983 (Alpers 1983).

16 Jan Bialostocki 1961 (1966) defines revival styles as separate modii, using, for instance, the term “Renaissance modus”. Like Poussin, Bialostocki regards a modus as a specific modal *Grundtonart*, a particular *Gefühl* (see Bialostocki 1961 (1966), p. 25). Jennifer Montague also notes that modality is very flexible and that considerable change has occurred since the development of Poussin’s original model (Montague 1992). Altti Kuusamo’s doctoral thesis *Tyylisiä tapaan: Semiotiikka, tyyli, ikonografia* [*Semiotics, Style and Iconography*] (1996) has also been useful for my mapping out of the field, since he treats questions of style from a semiotic point of view, dealing with iconography as well as the modality of style. Kuusamo calls attention to how the modal aspect adds a contextualising quality to formal analysis, a quality that presently is lacking in rigid, formalist approaches. Kuusamo also notes that, in his *Art and its Objects* (1970), Wollheim pays attention to “representational properties” as connected to the elements or details in the painting (Kuusamo 1996, pp. 222-223).

The modal function of art is also connected to my deploying of the term Hispanicism, which I occasionally use alongside *espagnolisme*. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines Hispanicism as “a Spanish idiom or mode of expression”, thus the connotations of Hispanicism are, indeed, similar to *espagnolisme*. Hispanicism, when applied to art rather than language, also includes the modal and expressive function of deploying Spanish subjects and painting techniques. I would like to stress the word “mode” because I emphasise the encompassment of modes of expression in art in a wider sense. Thus I use the term Hispanicism not only to refer to a Spanish way of thinking and behaving (as *espagnolisme* is defined), but also to connote the adoption of a Spanish way of painting. This becomes evident throughout the development of my argument. Nineteenth-century art criticism comprehended the loans from the Old Spanish Masters in precisely this manner. The Hispanicism of nineteenth-century painting, therefore, may be regarded as an umbrella term for both *espagnolisme* and the *manière espagnole*: a Hispanicist deploys Spanish subjects and themes, but also (perhaps inadvertently) a “Spanish” modus when it comes to painting technique, such as composition, colours and/or brushwork. But I stress that “Hispanicist” should be distinguished from “Hispanist”, which, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, pertains to “a student of the literature, language and civilisation of Spain”.¹⁷

Furthermore, I define travel pictures from Spain as visual travel accounts – as “tourist art” – that function like a souvenir. By combining iconographical analysis with a modified semiotics that is adapted to suit the needs of tourism studies (semiological tourism theory), I examine the “built-in” meaning of the actual sites, the significance of stereotypical motifs and particular details in the larger context of travelling and image production. In so doing, I deploy Dean MacCannell’s semiotics of tourism as a theoretical framework.¹⁸ In trying to define the meaning of various (tourist) sights, several scholars have turned to semiotics; Jonathan Culler’s essay “The Semiotics of Tourism” (1988)¹⁹ depends to a large extent on MacCannell’s seminal study on the same theme.²⁰ Both scholars argue that tourism de-

17 *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (OED Online), <http://dictionary.oed.com>, accessed 21 November 2005.

18 See Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, 1999 (earlier editions 1976, 1989), pp. 109–133 (Chapter 6. “A Semiotic of Attraction”). MacCannell mentions George Sanders Peirce (1839–1914) and Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913) on pages 109 and 118, but does not refer to particular studies by these theorists. Instead, he develops Peirce’s and Saussure’s theorems when demonstrating his own application of semiotics for analysing tourist sights.

19 Culler 1988.

20 MacCannell 1976; MacCannell 1999. MacCannell has pioneered the development of semiotic methods for the study of social change. He is Professor and Master Advisor of Community Studies and Sociology at the University of California at Davis, where he has been teaching Applied Behavioral Sciences (The Community, Semiotics, Structuralism and Sociocultural Change, and Theories in Community Change) for the past twenty years. For more on his research profile, see MacCannell’s Personal Statement at <http://da.ucdavis.edu/people/websites/maccannell.html>, accessed 13 April 2006 (website updated 10 January 2006). In the last two decades, MacCannell’s theory has established itself as a helpful research tool for tourism studies. For instance, many of the articles appearing in the *Annals of Tourism Research* involve empirical tests of hypotheses derived from *The Tourist*; the special issue “Semiotics of Tourism” was published in 1989 (Vol. 16, Issue 1, 1989), and many articles have appeared since. For more on later research conducted in line with MacCannell’s theory, see MacCannell 1999, pp. xxiv–xxv.

mands a semiotic approach.²¹ In the preface to a later edition of *The Tourist*, MacCannell expresses his opinion that students, who enter this arena of research, should be concerned with observing “real people in real situations”. In my case, this concerns studying historical evidence: the textually and visually recorded experiences of nineteenth-century painters abroad, which should, according to MacCannell’s point of view, “always precede the development of socio-cultural theory”.²² Thus, my employment of MacCannell’s theory is born out of the necessity to explain the experiences of these travellers.

MacCannell’s theory is designed to create an understanding of the tourist’s place in the modern world, and his methodology can be successfully applied to the nineteenth-century modernity.²³ In the collective expeditions of tourists (and travellers), MacCannell sees the “ethnography of modernity”; the tourist attractions are “an unplanned typology of structure that provides direct access to the modern consciousness or ‘world view’”. The tourist is part of universal experience, searching for “peoples, practices and artefacts we might record and relate to our own sociocultural experience”.²⁴

Signs of the typical are produced as tourists seek emblematic cultural practices (I understand this as connected with the interest in metonymy, expressed both in Realism/Naturalism and tourism). Tourists are the intermediaries for semiotics because all over the world they are engaged in reading cities, landscapes and cultures as sign systems.²⁵ I regard travelling painters as such intermediaries. Any kind of information or representation that creates Spanishness may be regarded as a marker. In the semiotics of tourism, a marker represents the site by giving information about the site, creating instant recognisability.²⁶ This goes for most encounters with Otherness, which turn on our previous imagery of the site as a marker of what to expect.

21 Culler writes: “If for the tourist the French chanteuse singing English with a French accent seems more charmingly French than one who simply sings in French, the reason might not be stupidity nor moral turpitude, but a semiotic code. American films treating foreign people and places characteristically have minor characters speak with charming foreign accents, to signify Frenchness, Italianity, Teutonicity, while the main characters (even though foreign) speak American English. There are mechanisms of signification here with which tourism is deeply intertwined” (Culler 1988, p. 154).

22 MacCannell 1999, p. xvii.

23 MacCannell 1999, p. xv. Dean MacCannell’s *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (first edition 1976) connects the tourist experience with the issue of modernity. While acknowledging that the original publication date of *The Tourist* predates postmodernism (and thus the “social arrangement” that he described in 1976 “passed out of existence almost exactly coincident with the original publication date of *The Tourist*”), MacCannell nevertheless observes many similarities between postmodernism and the form of tourism that he discusses in the first edition of his book. In the preface of the 1989 edition (reprinted in 1999), he identifies the tourist as “an early postmodern figure, alienated but seeking subjectivity in his alienation.” (MacCannell 1999, p. xvi).

24 MacCannell 1976, pp. 2, 4-5.

25 Culler 1988, p. 155.

26 Culler 1988, 159, following MacCannell 1976, pp. 110-111.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: IMAGINING, EXPERIENCING AD REMEMBERING SPAIN

The tourists return home carrying souvenirs and talking of their experiences, spreading, wherever they go, a vicarious experience of the sight. It is the vicarious representations that are general and constant. Without the slideshows, travel talks, magazines and other reminders, it would be almost impossible for the individual to represent to himself the differentiations of modern culture.²⁷

Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist* (1976)

“Differentiation” is MacCannell’s central concept on which he bases the assumption that Modernity needs Otherness in order to testify its superiority; the definition of the “self” emerges through a process of differentiation. Painters travelling in Spain would have known what to look for, how to discover the “real” world according to preconceived Spanish imagery, which was essentially differentiated from *their* cultural and geographical background. By bringing together previously defined qualities in their travel pictures, they followed a certain pattern, proceeding towards a personalised, concrete representation of how they viewed Spanishness. Peter Stadius labels such preconceptions as “mental cartography”: imagined facts that produce prefabricated pictures of the world, which, in turn, affect the traveller’s gaze. Earlier travel accounts justified the actions of subsequent travellers, whose expectations and preferences are influenced both before and during the journey.²⁸ The same can be said of travel pictures: earlier pictures direct painters to visit destinations in the same way as written tourist guides direct travellers (and, of course, the written and the painted reports reinforce one another). The result is that certain mental pictures are produced.

As a rule, the painters discussed in the study returned to previous markers in order to determine which sites were indeed significant in Spain. Robert L. Herbert’s investigation of Monet’s paintings of the French seaside supports the premise for my line of argument, although he does not discuss markers of sites in Spain. He notes that Monet left out much that lay in front of him, carefully editing his field of vision “so as to exclude nearly all signs of the village”. It was thus the (modern) tourist infrastructure, such as hotels, other visitors, restaurants and different types of transport that were excluded [he may also have sought distance from his own touristic behaviour?].²⁹ Visitors to the Normandy coast, including

27 MacCannell 1976, quotation p. 158.

28 According to Stadius, travel accounts turn the destination into a literary place, which he refers to as a *topos* (Stadius 2002, p. 312). For more on travelogues, mental geography (mental cartography) and historical research, see Stadius 2005, pp. 15-27.

29 Here, I would like to comment on the use of the word “touristic”. According to MacCannell, it entered the English language due to his implementation of the term in *The Tourist* in 1976 (MacCannell 1999, p. 189). In the *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, the adjective is explained “of or pertaining to tourists or touring”, the first example of its use is dated 1848. The terms “touristical” and “touristically” are, in the same dictionary, described as “from the point of view of a tourist; as regards tourists or tourism”, used as early as 1863 (*Oxford English Dictionary Online* (OED Online), <http://dictionary.oed.com>, accessed 20 April 2006). These definitions are, according to MacCannell, not sufficient for describing what the term “touristic” really implies; the term is better explained as “the line dividing the exchange of human notice, on the one side, and commercial

Monet, arrived with pre-conceived vantage-points based on how the site was conceived (and constructed) decades earlier: texts, as well as pictures of sights, created expectations of the sight.³⁰

Michael Harbsmeier notes that travelogues and travel accounts – visual and written – can also 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.³¹

Paul Fussell also applies this approach to entirely “secular” travel writings, such as Edelfelt’s private letters to his mother.³² Harbsmeier wants to stress the “clearly socially obligatory performances” of travel accounts. 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.”³³

Descriptions of “other places”, Harbsmeier argues, “are clearly so much concerned with the fundamental norms, values and orientations applying at home through descriptive strategies of reversal, contrast and comparison that the ‘static-descriptive’ passages as a rule deserve to be suspected of revealing some sort of critical liminality”.³⁴ Edelfelt’s letters from Spain should thus be “considered as ritual performances both transcending and confirming the socio-cultural order of author and audience through the links to ‘otherness’ established at the liminal points of the textual performance”, as Harbsmeier phrases it.³⁵ Of course, visual travel accounts – tourist paintings – perform the same function.

exchange on the other. ‘Touristic’ is the place where these two kinds of exchange meet.” The touristic involves a measure of commercialisation (MacCannell 1999, p. 193; see also my discussion on Edelfelt and his genre portrait of Mariano/Chorrojumo in Granada, pages 301 ff.). Monet’s avoiding being “touristic” might thus be seen as a sign of conflict between his personal curiosity (“human notice”) and dislike (or rather, deliberate concealment) of commercial interests. But, MacCannell observes, everything has the potential to be an attraction, as long as it is marked as such and someone (anyone) thinks it is worth seeing (MacCannell 1999, p. 192), which makes Monet’s efforts futile. For more on MacCannell’s analysis and implementations of the word “touristic”, see MacCannell 1999, pp. 189-203 (Epilogue).

30 “No matter how personal an encounter with nature, it had been socially constructed by the written and visual texts that guided the visitors’ steps” (Herbert 1994, pp. 1-2).

31 Harbsmeier 1985, p. 282. The ritual character of travel accounts was, according to Harbsmeier, displayed in a “clearly tripartite pattern in the texts of these travellers.” He leans on Nicolas Troubetzkoy’s analysis, which discerns three consecutive phrases: A “dynamic-narrative” beginning (the departure and the actual journey); a “static-descriptive passage” (nature, culture and society observed); and finally the expected “dynamic-narrative” end (the return journey and homecoming). Harbsmeier quotes Paul Fussell as saying that “the modern travel book is what Northrop Frye would call a myth that has been ‘displaced’ – that is, lowered, brought down to earth, rendered credible ‘scientifically’”. The first phase concerns “first the setting out, the disjunction from the familiar: second the trials of initiation and adventure; and third, the return and the hero’s reintegration into society” (quotations from Fussell 1980, p. 208; comp. Harbsmeier 1985, p. 282).

32 Fussell 1980, pp. 202-203.

33 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Alhambra 13 April 1881, SLSA.

34 Harbsmeier 1985, p. 282.

35 Harbsmeier 1985, pp. 282-283.

The differentiating encounter with Spain's Otherness thus enabled the visiting painter to define "the self".³⁶ Textual and visual travel accounts are frequently based on comparative studies of the strange and the familiar or, as Stadius phrases it: "the travel destination becomes a point of reference for the traveller in his understanding of himself, his own background and his own society. The journey and the travelogue turn into a mirror, where the traveller first and foremost sees himself."³⁷ Therefore, I use the travelling painters' correspondence as well as their paintings from Spain; as Fred Orton and Griselda Pollock suggest, they are

[...] part of the ideological baggage carried by artistic tourists whose meaning has to be determined within historical conditions from and against which they were produced – conditions of change, *relations of difference* [my emphasis], and the social and cultural dominance of an urban bourgeois.³⁸

PAINTER-TOURISTS STAGING AUTHENTICITY

When trying to make sense of the unfamiliar, nineteenth-century painters relied on previously constructed images of sites and objects in much the same way as tourists do today. Edelfelt's choices of motif, for instance, show assimilated and stereotype clichés; "the painter-tourist" Edelfelt thought he was capturing the typically "authentic" aspects of Spanish popular culture. The travelling painter was a view-hunter³⁹ in much the same way as the tourist.

Recent research has acknowledged that the difference between the tourist and the (serious) traveller is largely exaggerated: they are not discrete categories of people, merely two different kinds of traveller, frequently existing simultaneously.⁴⁰ Thus my use of MacCannell's theory on tourism, which focuses on leisure, cannot be criticised. The painters worked most of the time during their journeys, but they acted also like tourists. "Leisure" and "work" during artistic travels cannot be separated; they were, in fact, mutually reinforcing. Although painters such as Edelfelt – at least officially – were in Spain to enhance their profession and technical proficiency by examining Spanish art, they were constantly collecting "sights" and painting souvenirs. Few travellers fail to buy postcards of famous paintings or a miniature souvenir of the Eiffel Tower, or take a snapshot of themselves or their travel companion next to a famous building. Painters substituted an easel and paintbrush for the camera. Needless to say, all tourists are travellers, but all travellers are also tourists, to varying degrees. We also

36 Michael Harbsmeier also supports this standpoint. For instance, Edelfelt's Spanish "travelogue" – his diary-like letters from Spain – provides "a close study of what a given cultural formation has to say about what it is not, about all the other real or imaginary cultures and societies surrounding it" (Harbsmeier 1985, p. 281).

37 Stadius 2002, p. 311 (my translation).

38 Orton & Pollock 1980, p. 330.

39 The term appeared as early as 1831 (Carlyle) and was also used by J.E. Murray in his travel account *Summer in the Pyrenees II* (1837) (Sillanpää 2002, p. 31 fn 47).

40 Culler 1988, pp. 156-157.

ought to remember that the word “tourist” nowadays implies a leisure activity, whereas in the late eighteenth century, the tourist was someone pursuing a serious enquiry.⁴¹

Most travellers combine several types of touristic activities in one trip, such as cultural tourism, environmental tourism and ethnic tourism. Nature tourism may be seen as the “purest” form of environmental tourism, “where varied aspects of the land, sea, and sky perform their magical works of renewal”. Another way to get close to “Nature’s bosom”, as Nelson Graburn calls it, is “through her children, the people of Nature, once labelled Peasant and Primitive people and considered creatures of instinct”. Cultural tourism, on the other hand, focuses on the great traditions, and includes, for instance, visiting museums, cathedrals and other (historical) monuments.⁴² When analysing Edelfelt’s Spanish oeuvre and correspondence, we come across all these different forms of tourism.

Tourism also includes transforming the work of others into “an object of touristic curiosity”.⁴³ By this, MacCannell refers to work conducted by the native inhabitants of travel destinations, such as local handicrafts.⁴⁴ Visits to the notorious Tobacco Factory in Seville is one, much appreciated, example of this practice. Pollock also includes sightseeing in tourists’ consumption, in addition to eating, drinking and a variety of entertainment.⁴⁵ This certainly seems applicable to such Spanish sights as Flamenco performances and other Spanish national dances, bullfights and, for instance, Theophile Gautier’s constant reports – in his famous *Voyage en Espagne* from 1843 (see Sources) – of what he ate during the journey, including giving his readers a recipe for *Gazpacho* soup!⁴⁶

According to Culler, reproductions, copies, souvenirs, postcards and other reminders of the spot [such as travelogues or tourist paintings] are powerful means of maintaining the status of the original object, which in this case is a specific geographical area and culture. Tourist paintings thus 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 that this is a sight. Tourists (or travellers) constantly long to see “the real thing”, which was also the main pursuit of nineteenth-century painters, who observed and depicted mainly what they identified as being “authentically Spanish”.⁴⁷

41 Sillanpää states that distinguishing between travelling and tourism is an ongoing debate on which consensus is unlikely to be reached (Sillanpää 2002, pp. 29-30, referring to Dann 1999).

42 Graburn 1978, pp. 26-27.

43 MacCannell 1976, p. 6. MacCannell defines viewing others working as a leisure activity (MacCannell 1976, pp. 5-7).

44 “In every corner of the modern world, *labor* and *production* are being presented to sightseers in guided tours of factories and in museums of science and industry” (MacCannell 1975, p. 7 [emphasis in the original]).

45 Pollock 1992, p. 62.

46 Gautier 1926, p. 231, and *passim*.

47 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 (Culler 1988, p. 164). When the Paris *Salon* was invaded by images of Flamenco dancers and bullfighters, they lost their appeal. The thousandth painter in the Alhambra became a somewhat dilettantish tourist painter, while the first conveyed true originality. Thus, the pioneering painter

Culler builds his arguments on MacCannell's semiotics of tourism, which includes the concept of "staged authenticity", a widely cited theory on the construction of tourist sites. MacCannell defines staged authenticity as a staged back region, a "living museum".⁴⁸ Tourists demand authenticity, and MacCannell defines the back region as the sphere where native inhabitants come together, normally thought to be more "authentic" and "real" than what MacCannell refers to as the front stage (a social space shared by tourists and hosts). In tourism, consequently, impressions of authenticity are achieved by constructing sights that appear to be back regions, but which still remain "inauthentic" because they are, indeed, "staged" to appear authentic. The tourists' urge to "get behind the scene" corresponds to growing touristic understanding; engaging with local habitants enabled the tourist to enter into a quest for authentic experiences, perceptions and insights.⁴⁹

The nineteenth-century perception of authenticity was (and still is today) associated with the inverse idea of modernity, defining the "authentic" as the antithesis of the industrial and technological city. Pollock deploys MacCannell's observation that tourism is "a decisive instance of that complex we call modernity", arguing that

[MacCannell's] "structuralist" anatomy of tourism is extremely apposite and suggestive in thinking about the peculiar structures of emergent modernism which we encounter in the art of the late nineteenth century, epitomized around the artist as tourist and the strategies of Gauguin in Tahiti. Tourism operates in the macrocosm of modernity as a whole in a way which can be paralleled in the micro-community of the Parisian avant-garde.⁵⁰

Therefore, Pollock proposes that Gauguin, Bernard and van Gogh were tourists when they sought inspiration in Brittany and Provence. The cultural representations that were produced within the framework of modern artistic tourism were, according to Pollock, always producing difference, that is, signs of distance. She asserts that the tourist gaze is protected "through the privilege of *proximate distance*", and the things seen by the tourist become modern through the encounter with the "spectacle of difference".⁵¹

In Gauguin's case, the French countryside and the tropical nature of Tahiti became "untouched, unchanged, simple, natural, wild, primitive, namely, non-modern" through their antithesis to urban life. The modern, Pollock states, "is formed precisely by being experienced in temporal and cultural difference from what is perceived as the pre-modern or non-modern".⁵² Basing my arguments on primary sources, a recurrent theme in this study is that nineteenth-century Spain was considered to be pre- or non-modern. This claim concerns

was marked as modern and progressive, while the follower was perceived as an imitator.

48 MacCannell 1976, p. 99.

49 MacCannell 1976, pp. 91-107.

50 Pollock examines Paul Gauguin's stay in Tahiti in 1893 through the concept of tourism. She calls this approach "the matrix of the Tourist, the paradigmatic mode of modernity in the age of high colonialism" (Pollock 1992, pp. 10-11).

51 Pollock 1992, p. 60 ff.

52 Pollock 1992, pp. 60-65.

both written and painted travelogues. Spain's Otherness, particularly that of Andalusia, was thus differentiated from Parisian modernity. Modernity needed these "purer and simpler lifestyles" in order to present itself as "modern".⁵³ Gautier's *Voyage en Espagne* is an early example of this ambiguity. Since travelling was itself an expression of modernity, it needed a "non-modern" element. While travelling in 1840 on mules from Granada to Malaga through rough terrain, Gautier contemplated:

What constitutes the pleasure of a traveller are obstacles, fatigue, or even danger. What charm can there be in a journey when one is always sure to arrive, and find horses ready, a downy bed, an excellent supper and all the comfort one enjoys at home? One of the great misfortunes of modern life is the absence of the unexpected, the lack of adventure.⁵⁴

Adventure, at least according to Gautier, was apparently found only in encounters with a "pre-modern" environment. Nineteenth-century travellers frequently described "obstacles, fatigue and even danger", so as to conceal the leisurely (and thus touristic) component of the journey. Travelling should include hardships and adventure, and not be merely a journey undertaken for pleasure.⁵⁵

The perceived heroism of early explorers and travellers in Spain, ranging from the pilgrims of the Middle Ages to the soldiers of the Napoleonic Wars, may have created a desire, which today has turned into a prosperous economic enterprise.⁵⁶ The nineteenth-century sojourns of painter-tourists mark a midpoint in Spain's development from a place for individual adventure to mass tourism. By choosing "typically authentic" and metonymical fragments of the foreign culture – at the expense of other, undesirable features – their "staged" travel pictures provided convincing images of the places they depicted.⁵⁷ The painters proved that they had really been "there" – in the back regions – and had seen the "real thing", the ultimate goal of all travellers.⁵⁸ Their travel pictures thus acquired the same function as a souvenir.

53 MacCannell 1976, p. 3.

54 Gautier 1926, p. 224.

55 Comp. Stadius 2002, on the function of travel accounts until the twentieth century.

56 Today, the *Costa del Sol* in Andalusia is the foremost Spanish tourist attraction. According to Graham Dann, it was Rose MacCaulay's travel account, *Fabled Shore: From the Pyrenees to Portugal by Road* from 1949, that launched Spanish mass tourism in the postmodern era (Dann 1999, p. 161).

57 Comp. MacCannell 1976, p. 106. They are, of course, not "more authentic", but only made to *appear* as such (comp. MacCannell 1976, p. 102).

58 Comp. MacCannell 1976, pp. 96-98, 100-102.

MEMORIES OF EXPERIENCES: THE SOUVENIR

The double function of the souvenir is to authenticate a past or otherwise remote experience and, at the same time, to discredit present. The present is either too impersonal, too looming, or too alienating compared to the intimate and direct experience of contact which the souvenir has as its referent. This referent is authenticity. What lies between here and there is oblivion, a void marking a radical separation between past and present. The nostalgia of the souvenir plays in the distance between the present and an imagined, prelapsarian experience, experience as it might be “directly lived”. The location of authenticity becomes whatever is distant to the present time and space; hence we can see the souvenir as attached to the antique and the exotic.⁵⁹

Susan Stewart, *On Longing* (1993)

The meaning of the word “souvenir” is “to remember”: like souvenirs, travel pictures function as proof and memories of “authentic experiences”, frequently stressing stereotypical and fragmentary qualities of the depicted object. Both souvenirs and travel pictures include the component of nostalgia. Particularly if inscribed with a text, such as time and place, travel pictures are much akin to souvenirs, since they are tangible memories of an ephemeral experience. They are thus “artefacts saved as reminders of a particular heightened reality”, imagining the *way* that reality was [or was believed to have been] experienced, as Beverly Gordon phrases it.⁶⁰

In the following, I reflect on four different interpretations of the souvenir’s function: the analyses by Beverly Gordon (“The Souvenir: Messenger of the Extraordinary”, 1986), Michael Harkin (“Modernist Anthropology and Tourism of the Authentic”, 1995), Susan Stewart (in *On Longing. Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*, 1993) and Kirsten Hastrup (1985, “Anthropology and the Exaggeration of Culture: A Review Article”). These texts focus on different aspects of the souvenir’s function but are mutually reinforcing. They can also be adopted to suit analyses of tourist art, since the definitions and travel pictures share several fundamental characteristics.

Gordon’s definition of the souvenir stresses its memory-function, its ability to provide proof of extraordinary experiences, and its ability to concretise:

The universality of the souvenir can be understood in light of its underlying role or function. As an actual object, it concretizes or makes tangible what was otherwise only an intangible state. Its physical presence helps locate, define, and freeze in time a fleeting, transitory experience, and bring back into ordinary experience something of the quality of an extraordinary experience.⁶¹

The souvenir is thus a means to concretise the extraordinary. People cannot pin down the non-ordinary, atypical phenomenon, “for it is by nature ephemeral”, Gordon states, but

59 Stewart 1993, pp. 139-140.

60 Gordon 1986, p. 144.

61 Gordon 1986, p. 145.

they can retain a tangible piece of it. She observes the Western tendency to define reality as “that which you can put your hands on”. When one puts his hands on a souvenir, he is not only remembering he was there, but “proving” it.⁶²

Michael Harkin also defines souvenirs as “proof” of having been “there”, as testimonies of the “when”. Like Gordon, he regards souvenirs as metonymic, working as substitutes for sights. He maintains that souvenirs represent “parts of a trip, discrete, episodic experiences making up the larger exotopic encounter”. Thus travel pictures were offered as souvenirs of “when I was abroad”. The “when” is crucial, since it serves as evidence of “elements in the syntagmatic chain of experience”.⁶³ According to Harkin, tourist experiences are fundamentally fragmentary in quality and therefore so are souvenirs, as is evidenced by Gustave Flaubert’s travel account from Egypt: Flaubert’s narrative is a construction of fragments, which is an explicitly touristic experience.⁶⁴ Susan Stewart also acknowledges the souvenir’s fragmentary quality, and develops her argument by claiming that the souvenir is dependent on a particular narrative that is governed by fictions and abstractions. The souvenir is therefore a part – a fragment – that is able to represent the whole.⁶⁵

Stewart divides the souvenir into two types, distinguishing between souvenirs of exterior sights (mostly purchasable representations), and souvenirs of individual experience. The latter is intimately mapped against the life history of an individual.⁶⁶ Stewart’s two-part division is particularly suitable for analysing travel pictures. If the image that a painter has transferred to his canvas is defined as a souvenir, it fits in both categories: it recalls the painter’s individual experiences and functions as a (fragmentary and) “representational” souvenir. Stewart’s claim that souvenirs are dependent on nostalgia, distance and narration can thus easily be transferred to include also travel pictures. She defines the souvenir as emblematic of nostalgia: “the longing for its place of origin”. The souvenir establishes distance, an exotic time and place, but it also contracts the real world because the distance is brought into proximity. The worldview of the person who owns the souvenir [i.e., the painter] is thus expanded.⁶⁷

Kirsten Hastrup, on the other hand, defines the souvenir as a standardised artefact [i.e., a representation] that exaggerates the experienced culture through distancing and differentiation.⁶⁸ If we apply Hastrup’s criticism of anthropology, travelling painters were acting like social anthropologists, studying the (typically different, stereotypical) cultural behaviour of their hosts. Just as a souvenir repeatedly serves as a stereotypical synopsis of the characteristics of its place of origin, social anthropology has much to do with exaggeration. Hastrup continues:

62 Gordon 1986, p. 136.

63 Harkin 1995, p. 658.

64 Harkin 1995, p. 658.

65 Stewart 1993, p. x-xiii.

66 Stewart 1993, p. 138-139.

67 Stewart 1993, pp. x-xiii.

68 Hastrup 1985, p. 315.

It is as an *extreme* that every culture comes to life as *culture*, inherently comparative in its counter-distinction to other cultures. From this argument stems the delightful point about “the exaggeration of culture”. Cultures exaggerate themselves in order to become distinct; and anthropology cements the exaggeration: “ethnographic writing about other cultures consists, like cultures themselves, in an exaggeration of differences”. Experiencing the exaggeration of culture in the field is accompanied by writing equally exaggerating books – in many ways operating like cultures themselves.⁶⁹

In a similar way, in their act of documenting “reality” and the “true life” of the Spaniards, painters “cemented” cultural exaggerations; instead of “writing equally exaggerating books”, they painted tourist art.

Hastrup also recalls the old truism that a culture can be defined only in counterdistinction to other cultures.⁷⁰ Taking a standpoint which is comparable to MacCannell’s concept of differentiation, she concludes that culture is a discourse “with implied negatives, because it is also always a discourse about that which is *not*”.⁷¹ But in order to differentiate in the exaggerated manner of a souvenir, the interpreter has to be satisfied with what Hastrup calls translations: semantic anthropology focuses on translating alien experiences.⁷² And in the translation, the investigator is always implicitly present.⁷³ As Harbsmeier points out, travelogues are embedded with information not only about its described objects, but also about the writers.⁷⁴ Accordingly, painted souvenirs – these personal “translations” of foreign culture – also reveal a great deal about their creators.

Consequently, souvenirs transform materiality into meaning, creating a narrative of the past. As Stewart observes, the Romantics associated antiquarianism with the picturesque, and antiquarian interests in material evidence evolved into an interest in peasant culture. The peasant class was objectified and regarded as a survival of an elusive, purer, yet diminished past. Under antiquarianism, every aspect of rural life became a potential souvenir. This development is still evident in the way souvenirs frequently depict or miniaturise handicraft from pre-industrial eras. This may be seen as an extension of the nineteenth-century (predictive) fear that an entire way of life was about to disappear.⁷⁵ To sum up, it expressed a nostalgic fear of modernity.

69 Hastrup 1985, p. 315, the inserted quotation from James A. Boon. *Other Tribes, Other Scribes: Symbolic Anthropology in the Comparative Study of Culture, Histories, Religions and Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1982, p. 26).

70 “To the investigator [or, the travelling painter] the exotic culture, with which one identifies during [...] field-work, represents what the investigator’s native culture *is not*. Understanding ‘other cultures’ thus emerges from the anthropologist’s sense of antithesis – as does the entire cross-cultural discourse” (Hastrup 1985, p. 314).

71 Hastrup 1985, p. 313.

72 Symbolic/semantic anthropology is mainly concerned with the construction of meaning in culture (Hastrup 1985, pp. 313-314).

73 Hastrup 1985, pp. 314-315.

74 Harbsmeier 1985, p. 281.

75 Stewart identifies this transformation of culture into an article of trade as “the culture of tourism” (Stewart 1993, pp. 142-145).

ROMANTICISM AGAINST THE TIDE OF MODERNITY

For moderns, reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and cultures, in purer, simpler lifestyles. In other words, the concern of moderns for ‘naturalness’, their nostalgia and their search for authenticity are not merely causal and somewhat decadent, though harmless, attachments to the souvenirs of destroyed cultures and dead epochs. They are also components of the conquering spirit of modernity – the grounds of its unifying consciousness.⁷⁶

Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist* (1976)

My main argument is that nineteenth-century travels to Spain were an expression of Romantic nostalgia and a fear of modernity: the use of Spanish iconography and painting techniques were primarily a result of the negative aspects of modernity. The paradox of modernity has been forcefully presented in Löwy and Sayre’s *Romanticism Against the Tide of Modernity*, initially published in French in 1992. They suggest that Romanticism survived the age of Impressionism and that Romantic ideas continued well into the twentieth century. Even though expressions such as Expressionism and Surrealism, and the much later ecological revolt and pacifism in the 1960s are not described as “Romantic”, they nevertheless express a similar worldview. Löwy and Sayre also point out that Romanticism grew out of thoughts that started to develop long before the French Revolution in 1789, which is frequently cited as the starting point of Romanticism. They argue that the crisis of civilisation connected with the birth and development of industrialism is far from resolved and so the Romantic worldview that emerged during the second half of the eighteenth century is still widely held.⁷⁷

Löwy and Sayre present a definition of Romantic nostalgia, which reveals its connection to tourism:

The soul ardently desires to go home again, to return to its homeland [...]. What is lacking in the present existed once upon a time, in a more or less distant past. The defining characteristic of that past is its difference from the present: the past is the period in which the various modern alienations did not yet exist. Romantic nostalgia looks to a precapitalist past, or at least to a past in which the modern socioeconomic system was not yet fully developed. Thus nostalgia for the past is – to borrow a term from Marx and Engels, who noted this feature among the English capitalists – “closely linked” to the critique of the capitalist world.⁷⁸

The past that is the object of nostalgia may be entirely mythological or legendary, as can be seen in references to Eden, the Golden Age or lost Atlantis. But even in the many instances when a real historical past is evoked, the past is always viewed through rose-tinted glasses.⁷⁹ This links Romanticism to tourism and the souvenir. Stewart notes that the world of the

76 MacCannell 1976, p. 3.

77 Löwy & Sayre 2001, pp. 1-21.

78 Löwy & Sayre 2001, p. 27.

79 Löwy & Sayre 2001, p. 27.

souvenir can be interpreted in the same way; this occurs in most forms of tourism. She also calls attention to how the “souvenir of the exotic [...] offers an authenticity of experience tied up with notions of the primitive as child and the primitive as an earlier and purer stage of contemporary civilization”.⁸⁰

Löwy and Sayre’s definition of Romanticism resembles Stewart’s definition of the souvenir: Romanticism is a universal idea that principally functions as a critique of modern bourgeois society. The expression “picturesque poverty”, as Lucy R. Lippard phrases it in the introduction to the third edition of MacCannell’s *The Tourist* (1999), might be used in this context for describing the past as the antithesis to modernity.⁸¹ Löwy and Sayre’s wide-ranging examination of Romanticism also engages with the contradiction of fleeing to purer and simpler lifestyles by the means of a highly “modern” device, namely that of tourism. Capitalism is the unifying source for the phenomenon that we acknowledge as “modernity”, and Romanticism arose in opposition to it. Romanticism, they argue, is essentially a reaction against the way of life in capitalist societies, and as such it is a critique of modernity in the name of values and ideals of the past.⁸²

Nostalgia is thus at the heart of Romanticism. The Romantics’ realism and their critical vision did not contradict their past-oriented ideology: the dualism of revolt and melancholy is a characteristic trait of Romanticism. Melancholic nostalgia has remained a fundamental component, although Romanticism also encompasses a utopian element. The experience of loss is thus a distinctive Romantic feature, a quest for the lost object and a feeling of homelessness and alienation. Romantics possessed a “painful and melancholic conviction that in modern reality something precious had been lost”, Löwy and Sayre conclude.⁸³

Romanticism, tourism and souvenirs thus share one unifying and mutually reinforcing component: nostalgia. According to Löwy and Sayre, the “Romantic vision selects a moment from the actual past in which the harmful characteristics of modernity did not yet exist and in which the human values that have been since stifled by modernity were still operative”.⁸⁴ Several forms of tourism (e.g., ethnic tourism, culture and heritage tourism) build on precisely these grounds, and therefore they are essentially Romantic. Löwy and Sayre note that the Romantics repeatedly wished to

flee bourgeois society, leaving cities behind for the country, trading modern countries for exotic ones, abandoning the centres of capitalist development for some ‘elsewhere’ that *keeps a more*

80 Stewart 1993, pp. 145-146.

81 MacCannell 1999, p. xi.

82 Löwy & Sayre 2001, pp. 1-21.

83 Löwy & Sayre 2001, pp. 24-27.

84 Paradoxically, the historical moment is always transformed into a utopia. The Romantic orientation toward the past involves “looking ahead: the image of a dreamed-of future beyond the contemporary world is inscribed within the vocation of a pre-capitalist era” (Löwy & Sayre 2001, p. 22).

primitive past alive in the present [my emphasis]. The approach of exoticism is a search for a past in the present by a mere displacement in space.⁸⁵

This nostalgia is expressed in the majority of the travel pictures and letters that I discuss, particularly in Edelfelt's Spanish oeuvre and correspondence. He, like many other nineteenth-century painters travelling in Spain, depicted today's main tourist attractions, exotic spots and people, reminiscent of past periods. Journeys to Spain were thus an expression of one of European tourism's driving forces: Romantic nostalgia. Thus I analyse Spanish travel pictures as manifestations of the yearning for more authentic and simpler lifestyles, a phenomenon typical of the nineteenth century. As such, they function as souvenirs: the past was, indeed, made visible in the present.

SOURCES

The time span of the study is limited to the nineteenth century. Defining later, twentieth-century Hispanicism requires an entirely different approach. The sources of the later period concentrate on exhibition reviews while letters and actual travel pictures remain scarce (they are probably only available in private collections). Thus, the analysis would involve using methods other than those deployed in the present investigation, which motivates the exclusion of later journeys.⁸⁶

My primary material consists of travel sketches, paintings, letters, contemporary exhibition catalogues and art criticism, travel books and illustrations, and so forth. I have visited numerous archives, museums and private collections (secondary sources are discussed more thoroughly below, see Review of the Research Literature). I have also regularly searched the database of the Finnish Historical Newspaper Library (Helsinki University Library) for contemporary information with relevance to the investigation, such as exhibition reviews. In locating early copies after Spanish originals, I have received help from the Institute of Ecclesiastical Art and Architecture at the University of Jyväskylä (Kirkkostaiteen ja -arkkitehtuurin tutkimusinstituutti, Jyväskylän yliopisto, taidehistorian oppiaine, taiteiden ja kulttuurin tutkimuksen laitos). The Institute collects, updates and provides information on ecclesiastical art for research. Early Finnish copies – by anonymous or identified painters

85 Löwy & Sayre 2001, p. 24. The French author Charles Nodier (1780–1844) defined his setting of his novel *Smarra and Trilby* in a wild Scottish landscape by claiming that only by leaving Europe [sic!] behind, can one “find remnants of humanity's spring-time, an idyllic period in which the sources of the imagination and sensitivity had not yet dried up” (rephrased by Löwy & Sayre 2001, pp. 23-24). Nodier was one of the first authors to write about the concerns of dream life and desire. He was more important for his influence on the French Romantic movement than for his own writings (“Charles Nodier”, *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, accessed 13 May 2004).

86 Magnus Enckell (1877–1925) travelled to Spain in 1900, but his journey is not included in the present study. His preferences for Spanish art and culture should be scrutinised within the framework of (French) Symbolist art theories, and not the nineteenth-century context. Earlier, I have documented Enckell's Spanish journey from a historical-descriptive perspective (Lundström 1996 [unpubl.], pp. 91-98).

– based on works by Old Spanish Masters are, on occasion, located in Lutheran churches in Finland, while others are deposited in museums and private collections.

The Historical Archives of the Swedish Literature Society in Helsinki contain some artworks as well as the letters and diaries of Mathilda Rotkirch (1813–1842), who visited the *Galerie Espagnole* at the Louvre in the 1840s. Rotkirch has been thoroughly investigated by Jouni Kuurne, who has included her diaries in unabridged and original form in a biography on the painter from 2002. The primary sources on Adrian Barkman (1825–1855) are mainly drawn from secondary texts produced in the late nineteenth century. His copies after Murillo from around 1850 are preserved as black-and-white photographs in the Archives of the National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

Adolf von Becker's collection of his copies from the 1860s after Spanish originals is, unfortunately, scattered, but several pieces have emerged at auctions; these artworks are now in the possession of private collectors. A number of Becker's copies and other works of art related to the Spanish vogue are preserved at the Finnish National Gallery in Helsinki, while his letters from Paris and Spain and other primary sources are found in the Gallery's archives. Additional information on Becker's perception of Spain has been obtained from contemporary newspapers. Other primary sources on Becker are preserved at the Archives of the Helsinki University Library, such as his curriculum vitae and part of his correspondence.

Albert Edelfelt's analysed pictures are, for the most part, located in museums or private collections, but the whereabouts of some of them remain unknown. The Finnish National Gallery holds the bulk of the material, in addition to a number of other institutions in Finland and abroad. Edelfelt's Spanish compositions have also appeared on the national and international auction markets; these paintings and drawings are now in private collections. Unfortunately, I have not been able to view them all in person. Occasionally, I base my arguments on reproductions, particularly when discussing artworks located abroad. Moreover, I have not been able to locate a small number of Edelfelt's Spanish pictures mentioned in Bertel Hintze's *Catalogue raisonné* on the painter (1942–44/1953); in these cases, I rely on Hintze's textual descriptions of artworks with distinctively Spanish titles, or reproductions. Some of the paintings, drawings and watercolours mentioned in Hintze's list are, most probably, still owned by Edelfelt's heirs or their beneficiaries, but it has not always been possible to locate the current owners. Supplementing the aforementioned sources with information provided by contemporary exhibition catalogues has nevertheless made it possible to create a comprehensive overview of Edelfelt's Spanish *oeuvre*. Reading contemporary exhibition reviews has also facilitated my work. The total number of pictures by Edelfelt with Spanish themes that I analyse slightly exceeds 40.

In addition to visual sources, another important primary material on Edelfelt is his vast correspondence; whilst in Spain, he was a conscientious and regular letter-writer. Twelve detailed letters from the five-week-long journey are addressed to his mother Alexandra,

and two to the curator of the *Finnish Art Society*, Berndt Otto Schauman (1821–1895). The Swedish Literature Society in Helsinki holds an extensive collection of Edelfelt's correspondence, the letters addressed to Alexandra Edelfelt constituting the larger part.⁸⁷ The letters to Schauman are found in the Archives of the Finnish National Gallery. They were also published in *Helsingfors Dagblad* that same year, 1881. Unfortunately, the two letters Edelfelt sent from Spain to his friend and colleague, Gunnar Berndtson (1854–1895), are lost.⁸⁸ These letters would have provided additional information since they were intended for a fellow painter whose position was somewhere between the familiarity of his mother and the official status of the curator of the *Finnish Art Society*. Edelfelt also wrote exhibition reviews and other texts on European, contemporary art. Several discuss French painting or the exhibitions at the Parisian *Salon*, clarifying his artistic ambition and some standpoints that are relevant for the present investigation. These essays appeared in Finnish periodicals and newspapers.

Primary, visual material referring to Venny Soldan's Spanish journey in 1890 is scarce; no more than a few drawings and paintings with reference to her journey have come to my attention. The collections of the Finnish National Gallery include a drawing of a dancer and a preliminary study for a copy after Murillo, while the rest of the discovered artworks with Spanish themes are located in private collections, such as (one of) her sketch-book(s) which contains drawings from Spain. Her letters from Spain, addressed to various persons in her family and to her friends, are preserved at the National Archives of Finland in Helsinki. For additional information, I have consulted the Finnish Historical Newspaper Library's database.

On a few occasions, I also discuss Helene Schjerfbeck's (1862–1946) commitment to the Spanish trend. She never travelled to Spain, but her admiration of Spanish painting (mainly Velázquez, Goya and Murillo) lasted throughout her life, later including El Greco in her pantheon.⁸⁹ Her drawings after Mariano Fortuny are today in the possession of a private collector. She also executed a few copies after Velázquez in collections outside Spain. Understandably, not many paintings with Spanish themes have been found. Other primary sources consist of her letters, preserved in the archives at Åbo Akademi University Library and Helsinki University Library. Otherwise, I base my arguments mainly on reproductions of her paintings, and secondary sources (see Review of the Research Literature). This is the case also for Helena Westermarck (1857–1938), who studied in Paris together with Schjerfbeck. Westermarck's memoirs were published posthumously in 1941.

87 I use Edelfelt's Swedish originals in the archives of the Swedish Literature Society in Helsinki (SLSA). The English translations are mine.

88 According to Edelfelt, he sent two letters to Berndtson, but the latter did not bother to answer (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Toledo 4 May 1881, SLSA).

89 Schjerfbeck's curiosity about El Greco emerged in the early twentieth century, which is why I do not discuss this particular matter here; the topic deserves a separate investigation. For more on Schjerfbeck and El Greco, see e.g., Lundström 1996 [unpubl], pp. 65–66; Konttinen 2004, pp. 267, 384, 387, 392.

Another important source and reference point for my understanding of the nineteenth-century perception of Spain is 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 stance within the narrative. These “sketches of reality” (“verklighetsskisser”) 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:⁹⁰ however fantastic the description, it was “true” for the author.⁹¹ Théophile Gautier’s 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.⁹² The influence of this poet, novelist, art critic and journalist 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. Gautier travelled to Spain in 1840, and forty years later, Edelfelt read the resultant book.⁹³ The similarities between their observations are remarkable; a connection between the conventions of travel-journalism during Romanticism and later travels in Spain is thus established.

REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH LITERATURE

Several investigations of Spanish influence on 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, Velázquez: la manière espagnole au XIXe siècle*-exhibition was on display during the autumn of 2002. The exposition continued at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 2003 (*Manet/Velázquez: The French Taste for Spanish Painting*).⁹⁴ In New York, the exhibition also included works by American painters who studied in France but learned to paint like Spaniards. The catalogues for these grand

90 Stadius mentions also the term “heterostereotype” as meaning the idea or image a person or group has about another person or group (Stadius 2002, p. 310).

91 Thus travel accounts are valuable means of understanding a person’s ideas, cultural encounters and clashes (Stadius 2002, p. 310).

92 In my quotations, I use the English translation from 1926 (Gautier 1926). Only when an element is omitted from the translation, do I draw on one of the many French versions of Gautier’s book (Gautier [1843]).

93 Several travelogues were, of course, published, but because of Edelfelt’s dependence on Gautier, I focus on the influence of this particular writer. Another noteworthy example from about this time was produced by Alexandre Dumas the Elder (1802–1870), who travelled from Paris to Cadiz in the autumn of 1846. He travelled together with his son Alexandre Dumas the Younger, his old friend, the painter Louis Boulanger, and the former schoolmaster, Auguste Maquet, who would become his foremost collaborator. At the time of the Spanish journey, Dumas was at the height of his career; *The Three Musketeers*, together with the recently completed *Count of Monte Cristo*, had made him renowned far beyond the borders of France (Murch 1959, pp. v-vi). Dumas the Elder published an account of his Spanish travels entitled *De Paris à Cadix*, filling four volumes, each of several hundred pages (for later editions, see Dumas 1883; Dumas 1888). His travelogue is written in the form of private letters, addressed to an invented “Madame” in Paris. As such, Dumas’ account is a good example of the many travel books published in the epistolary form, so as to heighten the authenticity of his experience.

94 *Manet/Velázquez* 2003.

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.⁹⁵

Initially, it was the exhibition catalogue, *Spain, Espagne, Spanien: Foreign Artists Discover Spain 1800–1900* (1993, The Equitable Gallery, New York), with texts by various authors, that opened my eyes to nineteenth-century (French) interest in Spanish art and culture. Since my discovery of this publication, I have made a long journey through a plethora of investigations and analyses of the curiosity about Spain and Spanish painting in Europe and America. Ilse Hempel Lipschutz's groundbreaking *Spanish Painting and the French Romantics* was published in 1972. Alisa Luxenberg's doctoral thesis on Léon Bonnat and her other studies on French nineteenth-century painters' presence in Spain (e.g., an article in the *Spain, Espagne, Spanien*-catalogue) and questions on the canon of Spanish painting are also valuable, above all because of her critical standpoint. Several investigations have also been published in Spain, for instance by María de los Santos García Felguera and Javier Portús. Spanish publications on Romanticism and Andalusia and other anthologies on Andalusian imagery have appeared in great numbers in recent years. These publications are only a small part of the total number of works consulted during my research.

With respect to Finnish research on such interest in Spain and Spanish culture, my own investigations constitute the starting point; in 1991, I accomplished a master's thesis on Finnish nineteenth-century painters in Spain and, in 1996, a licentiate thesis.⁹⁶ As regards the first half of the nineteenth century, I have collected information on the attraction of Spain and Spanish painting in Finland from several different primary and secondary sources, for the first time bringing them together in one place. As for my discussions of Helene Schjerfbeck's and Venny Soldan's art, I rely heavily on Riitta Konttinen's research and recently published biographies on these painters. In this context, Siulolovao Challons-Lipton's investigation of Léon Bonnat's Scandinavian pupils has been a valuable additional source because of her attention to Bonnat's reliance on the Old Spanish Masters. In earlier and recent Finnish art history, however, Adolf von Becker's Spanish copies are mentioned, but their position is neither analysed to any greater extent by art historians other than myself, nor is his position within the Franco-Spanish trend explained. The catalogue published during the *Adolf von Becker*-exhibition at the Cygnaei Gallery in Helsinki in 2002 has also clarified my analysis of Becker's art in general. I participated in the catalogue with an article on Becker's Spanish copies.

95 Comp. Alisa Luxenberg's review of the catalogue of the *Manet/Velázquez*-exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Luxenberg 2004).

96 Marie-Sofie Backman [married name Lundström], *Som turist i Spanien: Om finländska bildkonstnärers studieresor till Spanien under 1800-talet fram till modernismens genombrott 1910* [As a Tourist in Spain: On Finnish painters' travels in Spain during the nineteenth century until the outbreak of Modernism in 1910]. Unpublished Master's Thesis in Art History, Åbo Akademi University 1991; Lundström 1996 [unpubl].

Albert Edelfelt's journey to Spain, on the other hand, is generally discussed, but the outcome of his journey lacks sufficient analysis. A praiseworthy attempt can be found in Hintze's biography from the 1940s, but his analysis is coloured by the period's approach to the painter.⁹⁷ During the past few years, I have published several articles discussing Edelfelt's journey to Spain and analyses of separate works of art, initially in conjunction with the *Edelfelt in Paris*-exhibition in Turku in 2001. More recent examples include my analysis of Edelfelt's Spanish pictures as souvenirs (2004), and a less serious article on *Gitana Dancing*, examined from the point of view of intertextuality (2006a). Furthermore, my article on Edelfelt's stay in Granada was published in *Journal of Intercultural Studies* in 2006. In this case, I implement tourism theory to explain Edelfelt as a traveller and painter of tourist art; the article should be read as a summary of the central theoretical themes of my research (2006b). These articles and analyses present certain aspects of Edelfelt's activities in Spain or interest in Spanish art, reflecting the state of my research at the time of publication. Some of this material is retained within the present investigation.

Another publication, which must be mentioned in this context, is María Carmen Díaz de Alda Heikkilä's *Albert Edelfelt: Cartas del Viaje por España (1881)* from 2006. de Alda is a lecturer in Spanish language and literature at the University of Tampere and, to the larger part, her book is a Spanish translation of Edelfelt's letters from Spain, with comments in notes. Although de Alda, in a preliminary study, attempts to contextualise the painter's journey, the outcome is a selective description building mainly on earlier research. My article on Edelfelt in Spain from 2001, for instance, is briefly mentioned, but the author altogether refrains from further references to this study. Nor does she refer to my more recently published research. de Alda's main contribution to Edelfelt research lies in the author's clarifying, biographical notes on Spaniards whom the painter met during his journey, and explanations to places and events, mainly from a historical and cultural point of view. She does not provide deeper analyses of the letters, which is why their intrinsic meaning, as seen in connection with Edelfelt's art, remains unexplained. A re-evaluation of Edelfelt's travel pictures from Spain is thus a timely addition to current scholarship on his art.

In addition to my published articles, Edelfelt-research in Finland has been lively in recent years, which has contributed to the present investigation. In Elina Anttila's thesis from 2001, *Albert Edelfelt & La Nouvelle Peinture* (in Finnish), Edelfelt's Spanish travel pictures – along with other aspects of his artistic production – are analysed in the light of French contemporary art from a formal point of view. Anna Kortelainen's many publications on Edelfelt, above all her thesis *Albert Edelfeltin fantasmagoria: nainen, "Japani", tavaratalo* (Engl. summary: "Albert Edelfelt's Phantasmagoria: Woman, "Japan" and the Department Store", 2002), have also been useful. In her thesis, she discusses Edelfelt's use of Japanese studio props in paintings of women around 1880. Despite fundamental differences in ap-

⁹⁷ The descriptions of Edelfelt's works that are included in Bertel Hintze's *catalogue raisonnée* (1953) have been particularly useful. I use the 1942–44 edition when referring to Hintze's text.

proach, her thesis is important for the present investigation, since Japonism and *espagnolisme* can both be viewed as expressions of the same phenomenon, namely nineteenth-century Exoticism. I frequently return to Kortelainen's and Anttila's publications in the body text. Tutta Palin's dissertation, *Oireileva miljöomuotokuva. Yksityiskohdat sukupuoli- ja säätyhierarkian haastajina* (Engl. summary: "The Symptomatology of the *Milieu Portrait*: Detail in the Service of the Challenging of Gender and Class Hierarchy", 2004), is another recent publication that, in some respects, relates to my research.

The *Edelfelt in Paris*-catalogue from 2001 has also been of good service. The articles and the catalogue's picture analyses present different aspects on Edelfelt's art according to the state of research at that time. However, the catalogue, published by the Ateneum Art Museum in Helsinki in conjunction with the *Edelfelt Jubilee Exhibition* in 2004, does not include notes on Edelfelt's Spanish journey. Interestingly, the Spanish pictures are listed below the heading "Paris", implying that *espagnolisme* was a French phenomenon, but neither journey nor pictures are explained; the reader is simply provided with a short comment in the *curriculum vitae* that Edelfelt travelled to Spain in 1881. The catalogue has also been translated into English but, in order to attain information on Edelfelt's Spanish journey and because of the catalogue's oversight, the English reader is instead referred to the English translation of Rakel Kallio and Douglas Sívén's beautifully illustrated biography, *Albert Edelfelt 1854–1905*, from 2004.⁹⁸ However, like the text in general, the section discussing the painter's stay in Spain builds on earlier research, without presenting new viewpoints or interpretations. The book includes a meagre bibliography, and lacks references; the Spanish section is nevertheless clearly based on my earlier publications on Edelfelt in Spain.

In addition to these publications, the anthology, *Edelfelt. Matkoja, maisemia ja naamiaisia* (Edelfelt: Travels, Landscapes and Masquerades, 2004, with English summaries), published on occasion of Edelfelt's 150-year anniversary, is a comprehensive re-examination of Edelfelt's art, reflecting the vitality of recent Edelfelt-research.⁹⁹ I contributed to this anthology with the analysis of Edelfelt's Spanish travel pictures as souvenirs. The articles by Marina Catani & Tuulikki Kilpinen, Tutta Palin and Ville Lukkarinen in the same publication all have obvious connections to my own research.

Ville Lukkarinen's and Annika Waenerberg's research on Finnish landscape painting around 1900 (including Edelfelt) is supportive of the present investigation's findings. In 2004, they published their research in *Suomi-kuvasta mielenmaisemaan. Kansallismaisemat 1800- ja 1900-luvun vaihteen maalaustaitteessa* (Engl. summary: "From Finnish National Landscapes to Mindscapes: National Landscapes in late 19th and 20th Century Finnish Painting", 2004). From an ideological point of view, their findings are analogous to mine,

98 Kallio, Rakel and Douglas Sívén. *Albert Edelfelt 1854–1905*. English translation Jüri Kokkonen. [Helsinki]: Douglas Productions 2004.

99 In conjunction with the Albert Edelfelt jubilee exhibition at the Ateneum, the Finnish National Gallery edited an over-view of Edelfelt's art in both Finnish and English (see *Albert Edelfelt* 2004). Whenever possible, I use the translation's English versions of Edelfelt's titles.

although similarities between pictures of the woods in the wastelands in the eastern parts of Finland and to those of exotic southern Spain initially seem odd. Late-nineteenth-century Finnish landscape paintings – these “framed” sights – were nevertheless as much based on “the tourist gaze” and preconceived vantage-points as travel pictures from Spain. The landscape was a mindscape. Lukkarinen also notes that the untouched Finnish woodland was defined – like the Orient – as an “Other” to Western civilisation and modern cityscapes.

Lukkarinen and Waenerberg’s investigation bears resemblance to Pia Sillanpää’s doctoral thesis *The Scandinavian Sporting Tour: A Case Study in Geographical Imagology* (Åbo Akademi University 2002). In her study on British sporting tours (mainly undertaken for the purpose of fishing, hunting and shooting) in the Mid-Scandinavian backwoods between ca 1879 and 1914, she clarifies the connection between geographical imagology, travelling and tourism. Sillanpää’s survey of the history of travel and tourism, and her analysis of the importance of Romanticism and travel guides, has been both inspiring and a source of information for the present investigation. The phenomenon of tourism is also comprehensibly discussed in Paul Fussell’s *Abroad: British literary travelling between the Wars* from 1980, a book that has clarified my view on nineteenth-century travel history.

Artistic travels have long been Annika Waenerberg’s concern. In her publication together with Lukkarinen, she discusses the landscape painter’s role as a tourist, but this aspect has also been present in her earlier publications, for instance in *Parviaisen matkassa / Med penseln i bagaget: Oscar Parviainen 1880–1938* (Travelling with Parviainen: Oscar Parviainen 1880–1938).¹⁰⁰ In this book, she examines Parviainen’s landscapes as souvenirs, albeit not from a theoretical standpoint. She has also attempted to explain the importance of “unique milieus” and experiences of authenticity in sites that had not yet been destroyed by tourism. In this respect, parts of Waenerberg’s research have much in common with the present investigation, although her focus is on the early twentieth century.

I would also like to pay attention to a recent doctoral thesis on Spanish authors travelling in Finland around 1900, Peter Stadius’s *Resan till norr. Spanska Nordenbilder kring sekelskiftet 1900* (2005). Through discourse analysis, Stadius deconstructs the bipolarity of the concept “North-South”, taking into account a wider European context and mental history, as expressed in the travelogues of a selected numbers of Spaniards in Finland around 1900 and their perception of the either “barbaric” or “progressive” country in the North. This study – with its reverse viewpoint to my examination of Finnish painters in Spain – reminded me that questions should be challenged continually from divergent viewpoints. Therefore, I was extremely pleased when I discovered that Stadius’s research methods and results sustain the outcome of the present study: travel experiences, as narrated in travelogues, reveal as much about the author as about the described object, or experience. His book has also provided

100 I had the good fortune to complete my licentiate thesis on Finnish painters in Spain within the same project as Waenerberg, see Lundström 1996 [unpubl.]. Parviainen visited Spain on several occasions during the early twentieth century (see Lundström 1996 [unpubl.], pp. 124-142: “Med resandet som livsstil: Oscar Parviainen” [“Travelling as a Lifestyle: Oscar Parviainen”]).

additional information about, for instance, the author and Spanish Consul in Helsinki, Angel Ganivet (1865–1898), who is one of the writers investigated, and a wide-ranging analysis of the cultural climate in Spain at the end of the nineteenth century.

Lastly, on the subject of artistic travels, several publications discussing travel pictures have appeared in recent years, but they are mostly biographies of separate painters. The relationship between the “painter” and the “tourist/traveller” has not been thoroughly investigated. One exception is Nina Lübbren’s *Rural artists’ colonies in Europe 1870–1910* from 2001, in which she considers nineteenth-century artists as “tourists in the countryside” in much the same way as I consider painters as tourists in Spain. I trust that my book will contribute to the research in the field; my aim is to present a further analysis of this phenomenon, extending “tourism research” to encompass painters in Spain, a region excluded from Lübbren’s study. Although my focus is on Finnish painters’ encounters with Spanish art and culture, I believe that my investigation will increase the understanding of artistic travels during the nineteenth century in general: tourist behaviour is universal.

Yet the construction of Spain as a travel destination still continues; nineteenth-century painters travelling to Spain were – and still are – an essential part of this discourse. By applying an apparent realism to their travel pictures, they achieved a perception of authenticity, announcing that they really had been “there”. Authenticity is closely linked to the experience of distance in time and place, to history and nostalgia; “authenticity” is always thought to be somewhere else, in other historical periods and other cultures. The “real” Spain was thus differentiated from Parisian modernity, and the past was made visible in the present. As a result, when we examine notions of “Spain” or “other places” we find a palimpsest in which new meanings are continually inscribed over older ones: therefore, I see no end to a study of this specific subject. Earlier ideas and practices are transferred into the domain of present research, which enables a new reading of a phenomenon that engaged the cultural elite and hundreds of painters from all over Europe and America throughout the nineteenth century. The impact of earlier research is, of course, strongly felt. In this respect, my book is a palimpsest, too. This is not where my journey comes to an end, but a landing *en route*.

1 THE LURE OF SPAIN

In Finland, I have met several persons who hold somewhat absurd ideas of the domestic life in Spain, of our people, customs and traditions, and the best-known city is precisely ours [Granada]. Since the number of those Finlanders who have actually travelled to Spain is small, the thought to enquire about the origin of all these notions came to my mind, and I always received the same answer: I have read it in Lundgren's book.¹

Angel Ganivet in *Cartas Finlandesas* [1897]

The stereotypical imagery of Spain was particularly persistent and congruent throughout the nineteenth century. This is evidenced in the above epigraph, written in 1897, by the Spanish author and Consul in Helsinki, Angel Ganivet (1865–1898).² In his book, *Cartas Finlandesas* (Letters from Finland), published in 1905, he compares the conditions in Spain with those in Finland, thus providing a valuable source on prevailing views of Spain in Finland (and Scandinavia) around 1900.

The book referred to in the epigraph is *En målares anteckningar: Italien och Spanien* (A Painter's Chronicles: Italy and Spain) by the Swedish artist Egron Lundgren (1815–1875).³ The first edition appeared in 1873, and was based on Lundgren's diary from his stay in Spain between 1849 and 1853.⁴ Ganivet notes that several editions of the book had appeared by the time when he wrote his analysis. The Spaniard was surprised people still bought this expensive volume, and was convinced that if a Spaniard ever should come up with the idea of writing down his impressions from a journey to Scandinavia, he would be left alone with his book as well as his impressions. But Ganivet assures his readers that Lundgren's book is worth reading, despite its "shallow" observations: Lundgren has the merit of seeing "*muy bien*", portraying

- 1 "Muchas personas he encontrado en Finlandia que tienen ideas más o menos disparatadas sobre la vida interior española, sobre nuestros tipos, costumbres y tradiciones, y la ciudad más conocida es la precisamente la nuestra [Granada]. Como son contrados los finlandeses que han viajado por España, se me ha ocurrido preguntar por qué conducto se tienen todas estas noticias, y siempre me ha contestado: eso lo he leído en el libro de Lundgren." Ganivet [1905], p. 93 [author's translation].
- 2 Ganivet [1905], p. 93. Ganivet was a Spanish essayist and novelist, considered a precursor of the Generation of '98 because of his concern for the spiritual regeneration of his country. Fluent in five languages, he served with the Spanish consular service in Antwerp, Helsinki and Riga. He stayed in Helsinki from 1896 to 1897. In *Cartas Finlandesas* (Letters from Finland) from 1905, Ganivet presents a contrast between Spanish and Nordic life and character. For more on Spanish images of *Norden* around 1900, including Ganivet's observations, see Stadius 2005.
- 3 Like many other painters, Lundgren had completed his education in Paris 1839–41. He possessed a yearning for foreign places and travelled extensively throughout his life. Therefore, Lundgren's oeuvre mainly consists of travel pictures, and his works sold extremely well. He initially travelled to Italy in 1841, where he stayed for several years. The political instability led him to leave Rome for Spain in 1849, where he stayed until 1853. After his first Spanish sojourn, Lundgren also spent five years in England as a draughtsman, and travelled in India between 1858–59. Henceforth, he travelled extensively throughout Europe for fourteen years, in Spain as well as in Egypt, Italy and Norway (Montgomery 1995, pp. 5–34). Lundgren returned to Spain for shorter periods in 1857 and 1862–63 (Schiller 1933, p. 34).
- 4 Schiller 1933, p. 58.

Spain as only an artist would, creating picturesque impressions in exuberant colours. From a Scandinavian perspective, Lundgren's Spanish journey was a journey of discovery, while for Spaniards, Ganivet concludes, it represents a curious and sometimes hilarious attempt to revive past times.⁵

Much of Lundgren's activities in Spain were determined by his need to sell his pictures. Lundgren copied Old Masters, for instance Murillo and Velázquez, and became skilled in depicting architecture, Christian as well as Moorish buildings.⁶ He worked alongside a number of English painters, such as F.W. Topham (1808–1877), whose main purpose in Spain was to seek out exotic people and views for the tourist back home and in Spain. Lundgren also found his place within this genre, and he became economically independent.⁷ Consequently, he participated in the construction of future tourist sights: he described Granada and the Alhambra palace, for instance, as a place where he was enclosed by numerous "ready-made" views.⁸ He painted places and people in Spain that foreign visitors wanted to remember, thereby underlining the significance of the subject, marking it as a desirable site for subsequent visitors.

Lundgren's Spanish imagery was directly influenced by the tourist experience. As discussed in the introduction, tourists seek the characteristically "authentic", which is based on preconceived imagery. In Andalusia, Lundgren encountered a different culture and the strange customs and manners of ordinary people. He frequently depicted *Flamenco* dancers, in addition to the matadors and picadors and the religious processions and festivities during *Semana Santa*.⁹ During this period, he gave in to the reigning force of Exoticism, which became his trademark throughout his art. Particularly characteristic of his art of this period are his images of sensuous Spanish women.¹⁰ In *Spanish Woman* (Fig. 2), for instance, we see a sweet, young, almost childlike woman veiled in a mantilla, which partly hides her dark sensual eyes. This imagery was constructed decades earlier, mainly in French and English Romantic literature.¹¹



2. Egon Lundgren, *Spanish Woman (Spanish Woman with a Mantilla)*, Sevilla s.a. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

5 Ganivet [1905], pp. 93-94.

6 While in Spain, Lundgren met the English watercolour painter John Frederick Lewis (1805–1876) and, through him, he learned to paint in the manner of Romantic English (landscape) painting. He shared lodgings with John Phillip (1817–1867), also called "Spanish Phillip", in a building by the Guadalquivir River in Seville (Nilsson 1992, pp. 17-18).

7 Montgomery 1995, p. 16.

8 Lundgren 1873–74, p. 386.

9 Nilsson 1992, p. 17.

10 Montgomery 1995, p. 15.

11 Wilkens 1994, pp. 28-66.

French and English Romantic literature was, indeed, reflected in Lundgren's understanding of Spain. Particularly the American author Washington Irving's (1783–1859) texts from Spain 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 pertains principally to the history and the legends of Moorish Spain. In this collection of short stories (for a long time forgotten Moorish legends), descriptions of the locals and the history of the region intertwine. Irving must, nevertheless, be accredited some level of accuracy in his descriptions, since he had been living in Spain for several years.¹² I discuss the significance of Irving's book more thoroughly in Chapter 8; here I would like to stress the book's wide-ranging consequences for the formation of subsequent travellers' imagery of Spain, such as the Swede Egon Lundgren's.

In his analysis of Lundgren's Spanish travel account, Ganivet observes that the Swedish painter's perception of Spain was, however, surprisingly accurate.¹³ Normally, accurate information of Spain was limited, and Ganivet's Andalusian heritage put him in several awkward situations while he was in Finland.¹⁴ In Helsinki, he lived among educated mainly Swedish speaking friends (mostly ladies) in Kaivopuisto,¹⁵ but their knowledge of the Andalusian people was scanty. In *Cartas Finlandesas*, Ganivet complains that the ladies emphasised Spaniards' failings.¹⁶ According to Ganivet, the most common view of Spaniards among those he met in Finland was a proud people ("*un hombre orgulloso*"), frequently described with the word *grandeza*.¹⁷ When they discussed travelling, *Italy* was always put ahead of Spain; Ganivet had heard some ladies complaining that Spain was a dangerous country to travel in, particularly alone, because, he quotes, Spain is "*un país sin ley*", a lawless country. And, Ganivet believed, although his discussants did not say so, they regarded

12 See e.g., Washington Irving, *Tales of the Alhambra*. With an introduction and notes by Ricardo Villa-Real, Granada: Suarez 1990 (1832/1851).

13 Ganivet [1905], p. 103.

14 It is reasonable to assume that Ganivet and Edelfelt knew each other, but proof of direct contact between them has yet to be established. In Helsinki, Ganivet lived as Edelfelt's neighbour at Kaivopuisto 12 A (Edelfelt residing in number 12B, according to information received from Marina Catani, 23 June 2004). Edelfelt does not comment on Ganivet, although Edelfelt's name is frequently mentioned in connection with the circle of artists with whom Ganivet socialised in Helsinki (Wis & Wis 1988, pp. 17, 18, 23, 39, 40). Edelfelt also painted a portrait (1896, The Hermitage, St. Petersburg) and later executed an etching of the portrait (1899), depicting Ganivet's lady friend Mascha (Marie Sophie Bergmann, née Diakoffsky, later also known as Marie Hagelstam / Marie Heiroth / Marie Travers-Borgström through her subsequent remarriages). See Wis & Wis 1988, pp. 20-23 and plate XXI; Hintze 1953, p. 626 (catalogue number 755), p. 698 (catalogue number 12 graphical works).

15 Wis & Wis 1988, pp. 16-20. One of Ganivet's acquaintances was the painter Hanna Rönnerberg (1862–1946), who applied for the Hoving travel scholarship in 1899, probably as a result of her contact with Ganivet. Her intention was to study art in Italy, France and Spain. She was, however, not granted the scholarship that year (*Proceedings of the Finnish Art Society* 1899 (116), FNG/Archives). However, she travelled to Spain later, in 1914 (Paischeff 1943, p. 131). I have not been able to locate any of Rönnerberg's artworks with Spanish iconography.

16 Ganivet knew these ladies quite well. While they paid their visits, they looked at him carefully as an example of the Spanish human character. Ganivet's knowledge of Finnish was very limited, but he received lessons in Swedish; these lessons allowed him to read Lundgren's book. In return, he trained his acquaintances in French conversation. See Wis & Wis 1988, pp. 19, 21-28.

17 Ganivet [1905], p. 87.

Spaniards as “*semi-bárbaros o semi-primitivos*”, that is, as a very cruel and almost primitive archaic people. For instance, Spanish Catholicism was considered “*atraso intelectual*” (spiritual backwardness), while bullfighting was seen as particularly barbaric, more of a slaughter and less of an artistic show. Nevertheless, Ganivet did not venture further into commenting on the religious inconsistency between Spain, Finland and Scandinavia because, as he expressed it, anti-Catholic ideas were instilled in Finnish people from primary education on. He emphasised how Finnish people were taught that the Spanish sixteenth-century king Philip II was an “*asesino*”, a murderer.¹⁸

Ganivet’s analysis exposes the most common and widespread clichés of the Spanish and their country. Ganivet observed a peculiar mixture of right and wrong as regards the Finnish impressions. Some ideas were based on research, he reported, while others originated in the more or less fabulous stories that were spread in Europe and particularly in France, written in a picturesque genre (“*género pintoresco*”). As a native of Granada, Ganivet was repeatedly flattered by such stereotypes, because Andalusians were regarded as vivacious and spirited people. But most of the time he had to endure general remarks about how Spanish men cannot control their temper; the common view among Ganivet’s Finnish friends was that Spaniards were completely controlled by passionate feelings. Cruelty, depreciation of women and contempt for the law were Finnish expressions used to describe the temper of the *hombres*.¹⁹

While Spanish men were thought to be capable of the cruellest acts, Spanish women were esteemed more highly by foreigners, and Ganivet was repeatedly asked whether they were as beautiful in reality as was commonly believed. Spanish women were typically regarded by Finns as odalisques (“*mujer de harén*”), whose freedom was restricted and whose beauty was superficial and which merely appealed to the senses (“*esa belleza habla sólo a los sentidos*”).²⁰ This view of Spanish women is customary throughout the nineteenth century, for which we find proof in hundreds of travel accounts and provocative pictures.²¹

18 Ganivet [1905], pp. 86-87.

19 Ganivet [1905], pp. 87-88.

20 Ganivet [1905], pp. 89-90.

21 Wilkens 1994, *passim*.

1.1 “THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS THE PYRENEES ANY MORE”²²

Painters are a nomadic people who move like the Laplanders to places where they find the best pasture.²³

Egrom Lundgren, Seville 8 September 1850

The places that nineteenth-century painters visited in Spain are today's main tourist attractions: the Prado museum in Madrid, the “medieval” Toledo, the “Moorish” Cordoba, the “joyful” Seville and the “picturesque” Granada. The myth of “Spain” soon became burdened with stereotypical imagery. Alberto González Troyano points out that the early nineteenth-century visitors in Spain sought a dreamland; it was an imagined ideal that motivated their journeys. Soon, the early travellers described Spain very selectively indeed, according to a preconceived idea. Spain and particularly Andalusia were portrayed as a place to which one could flee from a homogenous, “modern Europe” that started developing during the beginning of the nineteenth century. Andalusia was remote, and thus remained outside modern society. Descriptions of modern, urban life were frequently omitted from Spanish travel reports, because these did not fit with the current, Romantic view of Spain that was built on nostalgia and melancholy. Travellers visited Spain for several and frequently highly individual reasons, but a collective view soon emerged as regards the points of interest in Andalusia. The traces of ruins and monuments enabled the construction of more or less imaginary ideas of previous cultures and traditional costume. In some circumstances, these features gained an appearance of what might be called reduced authenticity. This authenticity was preserved in “unpolluted” traditions that could be regarded as “remote” when compared to modern culture. These manifestations of “authenticity” were thus conserved as primitivism, clearly articulated in imagery that represented predominantly ancestral, inherited customs and mores.²⁴

Journeys to Spain were thus conducted with the explicit desire to experience a pre-modern world, and may thus be seen as an escape into “living history”; this escape is still present in the form of modern cultural heritage tourism. Travellers are frequently unsuccessful in distinguishing between “reality” and its representations, because *simulations* of “the authentic” became “hyper-real”, that is, “more real” than the thing implied by the representation. George Hughes maintains that “tourists [...] do not contrast the staging of their authentic-

22 Comment in the Finnish newspaper *Helsingfors Tidningar*, on the opening of the railway extension from France to Spain, 15 August 1864 (“Jernvägen öfver Pyreneerna”, *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 27 August 1864, number 198, p. 2: “Det finns icke mer några Pyrener!”).

23 “Målare äro ett nomadiskt folkslag och flytta likt lapparna dit de finna bästa betet.”

24 González Troyano 1995, pp. 37-39.

ity, such as a Parisian street, against direct experience of the original, but rather with a mental image of that original which has already been ‘corrupted’ by mediating influences”.²⁵ As Salman Rushdie also has observed: “[Authenticity] is the respectable child of old-fashioned exoticism. It demands that sources, forms, style, language and symbol all derive from a supposedly homogenous and unbroken tradition.”²⁶

Thus, with the emphasis on Exoticism, visits to countries other than Italy increased during the Romantic era, initially amongst the peers of the realm, but soon followed by artists and writers.²⁷ In the early nineteenth century, tourists started to make for the corners of Europe, such as Spain as well as Finland.²⁸ This kind of early tourism was based on Romantic beliefs; the Romantics strove to bring man closer to untouched nature and historical places, to the distant and remote in time as well as space. Sixten Ringbom describes such longing to visit southern countries as exceeding the previous, eighteenth-century fascination with foreign lands, exotic species and races that reigned during the Age of Enlightenment. Romanticism put feeling and insight into the interpretation of the exotic: the Romantics always sought the inner self through unusual encounters and removing themselves from ordinary life through daydreaming, seeking nostalgia and longing for the strange and peculiar.²⁹

1.1.1 Scholarly Sojourns and Romantic Travelling: Early Journeys to Spain

Spain has been the target for explorers through the ages.³⁰ The close proximity to the African mainland shaped the Spanish culture from pre-historical times. The ancient people of Spain, the Iberians, mixed with a succession of foreign populations who became masters of the land behind the Pyrenees: the Cartusians, Romans, and Goths. Finally, the Moors invaded Spain. The Arabs ruled the country for over 700 years. In 1492, after Ferdinand and Isabella’s victory at Granada, the Moors lost power and were expelled from Spain in 1609–14. At the same time, Spain sent Columbus to America, thereby initiating Spain’s expansion into one of the largest empires on Earth. This marked the beginning of the Hapsburg era, which ruled a territory on which the sun never set. Now, politically as well as culturally, Spain was a great power. After the seventeenth century – the *Siglo de Oro* – Spain became (economically) isolated from the rest of Europe, while Italy maintained its position through business contacts and cultural sovereignty. Nevertheless, the end of the eighteenth century saw an

25 Hughes 1995, pp. 782-783.

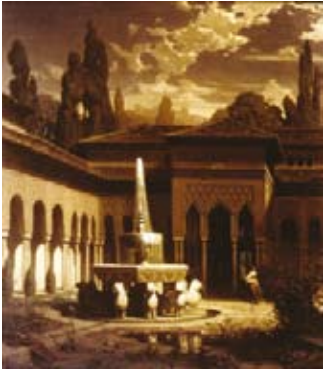
26 Salman Rushdie in *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism 1981–1991*, London: Granta 1991, as quoted in Taylor 2001, p. 7.

27 Ringbom 1989, pp. 9-10.

28 In the late eighteenth century, erudite foreign travellers to Finland increased as well.

29 Ringbom 1989, p. 10.

30 J. García Mercadal’s *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal* (1952) starts out with Julius Caesar’s Spanish journey, ranging through a large number of German and Arab visitors, ending his thorough account in the sixteenth century. Foulché-Delbosc (1896), on the other hand, has collected all written accounts on journeys to Spain into one volume, starting with an anonymous Roman inscription in Vicarello, presumably written in the second century. His bibliography contains several early German (961 AD), Arab and Hebrew texts as well, although he concentrates on French and English texts from the eighteenth century onwards.



3. Edouard Gerhardt, *Der Löwenhof der Alhambra*, 1860. Schack Galerie, Munich.

increasing number of travellers in Spain, but it was not until the early nineteenth century that the rest of Europe renewed its interest in Spain.³¹

In the process of “rediscovering” Spain, the country’s Moorish heritage was particularly important. 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).³² In 1779, Henry Swinburne (1743–1803) 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 the Arab rule was most visible: Granada, with the Alhambra palace (*Fig. 3*), Cordoba and Seville. This may be seen as the beginning of a literary genre that focused on the Moorish heritage in southern Spain. Already by 1800, Moorish history and Arab antiquities were fashionable among the cultural elite in Europe.³³

After the politically stable period from the latter part of the seventeenth century and most of the eighteenth, Napoleon invaded Spain in 1808. Napoleon’s Spanish campaign is decisive as regards Europe’s perceptions of and attitude towards Spain. The (French) Bourbons ruled on and off during the politically unstable nineteenth century, increasing European’s curiosity about Spain, in particular in France, Germany and England, because of Spain’s political position in Europe during that time. Initially, the most famous, early nineteenth-century travellers to Spain were literary men, such as Lord Byron and Chateaubriand. Byron’s heroes, like Don Juan and Childe Harold, faced hardships on their journeys to Spain; Byron’s books can be regarded as fictive “travel” literature.³⁴ Chateaubriand, on the other hand, created the poetic opus *Les Aventures du dernier Abencérage*, in which the hero acts within a seraglio in Spain. In Germany, Heinrich Heine’s *Almansor* compares the Moorish charm of Spain with staler Christian beliefs.³⁵ Spain was thus “found” mainly through travel literature, including Théophile Gautier’s (1811–1872) *Voyage en Espagne*, which appeared a little bit later, in 1843.³⁶ These chronicles vastly reinforced the preconceived imagery of

31 According to Michael Scholz-Hänsel, the English, for instance, went to Spain in search of the birthplace of their medieval art (Scholz-Hänsel 1990, pp. 368–369). For a full account on travels to Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see García Felguera 1991, pp. 1–41.

32 Paquejo 1986, pp. 555–556.

33 Richard Twiss’s *Voyage en Portugal et en Espagne* from 1772 was probably the very first illustrated travel book from Spain. See “Libros de viajes” [catalogue] in *Imagen romántica del legado Andalusi* 1995, pp. 182–198. For more on early travelogues from Spain, see also Scholz-Hänsel 1990, pp. 369–370 and Paquejo 1986, p. 560.

34 Comp. Stadius 2002, pp. 302–303, who regards Daniel Defoe’s *The Life and Strange and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719) as an edifying literature associated with travel accounts. Defoe’s and other similar novels stressed the individual’s abilities to cope with hardships in difficult circumstances. John Bunyan’s *The Pilgrim’s Progress* (1678) and Jonathan Swift’s *Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World in Four Parts by Lemuel Gulliver* (1726) are additional examples of fictional literature inspired by the mode of narration in travel accounts.

35 In Germany, interest in Spain’s Moorish heritage also led to an increased interest in Spanish literature. This also affected the folk literature in Germany, where poets and writers imitated the old Moorish tales. Arabic Spain inspired numerous German authors from Heine to Goethe. In Munich, poets gathered around the patron of the arts Count Adolf Friedrich von Schack (1815–1894). After several journeys to Spain, Schack edited a number of treatises on Spanish literature and fine arts. See *Europa und der Orient 800–1900* [1990], p. 837.

36 Some of the more famous French travellers were: Joseph-Philibert Giroult de Prangey (1804–1992), Eugène Giraud (1806–1881), Alexandre Dumas (1824–1895) and Louis Boulanger (1806–1867), see Jullian 1977, pp. 115–116; *Peintres Orientalistes 1850–1914* (1992), *passim*.

Spain's alluring Moorish aspects and picturesque sites, albeit difficult to access. By 1850, Karl Asplund was to describe Spain as "[...] the most loved 'sketching ground' for English tourist art."³⁷

The first modern travellers came to Spain as merchants and Christian pilgrims during the Middle Ages.³⁸ One of the earliest Spanish souvenirs could be bought in Santiago de Compostela (today's visitors are also familiar with the traditional shell that was thought to protect travellers). Pilgrimages are the basis for many later forms of travelling, particularly from an ideological point of view. As Stadius observes, some scholars argue that the themes in Romantic travel accounts follow the Medieval (and Baroque) *peregrinatio*-idea, substituting the Christian *mirabili* with other sights. In these forms of explaining travel experiences, subjective and personal contemplation are essential. The difference lies in how the Romantics fled from civilisation back to nature, while the Medieval and Baroque "escape" concerned leaving the earthly "sin" for "heavenly" redemption.³⁹

Some scholars consider the break with the Church of Rome in 1534 as responsible for the transformation of spiritual pilgrims into secular tourists, which manifested itself in the concept of the *Grand Tour*.⁴⁰ The itinerary of the typically three-year-long tour included eighteen months in France (counting four months in Paris), nine or ten months in Italy, and five in Germany and the Low Countries. Spain was not part of the original *Grand Tour*. Instead, the ultimate destination was Italy; classical ideals still reigned in the eighteenth century. In several aspects, the *Grand Tour* was a journey connecting one (antique) ruin with another.⁴¹ The succeeding category of travel after the *Grand Tour* was characterised by self-determining journeys conducted by (Romantic) nineteenth-century voyagers. Lastly, contemporary tourism has demystified travelling, even though it still nurtures the old imagery through traditional sights and itineraries. Thus, trying to draw a sharp line between the

37 Asplund 1915, p. 10.

38 Pilgrims and merchants formed the first group of people travelling to foreign countries for a specific reason. The term pilgrim derives from the Latin *peregrinus*, which means a person who "comes from foreign parts, a stranger", and becomes a synonym for "traveller". According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, one of the definitions for the term *traveller* is "one who travels abroad; one who journeys or has journeyed through foreign countries or strange places" (comp. Sillanpää 2002, p. 29). For a full account of the development from pilgrimage to travelling to tourism, see Sillanpää 2002, pp. 29-31.

39 Stadius 2002, pp. 294-297, 299-300. Stadius merely states that the Medieval and Baroque "escape" concerned leaving earth for heaven, but the components of sin and redemption are necessarily part of this "escape". Another example is found in Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* (*City of God*), where he metaphorically compares the progress of society with the stages or ages of an individual. His metaphor of "progress" (or the journey through life or "history") retains a strictly theological sentiment. The idea of "progress", as expressed by Augustine, stands in fact for ascendance from Earth to Heaven, a journey from the timely into eternity (Calinescu 1987, p. 26). In fact, as Calinescu observes, Augustine was a fierce opponent to the "progressive" and optimistic theologians of his time, and his view of history was decidedly pessimistic (Calinescu 1987, p. 317 fn 23).

40 The fact that the concept of the *Grand Tour* is widely used also today (often metaphorically) may divert our attention from its original significance as a cultural tour of Europe, conventionally undertaken by a young man of the upper classes. When discussing the *Grand Tour*, I use the concept only in its initial meaning, not in the conversed present day application of a long journey through several countries (by car, for example) or, as some scholars have suggested, in space or in the mind.

41 Sillanpää also comments on the debate as to when the first traveller embarked on the *Grand Tour*. Some see it as a continuum of pilgrimage, ensuing after the break with the Church of Rome in 1534, while others place it in the mid-seventeenth century (Sillanpää 2002, pp. 35-36).

Grand Tour and other kinds of travelling is pointless. Indeed, during its period of decline, the *Grand Tour* traveller was often accused of being merely on a pleasure trip and not engaging fully with the traditions and customs of the host country. This periodisation of travelling follows the same pattern as do the modes of travel books.⁴²

About the same time as travel journals and other travel literature experienced a paradigm-shift during Romanticism, the term “tourist” appeared. Romantic travel writing built on the subjective-picturesque style of *Grand Tour* texts, which included also fictive elements in the format of anecdotes, persons and sentimental experiences. Some decades later, a more objective and “anti-Romantic” style appeared, in response to the emerging Realist demand for veracity. Travel writing was still anchored in the encyclopaedic style of the Enlightenment, and turned into a more or less socio-political analysis of the presence or absence of progress, but the demand for subjectivity was, nevertheless, preserved. As a result, subjective reflections gave way to more “objective” descriptions of the sights and personal experiences in nineteenth-century travelogues.⁴³ These writers, consequently, acted like sightseeing tourists, explaining what they were doing and how they were feeling during their travels. As Stadius observes, the increasingly entertaining nineteenth-century travel book was addressed to the erudite *bourgeoisie*, who shared a collective standard of progress with the travel writer.⁴⁴

I want to stress that it was the *bourgeoisie* who, to a steadily growing extent, were the “tourists”. According to Pia Sillanpää, the term “tourist” appeared in English texts as early as the late eighteenth century, but was in common use by the turn of the nineteenth century. The term “tourism”, on the other hand, was introduced into the English language some thirty years later, in the 1820s,⁴⁵ giving raise to depreciatory connotations right from the beginning. Sillanpää notes that the tourist was described as a person who “merely glanced at sights and impressions in passing, thus getting very superficial knowledge of what he saw”.⁴⁶ Almost simultaneously with tourism, the term “sight-seeing” was introduced as “the action or occupation of seeing sights”. Following Ian Ousby, Sillanpää notes that the word sightseeing conveys “how the shifting human scenes which had first fascinated eighteenth-century inquirers had been reduced to a static list of objects and monuments”.⁴⁷ The term “view-hunter” appeared about the same time.⁴⁸ It is intriguing to note that travels to Spain increased at about the same time as tourism appeared as a phenomenon. The places visited in Spain soon became the sightseer’s reduced, static list of objects and monuments, as Ousby described the modern traveller’s activities.

The beginning of “tourism” is relatively modern. The word “travel” originally derives from the French word for “work”, *travail*, implying that travelling was generally considered

42 Comp. Stadius 2002.

43 Stadius 2002, pp. 304-305.

44 Stadius 2002, pp. 305-306.

45 Sillanpää observes that the English are regarded as being the first tourists (Sillanpää 2002, p. 30).

46 Sillanpää 2002, p. 30.

47 Sillanpää 2002, p. 30, referring to Ian Ousby. *The Englishman’s England: Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism*. Cambridge, New York & Melbourne: Cambridge University Press 1990.

48 Sillanpää 2002, pp. 29-31.

uncomfortable and even hazardous; Sillanpää notes that the etymological sense of *travail* was “to put to torture, torment”.⁴⁹ Stadius also stresses that travel accounts, ranging from the medieval *peregrinatio academica*-institution (the pilgrimage journey was a sacrifice which also functioned as a form of enlightenment) and the erudite travels that developed during the fifteenth century to travel literature from the beginning of the twentieth century, were generally written in a manner that demonstrated that the journey was not undertaken solely for pleasure. Instead, the journey should appear as a pursuit that tested the moral character of the traveller.⁵⁰ Detailed descriptions of visited places and experiences were included to verify the “official” reason for the journey.

Well into the nineteenth century, travel within much of Spain was difficult. The rivers were not navigable, and the many mountain ranges formed major barriers to overland travel. The situation began to improve with the construction of railroads, which became a decisive factor in opening up Spain as a travel destination. The first line, between Barcelona and Mataró, was built in 1848 and the second, between Madrid and Aranjuez, three years later. Most of the railroads were constructed by foreign investors, although the Spanish government provided major subsidies and other inducements. At the end of the nineteenth century, two groups of French investors controlled 80 percent of the railways in Spain.⁵¹ The “revolutionary” period of Spanish history in 1854–56 saw a particularly rapid expansion of the economy. To promote this expansion, there were new injections of foreign credit – particularly French – and new banks. This capital made it possible to begin the railroad network that was to provide the infrastructure for national and international transportation.⁵²

Spain remained one of the poorest and economically least developed countries in Western Europe throughout the nineteenth century. The construction of the main line network was roughly concluded as late as the late 1870s. The railroad connection northwards from Madrid to the Pyrenees (Hendaye-Irún) was completed in 1864; the extension southwards from Madrid to Andalusia (Cordoba) was accomplished some four years later. Only after 1877 were lines extended from Madrid in all directions.⁵³ While tourism and travelling developed

49 Sillanpää 2002, p. 29 fn 41.

50 Stadius 2002.

51 “Spain.” *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, <http://search.eb.com/eb/article?eu=129454>, accessed and printed 22 June 2004.

52 It was not until laws were passed making railway investment attractive to foreign capital, that large-scale railway construction could begin. One major misfortune was a decision taken at an early stage, that Spain’s railways would be built to an atypical broad track gauge. This decision was made for political reasons, because Spain was hostile to neighbouring France during the 1850s, and it was believed that making the Spanish railway network incompatible with the French one would hinder French invasion. As a result, Portuguese railways also use a broad gauge. Unfortunately this decision would be regretted by future generations, as it hindered international trade, and also made railway construction more expensive. Due to the expense of building broad-gauge lines, a large system of narrow gauge railways was built in poorer parts of Spain especially in the north- west of the country. See “Spain.” *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, <http://search.eb.com/eb/article?eu=115208>, accessed and retrieved 22 June 2004.

53 The information of the development of the domestic railroad system in Spain is compiled from the following sites, accessed and retrieved 22 June 2004: “Paco Trenes”, <http://usarios.lycos.es/pakotrenes/Spain.htm>; “Trenes de España”, <http://www.mfom.es/ferrocarriles/espana/historia.htm>; “Todo Trenes”, <http://www.todotrenes.com/Historia/Historia.asp?Indice=1>.

rapidly in the rest of Europe, due to improved comfort, security and faster trains, travellers in Spain still had to rely on simpler means of transportation as late as the 1870s. Before the development of the railroad system, all travelling was done by horse-drawn carriage and mules, particularly in the southern parts of the country.

Initially, most trains in Europe were neither comfortable, nor fast, but France and England soon outdistanced Spain. Early journeys on the Iberian Peninsula were exceptionally trying. As late as 1898, the influential Baedeker guide for Spain and Portugal states:

The unsatisfactory condition of the Spanish railways gives rise to many complaints. Their speed is very low. The express trains (*tren expreso*) on a few of the main lines (sometimes with first class carriages only) and even the 'trains de luxe' (*tren sur expreso*; first class only, with fares raised by 50 per cent) seldom run faster than 25 M. an hour; the ordinary trains (*tren correo*, *tren mixto*; 1st, 2nd, and 3rd class) never attain a speed of more than 15 M. an hour and are often much behind time, especially in S. Spain. In winter the carriages are provided with foot-warmers (*caloriferos*). The third class carriages, which have sometimes seats on the roof also, are used exclusively by members of the lower classes. The second-class carriages have narrow and uncomfortable seats for ten persons and are generally dirty and neglected. Tourists, especially if ladies are of the party, will therefore do well to select the first-class carriages, which are fitted up like those of France. They are, however, by no means so comfortable as they should be, and on the main lines they are often over-crowded. The number of seats is 6 or 8; and some of these are often occupied by the conductors of the train, and even railway-labourers, who scramble in to the train between stations. Every train is bound to have a first-class compartment reserved for ladies (*departemento reservado para señoras*) and another for non-smokers (*para no fumadores*), but the injunction in the latter is seldom heeded by the Spanish travellers.⁵⁴

These conditions continued throughout the nineteenth century. Spain's position as an economically struggling country increased the belief that, in Spain, the travellers' desire to encounter a more pure and authentic culture and landscape would be fulfilled. Casual tourism was already regarded with disdain, but the sufferings that the traveller in Spain had to endure heightened the value of the pursuit.

When taking the feeling of alienation that reigned within modern society into consideration, hardships seem to be one of the primary reasons why Spanish journeys appealed to those who wished to *experience* something out of the ordinary. As seen in the Baedeker quotation above, the nineteenth-century traveller in Spain could not avoid the lower classes. In 1625, Francis Bacon wrote in his famous essay *Of Travel* that letters of recommendation were essential for the traveller to avoid all contact with the lower classes.⁵⁵ Since this essay is regarded as the model for later *Grand Tour* travellers, this is a significant point.⁵⁶ While the *Grand Tour(ist)* stayed within the frames of the comfortable world, nineteenth-century travellers sought to leave modernisation behind. Everything in Spain seems to have been a kind of anti *Grand Tour*: little comfort, security (bandits were notoriously described in all travel accounts), speed, bargains, that is, no leisure trip. This heightened their experience of

54 Baedeker 1898, p. xv.

55 Bacon 1903 (1625), pp. 82-85.

56 Burkart & Medlik 1974, p. 9.

authenticity; journeys to Spain could be an escape from the comforts of the modern world. As my analysis will show, contact with real people and authentic experiences were something that the artists travelling in Spain sought, unlike the participants in the relatively comfortable and predetermined programme of the *Grand Tour*.⁵⁷

This escape from modernity, one of the corner-stones of modern tourism, is associated with a broad understanding of what may be considered real, or authentic, and what may not. Travellers seek to procure other people's "realities". As John P. Taylor observes, it is conventionally the past that is seen to hold the model of the original, "authentic" being found in the "traditional". Travel destinations, objects, images and even people are thus positioned as signifiers of past events, epochs and ways of life. Taylor discusses the modern tourist perception of Maori culture, but his definition can also be applied to the nineteenth-century perception of Spain as seen by strangers. As regards Maori culture, it is the *pre-European past* that generates the impression of *temporal distance*, while nineteenth-century Spain was perceived as "authentic" because it was regarded as *pre-modern*, and thus removed in time, creating temporal distance. Taylor points to Walter Benjamin's remark that the aura of an authentic object may be defined in terms of distance. The distance between subject (the travelling painters) and object (generated aspects of the "traditional") is both spatially and temporally defined, always in the direction of the "future-past". As Taylor explains, when applied to culture, the experience of authenticity is mirrored in the "tragic" experience of modernity. He sees the significance of traditional culture as a means to reconstitute the "Christian eschatological narratives of sin, sacrifice, and redemption. 'They' become the lost sacredness of Western culture, they become its Other, and they are ascribed a spiritual and physical authenticity which the 'materialist' West has somewhat lost."⁵⁸ The experience of authenticity is thus, Taylor concludes, "made to correspond to a perceived death in the Western psyche which has abandoned its authenticity in the quest for progress and technology, and has thus become enmeshed in the rigours of Time".⁵⁹ Distance, spatial as well as temporal, is needed to generate "authenticity".

As the preceding survey has shown, the quest for the genuine and authentic, so typical of the nineteenth century, affected the *Grand Tourists*, and the landed classes eventually abandoned their traditional tour around Western Europe in search of areas that were more exclusive.⁶⁰ According to Sillanpää, these included marginal (and distant) destinations such as Greece, the Near East and Portugal. The attractiveness of these places was in inverse proportion to the number of tourists.⁶¹ And since modern mass tourism in Spain reached

57 Scholars conventionally classify pursuers of the *Grand Tour* as part of the so-called leisure class, the aristocracy and other people who were well off in society. The tour was also undertaken by artists who were not always well-off. In his *Theory of the Leisure Class* from 1899, Thorstein Veblen gives us one of the first definitions of the early tourist.

58 Taylor 2001, p. 9.

59 Taylor 2001, pp. 8-10.

60 Towner 1985, p. 321.

61 Sillanpää 2002, p. 37.

its height only after 1949,⁶² mainland Spain was considered a marginal travel destination throughout the nineteenth century.

Another apparent incentive for the increasing numbers of travellers in Spain is the improved dissemination of information. As evidenced by the brief survey of early travel publications on Spain, by 1800, interest in Spanish things escalated. Romantic travel literature was typically illustrated with images that exaggerated the scenic views and made the palaces look a little greater or more exotic than reality. This enhanced the lure of the places described as major sights to visit for the regular traveller as well as the vacationer. With these early travel books, a particularly persistent Spanish imagery was created, which lingered throughout the nineteenth century. This imagery was perpetuated by visiting painters long after the period that we recognise as Romanticism had come to pass. Indeed, as Michael Löwy and Robert Sayre propose, Romanticism was an ideology which encompasses the whole of the nineteenth century (and is, indeed, still valid), rather than a limited artistic and literary movement confined to a short period of the early nineteenth century.⁶³

1.1.2 Travelling in and from the Periphery: Finnish Voyagers

The history of journeys to Spain from the Nordic countries follows the international pattern, albeit in somewhat delayed fashion. Early accounts from Spain – including the first part of the nineteenth century – are non-existent. Northerners' main travel interest was almost entirely focused on Italy and other European countries, while Spain remained an unpopular destination.⁶⁴ The evolving tourist industry was dependent on technical innovations such as the steam ship, the railroad (the final break-through coming around 1840) and the appearance of the first guidebooks. In brief, industrialisation and economic growth gave birth to more people who were able and desired to travel.⁶⁵ From European perspective, this is visible in the increasing numbers of middle-class travellers who could afford longer periods away from home.⁶⁶ A social revolution, involving many economic changes in international travel, took place in the Nordic countries.⁶⁷

62 Graham Dann points to several scholars who regard Rose Macaulay's *Fabled Shore* from 1949 as "one of the most successful or most disastrous travel books ever published" (quotation from J. Robinson's *Wayward Women: A Guide to Women Travellers*, Oxford University Press 1990). Dann describes Macaulay's work as "at least partly responsible for setting the agenda of the tourist experience." Travel writing thus converts descriptions into action (Dann 1999, p. 161).

63 Löwy & Sayre 2001.

64 One example of a late *Grand Tour* undertaken in this manner is the Finnish noble man Adolf Aminoff's itinerary, accomplished in 1840. His destination was Central Europe, hence excluding Italy as well as Spain. Aminoff's journey is one example of educational travel. Marianne Söderström scrutinises Aminoff's voyage in the light of emergent tourism and Finnish foreign travel. She doubts that the heritage of the educational string of the *Grand Tour* can be separated from modern tourism, since the former fundamentally affected the latter. The *Grand Tour* became a model for modern tourism, and modern tourists are generally interested in the same cultural features as *Grand Tour*-travellers (Söderström 1982 [unpubl.], p. 1).

65 Burkart & Medlik 1974, pp. 11-23.

66 Early nineteenth-century travellers to Spain were mostly members of the upper-working class (the *bourgeoisie*), initially represented by cultural attachés, ambassadors and military men, later by travelling painters and writers. (Fairbairn 1951, s. 127; see also Sillanpää 2002, pp. 34-38).

67 The reader is referred to Burkart & Medlik 1974, Urry 1990, 1995 and Sillanpää 2002 for a more thorough examination on the birth of (modern) tourism and the decline of the *Grand Tour*.

Because of the difficult political situation in Finland, only a few painters managed to travel to Central Europe during the first half of the nineteenth century. Finland, which had been part of Russia since the war with Sweden in 1808–09,⁶⁸ remained an autonomous Grand Duchy within the Russian territory until 1917. The French Revolution and Napoleon had convinced European rulers of the dangers and devastating character of liberal ideas, which thus, by and large, were suppressed. These endeavours culminated in the Congress of Vienna 1814–15, and a strong reactionary form of government was established in Russia. Censorship flourished and travelling was restricted to “protect” the population from the dangerous ideas on the continent; the political climate kept Finland more or less isolated from Central European cultural currents. Residents were frequently forbidden to leave the country; only scholars could receive permission to travel in order to advance their research.⁶⁹ One of Finland’s most important explorers is Georg August Wallin (1811–1852), who was active in the mid-nineteenth century. He was an Arabist and researcher of the Orient, who had an ethnographic interest in the Middle East. Wallin, who came from the Åland Islands, became totally “Orientalised”; in 1854, Robert Wilhelm Ekman (1808–1873) painted him posthumously in an Arab costume. Kaj Öhrnberg stresses that Wallin is one of the most important and qualified nineteenth-century explorers of Arabia. Between 1843 and 1849, Wallin travelled in Egypt, the Arabian Peninsula, the Holy Land, Syria and Persia; in all, he accomplished three expeditions into the deserts of the Arabian Peninsula.⁷⁰

Wallin was thus one of the few who were able to travel outside the Grand Duchy’s borders; it might seem ironic that the Finnish considered *Spain* to be isolated from Europe.⁷¹ Other types of early travellers were businessmen, engineers and other people in the building trade. Those who visited health resorts formed yet another category of travellers, but again they did

68 There is a historical coincidence between Finland and Spain. When Napoleon marched into Spain in 1808, the Finns were also at war; the Russians had invaded the Swedish kingdom. Alexander I had reluctantly gone to war, but soon his surprising success led to the annexation of Finland. This decision was reinforced by Alexander’s disappointment in Napoleon; the French had failed him in Turkey. The annexation of Spain, which reinforced France’s dominating position, disturbed the balance of power. By incorporating Finland into the Russian Empire, the balance was, to some extent, restored.

69 Mustelin 1970.

70 In 1850, Wallin received the Royal Geographical Society’s in London prize, an honour that had been awarded David Livingstone the previous year. Wallin was also awarded a silver medal by the Geographical Society of Paris the same year (Öhrnberg 2000). For more on Wallin’s research and expeditions, see Wallin 1976 (p. 7 ff); Wallin 2007; Öhrnberg 1991a; Öhrnberg 1991b; Öhrnberg 2003. Later, around the turn of the century 1900, Edward Westermarck (1862–1939) achieved international recognition. He became known later in the nineteenth century and into the twentieth through his journeys to Northern Africa. By this time, illustrated travel accounts differed markedly from the scientific approach as represented by Westermarck, who was an anthropologist and one of the pioneers of fieldwork. Between 1898 and 1913, he undertook six expeditions to Morocco in order to gather first-hand knowledge of customs and traditions. During his expeditions, he also took numerous photographs that he used as illustrations in his publications, such as *Six år i Marocko* (Six years in Morocco, 1918). Westermarck also visited Spain in 1908. He travelled together with the “Orientalist” painter Hugo Backmansson (1860–1953), and his Baedeker guide, used in the present investigation (Baedeker 1898), is preserved at the Åbo Akademi University Library (The Donner Institute for Research in Religious and Culture History – The Steiner Memorial Library). For more on Westermarck’s expeditions and ethnographic photographs, see Aho 2000; Melasuo 1991; *Portraying Morocco* 2000.

71 According to Marianne Söderström, no more than about twenty scholars left Finland in order to study in the 1810s and 1820s (Söderström 1982 [unpubl.], pp. 23–24). Söderström has investigated Johan Oscar Immanuel Rancken’s travels in Europe in the 1820s and 1830s.

not go as far as Spain.⁷² Consequently, the few painters who were active in Finland during this period seldom travelled abroad, and if they did, rarely visited southern Europe. The only Finnish artist who visited Spain in the early nineteenth century that I have come across was the vocalist Johanna von Schoultz, who toured Europe as a performing artist during the 1830s.

Instead, a small number of Finnish expatriate artists stayed in Italy for longer periods, among them the sculptor Erik Cainberg (1771–1816), who studied in Rome between 1803 and 1809. Alexander Lauréus (1783–1823) stayed in Italy for longer periods in the 1820s.⁷³ Another Finnish painter in Italy was R.W. Ekman (that is, the one who painted Wallin's portrait). Ekman undertook his journey in the 1840s for the purpose of studying antiquity and the Italian landscape. His Italian pictures depict an idealised *campagna*, inhabited by romanticised Mediterranean ethnographic types who lived carefree and happy lives in a picturesque milieu; Ekman's Italian works belong to the same Romantic genre as Egron Lundgren's sentimental pictures from Italy and Spain.

From a Scandinavian perspective, Lundgren's Spanish period serves as an early example of how this strange, southern country managed to inspire artists from the Nordic countries.⁷⁴ In a considerable number of Romantically tuned and elegant sketches as well as luminous watercolours, Lundgren depicted the Spanish people and their customs, particularly Andalusian women, portrayed as a graceful species, full of exotic sensuality. He adored the Spanish Gypsies and their dances, songs and guitar playing. But we discern also an admiration for the Old Spanish Masters, and an interest in picturesque architecture and landscape.⁷⁵ Consequently, Lundgren's Spanish *oeuvre* can be placed within the larger European context. His travel pictures constitute only a small part of a huge number of travel pictures with Spanish topics that were produced throughout the century, particularly after 1850. Lundgren's *señoritas* and other ethnographic depictions or picturesque scenes certainly belong to this category of images.⁷⁶

Lundgren's fame in Scandinavia made his Spanish imagery particularly important for the emerging Fennoscandian view of the characteristics of the Spanish people. His Romantic perception of Spain intertwined with later tourist art created by Scandinavian artists. Ac-

72 Sweden and St. Petersburg remained the most common destinations for long-term stays (Söderström 1982 [unpubl.], pp. 26-28).

73 Lauréus lived outside Finland for most of his life, and is thus a Finnish painter only by birth. He received a scholarship from the Academy of Fine Arts in Stockholm, since art education in Finland had not yet taken form at that time. Talented painters such as Lauréus and his contemporary Gustaf Wilhelm Finnberg (1784–1833) were sent to Stockholm by private means (Lindberg 1998, pp. 190-191, 192-193).

74 In many respects, Lundgren's Spanish pictures resemble his pictures of similar Italian subjects. However, the apparent exoticism which is present in his Spanish *oeuvre* is perhaps more comparable to his subsequent travel pictures from India.

75 *Spanien genom svenska konstnärsögon* [1953], p. 9.

76 Around the mid-nineteenth century, which is about the same time Lundgren resided in Spain, a particular Spanish imagery had been established in the French capital. Alisa Luxenberg observes that the first picture depicting "authentic" Spanish life, Alfred Dehodencq's *Los novillos de la corrida*, was exhibited in Madrid and Paris in 1850 (Luxenberg 1993, pp. 21-22). Dehodencq was Lundgren's "old chum" from Léon Cogniet's atelier in Paris, and they saw each other frequently when they both resided in Seville (Lundgren 1873–74, pp. 267-268).

according to Marcus Grönvold (1953), Lundgren's fascination with Spain was the impetus ensuing the vogue for Nordic *espagnolisme* in the late 1870s and 1880s.⁷⁷ Between 1878 and 1882, for instance, a small number of well-known Scandinavian and Finnish artists travelled to Spain. In addition to Edelfelt, we come across the Swedes Anders Zorn, Ernst Josephson, Hugo Birger and Allan Österlind, the Norwegians Christian Skredsvig and Lorentz Dietrichson, and the Danes Theodor Philipsen and Peder Severin Krøyer.⁷⁸ From 1881–82, what might be called a small colony of Scandinavian painters formed in Seville. In some instances, the interest in Spain became more or less residential. Anders Zorn, for example, undertook a total of six journeys to Spain following his first visit in 1881–82, and Hugo Birger stayed for several years in Spain together with his pupil Sören Dietrichsen.⁷⁹

Interest in Spanish art and culture in Finland was thus less inspired by Lundgren and more by French *espagnolisme*. Instead of pointing out Lundgren as (the only) incentive for the Nordic vogue of Hispanicism around 1880, I argue that the French trend was more important. Painters such as Adolf von Becker and his talented pupil Edelfelt undoubtedly knew Lundgren's Spanish work, but as I will explain, Becker's and Edelfelt's Spanish endeavours are quintessential examples of the wider and long-term trend that engaged painters, particularly in Paris.⁸⁰ Becker's more or less permanent engagement with and influence from Spanish art from the 1860s onwards, and Edelfelt's later accomplishments within this trend, clearly show that this was the case.

Edelfelt's Spanish journey in the spring of 1881 may have triggered the brief Nordic *Espagnolisme* that Grönvold discusses. When Edelfelt returned from Spain, he met Hugo Birger in Paris, who became inspired by Edelfelt's account of his travel experiences. The Finnish painter had the most fantastic things to report, and Birger decided that he, too, must go to Spain. Birger presented his travel plans to Pontus Fürstenberg (who would become a prominent art collector), and received a commission for a painting with a Spanish motif.⁸¹ Although Sixten Strömbom claims that Ernst Josephson was the one who initially presented the idea,⁸² it was Edelfelt's journey that encouraged Birger and the other Nordic painters to make concrete travel plans, launching a Scandinavian artistic "pilgrimage" to Spain in the first two years of the 1880s.

77 "España quedó en poder de los compatriotas de su primer conquistador, y únicamente los pintores suecos se han aprovechado del ambiente español en tal grado, que ha dejado una nota de españolismo en el arte de su país" (Grönvold 1953, p. 31).

78 Grönvold 1953, p. 31. See also Lundström 1996 [unpubl.], pp. 31–38.

79 They both married while they were in Spain. Birger's wife was Mathilda Gadea and Dietrichsen married Mathilda's sister Paulita. They were the daughters of José Gadea, who was the innkeeper of *Fonda de los Siete Suelos* in Granada (Pauli 1926, pp. 72–73).

80 This becomes apparent also in the works of P.S. Krøyer, who travelled to Spain in 1878. He encompassed a French view of Spain, encouraged by his Parisian teacher Léon Bonnat (1833–1922) who had been educated in Madrid. Bonnat is responsible for several of his students travelling to Spain, at least the American painter Thomas Eakins and the Dane Peder Severin Krøyer (Luxenberg 1993, pp. 24–25). See also Luxenberg 1991, *passim* (pp. 212–269).

81 Strömbom 1947, p. 123.

82 Strömbom 1947, p. 123.

2 “Les dieux et les demi-dieux de la peinture”

A journey to Spain still encompasses something of an adventure for our consciousness, and the study of Spanish art entices us with something of that same adventurousness.¹

Axel L. Romdahl in *Spanska konstintryck* (Spanish Impressions), 1920

As the previous survey has shown, the emergence of a new kind of traveller during the early nineteenth century was an important ingredient in the formation of Spanish (popular) imagery. María de los Santos García Felguera demonstrates how this led to an increased awareness of Spanish art among Europeans around 1800. She observes that there were only a small number of English and French eighteenth-century travellers in Spain among the *Grand Tourists*. She nevertheless begins her overview with seventeenth-century journeys made by diplomats, businessmen and military persons, as well as painters. On several occasions, the visitors’ accounts of Spanish art were surprisingly accurate and often also complimentary. García Felguera sees these early erudite travels to Spain as the beginning of the process that led to a re-evaluation of the art treasures of Spain, which slowly became an improved and more accurate knowledge of Spanish art, particularly in France.²

The culmination of this development was the opening of the *Galerie espagnole* in the Louvre in 1838, where hundreds of allegedly “Spanish” artworks could be viewed for about a decade.³ However, the increasingly valued Spanish seventeenth-century painting and the simultaneously growing number of journeys to Spain are not explained solely by the presence of the Spanish department at the Louvre. On the contrary; as Gary Tinterow speculates, after the Gallery had *closed* in 1848, artists were more likely to travel to Spain in order to view the Old Spanish Masters *in situ*.⁴

This development, of course, was initially enabled and later also greatly facilitated by the improved means for travelling. However, the expansion of the railway network, for instance, signified a prospering industry and economy, which was a major aspect of nineteenth-century “modernity”. During Romanticism, the idea of the “modern” had finally become manifest. In his investigation of the idea of the modern from an aesthetic point of view, Matei Calinescu suggests that the Romantic’s definition of modernism was defined by a reaction

1 “En resa till Spanien har ännu alltjämt för medvetandet över sig något av äventyr, och studiet av dess konst lockar med något av samma äventyrlighet” (Romdahl 1920, p. 13). Axel L. Romdahl (1880–1951) was an art historian, art critic, the person in charge for the Art Museum in Gothenburg, Sweden (1906–47) and professor in art history at the University of Gothenburg 1920–47. His authorship consists of books on the European Renaissance and Baroque art, Medieval spiritual architecture and a number of art historical biographies.

2 García Felguera does not, however, provide any details about the actual journeys, merely stating that they took place in the eighteenth century (García Felguera 1991, pp. 35–38).

3 García Felguera 1991, pp. 87–154 (“El Museo Luis Felipe y el triunfo de la pintura española”).

4 Tinterow 2003, p. 49.

against Classicism's fundamental ideas. He points to Stendhal's relativist definition of Romanticism and the dichotomy between "*le beau idéal antique*" and "*le beau idéal moderne*" from 1817.⁵ During the seventeenth century, French Classicism and the rationalism of the Age of Enlightenment blossomed. The "antique" and "modern" were repeatedly compared and contrasted, although, as Calinescu observes, their similarities were greater than their differences. The moderns of the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth century did not dispel antiquity, but regarded their own age as superior. It was a critique of imperfection that built on concepts from the very period they opposed, namely the Renaissance, but they all shared the same ideas of perfection, a transcendent and unique beauty. Calinescu indicates that the most important result of the discussion of the "modern-antique" dichotomy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the creation of a pattern for literate and artistic development that denied accepted and established norms of taste.⁶

As we will see, from the nineteenth century onwards, the Spanish Baroque, such as Murillo's religious art, was considered to be "down to earth" – secularised, despite its content – and Velázquez's royal portraiture was regarded as depicting ordinary men, not idealised sovereigns. These perceptions of the Spanish Baroque saw it as fundamentally "modern", that is, anti-classical. As Calinescu points out, the originally medieval concept of "the classical" was connected with the aristocracy of Roman society; "the classical" was analogous to the nobility and the upper classes.⁷ With the Renaissance, intellectuals discovered and used new "weapons" in order to free themselves from the "Dark Middle Age" and rediscover the radiant antique, but during the seventeenth century, these same "weapons" were used to dismiss the authority of the Renaissance as an ideal. The Renaissance was felt to be as authoritative as the antique.⁸

The new dichotomy between Classicism and Romanticism, which maintained the old contradiction between the classical-modern counterparts, took place in the late eighteenth century. Several subcategories appeared, of which the dichotomy between Classical and Gothic is particularly important for this discussion. The supporters of the Gothic argued that Gothic architecture should be read according to Gothic standards, and not according to Classical rules. In the same way, Spanish art (i.e., religious themes and portraiture) slowly

5 The terms appeared in Stendhal's (pseud. of Henry Beyle) *Histoire de la peinture en Italie* in 1817 (Calinescu 1987, p. 4).

6 Calinescu 1987, pp. 26-27, 30 ff.

7 From medieval times onwards, when the term *modernus* was coined (in the late 5th century), the difference between *antiquus* and *modernus* seems always to have been polemical and implied a conflict. During the 12th century, for instance, a conflict between poets from each contingent raged: followers of antique poetry on the one hand, and on the other the *moderni*, who represented a "new" kind of poetry. The latter group regarded themselves superior to the "antique" poets. Calinescu also observes that, in addition to stylistic questions, problems of wider philosophical consequences were considered as well. By and large, until the seventeenth century "modernity" was regarded as critique of the unwarranted authority of the antique, and as such was a philosophy of progress. Significantly "the moderns" always regarded themselves superior, although their contribution was much less than the antiques. They could see "further", (as "modern dwarfs on the shoulders of ancient giants"), but their input was always based on earlier findings (Calinescu 1987, pp. 13-16).

8 Calinescu 1987, pp. 16-20. The most influential writers on these matters were Michel de Montaigne (*Essays*, 1580), Sir Francis Bacon (*Advancement of Learning*, 1605) and Descartes (*Discours de la méthode*, 1634).

came to be interpreted in relation to its own rules, and was not measured (unfavourably) against a normative Italian Renaissance; here, “modern” stands for Christian culture as a whole in opposition to “heathen” cultures.⁹ By extension, this also included the reuse of antique (i.e., “pagan”) themes during the Renaissance.¹⁰

Soon, however, two different kind of views of modernity emerged in early nineteenth-century France. On the one hand, the principles that were established by the ruling society that was constituted by the middle-class: veneration of progress, trust in science and technology, a preoccupation with measurable time, rationalism and the idea of freedom, which also included a dedication to action and success. On the other, the radical and anti-bourgeois modernity characterised by disdain for bourgeois assessments, resulting in upheaval, anarchy, apocalyptic ideas and inward exile. This cultural modernity loathed bourgeois modernity and its uncontrollable, consummate, negative passion.¹¹

In France, the term *modernité* was nevertheless not widely used until the mid-nineteenth century.¹² Gautier and Baudelaire, for instance, argued that the *l'art pour l'art* (art for art's sake) movement demanded the act of *épater le bourgeois*, astounding and shocking the bourgeois. Thus, the movement was the first result of aesthetic modernism's upheaval against philistine bourgeois modernity.¹³

The need to solve the problems of one's own time was fundamentally an aesthetic predicament, but it developed into something of a moral demand. Modern industrial life must and can be changed, Gautier argued, when he called for a *modern* form of beauty, an *acceptance* of modernity.¹⁴ Stendhal, probably the first and most important European author to call himself a Romantic, did not understand Romanticism as a particular period or a particular style (of writing), but a consciousness of one's own time. He equated the concepts of “Romantic” and “modern”, infusing a strong association of temporality to Romanticism. In so doing, he prepared the ground for Baudelaire's theory of modernity. For Stendhal, the concept of the Romantic epitomised ideas of change, relativity and, above all, presence, which is the epitome of Baudelaire's concept of *la modernité* expressed four decades later.¹⁵

9 Calinescu 1987, pp. 40-41.

10 The term “romantic” initially had very broad meaning, and was only later restricted to describe the artistic and literary schools of the early nineteenth century (Calinescu 1987, pp. 35-36). By the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, “romantic” was synonymous with “modern”, reflecting the “Genius of Christianity”, a famous expression coined by Chateaubriand (Calinescu 1987, p. 37-38). Although progressive eighteenth-century thinkers questioned antique authority, they had no difficulty encompassing *religious* supremacy. In fact, Calinescu observes that they had a “double” advantage over the antiques; the “moderns” felt they had enhanced intellectual maturity as well as having experienced the Revelation of Christ, which had been unreachable for the antiques. In fact, one of the most important arguments for the Romantics was that they acknowledged the fundamental connection between religion and modernity (Calinescu 1987, pp. 32-35).

11 Calinescu 1987, pp. 41-42.

12 The earliest users of the term were Chateaubriand (1849), Théophile Gautier (1867) and Baudelaire (1859). Chateaubriand, however, used *modernité* pejoratively as synonym for “vulgar”. Calinescu refers to Baudelaire's article on Constantin Guys, which was written in 1859 and published in 1863 (Calinescu 1987, pp. 42-43).

13 Calinescu 1987, pp. 44-46.

14 Calinescu 1987, pp. 45-46.

15 Calinescu 1987, pp. 38-41.

Baudelaire was one of the first artists to position aesthetic modernism against tradition but also against bourgeois society's practical modernism.¹⁶ Furthermore, Calinescu argues, modernity is based on an identity that lies between time and the self, creating a strong feeling of crisis and alienation.¹⁷ Being "modern" included the possibility to go anywhere, paradoxically *away* from the modern world. The cult of genius of the Romantic spirit boosted this development by accentuating individuality and originality. And since "modernity" stands in opposition to "classical",¹⁸ we arrive at a reasonable explanation as to why interest in Italy declined with the growth of Romanticism and, finally, why the *Grand Tour* lost its importance. Tradition was frowned upon and artistic endeavours concentrated on exploring and mapping out a country (i.e., Spain) as it procured its place in modern consciousness. As I will show, by employing historical relativism, nineteenth-century intellectuals challenged the idea of classical perfection by frequently connecting immediacy and presence with the Spanish Baroque.

Romanticism was thus the major driving force behind the "revival styles" – such as the *manière espagnole* – for which the nineteenth century is well-known, as well as the popularity of Spanish subjects. The demand for "direct observation" in Romantic beliefs, which encouraged subjective and personal experiences, required the artists to document reality as they supposedly experienced it. This development was further enhanced by gradually improved modes of travel. The increasingly popular tourist art with Spanish themes demanded direct contact with Spain – a country that was still unexplored – as well as the art of the *Siglo de Oro*. As we will see, *Old Types* as well as *Old Masters* served as a means to fuel European imagery of Spain. This was further stimulated by the new concept of *historic time*: time is impossible to repeat.¹⁹ Therefore, Spain and its perceived "antiquated" art and culture served as a reminder of the past in the present.

2.1 THE SPELL OF MURILLO: THE EARLY COPIES

Early notions of Spanish art and the emulation of a "Spanish style" that followed were initially associated with Ribera and, above all, Murillo.²⁰ Spanish art was scarce outside Spain in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, and so foreigners were dependent on reproductions and copies for a broader picture of the character of the Spanish school. Initially, only Murillo's work could be viewed outside Spain, which accounts for his art's dominance as the models to copy. Ribera, on the other hand, was commonly regarded as belonging to

16 For a discussion on Baudelaire's view of *modernité*, see Calinescu 1987, pp. 46-58.

17 Modernity [as Romanticism] is mirrored in the contradiction between the objectified, socially measurable time of capitalist society, and the personal, subjective fantastic private time, shaped by the emergence of the "self" (Calinescu 1987, pp. 4-5).

18 Calinescu 1987, p. 3 ff.

19 Calinescu 1987, p. 13.

20 Tinterow 2003, pp. 10-11.

the Italian school despite his Spanish heritage. Zurbarán also slowly became recognised, while El Greco failed to satisfy contemporary taste.

Murillo's popularity was such that he never had to be "rediscovered" by early French Romantics. His fame outside Spain lingered on, more or less undisturbed, from his own lifetime onwards.²¹ As John F. Moffitt argues, Murillo's appeal was partly his style, which was not regarded as being particularly "Spanish". According to Moffitt, Murillo abandoned the "National Style", but gained popularity abroad with his "sensual aspects of colour", a feature highly suitable for Romantic ideas.²² Murillo was, indeed, enormously popular in France and the rest of Europe. The sales of his paintings increased continuously, reaching their greatest number by the mid-nineteenth century.²³ Even later, when Velázquez ascended to fame during the 1860s, Murillo's canvases continued to fetch higher prices than any other paintings. This is why Ilse Hempel Lipschutz remarks that Murillo can be considered the most admired of all Spanish painters for the better part of the 1800s.²⁴

During the first half of the nineteenth century, Finnish interest in Spanish art was limited to copies after Old Masters, for the most part by using a print as a model. A journey to Spain was not considered necessary to know Spanish art: here "Spanish art" refers to prints or copies of Murillo's and Ribera's work. Additionally, Finnish painters had the opportunity to examine originals by and copies after Old Spanish Masters in St. Petersburg and Stockholm, and later in Munich and Dresden. However, due to the political situation in Finland, several painters chose not to go to St. Petersburg, but rather to Western Europe.²⁵

Copying constituted a large part of academic art education throughout Europe as a well-established and accepted way of learning the craft of painting, an approach also widespread in Finland. From the French perspective, the *Prix de Rome*, for instance, was the most important manifestation of this practice. Paul Duro shows that in copying, painters had the opportunity to utilise all aspects of their education, including mathematics, geometry, perspective and anatomy. As a result, they gained a more practical understanding of the pictorial process of those artists whom their teachers considered representatives of the pinnacle of artistic achievement.²⁶ Traditionally, this meant Italian painters of the High Renaissance like Raphael, but during the 1840s came to include Spanish painting as well. This trend was also visible in Finland.

21 García Felguera 1991; Haskell 1976, p. 157 ff.; Lipschutz 1972.

22 Moffitt 1999, p. 164.

23 Lipschutz 1972, p. 40. This was partly due to the deaths of the officers or widows from the Napoleonic wars. They were responsible for bringing Murillo's paintings to France in the first place. García Felguera also observes that foreign art dealers in Spain in the first decades of the nineteenth century were already paying huge sums for Murillo's paintings (García Felguera 1991, p. 45).

24 Lipschutz 1972, p. 59.

25 As regards migration and other travels between Finland and St. Petersburg during the nineteenth century, see e.g., Engman 1983.

26 Paul Duro's article on the academic copy and the *Académie de France* in the nineteenth century, positions this practical training within the larger context, examining why painters turned explicitly to Rome for inspiration (Duro 2000, pp. 133-134).

In Finland, copies initially functioned as educational material. As in France, the masters of the Renaissance, especially the Italian school were the most popular, but contemporary art also served as models. Through copies, the recently founded *Finnish Art Society* gained a representative collection of “Masterpieces”.²⁷ Later, the oil copy was replaced by other reproduction methods, mainly graphic, but still, the copies often functioned as a substitute for the original artwork.²⁸ Duro comments on the attraction of copying Italian art in France, observing that if they could not have the originals, then they would have to be content with the copies.²⁹

In Finland, the founding of the *Finnish Art Society* in 1846 marks the starting point for the creation of a collection of copies. The pupils of the *Society’s* drawing school, which began its activity in 1848, frequently copied as a part of their education.³⁰ The teaching material consisted of graphic reproductions that the students used as models for drawing exercises.³¹ The reproductions were mostly of art of the Italian Renaissance and Baroque masters: religious works and figural studies, complex compositions and pictures with less complicated structures, several portraits of royalty and a few anecdotal pictures. Only a small number of French and Dutch painters were included, the latter category represented by a small window scene by Gerrit Dou (1613–1675). Spanish masters are not found in the surviving teaching material.³²

The Drawing School’s first teacher was Berndt Abraham Godenhjelm (1799–1881).³³ From 1827–48, he trained in St. Petersburg. Heikki Hanka describes Godenhjelm as a versatile artist, who was heavily influenced by Petersburgian Late Classicism and Biedermeier,



4. B.A. Godenhjelm, copy of Murillo’s *Immaculate Conception of Sould* (1678), ca 1850. Cygnaei Gallery, Helsinki.

27 Kiiski 1984 [unpubl.], pp. 11-17, 25 ff. This corresponds to the copy practise of the French *Académie*, which expresses “the French state’s principal pedagogical investment in Italian art” (Duro 2000, p. 133).

28 Kiiski 1984 [unpubl.], pp. 1-8.

29 Duro is commenting on France’s attempt to purchase large quantities of original art from Rome (as early as in the late seventeenth century), intended for institutions such as Louis XIV’s Versailles. This soon resulted in a papal decree that forbade the export of artworks without permission (Duro 2000, p. 136).

30 Ervamaa 1989, pp. 91-94.

31 The students were of varying quality, along with craftsmen, children under ten were also among the apprentices (Hanka 1986 [unpubl.], p. 15; see also Levanto 1982, pp. 8-11).

32 Godenhjelm-folder (G), FNG/Archives.

33 Godenhjelm worked as a teacher at the *Finnish Art Society’s* drawing school from 1849 to 1869. According to Bertel Hintze, he consciously strove to pass on to his students the tradition of Russian Late Classicism and the Biedermeier style that he had absorbed during his decades in St. Petersburg (Hintze 1948, pp. 104-105). After Godenhjelm’s retirement from the post as teacher in the Drawing school in 1869, several important changes were carried out that, according to Hintze, partly explain the flourishing Finnish painting during the 1880s (Hanka 1986 [unpubl.], p. 15; Hintze 1948, pp. 108-109).



5. Murillo, *Immaculate Conception of Soult*, 1678. Prado, Madrid.

5a. Graphical reproduction of Murillo's *Immaculate Conception of Soult*, 1678.



as well as an enduring Romanticism.³⁴ In addition to icons, portraits and genre paintings, he executed several altarpieces and compositions with Biblical motives, allegories and mythological scenes.³⁵

Godenhjelm's copy after Murillo's *The Immaculate Conception* (known as the *Soult Conception*) from the 1840s–1850s is a typical example of Murillo's *oeuvre* (Fig. 4).³⁶ The copy's execution also demonstrates that technical emulation was less important than the content. In this respect, the copy follows the (French) Romantics' view of Spanish art. As Lipschutz points out: "[...] it was above all the themes and subject matter of these paintings that struck the French literati, rather than their style or other artistic qualities".³⁷

Presumably, Godenhjelm used a reproduction of Murillo's most famous works as model (Fig. 5, 5a).³⁸ This particular painting was the highest valued work by Murillo in the nineteenth century. It was removed from Spain to France by Marshal Soult during the Napoleonic War, but was reinstated in 1941. Until then, it could be viewed at the Louvre's prestigious *Salon Carré* from 1852 onwards, where numerous painters copied it.³⁹ Murillo's original composition can be found in his numerous *Immaculada*-paintings, and is as such a visual adaptation of the religious theme of the Apocalyptic Woman that was extremely common in Spain.⁴⁰ The Virgin, dressed in her customary white dress and blue robe, stands on her attribute the crescent, surrounded by light and a score of *putti* on a cloud, gazing upwards with her hands clasped over her chest. It is painted in Murillo's *estilo vaporoso*, but since Godenhjelm probably used a black-and-white picture as model, it was not possible to reproduce Murillo's warm colours or eerie technique. Instead, Godenhjelm adopted the Petersburgian scheme of greys and blues that he was used to. The overall impression of the copy is formal and cold; the forms and features are simplified. Godenhjelm (or the reproduction he used as model) also left out some of the *putti* in the lower left corner. Godenhjelm's copy shows that reproductions of Murillo's art were attainable and used as copy material around mid-nineteenth century.

The most common channel by which painters gained knowledge of Spanish art was thus reproductions, but we ought not to forget that the *Galerie espagnole* at the Louvre was open to the public during the larger part of the 1840s. The only Finnish painter who I can confirm visited the Spanish Gallery is Mathilda Rotkirch (1813–1842).⁴¹ Rotkirch's copies

34 Hanka 1986 [unpubl.].

35 Ervamaa 1989, p. 103.

36 The date of the copy is uncertain. Unverified records at Cygnaei Gallery (Helsinki) provide the date 1840s, suggesting that the copy was executed during Godenhjelm's stay in St. Petersburg. Hanka, on the other hand, suggests the date 1850s (Heikki Hanka, letter to the author, autumn 2000).

37 Lipschutz 1972, p. 376 fn 2.

38 Suggested by Heikki Hanka in a letter to the author 1999.

39 *Manet/Velázquez* 2003, pp. 439–440 catalogue number 57 [text by Mariá de los Santos García Felguera].

40 For an overall examination, see Stratton 1994.

41 As Jouni Kuurne asserts in a recent publication on Rotkirch, Rotkirch was trained in Stockholm, and unusually returned to Finland to work mainly as a portrait painter. Among other places, she visited Italy and Paris in 1840–41, travelling extensively in Europe before she died in 1842. Rotkirch's travel journal from a journey in Europe (Germany, Switzerland, Northern Italy and France) is held in the archives of The Swedish Literature Society in Finland (SLSA). The journal is published in its entirety (Swedish transcript of Rotkirch's auto-

at the Louvre in 1840 are included in a list of her works, compiled by her brother Adolf Rotkirch (1816–1866) a few years after her death.⁴² In addition to two copies after van Dyck, who was particularly admired in the early nineteenth century,⁴³ she accomplished two copies in the *Galerie espagnole*. One of the two Spanish copies, which Mathilda called “a head after Velasquez”, is unfortunately lost.⁴⁴ The most likely source was a portrait of an unknown Spanish cardinal that then was attributed to Velázquez.⁴⁵

The other of Rotkirch’s copies at the *Galerie espagnole* is preserved.⁴⁶ She spent a considerable time copying Murillo’s *Magdalene (La Madeleine)*,⁴⁷ which could be viewed in the Louvre between 1838 and 1848 (*Fig. 6*).⁴⁸ The final copy is almost exactly the same size as the original.⁴⁹ According to Jouni Kuurne, her intention was to complete the copy after her return to Finland, but illness prevented her from completing the task. According to a note at the back of the canvas, she managed to finish only the face. R.W. Ekman finished the copy several years after her death approximately in 1848,⁵⁰ probably using a reproduction.⁵¹

graph text) in Kuurne 2002, pp. 77-141. For details regarding Rotkirch’s life and travels, see Kuurne 2002, pp. 9-75, particularly pages 36-47.

- 42 Adolf Rotkirch’s *förteckning 1846* [Mathilda Rotkirch’s list of copies executed in the Louvre 1840], SLSA 1070:97.
- 43 Kuurne observes this early nineteenth-century phenomenon (Kuurne 2002, pp. 67, 69, 181 number 66). Mathilda Rotkirch mentions executing a van Dyck-copy in 1840 at the Louvre, describing it as “*Gubben af Van Dyk* [An Old Man by Van Dyk]”, for seven days (Kuurne 2002, p. 69; *Adolf Rotkirch’s förteckning 1846* [Mathilda Rotkirch’s list of copies executed in the Louvre 1840], SLSA 1070:97). At some point, this copy was thought to be after Murillo, but his name is replaced by “van Dyk [sic]” in a note at the back of the canvas. Today, the painting is attributed to an unknown Dutch painter (Kuurne 2002, p. 182 number 67, illustration p. 183 number 67).
- 44 Since both Murillo’s original and Rotkirch’s copy are missing, we cannot judge, in terms of iconography, the implications of Rotkirch’s choice of motif. However, from her copy list, we learn that she spent two days in the Gallery when executing this particular copy in November 1840 (Kuurne 2002, p. 69; *Adolf Rotkirch’s förteckning 1846* [Mathilda Rotkirch’s list of copies executed in the Louvre 1840], SLSA 1070:97).
- 45 The copy as well as the original painting are unknown today. We learn from Rotkirch’s annotations that at the time she executed the copy, the portrait was believed to be an original Velázquez (see *Adolf Rotkirch’s förteckning 1846* [Mathilda Rotkirch’s list of copies executed in the Louvre 1840], SLSA 1070:97). Adolf Rotkirch regards Mathilda’s reference to her copy as “a head after Velasques [sic]” as identical with the copy of a cardinal portrait (Kuurne 2002, pp. 67, 74-75, 182 catalogue number 68). In their catalogue of the *Galerie espagnole*, Jeannine Baticle and Cristina Marinas mention one cardinal portrait that once was attributed to Velázquez, *Portrait d’une cardinal*, as being part of the *Galerie espagnole*. Now, the portrait is attributed to the School of Velázquez, and, unluckily, no image is available. The work’s whereabouts is unknown, and we only know that it was included in the Spanish collections in 1838 and sold in 1853 (Baticle & Marinas 1981, p. 206 number 320). Kuurne, however, speculates as to whether the original work is still at the Louvre (Kuurne 2002, p. 74 fn 183, according to *Le musée national du Louvre, Paris s.a.*, number 1737, no exact reference specified).
- 46 Kuurne specifies her Murillo-copy as being *Den botfärdiga Magdalena [The Penitent Magdalene]* (Kuurne 2002, pp. 183-183, number 69, ill. 69).
- 47 Particularly if compared to the time spent copying other works of art. According to Mathilda Rotkirch, the van Dyck-copies took six and seven days respectively to execute, while the head after Velázquez took two and the Murillo-copy eleven days, even though she only managed to finish the face (Kuurne 2002, p. 69; *Adolf Rotkirch’s förteckning 1846* [Mathilda Rotkirch’s list of copies executed in the Louvre 1840], SLSA 1070:97).
- 48 In 1853, it was sold to England, where it remained throughout the nineteenth century (Baticle & Marinas 1981, p. 119 number 163).
- 49 Today, Murillo’s original is in the collections of the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin (Kuurne 2002, p. 184).
- 50 Kuurne 2002, pp. 183-185.
- 51 Baticle and Marinas note that A. Collier executed an engraving after Murillo’s painting in 1845 (Baticle & Marinas 1981, p. 119).



6. Mathilda Rotkirch [and R.W. Ekman], copy of Murillo's *La Madeleine*, 1840/1848. Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland, Helsinki.

By the time of its acquisition in 1836, Murillo's original was described as one of the master's best works. It was bought from a Spanish collector by Baron Taylor, who enthusiastically described it as "*un des chefs-d'œuvre de Murillo, égal à tout ce que la Musée de Madrid possède de plus beau*".⁵² A few years later, the Finnish Romantic painter Magnus von Wright (1805–1868) described Rotkirch's copy as being "the most beautiful [of her paintings] (a praying woman in full-length life size)".⁵³

Rotkirch/Ekman managed to recreate the impenetrable dark background in Murillo's original, where the saint is seen illuminated (by a divine light), standing on her knees and shrouded with a red cloth, clasping her hands over her chest. Her gaze is directed towards the heavenly spheres. Even though the execution of the face does not reproduce Murillo's subtle brush, it managed to imitate the saint's divine expression. Murillo's secular and everyday approach to the subject is present in the direct observation of the woman's appearance. As Victor Stoichita observes, this approach to communicating a visionary experience was extremely popular in Spain during the Counter Reformation. In order to express an "invisible" occurrence, the subject having a visionary experience was rendered realistically in order to create a (convincing) connection between the deity and the person viewing the

picture. Thus, by the means of the saint's representation, Heaven and Earth were literally united, establishing a contact between man and God. The purpose of the saint's visionary experience was to act as a vehicle for the viewer's sense of sight, "embracing the word made flesh".⁵⁴

As Lipschutz has shown, Murillo's virgins had dual beauty; they were "divine and yet earthy". This quality was widespread by the mid 1830s, and was expressed by P. Hédouin's "Le Poignard de Dona Dolores" in 1837: "*Quel beau pays que celui [...] où Murillo, mon peintre favori, créa ces madones, d'autant plus touchantes qu'elles paraissent appartenir à la fois à la terre et au ciel!*"⁵⁵ Within French Romanticism, the perception of female beauty had

52 Baticle & Marinas 1981, p. 119.

53 "Den vackraste af tafforna (en bedjande qvinna i hel figur i nat. storlek) [...]" Quotation from a diary entry, dated 5 July 1844, as quoted in Kuurne 2002, p. 184. Magnus von Wright was an important Finnish landscape and genre painter, and illustrator of botanical and zoological scientific publications. His position as an exhibiting artist was central during this period.

54 Stoichita 1995 (see particularly "By Way of a Conclusion", pp. 198-199, quotation p. 123).

55 The text appeared in P. Hédouin's *La Corbeille d'or: Annales romantiques* (Lipschutz 1972, p. 80).

changed. Lipschutz points out that the French Romantic often “found an incarnation of his ideal beauty” on a Spanish canvas. The heroes of Romantic literature described the woman of their dreams as having long dark hair, large and luminous black eyes, an olive-coloured complexion and a delicate form which contrasted with her passionate nature. Particularly Murillo’s art became analogous to this new Mediterranean concept of female beauty, as seen, for instance, in Rotkirch’s Madeleine-copy. Around 1850, Murillo’s paintings of the Madonna and particularly the *Soult Conception* (see Fig. 5) were, indeed, “the prototype of Murillo’s portrayal not only of the Virgin in her glory, but also of the Andalusian woman in all her regally gentle yet earthbound beauty”, as Lipschutz puts it.⁵⁶

Therefore, with time, the dualistic view of Murillo as a painter of “earthy” as well as “heavenly” virgins was appropriated to mean beautiful Spanish women in general. The Romantic imagery of Murillo’s seemingly “real” Madonnas was transferred to also encompass “ordinary” Spanish women. Moreover, popular Romantic literature frequently described Murillo’s Madonnas as “*touchantes*”, which touched the hearts and feelings of the viewer, as can be seen in the example quoted above. The stereotypical view of the Spanish lady as an extraordinarily sensual being was, consequently, accomplished through appropriation of early nineteenth-century Murillo imagery. The French image of the quintessential “Spanish woman” was the Murillo-Madonna.

As a result, the beauty of Murillo’s Madonnas, as seen in von Wright’s remark on the Rotkirch/Ekman Murillo-copy quoted above, was seen as enhancing the image’s quality, despite technical deficiencies. One should reproduce the essence, not the technique. A similar approach to the subject is seen in the oeuvre of a rather mediocre Finnish artist, Godenhjelm’s pupil H. Adrian Barkman (1825–1855), who painted several copies after Murillo’s Immaculate Conceptions. Not much is known of his whereabouts; in 1896, the Finnish art historian Johan Jakob Tikkanen (1857–1930) described Barkman’s life as miserable, ending prematurely from cholera after a failed suicide attempt. Barkman was born in Lappfjärd, Ostrobothnia, where he also ended his days.⁵⁷ One account from 1881 informs us that the artist’s short career presumably started around mid 1840s.⁵⁸ His last years were not productive, but he nevertheless received 10 roubles as an allowance from the *Finnish Art Society* as late as 1853.⁵⁹ He succeeded in acquiring commissions as a portrait painter, but he never fully developed into a creative artist; according to the account from 1881, the thought that an artist should create something of his own never occurred to Barkman, and so he executed mostly copies and portraits.

56 Lipschutz 1972, pp. 37, 149 ff, 165 ff.

57 Tikkanen 1896, p. 37.

58 In 1850, Barkman had told C.G.E. of a six-year-long stay in Turku and Helsinki (C.G.E. 1881, p. 75). The signature C.G.E. undoubtedly stands for the Professor of Aesthetics and Literature at the Imperial Alexander University in Helsinki (1868–early 1890s), Carl Gustaf Estlander (1834–1910). He also held the chair of the *Finnish Art Society* in the 1870s. In 1867, he published an overview of the art of the nineteenth century, *De bildande konsternas historia* (Lundström 2001a, p. 95).

59 The society had supported him financially since 1849, when he was discovered and sent to Helsinki to study art (Tikkanen 1896, p. 37).

The article from 1881 informs us of that Barkman's Murillo-“Madonna” was copied for “a professor in Helsinki” in 1850. The author of the article was a young student at that time, and the artist visited his home to execute a portrait of his father the vicar. During the sittings, Barkman explained that he regarded his copy of Murillo as the most important task he had ever carried out: “At the thought of [this] wonderful phenomenon, [Barkman's] vapid eyes gained a certain expression of ecstasy”, we read in the text, written thirty years later. Barkman regarded Murillo's subject as “something divine, which cannot be put into words”, and described the Madonna as wearing a dress reaching to her feet and clasping her hands over her chest. According to the account, Barkman acted out her position in order to animate his description and give a clear picture of this “wonderful piece of art”. Barkman also remarked that the Madonna was “stepping on something yellow, said to be a half-moon”, which reveals that the religious-iconographical meaning of the scene meant nothing to him. This apparent ignorance of the meaning of Murillo's art is also illustrated by the writer's confession that although he had read in *Beckers Världshistoria* that Murillo was a Spanish painter, he did not manage to imagine what a Murillo-Madonna looked like. For him, it was also almost inconceivable that *Barkman* had managed to paint such an illustrious image.⁶⁰

Barkman told his discussant that he had used an engraving as a model, which he had received from the professor in Helsinki.⁶¹ The professor had also declared that the dress should be white and the veil grey. Interestingly, Barkman regarded his Murillo-copy as “the true virtue of his art”, while he dismissed his own portraits, his other main occupation, as something “lowly” [“simpelt”], beneath his dignity.⁶² This reflects the high status of copying Murillo in Finland around 1850.

Barkman painted two further copies after Murillo in the 1850s,⁶³ using a reproduction of the latter's *Immaculada Concepción/La Gloria* as model (*Fig. 7*).⁶⁴ Murillo's painting is

60 Barkman lived his life in misery, supporting himself by copying and painting portraits, but obviously with little success (C.G.E. 1881, p. 83).

61 As discussed above, the use of reproductions as models was common among copyists. At this time, Barkman wished to execute the altarpiece for the Lappfjärd (Lappajärvi) church, presently under construction, and he considered several different reproductions of masterpieces to reproduce. As we learn from the 1881 article, Barkman “did [not] need inspiration from the outside [behöfde [icke] inspirationer utifrån]”, because he had all the images in the “Picture Bible” [Swedish “Bilderbibeln”], ready to use. Barkman died before the church was finished. A decade later, Erik Johan Löfgren (1825–1884) was assigned the task of copying Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper*, intended as an altarpiece for the church (C.G.E. 1881, pp. 76–77, 83).

62 Barkman regarded painting “living human beings [as] beneath his dignity”, and proposed that he also in the portrait of the vicar should include an angel holding two keys. As model for this “angel” he presented a reproduction (a leaflet from an illustrated Bible), where the prophet Isaiah was depicted holding a scroll, and two angels soaring in the air above the prophet's head, holding a wreath of flowers. This proposition did not, however, please the dean. See C.G.E. 1881, pp. 71–85 (the quotations are translations of the following passages: “[Barkmans] menlösa ögon fingo ett visst uttryck af svärmeri vid tanken på den härliga företeelsen”; “något himmelskt, som aldrig med ord kunde uttryckas”; “trampar hon i någonting gult, som de säga skall föreställa en halfmåne”; “själva dygden i hans konst”).

63 The copies have not been located, but two photographs from 1940 are preserved at the Finnish National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.

64 The original depicts the Madonna from the waist, gazing upwards to her right, her hands clasped at her chest. On both sides, three heads of angels soar in the upper background, looking at the Madonna. Barkman's copies show the Madonna looking upwards to her left; the engraver did not bother to reverse the image for the reproduction. According to a note on the reverse of Barkman's larger copy, it was executed after a lithograph. The original painting hangs at the Museo del Prado, Madrid (*Immaculada Concepción/La Gloria*, inventory number 973).

generally called *Conception with the Crescent Moon*, since the crescent is the only item to identify her as the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception (Fig. 8).⁶⁵ Barkman's smaller copy is dated 1853, and is less elaborate than the larger one. It also omits the angels in the background and the half-moon by her waist, which are seen in Murillo's original and in the larger copy. The impact of the engraving is apparent; the slick and inflexible brush-strokes in Barkman's larger copy are totally incompatible with Murillo's technique. This is most visible in the outline of the angels, whose eloquent and lucid appearance has disappeared altogether; their cheeks are flatter and their curls are less elaborate, lying smooth on their heads. The unemotional expression of the Madonna's face agrees largely with Godenhjelm's *Immaculate Conception* from about the same time (see Fig. 4). Stylistically, Barkman has derived a great deal from his teacher, including his decision to copy Murillo.

The fact that Barkman omitted the half-moon in one of his later copies is noteworthy. The Virgin Mary is thus here seen as a Madonna, and the image's original reference to the Immaculate Conception has disappeared. Peculiarly enough, Murillo's works were, on two occasions, used as models for copies that were intended as altarpieces in Lutheran churches before 1860. The oddity lies in that Lutherans did not encompass the belief of the Immaculate Conception, which was dogmatised in the Catholic Church as late as 1854.⁶⁶ However, Hanna Pirinen has shown that some artworks whose iconography belongs to the Catholic dogma were still used as altar pieces in Lutheran churches during the nineteenth century. As regards the Immaculate Conception iconography, the original dogmatic meaning appears to have been ignored. Instead, the Virgin Mary was represented as a universal symbol and allegory of motherly love, a pure and constant depiction of "ideal veracity", which springs from Romantic ideology. Pirinen also concludes that private persons with connections to the Catholic Church (i.e., relatives, who confessed to Catholicism), donated these artworks to their Lutheran congregations.⁶⁷ Moreover, donors belonging to the Finnish nobility were normally in contact with Stockholm, St. Petersburg and Central Europe, which affected these commissions.⁶⁸

Two such altarpieces, which are essentially identical, presently hang in Ristiina (Fig. 9) and Viekkijärvi churches respectively. These copies are both mirror images of Murillo's *Conception with the Crescent Moon* (see Fig. 8). The Ristiina-copy was received as a gift to the



7. H. Adrian Barkman, copy after a lithograph of Murillo's *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception with the Crescent Moon* (1665), 1853. Present location unknown.



8. Murillo, *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception with the Crescent Moon*, 1665. Prado, Madrid.

65 Stratton 1994, p. 110.

66 Pirinen 1991, p. 80.

67 As an example, Pirinen gives an altarpiece, made much later for a chapel in Laukaa Church, where the donor's grandmother had been a Roman Catholic (Pirinen 1990 [unpubl.], p. 86 fn 17). The copy was executed by M. Milde from Dresden in the 1920s, after Murillo's *Virgin and Child* (c. 1670) in The Dresden Gallery, Germany. The copy was donated to the congregation as late as 1964. The donor's father had purchased the picture in the 1920s because he had been attracted to this particular painting when he studied in Dresden in the 1890s (Pirinen 1990 [unpubl.], pp. 86-87). This gives further support for that Murillo's fame persisted throughout the nineteenth century. Several copies after Murillo were still executed in Finland in the early years of the twentieth century. For instance, Axel Haartman (1877-1969) copied Murillo's *Immaculada de Soult* (1678) at the Louvre in 1905 (Lundström 1996 [unpubl.], p. 106), and Adolf Lietzen's (later Lietsalo, b. 1873) copy after Murillo's *The Holy Family* was executed at the Louvre approx. 1903-1906 (Pirinen 1990 [unpubl.], p. 88).

68 Pirinen 1990 [unpubl.], abstract; pp. 69-89, 112-113.



9. Unknown, copy of Murillo's *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception with the Crescent Moon* (1665). Ristiina Lutheran Church, Finland.

chapter. For Romantic painters, this particular image constituted an appropriate example; the Virgin Mary imagery has psychological impact as she represents the ideal woman and mother. The exclusion of the Catholic connotations and the personal stance of Murillo's devotional picture underpinned the secularised and Romantic view of Murillo's Virgins as ordinary and unidealised Spanish women.

Nevertheless, for the most part these early copies after prints of Murillo's Madonnas were idealised, that is, some of the original image's essentially realistic appeal was lost. Yet another example where the technique of Murillo's original is completely ignored, is an anonymous copy after his *Madonna and Child* (Fig. 10). The painter is unknown, and so we do not know whether he or she was Finnish. Today the painting belongs to the collections of the Sinebrychoff Art Museum in Helsinki. If compared to Murillo's canvas in Palazzo Pitti, Florence (Fig. 11), we soon discover that the luminosity and vivid brushwork of the original

congregation in 1852.⁶⁹ Here we see an idealised, dark-haired Virgin with a pale complexion, executed in a style associated with Petersburgian Biedermeier.⁷⁰ The half-moon is omitted in both copies, which raises suspicions as to whether the crescent was missing in the reproduction that obviously functioned as model.⁷¹

The omission of the crescent indicates that Catholic symbolism disturbed the copyists or their patrons. Instead, the main aim was to copy the celebrated Murillo. The obvious popularity of this particular image may also have been because the crescent was easy to omit, at least if compared to the plethora of Catholic symbolism visible in the variants with the Virgin standing on a cloud. After all, the crescent was the only symbolic item in the picture that identified her as the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception. Furthermore, Suzanne L. Stratton(-Pruitt) underlines that the composition's simplicity also turns Murillo's painting into an expression of *personal* devotion to the doctrine.⁷²

Such an approach to the subject suits Romanticism's idea of "subjective" art, as discussed further below in this

69 Information about the donor, Fanny Olivia Charlotta Brander, is obtained from the back of the unsigned canvas (Pirinen 1990 [unpubl.], p. 69).

70 Pirinen 1990 [unpubl.], p. 70.

71 Heikki Hanka also reflects on this possibility as well, because the copy in Viekkijärvi church also omits the crescent. Hanka speculates that the Ristiina-copy might be by Godenhjelm, particularly because of its influences from the Classical-Romantic Biedermeier-style that Godenhjelm adopted when he lived in St. Petersburg. However, it may be St. Petersburg school, or a copy by one of Godenhjelm's pupils (Heikki Hanka, letter to Lea Tserni-Puittinen, Jyväskylä 27.10.1995; Prof. Heikki Hanka, private consultation, 2002).

72 Stratton 1994, p. 110.

are absent, while the subject is more important; as Pirinen observes, in those few instances that images of the Virgin are found in Finland, they primarily picture the Madonna, with or without the Child. Initially, this copy belonged to a private collection,⁷³ and thus constitutes an expression of contemporary, bourgeois tastes. Pirinen notes that “aesthetically idealistic religious images”, such as copies after Murillo and Raphael, were an integral part of the interior design of that time, and were frequently found in the homes of the nobility. Those copyists who travelled in a foreign country were international in their taste for particular Old Masters.⁷⁴ While being educated abroad, artists such as Godenhjelm and Mathilda Rotkirch copied well-established Masters according to current, European tastes. Consequently, through these copies, the essentially Central European taste for Murillo was brought into the homes of the Finnish nobility. Only later, when travelling became more common did copyists begin to pay attention to the technical aspects of the painting. At this point, the commissioners were content with the idealised copy, because they were not in the position to have (or rather, see) the original.

While subjects such as *Madonna and Child* and the examples of the omitted crescents in the copies after *Conception with a Crescent Moon* were relatively easy to accept within a predominantly Lutheran society, the same cannot be said of the more traditional Immaculate Conceptions. In addition to Barkman’s and Godenhjelm’s versions, I have managed to locate only one additional “Immaculada” of nineteenth-century origin (Fig. 12).⁷⁵ Stratton assumes that this anonymous work most probably is based on a Spanish example, but the result is a pastiche of so many elements that it is difficult to trace a precise source.⁷⁶

73 The *Finnish Art Society* received the copy in 1909, probably among thirteen artworks – 10 paintings and 3 sculptures – that were transferred from Sortavala to the *Finnish Art Society*. The donor, Elisabeth Hallonblad, b. Siitoin (1831–1907), was the spouse of Herman Hallonblad (1825–1894), Mayor of Käkisalme 1852–1861 (Records, Archives of the Sinebrychoff Art Museum, Helsinki). Fredrik Hallonblad, a relative [?] of Herman, donated another, similar Murillo-copy from the 1850s to the Rautavaara Lutheran Congregation in 1861. The Church burned down in 1978, but Pirinen assumes that the copy depicted the *Madonna and Child*. It was uncovered on Christmas Eve in 186 and, as Pirinen has shown, the Madonna and Child iconography was frequently associated to be a Christmas theme: a much later altarpiece at Laukaa was exposed at Christmas Eve on 1964 (Pirinen [unpubl.] 1990, pp. 86-87).

74 Pirinen 1990 [unpubl.], pp. 70, 112.

75 The painting hangs in Sodankylä Church, where it was positioned as late as 1950 (Pirinen 1990 [unpubl.], pp. 70-71).

76 PhD Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt, Director of Fine Arts and Cultural Programs at The Spanish Institute in New York, proposes Juan de Roelas or another painter with a similar approach as a possible source, particularly as regards the slight, oval face and features of the Virgin. The ample forms, however, suggest a work later in the seventeenth century (Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt, letter to author, 4 November 2001). Stratton has published an investigation of the Immaculate Conception in Spanish art in 1994 (Stratton 1994).



10. Unknown, copy of Murillo’s *Madonna and Child*, s.a. Sinebrychoff Art Museum, Helsinki.

10a. Reproduction of Murillo’s *Madonna and Child*.





11. Murillo, *Madonna and Child*. Palazzo Pitti, Florence.

Nevertheless, the existence of such paintings in nineteenth-century Finland may be seen as symptomatic of the discussion surrounding the dogmatisation of the Virgin's Immaculate Conception in 1854. As Pirinen has pointed out, the painting is composed of elements that symbolise Mary's virginity: the white dress and blue robe, the twelve stars surrounding her head, the crescent moon on which she stands, and homunculi holding flowers and a palm branch.⁷⁷ In this way, it "collects" all the symbols of the Immaculate Conception, however in a rather "unoriginal" way. Once again, the subject was the most important ingredient in the painting, not the manner of execution.

2.2 FROM MURILLO TO VELÁZQUEZ: TRACING A PARADIGM SHIFT IN THE 1860S

In Spain, Velasquez had the strength to liberate the inherent beauty of reality. Murillo, again, saw beauty as a heavenly vision, and he had the courage to make this vision descend to earth.⁷⁸

Théophile Gautier, *Les dieux et les demi-dieux de la peinture* (1864)

The above epigraph, extracted from Gautier's book, *Les dieux et le demi-dieux de la peinture* from 1864, summarises the contemporary view of Murillo and Velázquez in the 1860s. Together, Murillo and Velázquez formed the complete expression of Spanish art, an art that was simultaneously realistic and mystical: Velázquez represented people, while Murillo painted angels. "For the first one, Earth, the other, Heaven", as Gautier expressed it.⁷⁹ As discussed in the section above, Murillo was admired for having succeeded in combining earthy and heavenly qualities in the same figure, and the Virgin's "worldly splendour" eventually became a symbol of Spanish womanly beauty. Velázquez, on the other hand, found his inspiration in the real world; he had depicted kings and nobility as ordinary men.⁸⁰

This dualistic view of Spanish art is reflected also in the *Finnish Art Society's* exhibitions during the 1860s. The Society's official and annual exhibitions started to take place in the late 1840s. Of the exhibited works, some were originals, some copies. Jukka Ervamaa notes that the first exhibitions uncritically accepted copies as original works. Later expositions occasionally included more copies than original artworks, but generally, the quantity of copies averaged 40 percent.⁸¹



12. Unknown, *Immaculate Conception*, s.a. Sodankylä Lutheran Church, Finland.

77 Pirinen 1996, pp. 84-87.

78 "En Espagne, Velasquez, par le caractère, dégagea le beau du réel; Murillo l'aperçut dans une vision céleste et osa le faire descendre sur la terre" (Gautier [1864], p. 19).

79 Gautier [1864], p. 288.

80 Lipschutz 1972, pp. 57-122 ("The Period of Discovery: 1810-1837").

81 Ervamaa 1989, p. 91.

After the establishing of the *Finnish Art Society* in 1846, the first exhibition was held the next year. As Ervamaa maintains, the importance of the Society's exhibitions cannot be emphasised too strongly. For the first time, a wide-ranging selection of contemporary art could be viewed annually, and new talents were seen alongside more established painters. At the same time, artists had the opportunity to compare different styles and manners, and to get an overview of the current state of the arts. The Society's activities also affected the social circumstances of art consumption. Prior to this institutionalising of art production, Finnish artists functioned primarily as portrait painters who received additional commissions from churches, executing works such as the Murillo-copies, discussed above. At this point in time, however, the visitors at the exhibitions turned art into an exclusively aesthetic and non-profit-making experience.⁸²

The *Finnish Art Society's* exhibitions give a wide-ranging picture of the art of the time.⁸³ However, if compared to, for example, those of the Italian School, copies after Spanish originals formed a minority.⁸⁴ In 1848, the visitors had the additional pleasure of seeing an "original" Ribera, *Suffering of Job*,⁸⁵ and a couple of years later, another work that was described as a genuine Ribera, *The Holy Family*.⁸⁶ At the Society's annual exhibitions around the mid-nineteenth century, only one copy after a Spanish example could be viewed: a copy after *The Suffering of Job* as well as the original were on display in 1852.⁸⁷ The next time the visitors at the annual exhibitions were in the position to examine a painting with a Spanish theme was in 1859, when a "Spanish woman", a copy after an unknown original, was displayed.⁸⁸

As the 1860s commenced, several "Murillos" suddenly appeared at the annual exhibitions. Whereas Murillo's art had mainly served as models for ecclesiastic pictures in the 1850s, they now entered the secular artistic scene. The most important difference is that most of the exhibited copies were painted *in situ* during travels in Europe, while the earlier copies for churches and congregations mainly used reproductions as models (except for Mathilda Rotkirch's much earlier copies). Wladimir Swertschkoff's (1821–1888) copy after an original called *Reclining Boy*, most likely referring to the *Beggar Boy* at the Louvre, was

82 Ervamaa 1989, p. 90 ff.

83 As Jukka Ervamaa has shown, several of the painters who exposed their work at the early exhibitions have been omitted in later art history, but by examining the entries in the exhibition catalogues, these deficiencies can be mended (Ervamaa 1989, p. 91).

84 Most of the displayed copies are today in the collections of the Finnish National Gallery, Helsinki.

85 *Förteckning öfver Finska Konstföreningens Exposition i Helsingfors 1848*, 5 number 30 ("*Jobs lidande*").

86 *Förteckning öfver de den 11 Mars 1850 af Finska Konstföreningen exponeerade konstalster*, 7 number 77.

87 The copy was executed by [Johan?] Asplund. However, at this time the authenticity of the "Ribera" was questioned. *Finska konstföreningens exposition 1852*, 4 number 20 ("J. Ribeira?, *Jobs lidande*"); 6 number 58 ("Asplund, *Jobs lidande*, kopia efter Ribeira"). Today, an original painting by Ribera, called *Ecce homo*, belongs to the collection of the Finnish National Gallery.

88 *Finska konstföreningens exposition 1859*, 5 number 30 [H. Elfvengren].



13. Murillo, *Beggars Boy (Urchin Hunting Fleas)*, ca. 1648. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

kotheek in Munich, where he copied Murillo's *Three Boys Playing Dice* (Fig. 14) and *Two Boys Eating a Tart* (Fig. 15). Murillo's originals are typical examples of his images of street urchins and beggar boys, living happily despite their poverty (Fig. 14a). Swertschkoff's copies were

shown in 1860 (Fig. 13).⁸⁹ The following year, Adolf von Becker's (1831–1909) version of the same original could be viewed.⁹⁰

A number of women painters also exhibited copies at the annual exhibitions during the 1860s.⁹¹ Synnöve Malmström asserts that women copyists were relatively common in the mid-nineteenth century, since women painters often had difficulties in obtaining “proper” work. Instead, they were referred to copying.⁹² This was frequently put into effect at the Louvre, where the number of (women) copyists was considerable at that time.⁹³ A Finnish example is Augusta Granberg (1827–1905), who stayed for longer periods in Paris during the 1860s. There she produced yet another copy after Murillo's *Beggars Boy*.⁹⁴ Less famous works by Murillo at the Louvre were also copied, for instance *Agony in the Garden*.⁹⁵

As the above survey of copies at the annual exhibitions shows, genre paintings such as Murillo's *Beggars Boy* would soon replace the religious themes as examples for copyists. This is seen also in Swertschkoff's choices at the *Alte Pinakothek*

89 *Finska konstföreningens exposition 1860*, number 8. Swertschkoff was the French *juste milieu* and history painter Thomas Couture's (1815–1879) pupil. He was first educated in the Russian Military Academy, and served as an officer in the Imperial Army. Little is known of his time in Couture's atelier, only that he was an apprentice in 1858 (Boime 1980, pp. 541–543).

90 At the same exhibition, the recently deceased Werner Holmberg's (1830–1860) *Angel* after Murillo also was on display. According to the catalogue, however, Holmberg's Murillo-angel was painted in Helsinki as early as 1853, probably while he was Godenhjelm's student. For more on Holmberg, see “Förteckning öfver dem bland framlidne artisterne Werner Holmbergs taflor och studier, som exponerats vid minnesfesten i Helsingfors den 24 Sept. 1861”, p. 2 number 9 (*En engel* [sic], *efter Murillo*), *Finska konstföreningens exposition 1861*.

91 Bertel Hintze also observes that the galleries at *The Finnish Art Society's* annual exhibitions were “to an overwhelming extent” filled with copies and other works by “dilettantish” women painters (Hintze 1942–44, I, p. 38).

92 Malmström 1987, pp. 46–47. Bertel Hintze describes the poor circumstances of young artists in Finland during the 1860s. Stimulating impulses were rare, as were separate exhibitions and original (foreign) art works of a higher standard (Hintze 1942–44, I, pp. 36–37).

93 Until 1870, copying was controlled by the French government and steadily grew to gigantic proportions. Commissions were made for courtrooms, town halls, and other State-owned establishments in France. The general demand for copies was enormous. Though the women constituted only a quarter of the total number of copyists, the male copyists were particularly disturbed by the presence of the “*demoiselles à copier*”, who blocked their view at the gallery (Duro 1986, pp. 1–7).

94 Hintze 1942–44, I, pp. 64–65. Granberg's copy was displayed in Finland in 1865 (*Finska konstföreningens exposition 1865*, 6 number 48). Later, Granberg left her career as a painter and became a drawing-mistress (Malmström 1987, p. 39).

95 *Finska konstföreningens exposition 1862*, 5 number 26 (Augusta Pipping); Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *Le Christ au Jardin des Oliviers*, Musée du Louvre, Paris (inventory number 932).

displayed at the Society's annual exposition in 1867.⁹⁶ The previous year, he had donated his copies to the Society's drawing-school, and those students, who could not travel abroad evidently used them as models.⁹⁷

The dualism of the French view of Spanish art is particularly apparent in Adolf von Becker's Spanish copies from his sojourn in Madrid in 1863. His copies could be viewed at the annual exhibitions from 1864 onwards. In 1864, three of his Spanish copies were on display: the Murillo-copies *Mater Dolorosa* and *Immaculate Conception of Escorial* and a portrait of *Juan Martínez Montañéz* after Velázquez (see *Fig. 37*).⁹⁸ The *Finnish Art Society* had acquired all three copies the previous year, which is probably why they were displayed then.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, the displayed copies remind us of Gautier's remark from the same year: Velázquez painted people, Murillo angels.

Towards the end of the 1860s, the number of "Murillos" at the *Finnish Art Society's* annual exhibitions nevertheless declined. The religious themes that had been copied frequently in the earlier decades were now looked upon with disdain. This was also the case for Victorine Nordenswan's (1831–1872) copies that mainly depicted religious themes. Her oval copy of Ribera's *St. Agnes* from 1868 received sour reactions (*Fig. 16, Fig. 17*).¹⁰⁰ The critics described her copy, then mistakenly thought to depict *Mary of Egypt*, as "Egyptically horrible to behold".¹⁰¹

As we know, Murillo's as well as Ribera's religious compositions were initially copied alongside Velázquez's portraits, but Velázquez's more "realistic choice of subject" ultimately supplanted the religious themes. Towards the end of the 1860s, the number of exhibited Velázquez-copies increased at the expense of those after Murillo (and Ribera). They were not literal reproductions, but rather fragmentary details of larger compositions, as, for instance,

96 *Finska konstföreningens exposition 1860*, number 8; *Finska Konstföreningens exposition 1867*, p. 11 numbers 89-96. Today, these copies belong to the Finnish National Gallery, Helsinki.

97 An artist called "Westerlund" probably used Swertschkoff's copies as model. At one point, one of Swertschkoff's Murillo-copies was incorrectly called *Boys, eating macaroni* (*Finska Konstföreningens exposition 1867*, number 94: "Gossar, spelande tärning, kopia efter Murillo"; number 95: "Gossar, ätande macaroni, kopia efter densamme"). A similar mistake in the naming of Murillo's subject is seen in one of Westerlund's copies, which was on display at the same exhibition as Swertschkoff's (*Finska Konstföreningens exposition 1867*, number 61: "Gossar, som spela tärning", and number 62: "Gossar, som äta macaroni").

98 Other exhibited pieces included: a portrait, paintings depicting flowers, a cat family, other genre scenes and the aforementioned copy after Müller (see Eklöf 1939 [unpubl.], pp. 83-84; catalogue numbers 8-15).

99 As discussed further in Chapter 3, the artistic appeal of Becker's copy of Murillo's *Immaculada de Escorial* was moderate; the exhibition critic in *Helsingfors Dagblad* did not pay any attention to Becker at all ("Konstföreningens exposition, I." *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 15 April 1864; "Konstföreningens exposition, II." *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 24 May 1864).

100 Nordenswan was one of twenty women who were educated abroad during the 1860s. Malmström 1987. Ribera's original hangs in the Dresden Art Gallery. For a reproduction, see e.g., *Olga's Gallery*, <http://www.abcgallery.com/R/ribera/ribera15.html>.

101 "[...] egyptiskt förfärlig art skåda" (Tikkanen 1896, p. 189); *Åbo Underrättelser*, 10 October 1870. Nordenswan painted mainly religious themes (several critics regarded the impact of her teacher in Düsseldorf, the "Painter of Saints" Mengelberg, as considerable). However, contemporary criticism generally did not receive Nordenswan's religious-historical paintings favourably. Her position also illustrates the situation of women painters at that time. Like her, several women followed in the footsteps of their male colleagues and travelled initially to Düsseldorf. Later, Paris became a centre for women art students as well. However, since women were not allowed to study at the Art Academies in Europe, they had to enrol in private studios (Malmström 1987, pp. 39-42).



14. Wladimir Swertschkoff, copy of Murillo's *Three Boys Playing Dice*. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

14a. Murillo, *Three Boys Playing Dice*, ca. 1675–80. Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

15. Wladimir Swertschkoff, copy of Murillo's *Two Beggar Boys Eating a Tart*. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.



Arvid Liljelund's (1844–1899) “A head after Velázquez”,¹⁰² and Adolf von Becker's two heads from *Los Borrachos*.¹⁰³ At the beginning of the 1870s, Becker displayed two further copies after Velázquez: *The Surrender of Breda* and *Las Meniñas*.¹⁰⁴ These copies were rather small studies of colour and composition, leaving details to the imagination. Clearly, what we have at hand is a paradigm shift. This development becomes apparent in the critical fortune of Becker's Spanish copies. He painted copies of these Old Spanish Masters while he was in Spain in 1863, but no more than two years later, an art critic in *Helsingfors Dagblad* announced that the most important of Becker's exhibited works was, “without doubt”, a copy after Velázquez.¹⁰⁵ I return to the importance of the paradigm shift when examining Becker's copies of paintings at the Prado more closely in Chapter 3.

I agree with Charles Rosen and Henri Zerner that Realism owes more to Romanticism than usually is acknowledged.¹⁰⁶ The Romantics' admiration for Murillo played a significant role in creating a space for the Realism of the 1860s.¹⁰⁷ Evidence for this claim can be found in examining the Swedish author and devotee to German Romanticism Lorenzo Hammar-sköld's (1785–1827) lectures on the fine arts between 1814–15. His preference for *realistic* detail as enhancing the picture's subjectivity is apparent in one of his lectures, when he identified “a subjective, elegiac expression” in Murillo's *Beggar Boy* (see Fig. 13).¹⁰⁸ By comparing Murillo's ragamuffin with a Madonna by Raphael, he tried to clarify the difference between an objective and subjective artwork:



16. Victorine Nordensvan, *St. Agnes*, copy of an original by Ribera, 1868. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

17. Ribera, *St. Agnes*, 1641. Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden.



- 102 *Finska konstföreningens exposition 1869*, 9 number 93 (Supplement).
- 103 *Finska konstföreningens exposition 1870*, number 6 (“Två hufvuden ur Velasquez’ tafla: drinkarne; kopierad i Madrid 1863”); Eklöf mentions two heads copied from *Los Borrachos*, on separate drawings, one *en face*, the other seen in profile (see Eklöf 1939 [unpubl.], p. 85 catalogue numbers 18, 19).
- 104 Eklöf 1939 [unpubl.], p. 84 catalogue numbers 16, 17 (Velázquez), p. 85 catalogue numbers 23, 24 (Titian).
- 105 The copy was not included in the printed catalogue, and neither does the critic specify the copy in question. The other canvases depicted a *Flower girl*, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, three paintings of cats and a French soldier (W. B-n. “Konstförenings exposition I.” *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 23 May 1865; *Finska konstföreningens exposition 1865*, p. 7 [Adolf von Becker]).
- 106 For a thorough discussion of this matter, see Rosen & Zerner 1985.
- 107 The paradigm shift concerned, Gary Tinterow argues, a shift “from Idealism to Realism, from Italy to Spain, from Renaissance to Baroque”. Tinterow does not mention Murillo as an incentive, instead pointing to Goya and Velázquez (Tinterow 2003, p. 3).
- 108 A copy of Murillo's *Beggar Boy* belonged to the Royal Museum Collection in Stockholm at least since 1804. Another copy after Murillo in the collections was executed after *Jeune femme buvant* in the London National Gallery. Today, this artwork (*Jeune femme buvant*) is described as having been painted in the manner of Murillo, its authenticity not assured (Gaya Nuño 1980, no. 326). See also Sinisalo 1989, p. 365 fn 110.



18. Alexander Lauréus, *Flight into Egypt*, 1812. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.



19. Murillo, *Flight into Egypt*, ca. 1655–60. Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest.

To explain this, I only need to remind you of one of Raphael's Madonnas. There is so much beauty concentrated in the picture itself that we do not need to ask for any more. Its entire depth and meaning appear, at first glance, before our fantasy, and is understood by it. This is an objective artwork. – Turning our eyes to Murillo's Beggar boy, it must appear as a plain and repulsive topic for everyone who is incapable of encompassing the Master's elegiac intention, his tragic view of the misery of life, symbolised by the hopeless predicament of the ragamuffin, left alone in a frost-bitten clime. – This is a subjective artwork.¹⁰⁹

Romanticism demanded the subjective approach to the subject, and Murillo served as a fine example of this requirement.

A subjective approach to the subject is discerned also in the art of the Finnish expatriate painter Alexander Lauréus, mentioned above. He studied in Stockholm at the Art Academy at the time of Hammarsköld's lectures in the 1810s. Soili Sinisalo argues that some of Lauréus's early, mainly Italian genre paintings from the 1820s are imbued with such an "earthy approach".¹¹⁰ Indeed, some influence of Murillo can be traced in some of Lauréus's paintings from this period. Sinisalo observes that Lauréus's small canvas, *Flight into Egypt* from 1812 (Fig. 18), follows the composition in Murillo's painting with the same

name (Fig. 19).¹¹¹

In Lauréus version of the theme, Mary is seen riding on a donkey with the infant Jesus in her arms, while Joseph is walking to the left. The colours are nuanced shades of brown and green; the over-all tone is subdued and tenebrist. When compared to Murillo's original, the similarities in composition and colour are too striking to be overlooked, despite

109 "För att förklara detta, behöfver jag blott påminna om en Madonna af Rafael. Der er så mycken skönhet i sjelfva bilden concentrerad, att vi ej efterfråga någon annan. Hela dess djup och mening träder, vid första ögonkastan, framför fantasien, och fattas af den. Det är ett objectift konstverk. – Vänder man åter ögonen på Murillos Tiggaregosse, så måste den synas såsom ett torftigt och eckligt ämne för hvar och en, som ej är capabel att fatta Mästarens elegiska afsigt, hans sorgliga åsigt af lifvets elände, symboliserad genom den af trasor höljda, i en förfrusen nejd ensam lemnade gossens ohjelpiga belägenhet. – Detta är ett subjectift konstverk" (Hammarsköld 1817, p. 8; also mentioned in Sinisalo 1989, p. 365 fn 110).

110 The Swedish Royal collection obtained a copy after Murillo's *Beggar Boy* at the Louvre only in 1866 (The National Museum of Fine Arts, Stockholm, N 753, register entry "Murillo": [http://webart.nationalmuseum/se](http://webart.nationalmuseum.se), accessed 14. October 2004).

111 I agree with Sinisalo that Lauréus probably used a print as model (Sinisalo 1989, pp. 57–61, 365 fn 110, 111). The National Museum of Fine Arts in Stockholm received a copy of this particular painting as a gift only as late as 1946 (see register entry "Murillo" at <http://wevart.nationalmuseum.se>, accessed and printed 14 October 2004). Moreover, unlike the original, Lauréus's brush is slicked, not luminous or vaporious like Murillo's. The original exists in two versions. The 1665 version has been in the Fine Arts Museum in Budapest since 1820, as a donation from the private collection of Eszterházy (Gaya Nuño 1980, no 95), and a later adaptation in the collections of the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, from an otherwise unknown collection (Gaya Nuño 1980, no. 280).

minor differences. Mary's face, for instance, is changed into a somewhat more "classical" variant, while Joseph remains a weary-looking man of the people. Nevertheless, the realistic elements in Lauréus's painting are particularly stressed. As Ilse H. Lipschutz has shown, as early as 1752, Jacques Lacombe admired the *vérité* of Murillo's work, in addition to his "*pinceau flou & agréable*", the *clair-obscur* and the fresh carnations: it was a "*manière vraie*".¹¹² Still several decades later, like his contemporaries, the author of the famous novel *Carmen* Prosper Merimée (1803–1870), also defined Murillo's painting manner as first being realistic, then vaporous. By the 1830s, this was the conventionally accepted view of Murillo's art.¹¹³

Furthermore, Sinisalo points out that Lauréus's pictures from the 1810s and 1820s mainly depicted people from ordinary life and interiors from (Italian) taverns. The scenes frequently included children, which may be regarded as a feature of Murillo's oeuvre, as they portray happy and care-free ragamuffins. In Lauréus's *Il Giuncatore* (Fig. 20), for instance, painted in Rome 1821, we see a tradesman together with a Madonna-like woman standing in the centre, holding a small child over her shoulder. Two, slightly older children are seen to the right. The realism of the children's clothing is accentuated. They are contrasted with their mother, who stands out because of sharp lighting effects; a light that resembles the aura of holy people in religious paintings surrounds her. According to Sinisalo, Lauréus's paintings from this period express an earthly, mild innocence that, in the form of the children, has descended to earth.¹¹⁴ Romantics generally regarded children to be a lost link with the pre-civilised world, and the innocent child was thus thought to encompass an unspoiled and "authentic" character, which was lost to cultivated adults.¹¹⁵ Several scholars have also pointed out the lasting impact of Murillo's scenes of childhood. Lauréus's *Il Giuncatore* is, indeed, reminiscent of Murillo's multi-figured paintings of street urchins, such as *Three Boys Playing Dice* (see Fig. 14a).¹¹⁶

Hammarösköld's comparison between Murillo and Raphael is an early example of how Spanish seventeenth-century painting came to be regarded as anti-classical, opposing the idealistic (and objective) view of beauty as epitomised by the High Renaissance. Romantic



20. Alexander Lauréus, *Il Giuncatore*, (Rome) 1821. Akademiska föreningen, Lund.

112 Lipschutz 1972, p. 18.

113 Lipschutz 1972, p. 69.

114 Sinisalo 1989, pp. 61, 365 fn 109.

115 See e.g., Higonnet 1998, pp. 27, 28.

116 Sinisalo also connects Lauréus's paintings of children with contemporary paintings of poor peasant boys, noting particularly Murillo's well-known street urchins (e.g., in Munich's Alte Pinakothek) (Sinisalo 1989, p. 365 fn 110). Comp *Murillo: Scenes of Childhood* 2001; *Niños de Murillo* 2001.



21. Raphael, *Madonna with the Fish*, 1512–14. Prado, Madrid.

principles favoured a subjective approach to art, or, as Lipschutz puts it, “earthbound”,¹¹⁷ while the objective approach was associated with Raphael (*Fig. 21*). And if the women in Murillo’s canvases were regarded as earthbound, the same can certainly be said of his ragamuffins, as we see in Hammarsköld’s comparison.¹¹⁸ Raphael’s objective idealism epitomised everything that the Romantics *did not* seek.¹¹⁹

Romanticism’s idealisation of the past (nostalgia) and nineteenth-century Historicism in general, enabled a new kind of veneration and reiteration of earlier painting manners, which subsequently became known as revivalism. I regard this new approach to the past as the key to understanding why Old Spanish Masters became worthy of adoration, initially for their iconography, but later also because of their technical solutions.

This paradigm shift was no straightforward process, which becomes apparent in Edelfelt’s discussion on Raphael with the curator of the *Finnish Art Society*, Berndt Otto Schauman (1821–1895). In certain circles, Raphael still was considered the paradigm of painting as late as 1881. While Edelfelt was in Spain, the two letters that he sent to the Society from his journey were published in *Helsingfors Dagblad*. In one of these letters, Edelfelt described his visit to the Prado, with the result that the curator felt obliged (most likely on behalf of the Society) to add a panegyric-like text at the end of the newspaper-article, on *Raphael’s* importance:

[...] as regards the young artist [Edelfelt], who is a person full of wit, and his notions on the Old Masters in Madrid’s museum, he does not, in our opinion, pay enough attention to Raphael, who is remarkably well represented in this museum by no less than nine works, and among these three of his most indisputable masterworks. Raphael is, regardless of what is said, the Painter of Painters.¹²⁰

117 Lipschutz 1972, pp. 37, 149 ff, 165 ff. Subjectivity was, according to Lorenzo Hammarsköld, connected to the world of ideas; subjectivity was an “inner, lively and healthy” endeavour to accomplish “spirituality’s immediate manifestation and victory over the surrounding sensuality”. He identifies this state of mind as “*Romantikhet* [*sic*]” (Romanticism) that should not be confused with *sentimentality*. According to Hammarsköld, sentimentality was a modern aberration, expressed in innocence lost and the “tormenting feeling of an insufficient spirit of community with the spiritual world” (Hammarsköld 1817, p. 9). Comp. earlier references to Matei Calinescu’s definition on Romanticism and modernity (Calinescu 1987, *passim*).

118 Hammarsköld’s observation is similar to his analysis of Antonio Allegri Correggio (ca 1489–1534), who was widely admired in the Nordic countries (Hammarsköld 1817, pp. 232–234). Again, he compares Correggio’s work with Raphael’s Madonnas, by quoting three lines from a play written by the Danish poet and playwright, Adam Gottlob Oehlenschläger (1779–1850). According to Hammarsköld, Oehlenschläger addresses – through the Italian painter and architect Giulio Romano (ca 1499–1546), who had studied under Raphael – Correggio by stating: “Till himlen Raphaël [*sic*] det jordiska // Har höjt, Ni lockar himlen ned, // Att sig förena midt med jordelivvet” [rough English translation: “Raphael has elevated Earth to Heaven; you beguile Heaven to unite with life on Earth”] (Hammarsköld 1817, p. 234; see also Sinisalo 1989, p. 61). The passage repeated by Hammarsköld is found in Oehlenschläger’s tragedy *Correggio* from 1811, and is preceded by Romano’s appraisal of one of Correggio’s paintings [the text quoted by Hammarsköld in bold]: “För stod den rafaelske Madonna // Allene som Guds Moder för mit Öie; // Kun *saadan* kunde jeg mig tænke hende. // Her er hun ganske, ganske anderledes. // Dog end Maria. Meer den hulde Qvinde, // Den glæde Moder end en Himmeldronning. // **Rafael hævet har det Jordiske // Til Himmelen, I lokker Himlen ned, // At den forbinder sig med Jordelivvet. //**” (Facsimile of Adam Oehlenschläger, *Correggio. Tragedie* [1811], in *Poetiske Skrifter* 1-5, udgivne af H. Topsøe-Jensen, Kbh.: Holbergselskabet 1926–30, Bd. 4, p. 337. *Arkiv for Dansk Litteratur*, <http://www.adl.dk>, electronic document accessed and printed 2 October 2006).

119 Tinterow 2003, p. 3 ff. For a thorough discussion on Raphael’s hagiography, see Rosenberg 1995.

120 “[...] beträffande den unge, så spirituella artistens omnämmande af de gamle mästarne i Madrids museum, [skänker han icke], enligt vår åsigt, nog uppmärksamhet åt Rafael, som likväl är makalöst väl representerad i

The fact that Edelfelt did not consider Raphael as the paradigm of painting was regarded with reservation by some of his peers back home in Finland. His opponents included his former teacher, Adolf von Becker.¹²¹ Edelfelt was asked to revise his opinion on Raphael's status, but he protested fervently: one does not travel to Madrid with the purpose of studying Raphael!¹²² He wrote to his mother of a longish "epistle", written by Schauman, commenting on the latter's "strange appendix" in the newspaper. Edelfelt was annoyed. Schauman's letter was badly and sloppily written, Edelfelt lamented. It was full of exaggerations and empty phrases, which may suit Schauman but which did not fit with Edelfelt's capacity to judge matters of style ("*stilistiska förmåga*"), he asserted. That his remarks would be regarded as "blasphemy" aggravated Edelfelt, because he was sure that he appreciated the Old Masters as much as anyone. He continued:

[...] and frankly, Raphael plays a smaller part in this competition between the foremost painters who can be seen in Spain's capital. Additionally, I cannot, against my better judgement, put him higher than, for example, Leonardo or Michelangelo; this without mentioning the Primitives or the Dutch or Spanish Masters. [...] For me, Raphael's position within the Italian Renaissance represents the most complete, the most elegant, but he leaves me cold, because it is so skilled, so elegant and well arranged, that the genuinely humane, intrepid, shocking and direct [aspects of his art], to some extent, have been removed.¹²³

Edelfelt's reaction to Schauman's mild rebuke on how "sad" it was that Edelfelt did not praise Raphael,¹²⁴ may be seen as a testimony of the paradigm shift that had been under way for decades but was now turning towards new goals. As Alisa Luxenberg has shown, the veneration of Velázquez's "sketchy" painting manner, which Edelfelt also admired, was more or less fully accomplished only after 1880. Nevertheless, an early stage of this paradigm shift can be observed in Adolf von Becker's Spanish *oeuvre*. Therefore, in the following chapter, I

detta museum, genom icke mindre än nio tafflor, deribland tre af hans mest obestridda mästerverk. Rafael är, man säge hvad man vill, alla målares målare" (Albert Edelfelt. "Från Spanien. Toledo den 7 maj 1881" ; [included at the end] "En liten slutanmärkning" by B.O.S. [B.O. Schauman]. *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 25 May 1881). The article is the second of two and is based on Edelfelt's letter to Schauman from Spain, dated Toledo 7 May 1881. The first article describes Granada, the original letter dated Granada 18 April 1881 ([Albert Edelfelt], "Från Spanien och Holland." *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 3 May 1881). The original letters are kept in FNG/Archives, Helsinki.

121 Becker remarks on Edelfelt's notions on the Old Masters in a letter to B.O. Schauman (see Adolf von Becker's letter to B.O. Schauman, Regeringsgatan [Helsingfors] 24 May 1881, FNG/Archives).

122 Edelfelt also offered some positive (and negative) comments on El Greco's art, which may be regarded as an early testimony of the slowly increasing fame of this Greek/Italian/Spanish artist (Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Toledo 7 May 1881, FNG/Archives).

123 "[...] och uppriktigt talat spelar Rafael en mindre betydande roll i denna tävlingskamp mellan världens största, som står att ses i Spaniens huvudstad. Jag kan dessutom ej utan att tala mot mitt bättre vetande, ställa honom högre än t.ex. Leonardo och Michel Angelo, för att nu ej alls tala om de primitiva eller de holländska eller spanska mästarne. [...] För mig står Rafael inom den italienska renaissancen såsom det kompletteste, det elegantaste, men han lämnar mig kall, ty det är så skickligt, så elegant och välarrangerat, att det riktigt mänskliga, djärva, upprörande och omedelbara litet gått bort" (Edelfelt 1921, p. 109 [Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 7 June 1881; the letter is not preserved among the originals in the SLSA]).

124 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 7 June 1881, referring to a letter from B. O. Schauman in which the latter comments on his appendix to Edelfelt's letter from Toledo, published in *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 25 May 1881 (Edelfelt 1921, pp. 109-110, quotation p. 110; the letter is not preserved among the originals in the SLSA)).

launch into an in-depth analysis of this Finnish pioneer in Spain, analysing his copies after Spanish art and his application of a particular *manière espagnole*.

3 ADOLF VON BECKER AND THE *MANIÈRE ESPAGNOLE*

Concerning our Finnish painter A. v. Becker, whose stay in Spain is well known to our readers through two of his letters, published in this paper, *Aftonbladet's* correspondent in Paris notes: "After three months in Madrid, Mr. Becker has now returned to Paris with his collection of copies and studies, which show that he has understood to use his time agreeably. Among other things, he has copied a "Mater dolorosa" and a larger "Madonna" after Murillo; a "St. Jerome" after Ribera; and one of El Cano's famous portraits after Velasquez [*sic*]. At the French art exhibition in Boulevard des Italiens, copies after the same originals can be viewed. But these copies are smaller than Mr. Becker's and are incontestably surpassed by his, both in their careful execution and powerful colouring. The Finnish Art Society has, consequently, all reason to be satisfied with its commission."¹

Helsingfors Tidningar, 8 December 1863

Adolf von Becker (1831–1909) was the first Finnish painter to travel to Spain in order to study and copy Spanish art.² His sojourn in Madrid in the autumn of 1863 was first and foremost a phase in his art education in Paris. Becker had received his initial art education as Godenhjelm's pupil, but soon outgrew his teacher. To amend the meagre possibilities for art education in Finland, Becker travelled to Copenhagen in 1856, continuing his studies in Düsseldorf for a shorter period. Together with the Norwegian painter Olaf Wilhelm Isaachsen (1835–1893), he continued to Paris where they registered in the atelier of Thomas Couture (1815–1879).³

Becker was a student at the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts* from 1860, and studied with several painters, in the *Ecole* as well as in private ateliers: in addition to Couture, he studied under Gustave Courbet (1819–1877), Ernest Hébert (1817–1908), Felix Joseph Barrias (1822–1907) and Léon Cogniet (1794–1880). In Écouen, he received guidance from Edouard Frère (1819–1886). He frequented Léon Bonnat's (1833–1922) studio during the 1860s and 1870s.⁴ Becker exhibited his work annually at the Salon and, as discussed

1 "Om vår finske målare A. v. Becker, hvars vistelse i Spanien genom tvenne av hans i detta blad införda bref är våra läsare väl bekant, meddelar Aftonbladets Pariser-korrespondent följande notis: "Efter trenne månaders vistelse i Madrid har nu hr Becker återvänt till Paris med en samling kopior och originalutkast, som vittnar om att han förstätt att väl använda sin tid. Bland annat har han kopierat en "Mater dolorosa" samt en större "Madonna" af Murillo; en "St Hieronymus" af Ribera; samt El Canos berömda porträtt af Velasquez. Man har i franska konstutställningen på Boulevard des Italiens tillfälle att se kopior af samma tablour. Men dessa kopior äro mindre än hr Beckers och öfverträffas ovädersägligen af hans, både genom det omsorgsfulla i utföringen och den kraftfulla koloriten. Finska konstföreningen har således stor anledning att vara belåten med sin beställning" (*Helsingfors Tidningar*, 8 December 1863 (no 285, p. 1).

2 Unfortunately, the register of copyists at the Museo del Prado starts in March 1864, which is about half a year after Becker's visit ("Registro de Copiantes", vol. 1, Museo del Prado, Madrid, Biblioteca/Archivo).

3 Boime 1980, pp. 539-540; Reitala 1989, pp. 131-134.

4 About this time, Becker also studied in the atelier of an unknown painter, "without correction" ("*utan korrektur*"). The sojourn in Couture's atelier lasted only five months (Becker to B.O. Schauman, 9 December 1881, FNG/Archives), leaving it unclear where Becker studied from the summer of 1859 to the spring of 1860. He was accepted at the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts* in the summer of 1860 (Hölttö 1997 [unpubl.], p. 9).

above, regularly at the *Finnish Art Society's* expositions from 1863 onwards. He also visited the Louvre and Luxembourg Gallery on a regular basis.⁵

Becker was one of the first Finnish painters to be educated in Paris. His subsequent genre paintings are profoundly influenced by his Parisian experience, when he had the opportunity to study under different teaching methods. Back home in Finland, he taught the drawing class at the *Imperial Alexander Academy* in Helsinki between the years 1869 and 1892, and in 1873, he took further advantage of his knowledge and founded the *Private Academy for Painting and Draughtsmanship* in Helsinki. Becker's lessons were a welcome addition to the otherwise poor education in the *Finnish Art Society's* Drawing School. Through his teaching mission, the new generation of painters of the 1870s and 1880s was informed of the recent trends in French art, including the taste for Spanish painting. In this way, Becker assumed an active role as trendsetter, and he became an important gateway to Europe for several painters, the most celebrated of whom were Albert Edelfelt, Helene Schjerfbeck (1862–1946), and Axel Gallén (1865–1931).⁶ Becker was thus an important teacher and had an enormous influence on the Finnish art world in the latter part of the nineteenth century. As several scholars have pointed out, Becker finally brought French Realism into Finnish painting.⁷

According to Rafael Hertzberg (1883), Becker was the first Finnish genre painter who, albeit moderately, gained international fame.⁸ Becker was described as a genre painter with a moderate Realist outlook.⁹ He never completely succeeded in abandoning the academic approach, and his paintings in the early 1860s are therefore perhaps best described as realistic themes painted in the manner he had learned from Couture.

In Paris, Becker learned to appreciate the Spanish Baroque, gaining technical proficiency by copying Old Spanish Masters, exercising a painting manner *à l'espagnole*. During the 1860s, the *Siglo de Oro* remained a key model for painters. Its brutal realism enhanced the widely accepted opinion that the Spaniards had depicted their contemporary society and people in a direct and unidealised manner. Luxenberg observes that during the 1860s, Spanish art was frequently used as a “telling standard” against which the critics measured the exposed pictures' degree of realism.¹⁰ Although some of Becker's choices of Old Masters to

At this time, Becker followed Couture to Senlis for two months as one of the “faithful”. He might also have continued his studies in Couture's atelier, as did his friend Olaf Isaachsen (1835–1893) (Boime 1989, pp. 540–541; Penttilä 2002, p. 9; Eklöf 1939 [unpubl.], p. 11 ff; Hölttö 1997 [unpubl.], pp. 7–15; Adolf von Becker, undated *curriculum vitae* until the year 1869, FNG/Archives). For Becker's studies during the 1860s, see Konttinen 1991, p. 66; Becker to Fredrik Cygnaeus, [Paris] dated 31 [sic] September 1862, FNG/Archives.

5 Becker to Fredrik Cygnaeus, [Paris] dated 31 [sic] September 1862, appendix to scholarship application, FNG/Archives.

6 Konttinen 1991, p. 65; Reitala 1989, pp. 131–134; Savia 2002.

7 e.g., Konttinen 1991, pp. 64–67; Reitala 1989, pp. 131–134. For contemporary judgements on Becker's art, see e.g., Hertzberg 1883; Söderhjelm 1913; Öhqvist 1912. For a discussion on Becker's complete *oeuvre*, see *Adolf von Becker* 2002; Eklöf 1939 [unpubl.]. For Becker's period as teacher, see Hölttö 1997 [unpubl.]; Savia 2002, p. 92.

8 Hertzberg 1883, p. 42. Hertzberg's analysis of Becker's art has been widely quoted, see e.g., Wennervirta 1926, pp. 381–382.

9 Even so, he did not paint workers at work, but resting (Hertzberg 1883, p. 42).

10 Luxenberg 1991, p. 132.



2. Gustave Courbet, *Burial at Ornans*, 1849–50. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

for the new movement by 1848. Courbet was one of the major initiators of the Realist movement,¹³ and his manifesto had been included in the catalogue for his independent exhibition of 1855.¹⁴ The fact that his new style, Realism,¹⁵ was partly inspired by the Spanish masters whom he frequently viewed at the Louvre is also of particular interest. Linda Nochlin has argued that Courbet gained technical proficiency by copying Velázquez, Ribera and other seventeenth-century Spanish painters.¹⁶ Couture and Bonnat, who both were Becker's teachers, were also influenced by the Spanish Baroque. The Realist fascination with Spanish art is thus mirrored in Becker's choice of Old Masters as models for the copies that he executed prior to and during his Spanish journey. By the means of these copies, painters managed to fulfil the expectations of official art institutions, although they painted the copy in a more "modern" manner.

Therefore, Spain played a significant role in the development that ultimately led to the paradigm shift discussed here. As Champfleury stated in 1860 about Courbet's *Burial at Ornans* (Fig. 22): "Only those who know Velázquez can understand Courbet."¹⁷ With Courbet, a new way of looking at Velázquez emerged. Where the Romantics more or less concentrated on such "abstract" qualities in Velázquez as "*vérité*" and "*sincérité*", Courbet was more concerned with the actual composition of the painting. For instance, Courbet was attacked by contemporary art critics for using the large format for a profane (lowly) subject, as in *An After Dinner at Ornans*. Usually this format was reserved for paintings of kings, great rulers, history painting and

11 Luxenberg 1991, p. 98; Löwy & Sayre 2001, pp. 1-147. For a broad discussion on Realism's debt to Romanticism, see Rosen & Zerner 1984.

12 Nochlin 1966, pp. 36-37; Champfleury [1857].

13 Courbet can be called the leader of the new school of Realism. He was devoted to politics, and was a fervent left wing sympathiser. At the age of forty, still working in defiance of severe criticism in his own country, he was the undisputed master and leader of a new generation of painters who had turned away from the traditional schools of painting, which they considered only barriers to artistic inspiration. He offered succeeding generations of painters not so much a new technique as a whole new philosophy. The aim of painting was not, as previous schools had maintained, to embellish or idealise reality but to reproduce it accurately (see Fried 1990, p. 83 ff). Sincerity in art included going beyond conventions, a formula that involved new standards of beauty. I thank my reader PhD Alisa Luxenberg for this observation.

14 Nochlin 1966, p. 33; Courbet [1855].

15 "The title of Realist was thrust upon me just as the title of Romantic was imposed upon the men of 1830" (Courbet [1855]).

16 Nochlin 1976, esp. pp. 61 ff, 116-119; Nochlin 1971, pp. 78-82; comp. Fried 1990, esp. pp. 87, 114.

17 Jules Champfleury, "Courbet en 1860", in *Grandes figures d'hier et d'aujourd'hui* (1861), quoted in Tinterow 2003, p. 41. For more on Courbet and Spanish painting, see Tinterow 2003, pp. 41-44.

religious themes.¹⁸ The critic Jules Castagnary (1830–1888), for instance, thought of Courbet as “[...] a Velasquez of the people”.¹⁹ Realist painters increasingly focused on material aspects of Velázquez’s art, such as his painting technique and use of colour. Moreover, Louvre’s *Galerie espagnole* exerted a lasting impact on the French imagination:²⁰ “We are crushed beneath those paintings, as by the African sun at high noon”, the French journalist Léon Gozlan wrote in 1837.²¹

Bonnat, on the other hand, received his early formal training as a painter in Madrid, where he lived with his parents between 1847 and 1853. During this period, he had the opportunity to study Spanish art closely, and he remained faithful to his lessons for the rest of his life. He was a student in the *San Fernando Academy* in Madrid as well as in the atelier of Federico de Madrazo (1815–1894), a member of a leading family of Spanish painters. Velázquez, Ribera and Goya influenced Bonnat, who soon transformed his mode of painting “under the spell of the 17th-century Spanish masters”, as Luxenberg puts it.²²

The inspiration from Velázquez and Ribera, Bonnat’s two Spanish idols, also appears frequently among his pupils. Several of them, including Thomas Eakins (1844–1916) and P.S. Krøyer, travelled to Spain.²³ As Luxenberg has shown, Bonnat was attracted to Ribera’s “baroque” realism, which consequently boosted his own realism, and Bonnat would later become Becker’s teacher.²⁴ For Bonnat, Ribera’s art was “harsh and intense”, and he felt that the Spaniard had dared to paint exactly as he saw.²⁵ Becker, Bonnat’s pupil, either never warmed to Italian art. On the contrary; in 1898, when Becker visited Italy together with his Finnish colleagues Akseli Gallen-Kallela and Hugo Simberg (both visited Spain in 1904),²⁶ he was concerned that these talented painters would be distracted, and that they would forget to paint “directly after nature”. According to Becker, Medieval and Renaissance art was naïve, and he did not see any points of reference to the art of his own time.²⁷ It is quite clear that

18 Nochlin 1976.

19 Jules Castagnary, quoted in Tinterow 2003, p. 44.

20 Boime 1980, p. 31; García Felguera 1991, p. 87 ff; Haskell 1976, p. 162 ff; Lipschutz 1972, p. 123 ff; Tinterow 2003, pp. 38-40; see also Baticle 2003.

21 Léon Gozlan, “Musée espagnol à Paris”, in *Revue de Paris*, n.s. 41 (1837), p. 113, quoted in Tinterow 2003, p. 39.

22 Luxenberg 1991, pp. 7-52.

23 In addition to his French students, Bonnat attracted a large number of North Americans, Spaniards, Scandinavians and South Americans (Luxenberg 1991, pp. 238, 244).

24 It is unclear as to the exact years Becker spent with Bonnat. According to Becker’s curriculum vitae [1869], he attended Bonnat’s atelier as early as 1865 (Adolf von Becker’s undated curriculum vitae through 1869, FNG/Archives; see also Penttilä 2002, p. 13; Adolf von Becker, letter to B.O. Schauman, 9 December 1881, FNG/Archives). In Luxenberg’s incomplete list of students in Atelier-Bonnat, she proposes the year ca. 1867, which is the year Atelier-Bonnat opened its doors to private students (Luxenberg 1991, p. 303; Luxenberg 1993, pp. 24-25). Luxenberg notes that certain confusion occurs concerning the opening of the atelier. According to Usselman (1986), Bonnat’s private academy opened in 1865 (pp. 67, 70). Like Becker, another of Bonnat’s pupils gives the opening date as 1865, while yet another source gives the year 1866 (Luxenberg 1991, p. 215).

25 Luxenberg 1991, 124 ff, and pp. 126, 131 (referring to Léon Bonnat’s preface to Beruete’s *Velázquez* from 1898).

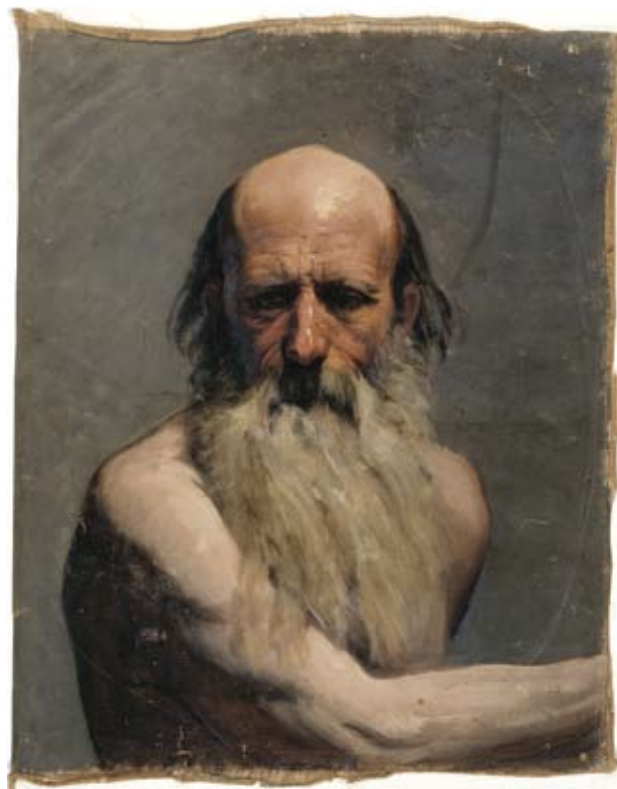
26 Lundström 1996 [unpubl.], p. 50.

27 Penttilä 2002, p. 31.

Becker and Bonnat shared their interest in Spanish Baroque, Ribera as well as Velázquez,²⁸ which may have drawn Becker to study with Bonnat.²⁹

Consequently, Becker learned to appreciate Spanish art in Paris, which functioned as a preparatory period for his subsequent studies in Madrid. One of his academy studies, *Half-Figure of an Old Man* (Fig. 23), for instance, reveals that Becker was skilled in depicting the human body in the style of the Spaniards.³⁰

Here we see the torso of an old, bald man with a long, grey, unkempt beard. The muscles and tendons of his body are accurately rendered,



23. Adolf von Becker, *Half-Figure of an Old Man*, 1860s. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

as are his grim, wrinkled features. Ribera often depicted the human body in this manner, directly and without idealisation, in an almost brutal way, with clearly visible brush-strokes (Fig. 24).³¹ The study's obvious reference to Ribera is not far-fetched, since Ribera was a popular model for Realist painters particularly because of his harsh observations of reality.³² In his book of poems *España* from 1845, for instance, Gautier defined Ribera's style as "cruel painting", exposing "ferocious harshness" and "rough brushwork".³³ When some French painters applied



24. Jusepe de Ribera, *Saint Jerome and the Angel of Judgement*, 1626. Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, Naples.

28 Luxenberg 1991, p. 128.

29 Bonnat established his own atelier in 1867. Students from Spain and from the Nordic countries favoured his lessons (Luxenberg 1991, pp. 212-269).

30 The unnatural pose and the peculiar angle of the model's left arm suggest that this is an academic study. According to the records at the Finnish National Gallery, where the painting is today, the study was based on a Spanish original in the Prado. It is, however, impossible to pin down a direct source for the painting (consultation with Javier Portús Pérez, curator at the Museo del Prado). It is also impossible to establish whether the study was executed prior to or after Becker's Spanish journey.

31 Ribera was known for his dramatic rendition of reality and his accentuated, realistic details, created by using rough brush-strokes and thick colour in order to "shape" wrinkles, beard and flesh-wounds (Spinosa 1992, pp. 19-33; Pérez Sánchez 1992, pp. 35-49).

32 Luxenberg 1991, pp. 124 ff.

33 Guégan 2003, p. 198. A year later, a M. Hyppolyte Debon's art reminded Gautier of Caravaggio and Ribera because of the "ferocious appearance" of his figures and the "sinister or dark shadow". Therefore, Gautier was pleased to place Mr. Debon "among the talented realists who are inspired by the Spanish school and seek truth, energy, and colour [...]" (Guégan 2003, p. 200).

a harsh tenebrist style during the 1830s and 1840s, the “strong gestures and fully modelled bodies” frequently inspired contemporary critics like Gautier to evoke Zurbarán or Ribera as sources of inspiration.³⁴ Because of Ribera’s associations with Neapolitan painting, and the current opinion that the *Siglo de Oro* was considered not too far from Caravaggio’s style, Ribera served as a connection between the two traditions.³⁵ But as Guégan points out, painters interested in Spanish matters did not “simply paste Spain or the peasants [...] onto the landscape of their rustic paintings; each wanted his brushwork to be Spanish as well”.³⁶ Becker’s study of the old and gnarled man with visible sinews and wrinkles – a picture whose theme and style might be defined as a “Spanish trope”³⁷ – can thus be defined as an exercise in the *manière espagnole*.

Becker implemented the *manière espagnole* in another composition: the *Temptation of St. Anthony (A Vision)* from 1863. The painting could be seen at the *Finnish Art Society’s* annual exhibition in Helsinki two years later.³⁸ In a letter from Paris, published in *Helsingfors Tidningar*, an anonymous newspaper correspondent describes a visit to Becker’s atelier, where the painter was working on the large composition:

With the courage suitable for an artist who wants to put his strength to the test, he has chosen a topic, which has been treated by many Old Masters as well as the leading painters of the new school, namely the legend of Saint Anthony. Or course, we cannot give more exact opinions on [this] half-finished work, but we nevertheless want to give a short description of the composition. The same bears witness of a rich fantasy, its style is severe and seems to approach the gloomy Spanish school. The hermit is shown kneeling before the crucifix in a cave, grasping a skull with one of his hands. Terrified, he gazes towards the smoke that rises from some half-extinguished fires, and has the shape of a beautiful woman, who, by the means of a goblet, decorated with flowers, entices him towards the sensual pleasures of life. But Saint Anthony had not retreated into the desert in vain! His naked shoulders and the scourge he keeps in his hand make us anticipate that mortification will soon take place, which leads to the victory of the spirit.³⁹

34 Jules Ziegler (1804–1856) and Adolphe Brune (1802–1875) were the most important painters to engage with a “Spanish trope” under the reign of Louis-Philippe (see Guégan 2003, pp. 198-200).

35 In this respect, Guégan sees Ribera as an “Italian version of Zurbarán” (Guégan 2003, pp. 198-200).

36 Guégan 2003, p. 200.

37 When discussing iconography and technical solutions (colour, brushwork, light conditions etc.), Stéphane Guégan uses the word “trope” metaphorically to describe Spanish influence in nineteenth-century French art (Guégan 2003, pp. 191-201).

38 Eklöf 1939 [unpubl.], p. 86 cat. 26: “Den helige Antonii frestelse (en vision).”

39 “Han har med en djärfhet som anstår en artist, hvilken vill mäta sina krafter, valt ett ämne, som blifvit behandladt af flere gamle mästare och äfven af den nya skolans koryféer, nemligen legenden om den helige Antonius. Öfver halfgjordt arbete kunna vi naturligtvis ej yttra oss närmare, men vi vilja dock lemna en kort beskrivning på kompositionen. Densamma vittnar om en rik fantasi, är sträng i stil och tyckes närma sig den dystra spanska skolan. Eremiten framställs i en klippgrotta, knäböjande framför krucifixet och med ena handen omfattande en dödsskalle. Förskräckt blickar han mot den från några halfslocknade bränder uppstigande röken, hvilken antager gestalten af en skön qvinna, som med en af blommor bekransad pokal lockar honom till lifvets sinnliga njutningar. Men den helige Antonius hade ej förgäfvets gått ut i öknen! Hans nakna skuldror och det gissel han håller i handen låta en ana att en späkning snart förestår, som skall gifva anden seger” (“Ur ett bref från Paris”, *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 13 March 1863, number 60, p. 1).

In the *Penguin Dictionary of Saints*, Donald Attwater describes the life of the Egyptian hermit, Saint Anthony of the Desert (c. 251–356),⁴⁰ who spent most of his life in a cave on a mountain in absolute solitude. Many writers and painters have tended to dwell on the abuses of the life of the hermit and his followers, thought to involve mainly “unbridled self-mortification for its own sake, competitive fasting, an ‘orgy of the supernatural’”, as Attwater puts it.⁴¹ Becker’s composition includes many of these qualities, concentrating on the moment when the hermit sees an apparition.⁴² As such, the topic evokes also the many paintings by Ribera and the Spanish school, depicting saints mortifying the flesh.⁴³ Some of the stories of Saint Anthony’s life are perpetuated in paintings, an opportunity for artists to depict their more lurid or bizarre fantasies. Many pictorial artists, from Hieronymus Bosch to Salvador Dalí, have depicted incidents from the life of Anthony.⁴⁴ In prose, the legend of Saint Anthony was retold and embellished by the French writer of novels and short stories, Gustave Flaubert (1821–1880). His *La Tentation de Saint-Antoine* was completed and sent to press in 1874, but fragments had been published as early as 1857.⁴⁵

Parisian culture was thus saturated by a heightened interest for Spanish culture in the 1860s. In July 1863, Charles Blanc (1813–1882) published his article “Vélasquez à Madrid” in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, relating his trip to Madrid in 1862. We should also remember that Édouard Manet’s (1832–1883) “Spanish” paintings and etchings appeared in the galleries and publications from 1861 onwards. In 1861, he exhibited his *Spanish Singer (Guitarrero)* (Fig. 25), followed by several other works that reveal his fascination with Spanish subject matter.⁴⁶ As Juliet Wilson-Bareau observes: “Manet came to understand how the splendours of a long-lost ‘Golden Age’ could be *reinterpreted* for the modern world.”⁴⁷

40 Saint Anthony is probably the most famous and well known of the ascetics and was an inspiration to the formation of the first Christian monasteries (see e.g., “Anthony of Egypt, Saint”, *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, <http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9007776>, electronic document accessed and printed 11 August 2005).

41 Attwater 1965, pp. 49–50. See also *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, “Saint Anthony of the Desert”, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/>, electronic document accessed and printed 8 August 2005; *New Catholic Dictionary*, “Saint Anthony the Abbot”, <http://www.catholic-forum.com/saints/indexncd.htm>, electronic document accessed and printed 8 August 2005.

42 According to Saint Anthony’s biographer, Saint Athanasius the Apostolic, the devil fought him by afflicting him with boredom, laziness and hallucinations of women and demons. His phantoms were also in the form of wild beasts, wolves, lions, snakes and scorpions, who would disappear when encountered with the Saint’s defiance, and disappear as though in smoke. Every vision conjured up by Satan was repelled by Anthony’s fervid prayer and penitential acts. God thus gave him the victory over the devils (see e.g., “Anthony of Egypt, Saint”, *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, <http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9007776>, electronic document accessed and printed 11 August 2005).

43 For an illustration of one of Ribera’s renditions of the Saint, see e.g., *Jusepe de Ribera 1591–1652* (1992), p. 152 cat. 63 (*Saint Anthony Abbot*, 1644).

44 A quick search on the Internet results in many references to reproductions of Bosch’s and Dalí’s versions of the *Temptation of Saint Anthony*; interestingly, both painters are associated with Spain. Further examples are, for instance, Isaac Grünewald and a number of Dutch Baroque painters. Another, later example is Max Ernst (1891–1976), who drew on the nature mysticism of German Romanticism in his version of the subject (“Ernst, Max”, *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, <http://search.eb.com/ebi/article-9274203>, electronic document accessed and printed 11 of August 2005).

45 “Flaubert, Gustave” *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, <http://search.eb.com/eb/article-2352>, electronic document accessed and printed 11 August 2005).

46 *Manet/Velázquez* 2003, pp. 389–390.

47 The quotation’s emphasis is mine (Wilson-Bareau 2003, p. 203).

This reinterpretation of the *Siglo de Oro* can be defined as a specific painting manner, a *modus*.⁴⁸ By definition, *modus* is a conscious way to achieve a particular expression through elements that are selected according to the content to be expressed.⁴⁹ These elements (or, “sets of criteria”⁵⁰) range from iconography to painting technique.⁵¹ The properties of an artwork painted in a “Spanish” way are thus conveyed in its proportions and modulations.⁵² “Spanish style” may thus be defined as a specific *modus*, the *manière espagnole*. Jan Bialostocki defines the revival styles as separate *modi*, (e.g., Renaissance-*modus*),⁵³ and the Spanish painting manner would thus be yet another of the nineteenth-century revival styles. Indeed, the old concept of *modus* includes the notion that “everything has to express something”,⁵⁴ a statement that is reminiscent of the significance of tourism sights. The paintings are the sights, and “something” should here be understood as authenticity (according to nineteenth-century viewers’ perceptions of “authenticity”, as attained in the Spanish Baroque). Authenticity always denotes a heightened realism, the desire to see (and depict) things as they really are. As we will see, authenticity is crucial in all encounters with Spanish art and culture during the nineteenth century, including Becker’s (re)use of Velázquez and other Old Spanish masters.

Through analysis of the use of, for instance, Velázquez as an artistic model, we soon discover that the *manière espagnole* is highly dependent on its context, as it adjusts to general developments in art. Throughout the nineteenth century, Velázquez was reborn; painters in different times looked differently at his art, exploiting his style in accordance with the current painting manner. Becker’s copies after Velázquez are evidence of this trend.⁵⁵ Romantics defined Spanishness differently from Realists, but both projected prevailing ideas by choosing certain formal elements from the past, which were compatible with their own tastes. Changes of taste⁵⁶ appear to be one reason for the surfacing of different painting modes, such as the *manière espagnole*. It is thus even more striking that the chosen Spanish iconography remained more or less unaltered.⁵⁷



25. Édouard Manet, *The Spanish Singer (Guitarero)*, 1860. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

48 In previous articles, I have described this particular painting manner as a *modus hispaniensis*, a Latin term comparable to its French variant *manière espagnole* (see Lundström 2001b; Lundström 2002a).

49 *Modus* is thus “one variety of manners, selected by the artist according to the content needing expression” (Kubler 1979, p. 170). This view is also supported by Schapiro 1944, p. 181; Bialostocki 1961, p. 27 fn 11.

50 Weitz 1970, p. 208.

51 Kuusamo 1996.

52 Kubler 1979, p. 170.

53 Bialostocki 1961, p. 25.

54 Based on Antoine Coypel’s statement from 1721, that “*Enfin chaque tableau doit avoir un mode qui le caractérise*”. Coypel also states that every represented, different subject should express a different character (Bialostocki 1961, pp. 27-28 fn 12). The notion that “everything has to express something” also resembles the semiotics of Charles Sanders Peirce, which forms the cornerstone of MacCannell’s semiological analysis of tourism: “a sign represents something to someone” (MacCannell 1976, p. 109).

55 Becker’s schooling in Spanish technique was affected by a Realist way of looking at nature, and clearly proves that the use of *manière espagnole* changed. For support for this argument, see Kubler and Alpers, who depart from the use of period styles in favour of a kind of “form style”, or, a *modus* (Kubler 1979, pp. 171, 172-173; comp. Alpers 1979/1987, esp. p. 158).

56 Francis Haskell has extensively dealt with the question of taste and fashion in art, see Haskell 1976; Haskell 1987 (esp. Chapter 7. “The Old Masters in Nineteenth-Century French Painting”, pp. 90-115).

57 Kuusamo also regards period styles as discontinuous while the *topos* remains constant. The use of certain

Early nineteenth-century Romanticism had made it possible to acknowledge Spanish art as an independent school of painting; the special character of Spanish painting had a different temperament from the dogmas of the eighteenth century. Gautier and other Romantics had drawn attention to a school of painting that was not widely accepted and little known.⁵⁸ Lipschutz has shown the importance of Spanish painting to early nineteenth-century poetic imagery and art criticism; works by Victor Hugo, Alfred Musset, George Sand, Balzac, Heinrich Heine and Wolfgang Goethe, just to mention a few, were all loaded with a new-born imagery inspired by Goya's prints and the re-discovered paintings of the *Siglo de Oro*.⁵⁹ As we have seen, beginning as a mere fashion in literature, an activity covering a wide range of "Spanish issues" became a major pursuit among painters in Paris in particular. Painters also infused the themes of the initially literary *espagnolisme* of the French Romantics into their art.⁶⁰

Generally, Romanticism had rejected the precepts of order, calm, harmony, balance, idealisation, and rationality that typified Classicism in general and late 18th-century Neoclassicism in particular.⁶¹ Romanticism emphasised the individual, the subjective, the irrational, the imaginative, the personal, the spontaneous, the emotional, the visionary, and the transcendental: all qualities that are distinctive to Spanish art. The martyrs and saints, even the kings of Spain, were depicted without idealisation. Instead, despite their divine spirit or royal disposition, they were imbued with an earthly disposition; the Virgins of Murillo were at the same time ordinary Spanish women, the kings and noblemen of Velázquez common people, painted with great skill and an unchallenged naturalism.⁶²

Several of the descriptions of the qualities of Spanish painting, which had emanated with Romanticism, made ground for the doctrine of Realism.⁶³ Realism pursued the example of naturalism in *Siglo de Oro* painting to its utmost. Its doctrine was based upon the truthful and accurate depiction of the models that nature and contemporary life offer: the lives, appearances, customs, mores and problems of the middle and lower classes, of the ordinary man.⁶⁴ With Realism, profanity itself became the leading reason to turn to, for instance, Velázquez, for a model. The subjects, though depicting daily life in the seventeenth century, corresponded with a Realist desire, a "true" picture of Spain.⁶⁵ The previous, often vague un-

themes or subjects continues despite stylistic changes (Kuusamo 1996, p. 235; see also Kuusamo 1996, Chapter 2.2. "Panofskyn motiivi-teema-vastakohdan johdannaiset", pp. 81-91).

58 Until his death in 1872, Gautier stayed faithful to his tastes, and wrote several books and articles including passages on Spanish art (Pardo 1989, p. 199).

59 Lipschutz 1972, *passim*.

60 Luxenberg 1991, pp. 29-30, 42-43.

61 *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, <http://www.eb.com:180/bol/topic?eu=86025&sctn=1>, electronic document accessed and printed 16 March 2000.

62 These Romantic interpretations are discussed by Lipschutz's *Spanish Painting and the French Romantics* (1972).

63 Comp. Guégan 2003, pp. 200-201.

64 On Realism, see e.g., Needham 1988; Nochlin 1971; Pollock 1980; Weisberg 1980.

65 Luxenberg notes that *espagnolisme* was not a serious attempt to understand the Spanish character or culture. Instead, it was a romanticised vision "of land and people where they could vicariously live out their emotional, psychological and physical fantasies" (Luxenberg 1991, p. 30).

derstanding of “Spanish style” was replaced by first-hand information, gained in the *Galerie espagnole* and subsequently during journeys to Spain. Knowledge of the Spanish School had increased considerably.⁶⁶ After the closing of the Louvre’s Spanish Gallery in 1848, painters travelled to Spain instead, in order to study the Old Masters there, and simultaneously observed contemporary life. The admiration of the Old Spanish Masters was thus easily reconciled with the Realist necessity for contemporaneity.⁶⁷

Manet is perhaps the most important figure within what I regard as the climax of French interest in Spanish subjects. As Gary Tinterow argues, Manet’s interest in Spanish painting was most certainly derived from Courbet, who was still the central protagonist of Realist figure painting during the 1860s.⁶⁸ John Rewald describes the circumstances when Manet’s *Spanish Singer (Guitarrero)* (see Fig. 25) was exhibited and caused a new *fashion* in painting. When the painting was exhibited in 1861, it immediately attracted attention – even though it was badly hung – gaining warm praise for “its broad execution, its vivid colours, its pleasing subject and lively attitude”, as Rewald puts it. It inspired especially Gautier, who considered the painting to “combine the observation of real life with the glamour of an exotic and colourful costume”. Rewald also describes “Manet’s achievement of [*sic*] translating a visible nuance of Goya and especially Velasquez into modern accents”. By doing so, he also quotes Champfleury’s statement that this painting “perhaps facilitated the arrival of a noble and great Velasquez”. Rewald observes that Champfleury had been a prophet, because he had seen that Manet had managed to “add new life to an admirable tradition”. He also quotes the French nineteenth-century critic Fernand Desnoyers, who considered the Spanish musician as painted “in a certain strange, new fashion”, unlike the “repetitions and imitations” at the Salon. Desnoyers claimed that “the young, astonished painters believed themselves alone to possess the secret [of this painting], a kind of painting that stands between that called realistic and that called romantic”.⁶⁹ Rewald concludes by stating that this was the beginning of a “new school”.⁷⁰ This particular artwork thus reinforced earlier re-use of Spanish Old Master painting as seen, for example, in Courbet’s *oeuvre*; Courbet still held the *Siglo de Oro* in high esteem, as did Manet’s critics.⁷¹

Manet did not travel to Spain until 1865. During this trip, he extended his knowledge of Spanish painting “by direct experience of indisputable authentic paintings”, as Wilson-Bareau expresses it.⁷² Manet had become interested in Spain before his actual journey, but Wilson-Bareau’s expression is revealing. The “indisputable authentic paintings” that Manet would be able to see in Spain, were motivation enough for travelling abroad. Manet wrote

66 Lipschutz 1972, p. 190 ff.

67 Albert Boime calls it a “primitive approach to [the] subject” (Boime 1980, p. 31).

68 Tinterow 2003, pp. 44–48.

69 Rewald 1946, p. 44.

70 “This striking manifestation of the new school took place” (Rewald 1946, p. 44).

71 Quotation from Rewald 1946, p. 44, originally appearing in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, February 1860: “Exposition de tableaux modernes”.

72 Wilson-Bareau 2003, p. 203.

from Madrid to his friend Fantin-Latour: “How happy it would have made you to see Vélasquez [*sic*] who all by himself makes the journey worthwhile [...] He is the painter of painters; he did not surprise me, he enchanted me.”⁷³

As discussed in the introduction, “direct experiences” of “authentic” objects and places are the main forces of tourism. I see a direct connection between Manet’s motivations for his visit and the increasing number of what may be called Spanish tourist art exhibited at the Salon.⁷⁴ Although Manet executed most of his paintings with Spanish themes in Paris,⁷⁵ it is noteworthy that they constitute a summarising collection of “Spanish” iconography. I am thus inclined to consider these early “tourist paintings” from the 1860s as an expression of Realism’s venture into depicting “authentic” milieus. Manet’s Spanish pictures are more or less “staged”, but Spain’s reputation as a place that was not (yet) destroyed by civilisation, increased the freshness of these paintings.

The “Realist” desire included depicting nature as truthfully and accurately as possible, giving a picture of the present times, that is, portraying the life and manners of the ordinary people.⁷⁶ In my opinion, this definition does not differ much from Gautier’s statement in 1843, when he demanded that painters in Spain should depict their objects with the utmost care and precision. Otherwise, it soon would be impossible to discern the Russian from the Spaniard, the Englishman from the Chinese, the Frenchman from the American, as Gautier put it. As Manja Wilkens has pointed out, particularly during the 1860s, the French view of Spain was affected by *Angst* about all forms of development. The intrusion of French civilisation in Spain was feared for destroying the authenticity of the Spanish culture.⁷⁷

This concern was closely connected with the expansion of the Spanish railways. An article in the English newspaper *Globe*, for instance, which was quoted in *Helsingfors Tidningar* in 1864, stated that the railway from France to Spain “brings down the bulwark between the peninsula and the peoples to the north of the Pyrenees”.⁷⁸ But some French critics lauded the “undeveloped” Spain so highly that they regretted this development; the general opinion was that the Spaniards did not need a railway, since their life was not as hectic as that in France (and Paris). Therefore, the railway would destroy the untouched landscape and allow for a more rapid influx of foreign influences into Spain.⁷⁹ As stated above, Realism owes

73 Edouard Manet, letter to Fantin-Latour, Madrid 3 September 1865, quoted in Tinterow 2003, p. 51.

74 Asplund 1915, I, p. 96; Luxenberg 1993, pp. 21-22. As Luxenberg maintains, early Realism included populist and socialist subjects and connotations. She suggests that it was politically advantageous for the Second Empire to selectively encourage paintings of Spanish subjects as part of Napoleon III’s programme of presenting his regime as being more liberal and progressive than it really was (Luxenberg 1993, p. 25).

75 Wilson-Bareau 2003.

76 See Nochlin 1971; Pollock 1980; Weisberg 1980.

77 Wilkens 1994, pp. 36-38.

78 “[...] kullstörta bälverket mellan halfön och folken norr om Pyreneerna” (“Jernvägen öfver Pyreneerna”, *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 27 August 1864, number 198, p. 2). The text, based on an article in the *Globe*, describes the current state and development of the Spanish railway system, and the opening of the extension passing through the Pyrenees 15 August 1864. The Spanish railway system was described, with respect to “time and facilities”, as being more complete than in other countries on the European Continent; the idea of the “undeveloped” Spain was, indeed, a mental fabrication.

79 Wilkens 1994, pp. 36-38, 163 fn 133.

much to Romanticism, at least on an ideological level and particularly with regard to traveling abroad as they have similar demands for accuracy and authenticity. The main difference can be seen in the way painters, such as Manet, literally depicted contemporaneity in the French capital, but while in Spain, they *erased* the present time in order to reveal the “really authentic”. One way to erase the present was to concentrate on the art of the past.

3.1 THE PARISIAN APPRENTICESHIP: COPIED SPANISHNESS

Gary Tinterow asserts that direct contact with Spanish art contributed to the triumph of Realism in the 1860s. This was part of a major paradigm shift in painting, he asserts, which was manifested in a transformation from Idealism to Realism.⁸⁰ As we have seen, this paradigm shift becomes clear when examining the copies after Old Spanish Masters in the *Finnish Art Society's* annual exhibitions with the earlier, more “idealised” versions of Murillo's Madonnas. Adolf von Becker's copies after Murillo, Ribera and Velázquez draw attention to that the 1860s was a period of transgression. Nineteenth-century *espagnolisme* functioned against the accepted ideals of the classical heritage that had reigned for centuries. Gradually, an increased veneration of Baroque art in general challenged the Renaissance ideals and became a worthy alternative source of inspiration. Simultaneously, Italy became less desirable as a travel destination. Tinterow sees this paradigm shift as abandoning finished surfaces for a more expressive and “brushy” technique, which was the foundation for the Impressionists' aesthetics of the sketch.⁸¹ A previously “unknown” painter like Velázquez thus became recognised as one of the supreme painters of all time – or, as Edelfelt described him in 1881, “a knack of a painter”.⁸² In the course of the past centuries, Spanish art had experienced a considerable revision in French tastes. In 1688, the French art historian André Félibien confessed his total ignorance of Velázquez, but around 1850, Spanish art triumphed in Paris after having been – save for Murillo and Ribera – in almost total obscurity.⁸³

In the early days of French *espagnolisme* (before the Spanish Gallery), Velázquez was acknowledged and normally venerated, but details concerning his life and art were frequently erroneous. This was, in all probability, due to the “absence of firsthand experience”, as Tinterow expresses it. New opportunities arose with the Spanish Gallery at the Louvre, but it was some time before Velázquez's final breakthrough.⁸⁴ Original paintings by Velázquez remained scarce outside Spain. Instead, art critics' and painters' perception of his art was

80 Tinterow 2003, p. 3.

81 Tinterow 2003, p. 3.

82 Rough translation of “en målarmästare som heter duga” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 11 April 1881, SLSA).

83 In 1852, Murillo's *Soult Conception*, for example, was bought by the Louvre for the highest price (615,300 francs) of any painting in the museum's history to that time (Lacambre 2003, p. 80; Tinterow 2003, p. 3).

84 In the *Galerie espagnole*, more than 400 more or less “Spanish” artworks could be viewed between 1838 and 1848. For a thorough account of the *Galerie espagnole*, see Baticle 2003; Baticle & Marinas 1981.

partly based on written, mostly illustrated publications on Spanish art and on the few paintings that could be seen in collections outside Spain.⁸⁵ As Velázquez's paintings (slowly) became accessible to the public, he was able to challenge Murillo's position.⁸⁶ In my opinion, this was due to the gradually increasing number of painters who actually travelled to Spain in order to view Velázquez's original paintings at the Prado.

In order to receive information on Spanish art, French authors had frequently drawn on Spanish texts when they brought together their story of the *Siglo de Oro*. As Ignacio Cano Rivero observes, the heightened esteem of Spanish painting in France was partly based on what Spaniards had evaluated and analysed their native school of painting to be: the alleged "French taste for Spanish painting" during the first half of the nineteenth century was based on Spanish transcripts. One early example is Juan Augustín Ceán Bermúdez's dictionary of Spanish painters, published in 1800.⁸⁷ Luxenberg observes that French authors, such as Frédéric Quillet, frequently borrowed Ceán Bermúdez's descriptions, and without knowledge of their origin, other authors, in turn, borrowed them from Quillet. Thus, Spanish evaluations of their history of art survived in subsequent French texts. "Yes, this is French taste," Luxenberg observes, "but formed in good part by Spanish scholarship".⁸⁸ Through these texts, Spain was consequently (however indirectly) promoted as a desirable travel destination, where travelling painters and art lovers could view all the wonders of the country's glorious history of art.

Paul Duro connects nineteenth-century copy practice with an urge to *imagine the past*: the nineteenth century was the century of historicism. If described loosely, historicism was the general interest in historical context, evident in art and particularly architecture, including eclectic and revivalist movements.⁸⁹ Duro, on the other hand, defines historicism as "the process by which the present informs itself of the past": the nineteenth-century revivification of the past was at once "rigorous, objective and scientific", but also "framed through the sentimentalising narratives of anecdotal history".⁹⁰ Francis Haskell also talks about a new approach towards the past that emerged in nineteenth-century thinking.⁹¹ This exaggerated veneration of history that reigned in the nineteenth century was almost suffocating. Duro quotes Friedrich Nietzsche's essay "On the uses and disadvantages of history for life", which appeared in 1874:

85 As Ilse Hemple Lipschutz has shown, texts by early French Romantics were instrumental in the development of the perception of Spanish art outside the country's borders. Stereotypical "Spanish" iconography and "style" soon spread through these literary works (Lipschutz 1972, *passim*).

86 Tinterow 2003, pp. 4, 9-10.

87 Tinterow 2003, p. 9; Cano Rivero 2003, pp. 99-100; *Manet/Velázquez* 2003, p. 549; Ceán Bermúdez, Juan Augustín, *Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las bellas artes en España*. 6 vols. Madrid 1800 [facsimile reprint, with a prologue by Miguel Morán Turina. 6 vols. Madrid 2001].

88 Luxenberg 2004, p. 4.

89 "Historicism", *The Grove Dictionary of Art Online*, <http://www.groveart.com>, electronic document accessed and printed 6 October 2004.

90 Duro 2000, p. 134.

91 Haskell 1993, *passim*.

We moderns have nothing whatever of our own; only by replenishing and cramming ourselves with the ages, customs, arts, philosophies, religions, discoveries of others do we become anything worthy of notice, that is to say, walking encyclopaedias.⁹²

Duro mentions the “lack of confidence” that the Old Masters’ genius frequently instilled in their young followers and admirers.⁹³ Becker was uncertain whether he would succeed satisfactorily in his copying tasks at the Prado,⁹⁴ and Edelfelt expressed a similar lack of confidence in his encounter with the Old Masters in Madrid in 1881. He wrote to his mother: “The Spanish journey has taught me much, and I only have to recall some of the paintings in Madrid to confess humbly that everything that I have accomplished up to the present has been below standard [...]”.⁹⁵ Nietzsche’s essay describes the feelings of many nineteenth-century painters.⁹⁶ The painter’s profession was established on these grounds and, at the same time, the identity of the educated classes was also partly based on this tradition. As Tutta Palin observes, an inevitable conflict emerged among painters, who simultaneously felt the burden of the past and the demand to extricate themselves from the Grand Tradition in order to be “modern”. In Edelfelt’s correspondence, this conflict becomes evident in his recurring torment over the Great Masters’ insurmountable skill and his own inability.⁹⁷

The practice of copying managed to stay alive during a turbulent period of changing preferences, from Romanticism to Realism, Realism to Impressionism; the nineteenth-century copy practice was much more than “a mechanical and servile act of repetition”, as Duro puts it.⁹⁸ Adolf von Becker’s copies after Spanish originals were executed at a point of changing preferences, and the paradigm shift, discussed by Tinterow, becomes apparent when analysing Becker’s Spanish copies. I want to stress that, in my opinion, it was not a particular Old Master who affected the current development in a certain direction; instead, the shift demonstrates that the models from the past were chosen to suit contemporary ideals. Romantic ideas were crucial for the nineteenth-century mentality since they, by and large, encompass the entire century.

The French critics who had created their careers within Romanticism now expanded their ideas to encompass the Realist movement. Realist admiration for Spain was thus initially based on Romantic grounds, but the fact that Romantic opinions maintained their po-

92 Duro 2000, p. 135, quoting Friedrich Nietzsche, “On the uses and disadvantages of history for life” in Daniel Breazeale, ed., *Untimely Meditations*, trans. By R.J. Holingdale, Cambridge 1997, p. 79; see also pages 59-123.

93 Duro 2000, p. 135.

94 “I have started to copy a universally known portrait by Velasquez, – I do not yet know whether I will succeed ([Adolf von Becker], “Bref från Madrid. (Slut fr. föreg. n:o)”, *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 2 September 1863 (number 202, pp. 2-3). The article is the latter part of Becker’s letter from Madrid, dated 18 August 1863, which was published by the same newspaper (see [Adolf von Becker], “Bref från Madrid”, *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 1 September 1863, no 201, pp. 2-3).

95 “Den spanska resan har lärt mig mycket, och jag behöfver blott tänka på några taflor i Madrid för att ödmjukt erkänna att allt hvad jag gjort tills dato varit underhaltigt [...]” (Albert Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 15 May 1881, SLSA).

96 Duro 2000, p. 135.

97 Palin 2004b, p. 73.

98 Duro 2000, p. 134.

sition was more or less concealed by using Realist rhetoric. The Romanticism of earlier decades lingered on well into the nineteenth century, and the Romantic imagery of Spanish art and culture was incorporated and modified in accordance with contemporary tastes. Each epoch added their individual view to ideas of Spanishness, and as the century advanced, the emphasis on formal aspects became more visible, so as to conceal the Romantic and hence “old-fashioned” spirit of Spanishness. This modification (or, alteration) redirected the point of interest in Spanish painting. Adolf von Becker thus absorbed the concurrent Realism while a preference for a “Romantic” Spanish iconography still dominated. As we will see, these two major nineteenth-century “isms” meet in his copies after Spanish originals.

Scholars such as Kajsa Eklöf, Aimo Reitala as well as Albert Boime regard Couture’s impact on Becker as particularly enduring.⁹⁹ During Couture’s own apprenticeship, all disciples were urged to study Spanish Baroque painting at the *Galerie espagnole* and make copies, a practice that, of course, was not an issue at the time during which Becker studied with Couture. However, as Becker’s teacher, Couture presumably passed on his preferences by insisting that his students copy the Spanish Baroque. Boime points out that the single most popular model among Couture’s contemporaries was Murillo, and that the majority of French copies after foreign artists were painted after Spanish originals.¹⁰⁰ Murillo and Velázquez in particular were important for the formation of Couture’s art.¹⁰¹ A copy after Couture’s *Fou de Chillon* from around 1860 is probably Becker’s first copy.¹⁰² It is one of many paintings for which his teacher found inspiration from the Spanish Baroque, this time from a canvas by Murillo.¹⁰³

99 Becker’s moderately Realist approach to his subjects was formed mainly during his apprenticeship in Couture’s atelier (Eklöf 1939 [unpubl.], p. 15; Reitala 1989, p. 132). Couture’s strong influence on Becker is visible both in his use of colour and technique, but is especially visible in Becker’s perhaps finest achievement, *Maternal Happiness* from 1868. Boime describes the light effect as creating a “fairy-tale mood” (Boime 1980, p. 540), and claims that the execution is derived directly from Couture. The influence is evident particularly in Becker’s assimilation of his teacher’s mature genre style. The fact that Becker later joined the Écouen-group shows that Becker wished to follow the Realist practice. Here, a colony of painters gathered around the genre painter Edouard Frère, and used peasants and ordinary people as models in their natural surroundings. In addition, the fact that Couture himself worked in the vicinity may account for Becker’s genre scenes from the summers of 1868 and 1869, when *Maternal Happiness* was also executed; in its realistic spirit and style it indicates an aspiring Finnish genre painting (see Boime 1980, pp. 540-542; Reitala 1989, pp. 132-133).

100 Boime 1980, p. 617 fn 54.

101 Boime 1980, pp. 73, 94-95, 117, 155, 242, 355, 372, 376-377, 443, 461, 463, 471-472.

102 Eklöf 1939 [unpubl.], p. 82. The subject was inspired by a famous poem by Lord Byron, “The Prisoner of Chillon” (Boime 1980, illustration IX.84 p. 353; see also p. 355 ff). Some confusion in the dating of Becker’s copy occurs: Eklöf mentions that Becker copied *Fou de Chillon* in 1859, while Boime dates Couture’s original to around 1860 (Boime 1980, p. 352). According to Armi Hölttö, Becker was Couture’s pupil for five months in 1859 (Hölttö 1997 [unpubl.], p. 9). About the same time, Becker copied also a history painting by an artist whom Eklöf calls Müller (Eklöf 1939 [unpubl.], pp. 82-88, numbers 2, 12, 23-24, 37). In a review in *Helsingfors Tidningar* from March 1863, Charles-Louis Müller’s (1815–1892) picture was titled “l’Appel des dernières victimes de la Terreur”. The revue notes that the large painting was copied in a smaller format by Becker, and with “great skill”. The difficulties in reproducing the expressive faces and Müller’s rich colours were emphasised, but because Becker had been Couture’s pupil, he could now display such a successful copy. The text also mentions that Müller’s painting hung in the Luxembourg Gallery at that time, where it received much attention from the artists and admiration from the tourists (“Ur ett bref från Paris”, *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 13 March 1863, number 60, p. 1). For more on Müller’s *Appel des dernières victimes de la terreur à prison Saint Lazare à Paris les 7-9 Thermidor an II*, Salon of 1850 (Musée national du Château de Versailles), see “1789–1939: L’histoire par l’image”, http://www.histoireimage.org/site/oeuvre/analyse.php?liste_analyse=476, electronic document accessed and printed 8 August 2005.

103 The attribution of the original to Murillo has later had been revised (Boime 1980, p. 355).

Here we see three prisoners in a gloomy cell, with a strong beam of light coming through the barred window in the upper right part. As Albert Boime observes, the sharp tenebism particularly connects this painting with Murillo's early painting manner.¹⁰⁴

Becker's first copy after a Spanish original is from 1860 and was, unsurprisingly, executed after Murillo's *Beggar Boy* (see *Fig. 13*).¹⁰⁵ Murillo's original was one of his most valued works, and it still hangs in the Louvre, while most of the four hundred or more paintings from the Spanish Gallery have been dispersed.¹⁰⁶ Becker's decision to execute his first Spanish copy of this particular work illustrates the painter's ability to adjust his tastes to contemporary preferences. The original was incredibly famous throughout the century, and was reproduced in hundreds, if not thousands, of copies and facsimiles: it functioned almost as an icon for Murillo's genre painting.¹⁰⁷

Murillo's flea-picker epitomises the nineteenth-century's characterisation of Spanish art, frequently associated with an austere, almost shocking realism. Only a few tones serve to heighten the effect of contrasting light and shadow, creating an almost palpable human body. In such topics, nineteenth-century Realists found the same features they sought in nature, that is, a realistic and accurate depiction of the body, executed without idealisation. The young boy is here seated in a small, bare room, searching for fleas on the hem of his blouse.¹⁰⁸ Together with the remains of his meal – the shells of a few prawns – a jar and a small number of fruits tumbling from a basket are arranged like a still life on the dirtfloor to the left. It is doubtful whether the Realists (or Becker) knew, or even cared for, the original meaning of the subject: despite its profane poverty and the obvious asceticism in colour and form, Murillo has here depicted a healthy boy – fleas do not like to feast on badly nourished individuals. As Peter Cherry has observed, through this reminder of the hardships of life, the function of the image was mainly to encourage charity.¹⁰⁹

Later, Murillo developed this particular imagery into a more sentimental variation, filling his canvases with boys with the appearance of cherubs, living happy and carefree in the midst of Seville's poverty (Heaven descended to earth, like his Madonnas in reverse?). These images were much appreciated during Romanticism proper.¹¹⁰ Despite the fact that Murillo's genre paintings form only a small part of his enormous, mostly religious production, this part has functioned as his trademark ever since the eighteenth century. This is probably

104 Boime 1980, p. 355. In addition to direct loans from the incorrectly attributed Murillo-painting (for illustration, see Boime 1980, Plate IX.86 p. 353 and p. 355), the composition in the *Fou* is rather sparse, and reminiscent of Murillo's *Beggar Boy* at the Louvre.

105 Eklöf 1939 [unpubl.], p. 82 (number 3 "Tiggargosse [*Beggar Boy*]"). The painting has not been located since 1873.

106 Baticle & Marinas 1981, p. 26.

107 García Felguera 1991, pp. 109-112; Brooke & Cherry 2001, p. 86.

108 The painting is also called *The Flea-Picker* (Sp. *Niño espulgándose*).

109 Cherry 2001, pp. 47-48.

110 Brooke & Cherry 2001, p. 86.

because most of Murillo's genre paintings belonged to collections outside Spain, and were thus easily accessible for reproduction and copying.¹¹¹

Other (Finnish) students in Couture's studio make it evident that the studio practice included being trained in a *manière espagnole*.¹¹² Courbet was not alone in his attraction to the *Siglo de Oro*. As discussed above, Courbet also gained technical skill from studying Spanish art. While the impact of Couture on Becker's art was considerable, Courbet was the teacher from whom Becker learned to look at nature in a different way: one should paint only what one sees. In the autumn of 1861, Couture's atelier was closed, and some of his pupils moved to Courbet's newly established studio. This was the result of a serious uprising by a group of students of both Picot and Couture. The students were dissatisfied with their masters' methods, and in January 1862, students, including Becker, started to flock to Courbet's atelier. In accordance with Courbet's political standpoint, all the materials in the atelier were free. The intention was that by selling the students' paintings, all the costs of paint, models (including bulls or horses) would be covered. The enterprise was an economical disaster; the technique used in the studio, the palette knife, was, according to Becker, too hard for the students to master, and none of their works were sold.¹¹³

111 Waterhouse 1982, pp. 70-71; Cherry 2001.

112 Students from all over Europe worked in Couture's atelier, including several from the Nordic countries. As with Becker, Couture's impact was generally considerable. The earliest Finnish apprentice, Severin Falkman (1831-1889), stayed at the atelier from 1858 onwards. He apparently did not copy Spanish painting; only a copy after Giraud, showing a group of Spanish dancers, reveals any interest in Spanish iconography. He was one of the first genre painters in Finland. Falkman was deeply impressed by his teacher, and Boime states that the impact is best seen in the genre and historical scenes. Historical events are exposed in the form of everyday life, blended with natural lighting and modest truthfulness in the settings (Boime 1980, p. 541). Wladimir Swertschkoff, who also copied Murillo, was Couture's pupil in 1858. Swertschkoff was first trained in the Russian Military Academy, and served as an officer in the Imperial Army. Little is known of his time in Couture's atelier, only that he was an apprentice in 1858. In his account on Couture, Boime describes Swertschkoff as being an important figure in the later development of the applied arts in the Munich area. Couture's preferences for Spanish Old Masters may have influenced Swertschkoff's choices as well. Couture's enduring impact on Swertschkoff is seen particularly in the latter's still lifes, for instance *Roots and Vegetables* from 1883. In addition to the thematic presentation, Albert Boime argues that the impact from Couture is evident in the scumbling in the rough stonework of the window, and in the tonal contrasts of the cauliflower at the lower left (Boime 1980, pp. 541-543). Despite the composition's obvious debt to Dutch still-life painting, with its abundance of carefully arranged objects such as carrots, grapes and oysters, it also reminds us of the more ascetically rendered compositions by Spanish Baroque still-life painters, such as Juan Sánchez Cotán (1561-1627). Sánchez Cotán mainly depicted a small number of carefully arranged vegetables in window recesses. The visual impact of Sánchez Cotán's *Still Life with Quince, Cabbage, Melon and Cucumber*, for instance, is partly due to the inventive composition, seemingly based on mathematics. The vegetables are contrasted with an impermeable, dark background, some of them hanging in strings; together with the others on the aisle, they create the convex curve, characteristic of Sánchez Cotán. The light conditions in Sánchez Cotán's still lifes are normally dramatic, the setting spare. Swertschkoff's painting, like Sánchez Cotán's, renders a sharp contrast between light and shadow. The background is constituted by an impermeable darkness, some objects in the foreground are illuminated and some are left almost totally hidden in the shadows. Swertschkoff has included a turnip, in the upper right corner, which is an item repeatedly appearing in Spanish still life, most notably in the works of Sánchez Cotán. Furthermore, the bunch of carrots and the cauliflower in the lower part of Swertschkoff's painting protrude towards the viewer, as in Sánchez Cotán's still lifes. Sánchez Cotán's still lifes were, however, not "rediscovered" until 1945 (*Still Life with Quince, Cabbage, Melon and Cucumber*). For more on the subject, see Jordan & Cherry 1995, p. 27.

113 Becker 1891, p. 30; Eklöf 12-15 (quotation p. 14); Hölttö 1997 [unpubl.], p. 10 fn 22; Rewald 1946, pp. 55-56; Reitala 1989, p. 131. See also Nochlin 1966, p. 34, discussing Courbet's text "Art Cannot be Taught", an open letter to his students, written 25 December 1861, which appeared in *Courrier du dimanche*. The letter was later reprinted under the title "Courbet: His Studio; His Theories" in *Les Livres Propos*, 1864.

Despite the brevity of the period in Courbet's studio,¹¹⁴ Becker became convinced of that "in art, only originality, the study of nature, honesty and relentless work remain important".¹¹⁵ The phrase is a direct echo of Courbet, and Becker cherished the contact with this avant-garde painter for the rest of his life. "Painting things as they are" was, in the nineteenth century, seen as a particularly "Spanish" way to look at reality, which suited concurrent Realist and pending Naturalist ideas.¹¹⁶ Velázquez's noblemen, painters and art critics agreed, were depicted as ordinary men, just as Murillo's Madonnas looked like ordinary women. Although Becker never fully absorbed a completely non-idealised way of observing the world around him, he made efforts in this direction throughout his career.¹¹⁷ As reported in an account of the *Finnish Art Society's* annual meeting in March 1864, Becker's paintbrush had made "surprising" progress in colouring.¹¹⁸ As I will discuss below, Becker's encounter with original artworks in 1863 certainly developed his artistry.

3.2. LOOKING AT WONDERS: BECKER AT THE PRADO

Yet Madrid possesses [at least] one miracle, which is the Royal Museum. It is so rich and splendid – presently, however, it is unfortunately being repaired – that one can defy all discomforts that one experiences every day in a city, where the traveller is obliged to pay the double for everything, when compared to other cities, and where he still misses the comfort that he comes across in every small town in France. A separate, long description would be required in order to give an idea of this museum and its treasures. I will only mention that it contains 64 Velasquezes, 58 Riberas, 46 Murillos, 43 Tizians, 10 large Raphaels and 62 Rubenses, except for thousands of others. These numbers speak for themselves, and it can be added that Madrid owns the unsurpassed masterpieces: *los Borachos* [sic] and *las Lancas* [sic] by Velasquez, Prometheus by Ribera, The Holy Family by Murillo – but for what purpose is this listing? – Despite everything, I believe that Paris is enough for painters, and one only loses time by travelling elsewhere, regardless of how interesting and enjoyable it might be.¹¹⁹

Helsingfors Tidningar, 8 December 1863

114 The period lasted approximately two months (see Becker 1891, p. 30; Hölttö 1997 [unpubl.], p. 10 number 22, Rewald 1946, p. 55; Reitala 1989, p. 131).

115 The phrase is included in Becker's memoirs from 1891, recounting his years in Paris: "*Ty det enda som inom konsten eger bestånd är originalitet, naturstudium, redbarhet och ihärdigt arbete*" (Becker 1891 p. 38).

116 Emile Zola's pursuits are also important in this respect, see e.g., Bürger 1979; Sanders 1979; Kortelainen 2002a, *passim*. For a contemporary, Finnish perspective on Zola's Naturalism, see Estlander 1891.

117 See Hölttö 1997 [unpubl.]; Reitala 1989; *Adolf von Becker* 2002.

118 "Finska Konstföreningens årsmöte", *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 23 March 1864, number 68, p. 2.

119 "Ett underverk eger Madrid likväl, och detta är kungliga museet. Det är så rikt och praktfullt – beklagligtvis är det dock för närvarande under reparation – att man kan trotsa alla de obehag man dagligen får röna uti en stad, der den resande får betala allting dubbelt emot i andra städer och der han ändå saknar den komfort han möter i hvarje småstad i Frankrike. Det skulle fordra en särskild lång skildring att gifva ens ett begrepp om detta museum och dess skatter. Jag vill blott nämna, att det innehåller 64 Velasquez, 58 Ribera, 46 Murillo, 43 Tizian [sic], 10 stora Raphael och 62 Rubens, utom tusentals andra. Dessa siffror tala för sig sjelfva, och tilläggas kan, att Madrid eger de oupphinneliga mästerverken: *los Borachos* [sic] och *las Lancas* [sic] af Velasquez, Prometheus af Ribera, den heliga familjen af Murillo – men hvartill tjenar att här uppräknas? – Men oakadt allt detta tror jag, att en målare har nog i Paris och blott förlorar sin tid med att resa annorstädes, så intressant och roligt det än är. –" ([Adolf von Becker], "Bref från Madrid. (Slut fr. föreg. n:o)", *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 2 September 1863, number 202, pp. 2-3). The article is the latter part of Becker's letter from Madrid, dated 18 August 1863, which was published by the same newspaper (see [Adolf von Becker], "Bref från Madrid", *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 1 September 1863, number 201, pp. 2-3).

Becker made the decision to travel to Spain in the autumn of 1862, shortly after the collapse of Courbet's free studio. Because Becker resided in Paris at this time, his good friend Fredrik Cygnaeus (1807–1881) assisted with financial arrangements.¹²⁰ In September 1862, Becker wrote to Cygnaeus from Paris to say that he soon would be ruined because of his pursuits in educating himself as a painter. Therefore, he asked Cygnaeus to deliver his application for a scholarship. If he received a scholarship, Becker wrote, he intended to travel to Spain and Italy next spring, in order to study for some time at these sites.¹²¹

Ultimately, Becker's journey to Spain (he travelled to Italy only in 1866) was financed by the Hoving travel fund, and he became the fund's first beneficiary.¹²² Before his Spanish journey, Becker had visited many of Europe's main art centres without financial support, including his sojourn in Paris, which was paid for out of his own purse.¹²³ In 1863, drawn-out plans to establish a travel scholarship for painters and sculptors in Finland were brought to conclusion. The Senate had, for the first time, administered a fund of three hundred silver roubles for the *Finnish Art Society*, intended as a "support for the Fine Arts".¹²⁴ As a compensation for their support of Becker's journey, the *Finnish Art Society* wished to obtain copies after Spanish Masters.¹²⁵

In the very beginning of August 1863, Becker set off for Spain. During the early 1860s, travellers could choose from several different itineraries in order to get from Paris to Madrid. Most travellers passed through Bayonne, while another route – according to Becker the "shortest but most expensive" – led through Pamplona. For 180 francs, he bought a ticket for the latter route, Madrid being his final destination. The railroad was not yet extended to Madrid, and he thus travelled by coach. He left Paris at eight in the evening, sharing the rather cramped *coupé* with seven other travellers. After spending the night watching the landscape passing by, Becker arrived in Bordeaux the next morning, and immediately continued to Bayonne after a swift change of carriage. He described the Basques as an unusually lively and beautiful race; particularly the women were of a "fine and regular type" that hinted that they soon would cross the Spanish border.¹²⁶

120 Cygnaeus was one of the most influential cultural personalities in Finland. He was Chairman of the *Finnish Art Society* between 1863 and 1878. He was a poet and historian, and professor in aesthetics and modern literature between 1854 and 1867. He did not produce art historical texts, but had immense influence as an art critic and intriguer within Finnish cultural politics (Ringbom 1986, p. 50).

121 "Jag arma fan, har snart ruinerat mig på roligheten att blifva konstnär och mina betraktelser, oakadt den treffliga familjen på hörnet, der M^{lle} Henriettes behag sprider så mycken trefnad, begynna att blifva allt annat än muntra i synnerhet när jag tänker hvad lifvet har kostat. Du skulle derföre göra mig en oförgätlig tjänst om du ville inlemna en ansökning för mig till erhållande af ett stipendium. Erhåller jag ett sådant skulle jag nästa vår [resa] till Spanien och Italien för att studera der någon tid" (Becker to Fredrik Cygnaeus, 14 July 1863, FNG/Archives).

122 Becker to Fredrik Cygnaeus, 14 July 1863, FNG/Archives.

123 Becker to Fredrik Cygnaeus, [Paris] dated 31 [sic] September 1862, FNG/Archives.

124 Becker to Fredrik Cygnaeus, [Paris] dated 31 [sic] September 1862, FNG/Archives.

125 "[...] i den förhoppning att ersättning skulle erhållas genom kopior af Spanska mästars arbeten [...]" (*Proceedings of the Finnish Art Society* 1862–1865, 17 June 1863 § 5, FNG/Archives).

126 "en ovanligt liflig och vacker race"; "med deras fina, reguliera typer, låter en ana, att man beträder den spanska gränsen" ([Adolf von Becker], "Bref från Madrid", *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 1 September 1863, number 201,

Becker's journey continued only the next morning, and he spent the waiting hours visiting Biarritz. Here, he was astonished by the great number of persons (mostly from the city's upper society), who were scattered on the beach, watching a few bathers struggling against the gigantic waves. On his way to the seaside resort, he saw the Pyrenees for the first time, their mountaintops making a large impact on him as they showed – blue and massive – against the otherwise flat horizon. But he “forgot everything” the instant he saw the Atlantic Ocean, bluer than ever can be imagined. His short visit to the Basque seaside resort marks a sharp contrast to his subsequent encounter with Spain. The road over the Pyrenees was desolate and monotonous, the heat rose to about 40 degrees Celsius. As soon as the coach entered Spain, Becker was greeted by a grey and scorched landscape. Everything looked as if a fire had ravaged the surroundings; the parched scenery was disrupted only by the occasional whitewashed house.¹²⁷

Becker did not receive Madrid favourably, either. He felt that the city was desolate and naked, a shocking contrast to sparkling and happy Paris! The streets were almost empty during the day, and only by nightfall, were they filled with commotion. Although some efforts had been made in order to improve the cityscape, Madrid could not be compared to Paris, Becker concludes. He also claimed that Madrid was the most expensive city in Europe, totally lacking in hotels, private rooms or restaurants. Therefore, he happily accepted the offer of lodging, made by one of his Spanish travel companions. Apparently, he resided in the Spanish family's house during his entire stay in Madrid.¹²⁸

Becker had plans to stay in Madrid for at least two or three months. He felt he had to make an effort to profit fully from the expensive journey; a lot of time was lost while travelling, and Becker was determined to compensate the *Finnish Art Society* by executing a substantial number of copies and studies at the Prado. The time of departure was also determined by the fact that Becker wished to learn some Spanish before he set off for the strange country. He also scheduled his journey to avoid the terrifying heat that prevailed in Madrid during the summer months. He would not return to Paris until the beginning of November. Thus, he reasoned, he would have plenty of time for copying at the Prado.¹²⁹ During his sojourn in Madrid, he copied works by Murillo, Velázquez and Ribera.¹³⁰ Kajsa Eklöf's catalogue of Becker's art works known at that time (1939), reveals that only a few of his copies were painted after non-Spanish originals.¹³¹ He also painted two of his three copies after Titian in Madrid (*Fig. 26*).¹³²

p. 2).

127 [Adolf von Becker], “Bref från Madrid”, *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 1 September 1863, number 201, p. 2.

128 [Adolf von Becker], “Bref från Madrid”, *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 1 September 1863, number 201, pp. 2-3.

129 Becker to Fredrik Cygnaeus, Paris 14 July 1863, FNG/Archives.

130 The originals that Becker chose to copy relate to contemporary taste in Paris (comp. Haskell 1976, esp. pp. 9, 19, 35, 59, 70, 91, 134-135, 145, 163, 204 n. 81, pl. 73).

131 Eklöf 1939 [unpubl.], pp. 82-86 (“Beskrivande förteckning [Catalogue Raisonné]”).

132 Both Titian-copies have mythological subjects, a *Bacchanal* and one painting showing Herod with the head of St. John the Baptist. Prado has an extensive collection of Italian art, and Titian is well represented because he was one of Philip II's favourite painters (see Brown J. 1995).



26. Adolf von Becker, copy of Titian's *Feast of Bacchus* (1520–21), 1863. Prado, Madrid. Private collection.

As Albert Boime maintains, after 1860, a change in copy practice occurred among the new generation of painters who were schooled in the ateliers in Paris.¹³³ This change is visible in Becker's choices at the Prado, particularly in his small copies (or rather, sketches) after Velázquez. When he returned to Paris in November 1863, he brought with him "numerous beautiful copies and studies".¹³⁴ As we have seen, a number of these copies were exhibited at the *Finnish Art Society's* expositions. At the spring exhibition in 1864, the Society put on view those copies that they had bought the previous year: *Mater Dolorosa* (see Fig. 27) and a *Immaculate Conception* after Murillo (see Fig. 28), and a copy of Velázquez's portrait of the sculptor *Juan Martínez Montañés* (see Fig. 37).¹³⁵ The early period of Velázquez admiration concentrated on his brilliant and insightful portraits of the royal family or other persons connected to the court.¹³⁶ Becker's copy of a portrait by Velázquez is thus yet another manifestation of the Spaniard's reputation as a masterly portrait painter.¹³⁷ In one of his published letters from Madrid, Becker also mentions that Velázquez's portrait was known all over the world.¹³⁸

Becker's two Murillo-copies also follow in the backwash of earlier similar copies, intended for congregations and private homes. As Stéphane Guégan argues, the "Spanish style" was initially associated with subjects of religious mysticism, and the "Spanish style" spread fast in religious painting between 1830 and 1840.¹³⁹ As early as 1806, Alexandre-Louis-Joseph de Laborde (1773–1842)¹⁴⁰ had declared of Spanish art:

133 Boime 1971, pp. 166–181, 181–184.

134 "[...] en hel hop vackra kopior och studier", quotation from "Målaren A. von Becker återvänder från Spanien", *Finlands Allmänna Tidning*, 9 December 1863; see also Becker to Fredrik Cygnaeus, Paris 1... [18]64, FNG/Archives; Eklöf 1939 [unpubl.], pp. 83–84 catalogue numbers 8–15.

135 At the time when Becker executed his copy, the Velázquez-portrait was thought to depict Alonso Cano (1601–1667), a sculptor and painter from Granada ("Finska Konstföreningens Målningar och Skulpturarbeten den 10 mars 1865" (*Proceedings of the Finnish Art Society* 1862–1865, FNG/Archives). Older biographies also entitle the painting as a portrait of Cano (Justi 1933, ill. 112). More recent research has established that Velázquez's model was another sculptor and painter, Juan Martínez Montañés (Brown J. 1988, p. 147; Gerstenberg 1957, p. 118 ill. 15; Lopez-Rey 1963, p. 63 ill. 102). See also *Museo del Prado* 1990, I, p. 82 inv. number 81).

136 García Felguera 1991, p. 130 ff; Noehlin 1976, p. 129 ff.

137 According to Eklöf, the copy has been destroyed. It belonged to the Finnish National Gallery (whose collections are partly based on the *Finnish Art Society's* collection), and was deposited in Tammerfors (Eklöf 1939 [unpubl.], p. 84 cat. 15).

138 "I have started to copy a universally known portrait by Velasquez [...] After finishing this one and a copy after Murillo, I will return to Paris, probably after three to four weeks. [Jag har begynt kopiera ett verldsbekant porträtt af Velasquez [...] Sedan jag fulländat detta och en kopia efter Murillo, troligen efter tre a fyra veckor, återreser jag till Paris.]" ([Adolf von Becker], "Bref från Madrid. (Slut fr. föreg. n:o)", *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 2 September 1863 (number 202, pp. 2–3). The article is the latter part of Becker's letter from Madrid, dated 18 August 1863, which was published by the same newspaper (see [Adolf von Becker], "Bref från Madrid", *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 1 September 1863, no 201, pp. 2–3).

139 Guégan 2003, p. 195.

140 Laborde was among the first French travellers in Spain. In 1800–1805 he executed a five-year long journey, which culminated in his travel book, *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne* (Picturesque and historical voyage in Spain, 1806–20) (Tinterow 2003, p. 17).

[...] this school is especially distinguished by its religious paintings, and one recognises in the paintings of the Spaniards the feelings that these people experience overall for the mysteries of religion; nowhere are ecstasy, unction, and genuine piety expressed as well as in their works, nor mystical passions rendered with more warmth; the heads of their Virgins are wonderfully expressive; their colour and effect are both striking, and although the Spanish painters did not apply themselves to secular subjects, which require the study of the nude, when they had occasion to take on such subjects, they distinguish themselves in them.¹⁴¹

By the 1830s, Spanish art was thus seen as the model for a “religious, moral inspiration, which [has] given the beggars, the wretched, the lame, the prodigal sons of Murillo the character that exalts them”.¹⁴²

Couture also had a special liking for Murillo’s *Immaculadas*. As Boime has shown, Couture created an “eclectic” type of Madonna on the basis of Rafael’s and Murillo’s prototypes. Boime sees clear similarities between Couture’s iconography and Murillo’s compositions, which were on display, for instance, at the Louvre.¹⁴³ The present location of Becker’s copy of *Mater Dolorosa* is unknown,¹⁴⁴ but Murillo’s original depicts the slightly bowed head of a melancholy Virgin with heavy eyelids and an expression of sorrow (Fig. 27). The setting is more austere than in most of Murillo’s paintings, and as such it resembles Murillo’s *Conception with the Crescent Moon*, discussed above (see Fig. 8). This painting also embodies the subjective sentimentality that was associated with Murillo since Romanticism.¹⁴⁵

The original for Becker’s *Immaculada-copy* (Fig. 28) is the famous “*de Escorial*”-version that, like most of Murillo’s similar paintings, is a dynamic representation of the Virgin in the clouds, surrounded by flowing draperies and supported by angels. Becker repeats Murillo’s composition, but has idealised the features of the Virgin and the *putti*, giving them a somewhat stereotypical appearance without reproducing Murillo’s vaporous painting manner. Becker did not modify Murillo’s original style according to a completely different painting manner as willingly as Godenhjelm (see Fig. 4). Nevertheless, the final result conforms to the academic concept of the “slicked surface” of official art.¹⁴⁶

Becker’s version of Murillo’s *Immaculate Conception of Escorial* is only slightly smaller than the original (ratio 2/3).¹⁴⁷ It is nevertheless considerably larger than the small sketches after Velázquez, Titian and Ribera, which Becker also executed at the Prado.¹⁴⁸ A detail from Ribera’s *Jacob’s Dream* (Fig. 29) was still in Becker’s possession in the 1890s.¹⁴⁹ From a photograph, we see that Becker pinned an unframed study of Jacob’s head on the wall of his



27. Murillo, *Mater Dolorosa*, ca. 1668–70. Prado, Madrid.

141 Alexandre de Laborde 1806-20, vol. 2, p. 43, quoted in Tinterow 2003, p. 17 (comp. Guégan 2003, p. 195).

142 Alexandre de Saint-Chéron, quoted in Guégan 2003, p. 195.

143 Boime 1980, p. 242.

144 According to Eklöf, Becker’s copy of *Mater Dolorosa* was given as a prize in a charity lottery in 1889 (Eklöf 1939 [unpubl.], p. 84 cat. 13).

145 Ayala Mallory 1990, p. xv.

146 For a discussion on “licked surfaces”, see Rosen & Zerner 1985, pp. 203-232.

147 Eklöf 1939 [unpubl.], p. 84 cat. 14 (152 x 102 cm). The size of the *Mater Dolorosa* copy is much smaller, 51 x 39 cm (Eklöf 1939 [unpubl.], p. 84 cat. 13).

148 Eklöf 82 ff [catalogue].

149 Eklöf’s catalogue does not include a copy after Ribera’s *Jacob’s Dream*.

28. Adolf von Becker, copy of Murillo's *Immaculate Conception of Escorial* (ca. 1656–60), 1863 (Prado, Madrid). Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.



atelier, where he posed behind his desk (Fig. 30). Since the copy was executed several years earlier, we see that Becker held the copy (and Ribera) in high regard. In his study, Becker has included the hand on which the sleeping Jacob rests his head, and the saint's right shoulder. Judging from the photograph, Becker has reproduced Ribera's image rather faithfully, while technical matters remain, naturally, unclear.

Ribera's *Jacob's Dream* has been at the Prado since 1827.¹⁵⁰ It is one of his more eerily painted pictures, with "limpid translucency and luminosity", as Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez puts it.¹⁵¹ As such, it was, rather surprisingly, mistaken for a Murillo in the eighteenth century. Pérez Sánchez speculates that the attribution of this canvas to the Sevillian painter may be due to Ribera's reputation as a painter who delighted "not in painting sweet, devout things [but] in expressing horrendous, harsh things", as the Spanish eighteenth-century art historian Palomino defined Ribera.¹⁵² Here, Ribera has chosen to concentrate on the "human aspect" of the topic, rather than giving physical shape to Jacob's vision.¹⁵³ Pérez Sánchez observes that the ladder and the angels are barely suggested in the gold-streaked aura to the upper right from Jacob's head. In contrast with the vision, Jacob is depicted as a shepherd, "fast asleep against a rock", according to Pérez Sánchez's description. By applying a "robust materiality", the presence and reality of the figure are stressed.¹⁵⁴ Such an approach to the subject, particularly since it depicts a visionary experience, certainly attracted painters during the Realist era. Ribera has here managed to tone down the spiritual, and the vision appears more like a beam of sunlight coming through the clouds. The "here and now" are stressed, and the painting becomes more realistic.

Becker also included a small copy of a *St. Jerome* by Ribera among the paintings that he sent to the *Finnish Art Society* after his Spanish journey. The painting was a gift to Fredrik Cygnaeus, and its present location is unknown. In a letter to Cygnaeus, Becker claimed that the original was in the monastery at Escorial, and stated that his copy of the saint was interesting primarily for "art historical reasons".¹⁵⁵ Ribera has, indeed, painted several variations on St. Jerome, the most famous being *Saint Jerome and the Angel of Judgement* (see Fig.



29. Jusepe de Ribera, *Dream of Jacob*, 1639. Prado, Madrid.



30. Adolf von Becker in his studio, 1890s.

150 *Jusepe de Ribera 1591–1652*, p. 135 [text by Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez].

151 *Jusepe de Ribera 1591–1652* (1992), p. 135 [text by Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez].

152 Palomino de Castro y Velasco, as quoted in *Jusepe de Ribera 1591–1652* (1992), p. 135 [text by Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez].

153 The topic is based on the episode in Genesis 28:11–22, which tells of the dream in which Jacob saw a celestial stair ascended and descended by angels (*Jusepe de Ribera 1591–1652* (1992), p. 135 [text by Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez]).

154 *Jusepe de Ribera 1591–1652* (1992), p. 135 [text by Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez].

155 "[...] en liten efterbildning efter Riberas celebra [tavla] efter Jeranimus från Escorial", "intressant ... mest i konsthistoriskt hänseende" (Becker to Fredrik Cygnaeus, Paris 27 February 1864, FNG/Archives). See also Eklöf 1939 [unpubl.], p. 85 cat. 25.



31. Jusepe de Ribera, *The Penitent Saint Jerome*, 1652. Prado, Madrid.

small study to be an example of Ribera's many similar compositions. In most of the versions of Saint Jerome, the folds of flesh on his exposed body are rendered with amazing intensity and realism, which served as a trademark for Ribera's style. This unidealised and brutal rendition of an ageing body appealed to Realist ideology: you should paint things as they are.¹⁶⁰ Stéphane Guégan describes the nineteenth-century admiration of Ribera's realism as

24) from 1626. For the most part, Ribera portrayed this ascetic saint as a penitent, dressed in a red mantle over a half-naked, emaciated body, with a skull, a stone and a parchment inscribed with Hebrew characters.¹⁵⁶ A particularly fine example is the *Penitent Saint Jerome* at the Prado (Fig. 31).¹⁵⁷ It might previously have been at the Escorial or in Madrid's Alcázar, but was transferred to the Prado, where it could be viewed from 1818 onwards.¹⁵⁸ This painting is thus a possible, but uncertain, source for Becker.¹⁵⁹

What Becker exactly meant by stating that his copy after Ribera's *Saint Jerome* was interesting for "art historical reasons" also remains unclear; I can only guess that he intended the

156 *Jusepe de Ribera 1591–1652* (1992), pp. 78–81 [text by Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez].

157 *Jusepe de Ribera 1591–1652* (1992), pp. 163–164 [text by Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez].

158 Pérez Sánchez 1992, p. 40.

159 At one point, I considered the academic study of an old man as being the "Saint Jerome from Escorial" that Becker sent to Cygnaeus. This assumption was supported by the fact that the study of the old man belongs to the collections at the Finnish National Gallery, whose collections are based on works acquired at an earlier point by the Society. After consultation with Javier Portús Pérez, curator at the Museo del Prado, it became clear that the academic study could not have a painting by Ribera as a source. Neither could Portús Pérez point to a Jerome by Ribera with reference to Escorial.

160 Ribera applies this "ultra-realist" manner in several of his paintings of other saints as well, most noticeably in the many versions of Saint Bartholomew and Saint Andrew. His paintings of philosophers also show a similar application of wrinkles in the face as well as on the hands. For illustrations and examples, see *Jusepe de Ribera*

“the love of the ugly”, a statement anchored in the many remarks on Ribera’s style from the early nineteenth century.¹⁶¹ From the 1840s onwards, including the beginnings of Realism, painters started to note that Ribera had led the way to an art that reflected the sufferings of humanity.¹⁶²

This aspect of Ribera’s art appealed to Léon Bonnat as well. The “bony old men and muscle-bound servants”, as Luxenberg describes Ribera’s figure types, reappear in Bonnat’s work from the 1860s onwards.¹⁶³ Luxenberg discusses Bonnat’s interest in “anatomical power, in demonstrating the physical efforts made by the human body, in carving out the forms from the surrounding space as if they shared the viewer’s own”.¹⁶⁴ Bonnat’s *Job* from 1880 (Fig. 32), for instance, is certainly inspired by Ribera’s *Saint Paul the Hermit* (ca. 1625–50), which came to the Louvre in 1875.¹⁶⁵ In Bonnat’s *Crucifixion* from 1874, the withered body of Christ is seen against a tenebrist background, with his ribs and sinew clearly visible, with cramped hands and bloodstains from the wounds in his feet, as if they are there to remind us of the Saviour’s sufferings. According to Geneviève Lacambre, the painting depicts “agony in the manner of Ribera”.¹⁶⁶

Velázquez was also appreciated for his skill in “direct observation”.¹⁶⁷ According to Eklöf, Becker accomplished a total of eight copies after Velázquez.¹⁶⁸ An additional copy is seen in a photograph from the 1890s.¹⁶⁹ Except for the portrait of Juan Martínez Montañéz, they are small, about 30 x 20 centimetres, even in those cases when the original painting was particularly large. The small copy on cardboard, which Eklöf entitled as “Velasquez painting Philip IV’s Child”, is perhaps an incorrect description of the subject in *Las Meniñas* (Fig. 33).¹⁷⁰ *Las Meniñas* is one of Velázquez’s most complex paintings, and has generated a considerable number of interpretations and readings. The large-scale canvas shows the Infanta Margarita María and her escort, with Velázquez standing by his easel to the left. The images of Philip IV and his second wife, Mariana of Austria, are reflected in the mirror in the far background.¹⁷¹ Certainly Becker’s small version could not have been anything more than a study of colour and composition, without the exquisite detail.



32. Léon Bonnat, *Job*, 1880. Musée Bonnat, Bayonne.

1591–1652 (1992), pp. 58-165 (catalogue).

161 Guégan 2003, p. 198.

162 Guégan 2003, pp. 198-201.

163 Luxenberg 1991, p. 127.

164 Luxenberg 1991, pp. 126-127.

165 Lacambre 2003, p. 84.

166 Possible sources for Bonnat’s painting are Ribera’s *The Martyrdom of Saint Philip* (1639) and Velázquez’s *Christ on the Cross*, both in the Prado. Bonnat took this pursuit even further, and as model for his *Crucifixion*, he placed a corpse on the cross in his studio (Weinberg 2003, pp. 275-276).

167 Luxenberg 1991, p. 131.

168 Eklöf 1939 [unpubl.], catalogue numbers 15-22.

169 *Adolf von Becker* 2002, p. 56 ill. 26.

170 Eklöf 1939 [unpubl.], p. 84 catalogue number 17 (“Velasquez porträtterande Filip IV:s barn”, oil on cardboard, 29 x 24 cm). According to Eklöf, it was exhibited at the *Finnish Art Society’s* exhibition in 1871, but it is not included in the catalogue (*Finska Konstföreningens Exposition* 1871, numbers 6-10 [Adolf von Becker]). Eklöf mentions that it was for sale in 1939 at an art dealer’s shop. The copy’s present location is unknown.

171 The title *Las Meniñas* was used for the first time in 1843. The completion of the pictorial narrative seems to lie outside of the frame, and several interpretations of this complex painting exist, based on historical as well



33. Velázquez, *Las Meniñas*, 1656. Prado, Madrid.

34. Edgar Degas, *Variation on Velázquez's "Las Meniñas"*, 1857–58. Bayerische Staatsgemaldesammlungen, Munich.



Another example of executing copies in the small format is the undersized variation on Velázquez's *Las Meniñas*, painted by Degas in 1857–58 (Fig. 34). It is approximately the same size as Becker's study (31,2 x 25,1 cm). Tinterow speculates that it was probably executed after a print.¹⁷² From Degas's variation on the theme, we clearly see that the figures are more patches of colour than duplicates of Velázquez's figures. Moreover, Degas has altered the original composition, thus turning it into a highly personal interpretation of the theme.¹⁷³

Becker might also have copied one of Velázquez's more unusual themes, the *Coronation of the Virgin* (Fig. 35). Eklöf mentions a copy of a "Madonna" by Velázquez, and since I have not come across other "Madonnas" by Velázquez at the Prado, the *Coronation* seems to be the painting in question.¹⁷⁴ Here the Virgin Mary is seated on clouds supported by *putti*, while Christ and the Holy Father hold a crown over her head. The radiant Holy Spirit hovers in the space between them. The personification of the figures is highly realistic, but

the painting's composition and subject rather connect with the taste of Romanticism, the academic realm and Murillo than with that of the Realists. According to Boime, Couture applied the traditional prototypes of Raphael and Murillo to create a new and eclectic type of Madonna, and we know that Becker was heavily influenced by his teacher. For example, there are clear similarities between Couture's compositions and Murillo's *Virgin of Seville* in the Louvre.¹⁷⁵ It is thus reasonable to assume that Couture's preference for Madonna-paintings influenced Becker's decision to copy one of Velázquez's few religious compositions. It

as philosophical speculations. Brown and Garrido point out that the problem of the image in the mirror has been resolved in recent years, and that it unquestionably reflects the surface of the canvas upon which Velázquez is creating a double portrait of the King and his wife. Brown and Garrido, analysing the painting's materiality and physical structure, regard the large canvas as Velázquez's "artistic *tour-de-force*". They observe that the main elements of the composition were established with remarkably little hesitation. It was, consequently, painted quickly and only a few changes were made in the course of execution. For a further analysis, see Brown & Garrido 1998, pp. 181-194.

172 Degas did not visit Spain until 1889 (Tinterow 2003, p. 56).

173 Tinterow describes Degas's variation on *Las Meniñas* as "a fictive homage". While Degas was in Rome in 1857–58, he worked on a series illustrating the lives of great painters (Giotto, Tintoretto, Velázquez and Bernard Palissy). The series "conform to typical Romantic hagiography", as Gary Tinterow puts it, reflecting "the new stature given to Spanish painting in France in the 1850s and 1860s" (*Manet/Velázquez* 2003, p. 473 cat. 102 [text by Gary Tinterow]). Degas's knowledge of Spanish art was probably based on books and the increasing amount of reproductions. For more on Degas and Spanish art, see Tinterow 2003, pp. 55-56.

174 Eklöf 1939 [unpubl.], p. 85 cat. 22. Since I have not been able to locate Becker's copy or come across illustrations or descriptions of it, the original might also be a painting that presently is not thought to be by Velázquez. Religious themes were less frequent in Velázquez's *oeuvre*, which predominantly concentrated on secular subjects. For more on Velázquez, see Brown J. 1988.

175 Boime 1980, p. 242.

is noteworthy, that this copy after a large original is of small dimensions, as is the copy after *Las Meniñas*.¹⁷⁶

Becker's copies after two (life-size) equestrian portraits by Velázquez are small in size as well.¹⁷⁷ They were made after the large-scale originals depicting Philip IV and Queen Isabella of Bourbon, painted for the Hall of Realms in the *Buen Retiro* palace. The whole conception of the portraits, with the elegant, solemn figures set in a spacious landscape bathed in silvery light, is characteristic of Velázquez, whose "silvery greys" were particularly admired by nineteenth-century painters.¹⁷⁸ Luxenberg observes that "the subtle grey tones were considered the magical characteristic of Velázquez's painting" at the time.¹⁷⁹ Becker's version of *Philip IV on Horseback* (Fig. 36) was executed with a fluid brush, giving a hint of what the studies after "Velasquez painting Philip IV's Child" and the "Madonna" might have looked like. Details are left to the imagination, particularly the King's features. The background and sky are rendered in a rather vaporous manner; Becker has blurred the contours, which is particularly visible in the tree to the left. The overall impression is that of being painted quickly with less defined outlines. It is, indeed, not a detailed reproduction of the original, but rather a study of colour and form.

Becker's copy after Velázquez's *Juan Martínez Montañés* (Fig. 37) and the small studies after the equestrian portraits are a reflection of Velázquez's current fame as a prominent portrait painter. His small copies of details in *Los Borrachos* were not painted with the sole intention of reproducing Velázquez.¹⁸⁰ He painted at least three studies based on *Los Borrachos* (Fig. 38). In one copy (Fig. 39), we see the heads of the two men, who look directly at the spectator from the centre of the composition: the laughing man and his companion bending over his shoulder.¹⁸¹ The copy was exhibited in 1870 at the *Finnish Art Society's* annual exposition, described as "Two heads from Velasquez's [*sic*] picture: the drinkers; copied in Madrid 1863".¹⁸² The fact that this painting was pinned to the wall in Becker's studio as



35. Velázquez, *Coronation of the Virgin*, ca. 1635. Prado, Madrid.

176 Eklöf 1939 [unpubl.], p. 85 cat. 22 (33 x 25 cm).

177 Eklöf 1939 [unpubl.], p. 85 cat. 20-21 (22 x 25 cm each).

178 Quotation from *Paris: Librairie Nouvelle* 1867, p. 29, as it appears in Luxenberg 1991, p. 127.

179 Luxenberg 1991, p. 127.

180 The copies measure 30 x 23 and 33 x 23 cm respectively (Eklöf 1939, p. 85 cat. 18-19).

181 I have not managed to locate the copy in question, which is seen hanging on the back wall in a photograph from Becker's atelier in the 1890s (*Adolf von Becker* 2002, p. 56, ill. 26). The copy is not included in Eklöf's list (comp. Eklöf 1939 [unpubl.], catalogue raisonnée).

182 *Finska konstföreningens exposition* 1870, catalogue number 6: "Två hufvuden ur Velasquez' tafla: drinkarne; kopierad i Madrid 1863."



36. Adolf von Becker, copy of Velázquez's *Equestrian Portrait of Philip IV* (1634–35), Madrid 1863. Private Collection.



37. Velázquez, *Portrait of Juan Martínez Montañés*, 1635. Prado, Madrid.

late as in the 1890s indicates that Velázquez (and *Los Borrachos*) made a lasting impact on the Finnish painter.

In two additional copies, Becker depicted singular heads: the wine-god Bacchus and one of his fellows, who is seen by the right edge (*Fig. 40, 41*). Becker's rendition of the profile of the dark-bearded man to the far right, looking upwards to his companion in the upper right corner, is painted in a manner that brings to mind Edouard Manet (another of Couture's pupils) and his adoption of the Old Spanish Masters.¹⁸³ The forms in Becker's copy are somewhat simplified, and the figure's plasticity appears more "two-dimensional" than in the original. It resembles, indeed, Manet's *The Water Drinker* ("*Régalade*") from 1861–62 (*Fig. 42*), particularly in its brownish colouring as well as its technique: it appears to be painted

rapidly, with long and broad brush-strokes, disregarding reproducing small details.

Manet's painting of the Spanish water-drinker (he drinks from the vessel *à la régالade*, in the Spanish style) is a fragment of a larger composition, *The Gypsies*, now destroyed (*Fig. 43*).¹⁸⁴ An intriguing connection between Velázquez, Murillo and French Realist "genre-painting" occurs. The subject of *The Gypsies*, surviving only as prints, is a more direct "Spanish" theme than that, for instance, of *The Old Musician*, which is an obvious homage to Velázquez's *Los Borrachos*.¹⁸⁵ Manet owned several reproductions of Velázquez (perhaps prints by Goya after Velázquez's works). *Los Borrachos* was also duplicated on the back wall in Manet's portrait of Emile Zola, which he sent to the Salon in 1868.¹⁸⁶ Wilson-Bareau points out two principal sources for *The Gypsies*: Murillo's *Beggar Boy* and Velázquez's portrait of *Philip IV as a Hunter*, which could both be seen at the Louvre (see *Fig. 13*).¹⁸⁷ In addition to

183 Wilson-Bareau 2003 gives a full account of Manet and Spain.

184 *Manet/Velázquez* 2003, p. 488 cat. 135 [text by Juliet Wilson-Bareau].

185 Velázquez's *Los Borrachos* is also known as *The Drunkards* (or, *The Toppers*). Another "drunkard", inspired by Velázquez's philosophers (i.e., *Menippus* and *Aesop*), is Manet's *The Absinthe Drinker (A Philosopher)* from 1858–59 (reworked ca. 1868–72). Wilson-Bareau observes that the picture of a social outcast, probably was inspired as much by Baudelaire's poetry and ideas as it was by particular visual sources (Baudelaire's poem, "Ragpickers' Wine" has been discussed in connection with Manet's painting). Wilson-Bareau makes a particular case that Baudelaire also admired Velázquez and preferred the *Galerie espagnole* in the Louvre during his early years. Furthermore, after re-visiting the Prado in 1846, Théophile Gautier expressed his admiration in particular for Velázquez's interest in "the human condition". "The company of tramps, beggars, thieves, philosophers, alcoholics – the wretches of the teeming ranks of the underclass –", Gautier remarked in 1846, did not repel Velázquez. (Wilson-Bareau 2003, p. 212, referring to Théophile Gautier, "Les courses royales à Madrid", *Loïn de Paris* (Paris, 1865), which is a text that first was published in the December 1846 issue of *Musée des Familles* under the title "Voyage en Espagne (19 octobre 1846)".) Therefore, Wilson-Bareau sees Baudelaire's ragpicker as well as Manet's absinthe drinker as "descendants of Velázquez's beggar-philosophers" (Wilson-Bareau 2003, pp. 209–212).

186 *Manet/Velázquez* 2003, p. 498 cat. 153 [text by Juliet Wilson-Bareau].

187 The *Beggar Boy* had been at the Louvre since 1782, and a studio replica of the Velázquez-portrait had been acquired as an original by the Louvre in May 1862. Wilson-Bareau 2003, pp. 213–214; *Manet/Velázquez* 2003, p. 488 cat. 135 [text by Juliet Wilson-Bareau].



38. Velázquez, *The Feast of Bacchus* ("Los Borrachos"), 1629. Prado, Madrid.



40. Adolf von Becker, *Head*, detail of Velázquez's *The Feast of Bacchus*, Madrid 1863. Private Collection.



39. Adolf von Becker in his studio, 1890s.



Adolf von Becker, *Bacchus*, detail of Velázquez's *The Feast of Bacchus*, Madrid 1863. Private Collection.



42. Édouard Manet, *The Water Drinker* (*The "Régalaide"*), 1861–72. The Art Institute of Chicago, Bequest of Katherine Dexter McCormick.

the details, derived from Murillo (the “close-cropped” head of the boy drinking water from the jar, the jar itself and the straw basket lying on the ground), the figure of the male Gypsy is a derivation of Philip IV’s relaxed pose in the portrait. Images of Gypsies and peasants in literature supplement the list of possible sources. The grouping to the right is rather similar also to the theme of the “Madonna and Child”.¹⁸⁸ What Manet seems to have achieved with *The Gypsies* was to transfer Spanish art into a “contemporary” theme by collecting a range of Spanish stereotypes into one single image. Here we see Murillo’s “divine yet earthy” Gypsy-Madonna, while the Gypsy-King and the street-urchin can be seen as representations of the ordinary Spaniard. The process of appropriating Murillo’s Madonnas to encompass ordinary Spanish women, which had begun during the first half of the century, is here brought to its conclusion.¹⁸⁹ Manet’s composition consequently summarises the Romantic view of Spanish art. The difference lies in that he emulated the technique of these masters in a totally new way.¹⁹⁰

Becker’s copies of the two heads in *Los Borrachos* can also be seen as attempts to emulate the Spaniard’s technique according to a Realists’ approach, though he is not as successful as Manet. During his five-month-long apprenticeship in Couture’s atelier, Becker had absorbed his teacher’s methods.¹⁹¹ Couture favoured a free interpretation when copying the Old Masters. He taught his pupils the *ébauche*-technique, which emphasised composition over details and sought freshness and directness.¹⁹² Couture’s palette was full of different colours; in a letter to B.O. Schauman from 1881, Becker described Couture as one of the most important colourists.¹⁹³ When Becker took up his teaching post in Helsinki in 1869, he passed on to his own students Couture’s and Bonnat’s¹⁹⁴ preferences, including the necessity of a speedy copy practice. According to Satu Savia, Becker’s purpose with ordering his students to execute copies was not to teach traditional painting methods, but rather to familiarise them with the Old Masters’ compositional solutions. Becker’s students were also advised to make copies “from memory”. Becker urged his students to paint fast and relaxed, to keep the first impression fresh in their minds, to employ vivid brush-strokes and to create large forms. As a disciple of Couture and Bonnat, Becker had learnt to paint fast, and from



43. Édouard Manet, *The Gypsies*, 1862.

188 Wilson-Bareau 2003, pp. 213-215.

189 Doré’s illustrations of Baron Charles Davillier’s *L’Espagne* from 1874, also include pictures of the Gypsies where the Gitana is normally depicted holding her child like the Virgin holds the Infant Jesus. She is generally accompanied by a male Gypsy, dressed in local costume. As such, they closely resemble the figures in Manet’s *The Gypsies*. For illustrations, see Davillier 1878, p. 221 [Group from Seville’s Suburb *La Macarena*], p. 301 [A Guitar Player and a Dancing Girl with a Child, from Seville], p. 347 [Study from Manzanares], p. 354 [A Beggar Family in Madridejos].

190 Stéphane Guégan also regards Manet’s Spanish works from the 1860s as “inseparably linked to the Hispanism of the preceding generation” (Guégan 2003, p. 201). Guégan sees the characters in Manet’s Spanish pictures as reminiscent also of the portrayal of the Spanish people as it appears in Gautier’s *Voyage en Espagne* (1843), particularly since Gautier’s book was reprinted numerous times and became a well-liked source for many painters, most probably also for Manet (Guégan 2003, p. 201).

191 According to Koskimies-Envall, Becker worked in Couture’s atelier in 1859 and 1861, and in the summer of 1860, in Senlis (Koskimies-Envall, 2002, pp. 54-57).

192 Boime 1971, p. 71-72; Koskimies-Envall 2002, p. 57; Penttilä 2002, p. 11.

193 Becker to B.O. Schauman, 9 December 1881, FNG/Archives.

194 On Bonnat’s teaching methods, see Luxenberg 1991, p. 212 ff.

Couture to paint according to what he saw. Compositional studies in oil thus became an important part of Becker's teaching, based on his own studies during the years in Paris.¹⁹⁵

Becker's two copies after *Los Borrachos* have been painted in an unforced manner, with visible and broad brush-strokes. While Becker has followed his model rather uncompromisingly as regards the dark-bearded man, his rendition of Bacchus is freer in execution: the wine-god's features are not as delicate as in Velázquez's picture (see *Fig. 41*). This can, of course, be due to Becker's inability to reproduce an exact copy after Velázquez's beautiful God, and he perhaps unintentionally painted him in a more harshly "realistic" manner. Yet these two copy-portraits are a fascinating juxtaposition of reigning ideals. The early 1860s were a period when copy practice was revised, but it was also a time of ideological change. In a most apposite way, these two figures represent the poles: the mythical figure of the wine-god Bacchus and his association to history painting, stands in contrast to the realistically rendered and definitely contemporary dark-bearded man. The Realist interest in this particular composition by Velázquez is certainly due to the figures of men from Velázquez's own time who surround the mythological figure like a realistic group portrait. Gautier felt that Velázquez's "realist temperament" overshadowed the ancient subject matter. Velázquez had not actually *seen* the Gods of the Olympus; though the subject was mythological, the execution was realistic.¹⁹⁶ Velázquez's straightforward treatment of the subject vindicated the Realist interest in truelife, in the mundane and unattractive.¹⁹⁷ Indeed, as Jonathan Brown and Carmen Garrido observe, Velázquez's approach to his mythological theme can truly be called "down to earth":

The company of weather-beaten, ill-dressed peasants, wearing the costume of the day, bridges the gap between remote antiquity and the world of the contemporary viewer. Velázquez recreates the classical past without recourse to the style of classicism. Thus he makes ancient history seem as fresh and immediate as the world outside his workshop.¹⁹⁸

The painting's subject is based on an engraving from 1596 by the Dutch engraver Henrik Goltzius. A short poem accompanies the engraving, explaining what occurs also in Velázquez's painting: a group of peasants asks Bacchus for wine to alleviate their "pain and sorrow". Brown and Garrido note that "the remedy is already taking effect", since a "silly grin of intoxication" spreads across the faces of the two drinkers in the centre.¹⁹⁹ And, as discussed above, Becker had also copied the heads of these two peasants in a "double-portrait".

195 Savia 2002, pp. 84-86; Koskimies-Envall 2002, p. 57.

196 Pardo 1989, p. 231.

197 Luxenberg 1993, p. 25; as early Realist art often carried populist or socialist connotations, also a political advantage can be seen in encouraging Spanish-inspired painting, while it lent a liberal aura to Napoleon III's artistic programme.

198 Brown & Garrido 1998, p. 34.

199 Brown & Garrido 1998, p. 34.

44. Velázquez, *The Surrender of Breda* (“*Las Lanzas*”), 1634–35. Prado, Madrid.



The fact that Becker copied Murillo in nearly full scale, but predominantly created smaller sketches after Velázquez, shows the difficulty of copying Velázquez. Becker's studies after Velázquez and Titian were carried out the same year, in 1863, as Henri Regnault (1843–1871) had discovered Velázquez in Spain. Regnault did not manage to produce a full-scale copy after Velázquez's *Surrender of Breda* (*Las Lanzas*) – a painting that Becker also copied²⁰⁰ – according to the prevailing academic standards (Fig. 44). According to Duro, Regnault had flouted his teacher's advice when he chose this particular painting as his final task for the four-year-long *Prix de Rome* and the copy was never finished. Later, Regnault felt that he should have chosen another work of art for his final task:

I have made the error of selecting the wrong painting, or at the very least, of failing to choose one with more carefully finished passages ... I have undertaken a task which will be long and painful, because nothing is more difficult to copy than that which seems to be easily done, and executed with such a marvellous assurance.²⁰¹

200 Eklöf 1939, p. 84 catalogue number 16 (size unknown). According to Eklöf, it was exhibited at the *Finnish Art Society's* exposition in 1871, but it is not included in the catalogue (*Finska Konstföreningens Exposition* 1871, numbers 6–10 [Adolf von Becker]). The copy's present location is unknown.

201 Duro 2000, p. 145, quotation from Josephin Aimé Péladan, *Ernest Hébert: son oeuvre et son temps* (Paris 1910), pp. 162–164; see also Boime 1971, p. 123.

Problems like Regnault's were solved by changing copy practice. As Albert Boime points out, by 1880, Carolus-Duran, who admired the *Siglo de Oro* and Velázquez in particular,²⁰² advised his pupils not to make laborious copies of Velázquez, but instead copies “*au premier coup*”.²⁰³ Instead of executing an exact copy of the image, painters should *translate* the composition, re-create it.²⁰⁴ Becker's small studies after Velázquez are an expression of this practice, and they are, indeed, executed in a manner that is unusually vigorous among Becker's *oeuvre*.²⁰⁵ These small and rapidly executed copies were intended as personal exercises, unlike the official replicas of earlier periods, meant for churches and private collectors.

Boime calls this new kind of copy a “sketch-copy”. The criteria for aesthetic tastes changed rapidly, and a kind of mania for innovative solutions and originality reigned. The work process in the ateliers changed radically. According to Boime, the new sketch-copy offered security during these unstable times, because it allowed painters to absorb the virtuosity of the Old Masters, but without demanding a literal copy according to earlier, academic standards. Instead of concentrating on the final, executive phase of the original, painters now should work *backwards* from finish to sketch. In this way, they created what Boime calls a generative copy that, more or less, can be considered an original artwork, unlike a literal reproduction of the original's forms (and colour). Boime describes the outcome as a spontaneous absorption of the Old Master's innovations, but at the same time, it offered the painters the opportunity to find their own, personal solutions. The innovative and “generative” copy thus kept the copy practice alive during a turbulent period of changing ideals, despite incompatibility between different artistic outlooks. Under these circumstances, the copy practice was enabled to develop into a “universal context”. This context was, Boime maintains, “based on a deep psychological need to establish rapport with the past”. Facing the rapid changes of the studio practice, which Boime describes as a “collapse of traditional studio procedure”,²⁰⁶ the painters felt that they were cut *off* from the past, and felt insecure about their own merits. Boime concludes:

202 Carolus-Duran has executed several copies after Velázquez (Boime 1971, p. 124).

203 Boime 1971, p. 211 fn 71.

204 Boime observes that Vincent van Gogh, for instance, called his copies after Millet and Delacroix “translations”. Although van Gogh considered copying to belong to “the *old* system”, he felt that “it will nonetheless be true that they have their justification in the attempt to make Millet's work more accessible to the great general public” (Boime 1971, p. 211 fn 72).

205 Boime likes to see that this change in the copy practice was pointing to the Impressionist painting manner, which would emerge within a decade. He pays attention to a series of satirical articles from 1880, written by Louis Leroy, the critic who would coin the term “impressionist”. Leroy describes a group of copyists in the Louvre, working in an impressionistic technique. If the copyists slip into a precise reproduction of the original's forms and colours, Leroy wrote, their teacher (“a distinguished member of the Impressionist Institute”) would “grab the brush and dash on a few wild strokes”. According to Boime, Leroy's point was that “the innovators had affected the most sacrosanct of Academic practises” (Boime 1971, p. 211 fn 71, referring to L. Leroy, “Les pensionnaires du Louvre”, in *L'Art*, vols. I and II (1880), pp. 158-164, 182-190, 257-264, 277-285; 9-16, 30-38).

206 In 1863, the French Art Academy's teaching programme underwent considerable liberation. For a discussion on the *Decree of 1863*, see Boime 1971, pp. 181-184, and Duro 2000.

In a world of ever more unstable aesthetic standards, the artists found it necessary to seek personal confirmation through the surrogate of magical contact with the mind and talent of the old masters. The medium of the sketch-copy admirably allowed for this direct participation in the old master's performance, but at the same time it safeguarded the copyist's individual integrity.²⁰⁷

Adolf von Becker's small studies, sketch-copies, after Velázquez and Titian are testimonies to change in copy practice. The copy should, indeed, be more like a sketch, and the result was often fresher and more spontaneous than a copy finished in the atelier. We have seen that this was the case for Becker's sketch-copies, but Léon Bonnat achieved the same effect in, for instance, his small study of Ribera's *The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* from 1864.²⁰⁸

One probable reason why Velázquez later became one of the Impressionists' households is that his art "exhibit features akin to the sketching procedures of nineteenth-century works", as Boime puts it.²⁰⁹ By the example of Regnault's failure with *Surrender of Breda*, we are reminded that copying Velázquez was difficult. Regnault described Velázquez's art as being "new and original", imbued with colour, charm and surity of touch: "This is a young and vigorous painting, good from every aspect, created without effort, without pain, without fatigue." This description was, as Duro observes, "anathema to academic thinking". By academic standards, *The Surrender* was "unreproducible", and the best Regnault could achieve was an "approximation".²¹⁰

The vivacity of expression that painters of the 1860s admired in Velázquez's art was manifested in their rapidly executed (small) studies, sketch-copies, painted while the artist was still under the heat of the initial impression. This way, they were able to create the impression of direct experience, of authenticity and *originalité*, all of which are desirable features in the tourist experience. The art of past periods thus serves as *sights* for painters, whether they are in Paris or in Spain. But when confronted with the Spanish masters in their own milieu in Madrid, the experience of authenticity was heightened. As we have seen, early copyists tended to use reproductions as models, and the outcome frequently had nothing to do with the master's technique.

With the doctrine of Realism, direct contact with original artworks became necessary. Simultaneously, travelling to Spain was made easier through improved means of travel. The sketch expressed the intimate and personal, because it was believed to be closer to the original experience than the finished artwork. Therefore, art works, including copies, were left "unfinished". Further elaboration was useless, because it would "destroy" the effect of direct contact.²¹¹ Consequently, the sketch, or the sketch-copy, denoted *authenticity* and an ex-

207 Boime 1971, pp 122-132 (footnotes pp. 207-212, quotations p. 132).

208 The copy measures 28 x 29 cm. Luxenberg 1991, pp. 126, 368 (number 66). The page with the illustration is unfortunately missing from my copy of the dissertation.

209 Boime also mentions late classic illusionism, late Titian works, Baroque painting in general, Hals and Antonio Guardi (Boime 1971, p. 206 fn 33).

210 Duro 2000, pp. 144-146.

211 According to Boime, this practice "marked a Baudelairean return to innocence and implied an absolute commitment to a sensuous world" (Boime 1971, p. 172).



45. Adolf von Becker, *Up to Mischief*, 1864. Cygnaei Gallery, Helsinki.

pression of direct experiences.²¹² In order to “prove” that “direct contact” (“direct observation”) had occurred, painters tended to adopt a sketchier painting manner. In this way, they were able to reject the academic approach to copying art from the past. Direct contact with original art-works (and milieus) thus encouraged “the aesthetic of the sketch”.²¹³ This effect, the “impression of authenticity” (*originalité*), later became the cornerstone of Impressionist art.

Thus, originality and spontaneity of direct observation were emphasised. Boime observes that the word “originality” pervaded nineteenth-century art criticism, and that the essential expression of *originalité* was to be discovered in the sketch. As Boime argues, “[t]he concepts of impression and sensation were directly related to the nineteenth-century fixation on the problem of originality, itself an outgrowth of the *Romantic* ethos [my emphasis]”.²¹⁴ Romantic beliefs saturated Realist thought. Luxenberg comments that Bonnat, “a child of Romantic beliefs”, sought a style that “manifested the creative ardor and passion integral to all great artists”.²¹⁵ Bonnat found this in Ribera, and wrote to one of his friends in 1864,

212 The sketch was thus an expression of a *personal* impression. Boime quotes Hunt, a student of Couture: “There’s my sketch – my impression of the boy as he came for the first time into the studio. With a few lines I represented my idea of his figure manner. *My* impression, I say. Not yours: not the impression of anybody else. No one else would have sketched him in *just* that way” (Boime 1971, p. 172).

213 For a discussion on the aesthetic of the sketch, see Boime 1971, pp. 166-184.

214 Boime 1971, p. 173.

215 Luxenberg 1991, p. 126.

that he felt “a need to paint in a manner more Spanish than [that of] l’Espagnolet [Ribera], to expend energy onto a canvas”.²¹⁶

What did Becker learn while he was in Spain? A realistic stance and a Spanish colourism are discernible in *Up to Mischief* (Fig. 45) from 1864. It was displayed together with a portrait-study of one of Becker’s Spanish friends at the Parisian *Salon* the same year, and is a fine example of Becker’s small-sized *Salon* paintings of that time.²¹⁷ The small, vividly painted work depicts a cat snatching a parrot. In the background, the partner in crime peeps from behind a heavy curtain. The carpet’s flower decoration forms a sort of horizontal stage on which the cat and the parrot are placed, while a diagonal from the parrot to the cat that looks out from under the curtain in the background, creates depth. Details are painted with swift brush strokes, as seen for example in the falling, well-thumbed books to the left. Becker has here attempted to suggest motion (admittedly very unsuccessfully) by blurring the outlines, like the wheels in Velázquez’s *Las Hilanderas*, and depicting the pages fluttering in the wind, caused by the books’ downwards movement. The scene might also be interpreted as an attempt to arrest a single moment, as in *Las Meniñas*: the precise moment when the cat has captured the parrot and the books are on their way to the floor. The embroidery on the edging of the curtain and the flowers on the carpet in the foreground are roughly executed in red, rather patches of colour than detailed ornaments, akin of Velázquez’s rendition of the golden embellishments on the costumes in his royal portraits. The overall colour is warm, ranging from deep reds and browns to velvety green, with white highlights in the furs and, in particular, in the books to the left.

The books provide an interesting clue to the origin of the painting’s colourism. On the cover of the book in the front, the letters “DE COLOR [...]” are clearly visible, and above, the letters CUE[R...] appear faintly. This remarkable detail suggests that the books are lessons on colour. Furthermore, the text appears to be written in Spanish; does the unclear text in Becker’s composition allude to a Spanish book, a “Cuerpo de Color”, for instance? The expressive force of the brush technique in this painting is, most probably, due to the influence from the realistic painting manner Becker had studied in Paris, combined with Spanish influences. The same critic, who commented on the Spanish portrait study, praised the naturalism of the animals, while the painting’s colourism led the critic to emphasise that it was made under the influence of Couture. Like Becker’s master, the critic stated, the painter also liked to “harmonise the most contradictory colours, and in this he has succeeded”.²¹⁸ But in

216 Bonnat-quotation from a letter to Arnaud, 14 March 1864, see fn 286, as it appears in Luxenberg 1991, p. 126.

217 -n., “De nordiske konstnärerne på Pariser-expositionen. (Bref från en landsman af d. 30 Maj)”, *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 8 June 1864. The painting was also exhibited at the *Finnish Art Society’s* exhibition in 1865 with the title *Katten med papegojan* (The Cat and the Parrot). *Finska Konstföreningens exposition* 1865, cat. 59. Becker’s paintings of cats have caused bewilderment among later art historians. For more on Becker’s “huge number [sic] of paintings depicting cats”, see esp. Öhquist 1912, p. 325; Wennervirta 1926, p. 382.

218 The critic was less positive towards the composition; in his opinion, personal taste rules the judgement of its composition. -n., “De nordiske konstnärerne på Pariser-expositionen. (Bref från en landsman af d. 30 Maj)”, *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 8 June 1864 (“hvilka äro natursannt återgifna”; “ställa de mest motsatta färger i harmoni

its close-up, stage-like setting (typical for the Spanish Baroque), the painting is technically indebted to the Spaniards, particularly Velázquez.

Another more indirect influence from Spanish art is seen in Becker's later genre paintings of children that became especially celebrated and loved by the public.²¹⁹ Painters of children often admired Murillo, who equipped his urchins and beggars with the faces of angels, as in the Swertschkoff copies mentioned above (see Fig. 14, 15). Such images made a permanent impact on generations to come.²²⁰ Becker painted several pictures of children, and the most successful is, without doubt, *Maternal Happiness*, painted in Écouen in 1868 (Fig. 46). Becker's scene is accomplished according to (French) Realist principles. Seated by the kitchen table, a proud peasant woman looks down at her son who drinks his supper from a bowl. The figures pose against an illuminated, roughly painted background. A still-life-like composition is visible on the table in between; the objects are arranged in a strict, almost Zurbaranesque manner, consisting of a row of small number of jugs, pots and a protruding newspaper flap. As Penttilä summarises, *Maternal Happiness* is generally considered as imbued with influence from Couture, seen for instance in the scumbled paint on the wall in background and in its colours. The meticulously depicted objects arranged on the table, on the other hand, differs from Couture's manner.²²¹



46. Adolf von Becker, *Maternal Happiness (Mother and Son)*, 1868. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

Generally, the critics praised Becker's paintings of children. They admired his "lyrical" ability to depict the small and ordinary things.²²² Penttilä recalls that Realists' and Naturalists' interest in children's ability to cope with urban milieus.²²³ Becker's *Girl Feeding a Pigeon* (Fig. 47), painted in France in 1875, is one example of this practice. In Finland, it received praise as expressing "a severe realism, originality and modernity".²²⁴ In its composition and theme, it echoes Murillo's *Beggar Boy* at the Louvre. As Geneviève Lacambre observes, Murillo's painting was extremely popular among copyists, and we also know that Becker copied this work in 1860. François Bonvin (1817–1887) also painted his small *The Little Chimney-Sweep* from 1845 (Fig. 48) in a manner clearly inspired by Murillo's flea-picker.²²⁵ In

med hvarandra, och deruti har han lyckats"; "Mot kompositionen i den sednare tafflan [*På bar gärning*] kan man efter tycke och smak göra sina anmärkningar").

219 Reitala 1989, p. 132.

220 For the Scandinavian tradition in paintings of children, see Björk 1997, pp. 30, 31, 190.

221 Koskimies-Envall 2002, p. 61, Penttilä 2002, p. 15. It might be farfetched, but the objects on the table remind me of Spanish still lifes, particularly those by Zurbarán, because of the linearity and simplicity of the arrangement. The newspaper, protruding from the table, is another feature characteristic of the Spanish still life: Sanchez Cotán, for instance, frequently placed a protruding vegetable in his frugal window still lifes.

222 Penttilä 2002, p. 17, referring to two short articles from 1873.

223 Penttilä 2002, p. 17.

224 "sträng realism, originalitet och modernitet" (*Medborgarbladet*, 15 June 1875).

225 Lacambre 2003, p. 85.



47. Adolf von Becker, *Girl Feeding a Pigeon*, 1875. Private Collection.

its theme, it echoes many similar paintings, in which children have abandoned their youth and were forced to earn their income in the cities, the best they could. Dominique Lobstein does not, however, define this kind of theme as social criticism, but rather as a means to “evoke an intentionally touching moment in a lonely and impoverished childhood”.²²⁶ The most obvious references to Murillo in Bonvin’s picture are its palette and deep shadows, as in the *Beggar Boy*. As in *The Little Chimney-Sweep*, the child in Murillo’s painting is seen leaning against the wall, with his face lowered, concentrating on the task at hand.²²⁷

Although Becker’s painting does not include references to Murillo as obvious as those in Bonvin’s picture, it involves several similar elements: the lonely girl is seen absorbed by her undertakings, face lowered and her figure silhouetted against a plain wall. It lacks the raking light of Murillo’s early genre-paintings as well as the subdued colour range, but we ought to remember that by the 1870s, the reuse of Spanish art was transformed according to Parisian tastes.²²⁸ As Penttilä observes, Becker’s slightly idealising painting was not a

social commentary either. Instead, its perceived “realism”, admired by contemporary Finnish art critics, lies mainly in its execution: the “French painting technique”.²²⁹ It also exemplifies the nineteenth-century view of Murillo’s street urchins as happy creatures, content despite their poverty, taking joy from the small things in life.



48. François Bonvin, *The Little Chimney-Sweep*, 1845. Château-Musée, Boulogne-sur-Mer.

3.3 COSTUMBRISTA PAINTING OR MANIÈRE ESPAGNOLE?

The quotation from *Helsingfors Tidningar* (1863) at the very beginning of this chapter, suggests that “Mr. Becker’s” copies from Spain were considered “incontestably” superior to similar copies that could be viewed at the galleries in Paris in the 1860s: Becker’s copies were careful in their execution and possessed a powerful colouring. The *Finnish Art Society* was pleased with his progress.²³⁰ It is curious that Becker believed that Paris, “despite everything”, was enough for painters, and stated that “one only loses time by travelling

226 *Manet/Velázquez* 2003, p. 468 cat. 93 [text by Dominique Lobstein].

227 *Manet/Velázquez* 2003, p. 468 cat. 93 [text by Dominique Lobstein].

228 Tinterow 2003, p. 62.

229 In Finland during the 1870s, everything painted with a “French technique” was regarded as extremely realistic (Penttilä 2002, p. 17).

230 *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 8 December 1863 (no 285, p. 1).

elsewhere, regardless of how interesting and enjoyable it might be”.²³¹ Therefore, I would like to address the dichotomy between Becker’s words and the fact that his art took a giant leap forward due to his experiences in Spain: his journey was crucial to his art, which I will demonstrate below.

Becker, like most Realists, was also an admirer of the picturesque. The coarse and factual genuineness and authenticity that the Realists admired could be found in Spanish Baroque painting as well as in contemporary Spain, where they were able to discover subjects that were “ugly” without being repellent. Images of bullfighters and flamenco dancers along with *majas* and *hidalgos* gave a realistic stance to their pictures.

A few drawings of bullfighters and ordinary people have been preserved among Becker’s Spanish pictures. From Becker’s own account, “Bref från Madrid” (“A letter from Madrid”), published in *Helsingfors Tidningar* in September 1863, we know that his journey generated several drawings of Spanish types and scenes, but most of them have not been located. The published letter is dated in Madrid on the 18th of August 1863.²³²

It seems that Becker was not at ease being in Madrid, which he describes as a place where “antediluvian” practices still reigned.²³³ The many churches’ sparsely furnished interiors (they all lacked chairs), which forced the devotees to spend hours kneeling on a cold stone floor were, according to Becker, a sign of the Spaniards’ dedication to religious frugality. This economy in comfort was, nevertheless, weighed against the opulently decorated chapels, devoted to the Madonna, who mostly was represented dressed in a “crinoline” and surrounded by plaster figures. Becker succeeded also in recognising prominent paintings in the midst of the sumptuousness of the chapels.²³⁴

Becker was, however, pleased to find that every evening and well into the night, the Spanish nobility and *bourgeoisie* (“elegant ladies and gentlemen”) gathered at the Prado, the 70 metres long boulevard between Calle del Alcalá and Carrera de St. Jerónimo. This promenade was – at least according to Becker – called *El Salon*, and was furnished with rows of “public chairs” provided by the same firm as in the Tuileries-gardens in Paris. For the stranger, the view of the promenade and the crowds of people walking down the street resembled a dimly lit ballroom; the Spaniards, Becker asserted, were much more vain than the French. The gentlemen’s “ball-costume” was usually black (save for the coat), while the ladies’ dress fashion consisted of white waist-girdles and yellow skirts, embellished with

231 [Adolf von Becker], “Bref från Madrid. (Slut fr. föreg. n:o)”, *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 2 September 1863, number 202, pp. 2-3). The article is the latter part of Becker’s letter from Madrid, dated 18 August 1863, which was published by the same newspaper (see [Adolf von Becker], “Bref från Madrid”, *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 1 September 1863, number 201, pp. 2-3).

232 The epigraph to Becker’s article includes the editor’s apology that the numerous and excellent drawings of Spanish types and scenes, which Becker had enclosed, could not, unfortunately, be reproduced together with the letter ([Adolf von Becker], “Bref från Madrid”, *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 1 September 1863, number 201, p. 2: [“... den talrika mängd förträffliga pennteckningar (spanska typer och scener), hvarmed brefvet är illustrerad”]).

233 [Adolf von Becker], “Bref från Madrid”, *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 1 September 1863, number 201, p. 2.

234 [Adolf von Becker], “Bref från Madrid. (Slut fr. föreg. n:o)”, *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 2 September 1863, number 202, pp. 2-3.

several rows of broad, black lace. While being out in the open, all the ladies covered their hair with a black or, more often, white mantilla of different shapes and material (lace, gauze or silk), which Becker thought most of all resembled a bridal veil. For the rest, the dress code followed the French fashion: only the mantilla, fan (which frequently was used as a parasol) and the cigarette were “authentic Spanish traditions”, Becker concluded. By and large, Becker was intrigued by the Spanish nightlife, which also included spending time at the local cafés.²³⁵

Becker also noted that past-time activities were scarce in Madrid, particularly during this time of the year (the theatres were closed and the winter season’s bullfights had not yet resumed). The only entertainment available was a couple of pitiable balls and two circuses. The latter were lavishly designed establishments, which were equipped with a private loge for the King, a fact that seems to have amused Becker. The Retiro Gardens, on the other hand, did not manage to receive Becker’s approval, although the *madrileños* held the place in particularly high regard. It contained a separate section for the Royalty and a menagerie of wild beasts, but it was badly tended to; the Queen’s pavilions functioned as ramshackle garbage deposits. The only reason why he was “forced to go and see such rubbish”, Becker declares, was his sense of duty towards his Spanish hosts, whom he characterised as obliging and polite people with a friendly openness.²³⁶

From Becker’s description, it is difficult to visualise his perception of the “true” Spanish type or their character in any wider sense; he only skimmed the surface. He nevertheless seems to have painted what he saw in order to document the reality around him (I am here referring to his drawings of “Spanish types and scenes”, mentioned in conjunction with his “A letter from Madrid”). At the annual summer exhibition at the Parisian *Salon* in 1864, where *Up to Mischief* was also displayed, Becker’s portrait study of one of his Spanish friends [the proprietor of his lodging?] caught the attention of a newspaper critic because of its “interesting character and good local colour”.²³⁷

One of Becker’s observations of the daily life of the *madrileños* is found in a small, private booklet with a collection of drawings as well as poetic or witty verse, contributed by acquaintances and friends. The small drawing in pencil of the Plaza de Oriente shows the square in front of the Palacio Real in Madrid (*Fig. 49*). It is signed and dated in 1873 (“A Becker Hfors 18 18/3 73”), but its subject refers to his much earlier Spanish journey; Becker seems to have cherished his memories of Spain for a long time. According to the discrepancy between the drawing and its inscription, “Madrid Plaza de Oriente”, and the date signature, I conclude that it was executed in Madrid and signed (much) later, in 1873.

235 [Adolf von Becker], “Bref från Madrid. (Slut fr. föreg. n:o)”, *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 2 September 1863, number 202, p. 2.

236 [Adolf von Becker], “Bref från Madrid. (Slut fr. föreg. n:o)”, *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 2 September 1863, number 202, pp. 2-3.

237 -n., “De nordiske konstnärerne på Pariser-expositionen. (Bref från en landsman af d. 30 Maj)”, *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 8 June 1864.

Sculptures and buildings surround the plaza, and in the middle we see Philip III's equestrian statue. The plaza is crowded by people, and most of them have their back turned towards the viewer. It appears that they are watching a performance, perhaps the acrobatics of the animals, a cat riding on the back of a dog, which are seen in the middle of the crowd. People are also leaning out of their windows in the building to the far left. In the front to the right a man is standing on a bench, next to him a boy is seated on the back of a donkey. A water seller, holding a Spanish drinking vessel and a footstool (?), appears to the left. A man, carrying a large water jug on his back, and a little girl emerge towards the crowd in the middle. As a spectator, Becker here captured a moment of his experienced reality; the picture gives the impression that he stands in the middle of the crowds.

As Luxenberg has shown, after representations of Spain and Spanish life had appeared in the Parisian art galleries around 1850, journeys to Spain also became desirable. The new subjects and the adventurous journeys to Spain suited the tastes of a French bohemian life style. Through more or less unliterary and trivial themes, painters could oppose the official, academic ideals. One example of the many paintings with Spanish iconography to be exhibited in Paris was Alfred Dehodencq's (1822–1882) *Los novillos de la corrida* from 1850, depicting a village bullfight (*Fig. 50*). The setting includes essential symbols of Spanish life. Luxenberg points out that the casual postures of the figures and the compositional solutions, such as the large empty space in the foreground, created the illusion that the painter had captured the scene in a spontaneous moment; in reality, Dehodencq based the effect on carefully chosen elements, intentionally arranged.²³⁸ He was, indeed, “staging authenticity”. In this respect, the “archaic realism” of the sites in Spain, which nineteenth-century painters preferred (in paintings as well as in reality), played an important role in the subsequent Spanish (tourist) imagery.



49. Adolf von Becker, *Plaza de Oriente, Madrid*, 1873. Private Collection.



50. Alfred Dehodencq, *Los novillos de la corrida*, 1850. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Pau.

238 Luxenberg 1993, pp. 21-23.



51. Adolf von Becker, *Un Banderillero*, signed 1879. Cygnaei Gallery, Helsinki.

One of Becker's Spanish drawings depicts a *banderillero*, a member of the bullfighting team (Fig. 51). The drawing belongs to the collections at the Cygnaei Gallery in Helsinki, which houses part of Fredrik Cygnaeus's art collection; the picture was probably a gift to Cygnaeus. This rather large drawing in ink, possibly intended as the basis for a later painting with the same subject, is also dated after Becker's journey, in 1879. The drawing is called *Una banderilla [sic]*, and depicts a bullfighter in a traditional costume. The title of the drawing refers to the object he is holding: the *banderillas* are a pair of spikes with coloured ribbons, which are placed on the bull's neck before the matador takes over the show. Behind the bullfighter, the vague outlines of the rank of the arena are visible.

Becker's drawing may be seen as a souvenir of his Spanish experiences, recalling the memory of a bullfight. In another letter from Spain, which was also published in *Helsingfors Tidningar* and dated in Madrid 28 September 1863, Becker gave an account of a bullfight. Although such entertainment had already been described on numerous occasions, Becker felt that he did not have much else to tell from his stay in Madrid, which he now called a "primitive city" in comparison with Paris (probably referring to the obvious shortage of distractions in the Spanish capital). At that time, Madrid's bullfight arena was situated about five hundred steps outside the actual city, close to the Puerta del Alcalá and the Prado promenade. *Corridos* were held on every Sunday afternoon, from September to mid June, Becker told his readers, and continues with a description of the ancient edifice, erected in 1479. The arena has the capacity of 12,000 persons, he reported, and like in Paris, where it is *comme-il-faut* that a family of the aristocracy have their private box at the Opéra Italien, all noble families in Madrid have one at the Plaza de Toros.²³⁹

Becker visited several bullfights during his stay in Madrid, and as testified by his colourful and detailed description, his knowledge of the spectacle was reasonably well informed. He also gave a vivid portrayal of the spectators' reactions to the performance; the crowds were normally shouting and romping, yelling liberal comments to the Toreador and his party: "Que barbaro! Al carcerero!" Becker also drew particular attention to the bad treatment of the horses, which frequently were lethally mutilated during the fight; particularly non-Spaniards found this repulsive to witness, because the picadors continue to ride the horses until they fell to the ground.²⁴⁰ The final paragraph of the account includes the following, summarising comment: "I do not know whether you have been amused by my description. A bullfight is amusing one or two times, but because of the performers' skill and practice, it loses the appearance of danger in the eye of the spectators, and one gets easily bored of it – if you are not a Spaniard."²⁴¹

239 [Adolf von Becker], "Bref från Madrid", *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 20 October 1863, number 243, p. 2.

240 [Adolf von Becker], "Bref från Madrid", *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 20 October 1863, number 243, p. 2-3.

241 "Jag vet ej om min beskrifning roat dig. En tjurfäktning gör det en eller par gånger, men genom aktörernes skicklighet och vana förlorar det hela i åskådarnes ögon allt utseende af fara, och man tröttnar därför lätt dervid – ifall man icke är spanjor" ([Adolf von Becker], "Bref från Madrid", *Helsingfors Tidningar*, 20 October 1863, number 243, p. 3).

For his drawing of the *banderillero*, Becker could have found his models outside the arena. As Agurtxane Urraca has shown, pictures of Spanish bullfights and toreadors were widespread in France from the end of the eighteenth century onwards. Baron Taylor's "Voyage Pittoresque en Espagne, en Portugal et sur la côte d'Afrique, de Tanger à Tetouan", for instance, which appeared in Paris as a series of booklets between 1826 and 1860, included several bullfight scenes and portraits of toreadors, picadors and *banderilleros*. Of particular importance was the Spanish artist Antonio Carnicero (1718–1814), who as early as 1787 and 1790 published a series of etchings with bullfight scenes. His engravings were copied and reused by several painters, such as Goya, who published his series *La Tauromaquia* in Spain in 1816.²⁴²

Goya's prints were known and admired by several French Romantics, such as Merimée, Gautier, Dumas, Doré and Davillier. Gautier also gave a detailed description of the series in 1842.²⁴³ After Gautier's journey to Spain in 1855, which he undertook together with Doré and a painter named Dalloz, they published an album in 1860 named "Suite Corrida", which included several lithographs in colour of different scenes from the bullfight. As in Goya's *Tauromaquia*, the scenes are dramatic, filled with action and strength. Doré's later publications with Spanish themes also include bullfights (*Fig. 52*), which show an apparent influence from Goya's prints.²⁴⁴ The French imagery of the Spanish bullfight is thus largely based on Spanish sources, and as such, they function as an excellent resource for Spanish self-promotion. In comparison with these bullfight scenes, Becker's *banderillero* is rather timid, he merely poses for the painter. The manner of execution (ink) brings our thoughts to the graphic reproductions of bullfighters that circulated in France. Manet's bullfighters were also seen at the galleries in Paris during the 1860s. Rather than returning to Goya's etchings for inspiration, the stance of Becker's figure bears closer resemblance with Manet's more static and portrait-like depictions of singular members of the bullfight-party.²⁴⁵

In addition to bullfighters, Spain was thought to be the country of Flamenco and beautiful women. The probable reason why such genre paintings are absent in Becker's Spanish *oeuvre* is that Becker's journey did not include Andalusia. Instead, his most important souvenir from Spain was his encounter with the Spanish Baroque. His schooling in the Spanish painting manner was enduring, almost certainly enhanced by his frequent visits to Bonnat's studio during the 1870s. Becker's *Spanish Woman* (*Fig. 53*), painted in the early 1870s, summarises what Becker learned from the Spaniards and Bonnat.²⁴⁶ Spanish impact is seen both in the handling of the coarse paint and in the rich colours, which take up the nuances of the

242 Urraca 1992, pp. 155-157.

243 Urraca 1992, p. 157.

244 Urraca 1992, p. 158. Doré travelled to Spain in 1862, together with Baron Davillier. Doré illustrated Davillier's book *L'Espagne* between 1862 and 1873, and his knowledge of Goya's prints is obvious. See, for instance, his illustrations to Chapter 4, where Davillier describes a bullfight (Davillier 1878, pp. 38-57).

245 In this respect, I do not refer to Manet's inclusions of direct copies of Goya's more dramatic prints into his own compositions (see Wilson-Bureau 2003, pp. 219-226).

246 Eklöf mentions "A Spanish Woman, study of a head" ["En Spanjorska, studiehuvud"], painted in 1873 or before (Eklöf 1939, p. 96 cat. 84).



52. Gustave Doré, *A Banderillero in Danger*, 1878.



53. Adolf von Becker (1831–1909), *Spanish Woman*, ca. 1873, oil on canvas, 45 x 36 cm. Private Collection.

Siglo de Oro. The white *mantilla* and the likewise white sleeves brighten up the sharply illuminated image of the woman, who is set in contrast to a neutral, dark background, enriched with blurry (scumbled) blotches of red.

This kind of subject matter is typical for Parisian Hispanicism. When painting a Spanish subject, in this case probably using a Parisian model, Becker needed to use a *manière espagnole* as well. His teacher Bonnat was not, however, interested in *costumbrista* painting himself. Even when his pupils painted such subjects, he always stressed the importance of “value painting”, ordering his pupils to

define their forms in light and shade.²⁴⁷ In Atelier-Bonnat, painting was stressed over drawing, and his pupils were allowed to paint at an earlier stage than was the case in the *École* or, for instance, Jean-Léon Gérôme’s atelier.²⁴⁸

Becker’s painting of the woman, however *costumbrista* its iconography, follows Bonnat’s commitment “to [paint] the human figure in monumental, material terms”, as Alisa Luxenberg observes.²⁴⁹ Bonnat attracted young painters because of his “careful attention to anatomy, solid forms, and powerful lighting effects”.²⁵⁰ Many of Bonnat’s students painted works with striking similarities to his pictures, in technique as well as subject matter, particularly during the 1870s and 1880s.²⁵¹ In my opinion, Becker’s portrait can be included among those works. This corporeal woman, painted with soft brush-strokes and “blurry” contours, resembles the manner in which nineteenth-century painters “translated” Velázquez. In Becker’s portrait, the lace scarf, draped around her shoulders, is not rendered in detail. The same goes for the ear-drops and the chain and medallion around her neck. As a matter of fact, the whole image is painted in a rather “sketchy” manner, reminiscent of Velázquez’s “optical technique”.²⁵²

247 Luxenberg 1991, pp. 233-238.

248 Luxenberg 1991, pp. 220-222.

249 Luxenberg 1991, p. 244.

250 Luxenberg 1991, p. 245.

251 Luxenberg 1991, p. 245 ff.

252 *Las Meninas* for example, can be thought of as the largest oil sketch ever painted. Velázquez used different techniques to represent these effects. By distributing light in alternative planes to heighten the impression of depth, he achieved the effect known as “aerial perspective”; the outcome is a blending of masses and space by means of light to obtain the perfect optical synthesis. Some scholars argue that Velázquez exploited the fact that our eyes are only able to perceive distinctly the object they are focusing on at a given moment, whereas all the surrounding objects appear blurred. There is, however, no proof that Velázquez exercised scientific experiments in optics. Instead, the most logical “explanation” appears to be that Velázquez’s use of long-handled brushes enabled him to perceive the “coalescing” effect of his “brushy” and “blurred” painting technique on distance. Therefore, his painting method could be described as a “summary manner” (Garrido 1998; Brown & Garrido 1998, pp. 181-194).

In Becker's painting of the Spanish woman, Spanish influence is seen in the paint's coarse structure, the blurry outlines and the solemn colours. In this respect, the portrait is reminiscent of Bonnat's unidealised portraits.²⁵³ Bonnat played an important role in the emergence in Paris of what was to become known as the Spanish style. Luxenberg notes that when Bonnat returned to Paris after his student years in Madrid, he had adopted several stylistic features that were new to the French art public, and contemporary critics accordingly compared Bonnat's art with the Old Spanish Masters. Since he had been educated in Spain, all that appeared strange to the French public (and that stood in contrast to the old clichés, slicked artificiality and academic ideals) were automatically regarded as "Spanish": the powerful modelling of the figures, the thick paint fracture and the restrained palette. In the 1870s, Bonnat was finally recognised internationally for his portraits which exposed the weaknesses of the portrayed person by means of sharply illuminated figures against a dark, opaque background. These features were generally considered as something that Bonnat had appropriated from the Spaniards.²⁵⁴

Becker's rich painting of the Spanish woman is thus strikingly similar in approach to Bonnat's portraits from the same period. But Bonnat's (and Becker's) interests in Spain and Spanish art were very different from, for instance, Bonnat's colleague Jean-Léon Gérôme's approach to Spanish subjects. Luxenberg observes that Bonnat almost never painted a Spanish subject, apart from portraits of Spaniards. Instead, he "incorporated the feel, colour, and light of Velázquez into his work through technique and style".²⁵⁵ Where Bonnat sought "powerful transcriptions of nature" through his study of Ribera and other Old Masters, Gérôme and his students travelled to Spain mainly in order to collect material for future genre scenes of exotic lands.²⁵⁶ Therefore, it may not be surprising that Spanish genre paintings are scarce in Becker's *oeuvre*.²⁵⁷ The most visible result of Becker's Hispanicism is his application of a Spanish mode of painting, the *manière espagnole à la Bonnat*.

We encounter a similar approach in another contemporary portrait by Becker, *Parisian Woman* (Fig. 54), probably painted in 1874.²⁵⁸ At first glance, his portrait of a reading woman, set against a wooded landscape, is very Parisian, an example of the *juste milieu* painting of that time. Becker painted this portrait in Paris using the same model, a young Jewish girl, as Albert Edelfelt. In the final version of Edelfelt's *Le billet doux*,²⁵⁹ the model is blonde with blue eyes, and is dressed in an eighteenth-century dress, according to the prefer-

253 We ought to remember that Becker was Bonnat's pupil for several shorter periods during the 1870s; Bonnat was not only Becker's teacher but also his friend. Becker returned to Bonnat regularly during the course of the 1870s, which was a period when Becker alternatively spent time in Paris and in Finland, teaching the Drawing Class in the *Imperial Alexander University* and conducting his *Private Academy* (Hölttö 1997 [unpubl.], p. 12; Penttilä 2002, p. 9).

254 Luxenberg 1993, pp. 24-25.

255 Luxenberg 1991, p. 33.

256 Luxenberg 1991, pp. 237-238.

257 I have found only one additional painting with a Spanish motif, *Spanish Lute Player* ["Spansk lutspelare (Ziterspelare)"], from 1865. The painting's location is unknown (Eklöf 1939, p. 87 cat. 35).

258 The year 1882 has also been proposed (Penttilä 2002, p. 26).

259 Hintze 1953, cat. 46.



54. Adolf von Becker, *Parisian Woman*, 1874/1882?. Lauri and Lasse Reitz Foundation, Finland.

Woman, Becker has employed a similarly blurry painting manner, with soft outlines and sketchy parts, particularly in the background. Her black mantle over a greyish-brown dress and the bright blue bow also appears to be painted rapidly, in a summary way. The model's face is sharply illuminated, and the overall colours are sombre and subdued, except for some "silvery" touches in the background. In many ways, the painting manner is similar to Becker's sketch-copies after Velázquez several years earlier.

ences of prevailing Rococo revival (see *Fig. 126*).²⁶⁰ Becker has not placed his reading woman in a domestic milieu as Edelfelt did, which would have suited contemporary Parisian tastes.²⁶¹ In this respect, Becker's choice is more in line with Bonnat, who "turned a deaf ear to the Naturalist critic Duranty's advice to painters to 'open their pictures onto the street' or to depict contemporary people in their offices in order to capture a bit of modern life", as Luxenberg describes Bonnat's attitude towards *La nouvelle peinture*. Unlike Edelfelt, Bonnat did not succumb to passing modes or fashion.²⁶² Becker did not share his former student's interest in Rococo-revival.²⁶³ Instead, Becker as well as Bonnat avoided the Realist interest in social history in their portraits.²⁶⁴

Becker chose to execute his portrait in a highly realistic manner. The reading woman wears a contemporary dress, but what is more striking is the painting manner. Tiina Penttilä observes that the landscape in the background is more like a side-scene than "real" scenery.²⁶⁵ Most probably she is seen against a tapestry or a large painting. As in *Spanish*

260 Penttilä 2002, p. 28. Edelfelt had received a commission from Carl Holm in the autumn of 1873. In preliminary studies, we see the same model who appears in Becker's portrait (*Edelfelt i Paris* 2001, pp. 114-117, particularly p. 117 ill. 4 [text by Marina Catani]). See also Duncan 1976.

261 Penttilä 2002, p. 28. For a thorough analysis of late-nineteenth-century Finnish milieu portrait painting, see Palin 2004a.

262 Luxenberg 1991, pp. 138-139.

263 Penttilä 2002, p. 26.

264 In other genres, Becker's interest in the social milieu is more accentuated, such as his genre paintings of peasants from Ostrobothnia in Finland (Koskimies-Envall 2002) or similar interiors from France. *The Bridge at Asnières in Paris after the Siege in 1871* is another interesting choice of motif, because it includes a political statement, unique for Becker. This painting remains the only (known) cityscape from Paris among Becker's oeuvre. With this painting, Becker has indeed taken his motif out to the street, as Duranty argued some years later. As Penttilä observes, no information concerning Becker's intentions with *The Bridge at Asnières* has been brought to light (Penttilä 2002, p. 18). From my point of view, it is intriguing to note that the ruins after the siege in 1871 became (tourist) sights. After the bloody event, Thomas Cook, for instance, arranged tours to the remnants of Paris, boosting a new vogue of "ruin Romanticism" (Penttilä 2002, p. 18). Becker's view can thus be referred to this trend of "contemporary nostalgia" for the lost splendour of Paris, manifested in the shattered buildings.

265 Penttilä 2002, p. 28.

Becker's portrait of the reading Parisian woman brings to mind also Edgar Degas's portrait of *Thérèse de Gas* from 1862–63 (Fig. 55). In this little-known painting, the artist's sister wears a mantilla à l'espagnole, a fashion introduced by Empress Eugénie, who was of Spanish descent. Despite the conventional setting, Tinterow argues that the facture is "anything but traditional".²⁶⁶ The canvas was never finished, but it is clear that in certain passages, Tinterow observes, Degas has striven to achieve "a loose, painterly technique and a blurred effect", reminiscent of Velázquez.²⁶⁷ Tinterow also observes the "fluidly scumbled paint" that appears in some of Degas's art of the 1860s and 1870s, and proposes that Degas has tried to imitate the "soft smudges of Velasquez" in these works.²⁶⁸ An eager advocate of Spanish painting in the 1860s, Degas was rivalled only by Manet's endeavours in the same field. Initially, Degas was probably encouraged by his good friend Bonnat, because several of Degas's Spanish enterprises predate his meeting with Manet in 1862, such as the variation on *Las Meninas*, mentioned above.²⁶⁹



55. Edgar Degas, *Thérèse De Gas*, ca. 1862–63. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

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As we have seen, Spanish art had its own place within Realist ideology. Now, with the 1870s, Spanish issues were given a new meaning, as is visible in Becker's employment of the *manière espagnole* (e.g., *Parisian Woman*). French taste had "transformed" Spanish art to suit their endeavours. Spanish art was not mentioned in Louis-Edmond Duranty's famous manifesto *La nouvelle peinture* (The New Painting) from 1876, but much of the manifesto is thought to have been dictated [*sic*] by Degas. Tinterow speculates that the reason for the omission of references to Spanish art might be that Degas did not want to be associated with Manet and his accomplishments in this field. Manet refused to join the Impressionists, and Degas, "out of rivalry with Manet, wished to minimize a characteristic so closely associated with Manet".²⁷⁰ But despite everything, "references to Spanish painting were everywhere", as Tinterow phrases it.²⁷¹ It was this atmosphere of heightened, yet disguised, interest in Spanish art and culture that Albert Edelfelt encountered when he arrived in Paris in 1874.

266 *Manet/Velázquez* 2003, p. 474 cat. 107 [text by Gary Tinterow].

267 *Manet/Velázquez* 2003, p. 474 cat. 107 [text by Gary Tinterow].

268 "boueux tendre de Velasquez", Degas in a letter to the Goncourt brothers, 1874, quoted in *Manet/Velázquez* 2003, p. 474 cat. 107 [text by Gary Tinterow].

269 It was, however, Manet who was Degas's "unwitting mentor" for the rest of the decade (Tinterow 2003, pp. 55-56).

270 Tinterow 2003, p. 57.

271 Tinterow 2003, pp. 57-62.

4 THE DICHOTOMY OF HISPANICISM: OLD MASTERS AND POPULAR THEMES

Sargent's Spanish dance is the greatest success, bizarre, daring but full of genius, infernal, extraordinary.¹

Albert Edelfelt on John Singer Sargent's *El Jaleo*, *Salon* of 1882

Albert Edelfelt's five-week long journey to Spain in the spring of 1881 is the culmination of his endeavours within the trend of French Hispanicism. During the 1870s and early 1880s, the Spanish trend was temporarily rekindled before it was finally exhausted. Edelfelt stayed in Paris from 1874 onwards, and his growing attraction to Spain can be traced through his long, elaborate correspondence, primarily in letters to his mother. His accomplishments show that he fully absorbed the trend of *espagnolisme*.

After his apprenticeship in Adolf von Becker's *Private Academy*, Edelfelt travelled abroad in 1873 to found his future career. His mission as a history painter began in Antwerp 1873, where the genre was still taken seriously.² Growing opposition towards artificiality reached also Antwerp, and *realistic* history painting became the new avenue of approach, demanding truth and honesty in the rendition. At the same time, painters were urged to study the Old Masters, particularly Rubens and van Dyck, who were fashionable because of their realism and colourism.³ Edelfelt's escalating admiration of Dutch painting signifies a maturing appreciation of seventeenth-century realism, which included that of Velázquez. He nurtured a growing interest in Dutch and Flemish Baroque art as well as Italian Primitivism, according to changing preferences in taste.⁴ Francis Haskell describes how the rising urge for realism in nineteenth-century France caused the rediscovery of "new" Old Masters, some forgotten and some previously despised, replacing the antique champions of Neo-classicism.⁵ Bertel Hintze identifies the reuse of the old masters as a "retrospective style", co-existing with Realism, Impressionism and the several eclectic painting manners that were in vogue at that time.⁶ Jan Bialostocki would perhaps prefer to use the term "revival modus".⁷

During the 1870s, the *Siglo de Oro* was inspiring for painters of historical scenes. Spanish naturalism, Hintze argues, generated an enhanced sensation of realism, which increased

1 "Den största succè'n är Sargents spanska dans, bizarrt, vågat, men genialiskt, infernaliskt, snillrikt." This quotation is from a letter dated 1st May 1882, which is not among the microfilmed originals. This fraction is found only in Berta Edelfelt's edition of Edelfelt's letters that appeared in 1921 (Edelfelt 1921, p. 165).

2 The period served as a preparation for his career as a history-painter, consisting of training in composition, anatomy studies, costumes, interiors and antiquities (Hintze 1942–44, part I, p. 61).

3 Hintze 1942–44, part I, p. 52 ff. In Antwerp, Edelfelt's colourism was enhanced by his admiration of Rubens. He particularly appreciated the vitality and translucent colours in *The Last Communion of Saint Francis of Assisi*, which he copied in colour sketches (MA Marina Catani, private consultation).

4 Haskell 1987, pp. 90–116.

5 Haskell 1976.

6 Hintze 1942–44, I, pp. 88–89.

7 Bialostocki regards the Renaissance revival of Neo-Classicism as a "revival modus" (Bialostocki 1961).

the feeling of being at the centre of the action, of really being there. Thus, the brutal colours and tenebrism of Zurbarán and Ribera showed the way towards an affective realism, suitable for historical themes.⁸ Nevertheless, Hintze accredits the straightforward realism that dominated Edelfelt's history painting explicitly to his teacher Adolf von Becker.⁹

After staying seven to eight months in Antwerp, Edelfelt moved to Paris. His long periods in Paris from 1874 onwards are significant for his development as a painter. Becker advised Edelfelt to choose between the two leading teachers, Léon Bonnat and Jean-Léon Gérôme. Edelfelt finally enrolled in Gérôme's atelier in *École des Beaux-Arts*, where he studied until the summer of 1877.¹⁰

Gérôme was one of the most celebrated painters at the *Salon* by the time Edelfelt registered as his student. In addition to portraits and history paintings, his *oeuvre* includes "ethnographic" Orientalist paintings in a starkly realistic style. Thus, Edelfelt's training as a history painter continued in Paris. Edelfelt experienced several successes in the late-1870s with realistic history paintings, such as his break-through painting *Queen Bianca* (The Finnish National Gallery), which was exhibited at the *Salon* of 1877.

Art historians agree that Edelfelt's change of course is due to his long periods in Paris. Despite several successes within the genre of history painting, he also received a great deal of criticism. In response, he was drawn to *plein-air* painting, which attracted him towards the end of the 1870s; from this point onwards, Edelfelt decided, he should "follow nature" in the manner of Bastien-Lepage.¹¹ Paris offered a multitude of choices, and Edelfelt was eclectic in his tastes. His divergence from history painting cleared space for experimenting with Rococo revival, Japonism, *juste milieu* and *plein-air* naturalism, to mention just a few of the current trends.

Edelfelt never became a vanguard painter, but succeeded in combining current trends with a Parisian topicality. Edelfelt's "Spanish period" spans from 1878 to 1883. His five-week-long sojourn in Spain indicates changes that had already taken place, but it is also part of the turning point itself. In the early 1880s, small-scaled, intimate portraits and freshly painted scenes from Parisian every-day life replaced the heavier *grande peinture* of his youth. Light and colour entered into his art, confirming the concept of Naturalism, which characterised Finnish painting throughout the 1880s.¹²

8 Hintze 1942–44, I, pp. 88–89.

9 Edelfelt had studied with Becker in the *Imperial Alexander University's* drawing class between 1871 and 1873, and from then on continuing his education in Becker's *Private Academy* (Reitala 1989, p. 145).

10 Hintze 1942–44, I, pp. 65–68. The impact of Becker's teacher Léon Bonnat can be seen throughout the 1870s and 1880s. Bonnat became a teacher at the *Académie Colarossi* where he, together with Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824–1904), heavily influenced the students (Hintze 1942–44, I, p. 64).

11 Hintze (1942–44), I, p. 91 ff. In the spring of 1879 (note that this is the same year that he applied for a scholarship to visit Spain for the first time), Edelfelt was working on a history painting depicting Bellman playing the lute for Gustav III and K.M. Armfelt in Haga, Stockholm. The canvas was begun in Stockholm in July 1879, but the final version was not finished until 1884.

12 For the ongoing debate on Finnish Realism and Naturalism see, for example, Kontinen 1991, pp. 70–96.

After Edelfelt's successes at the *Salon* between 1877 (*Queen Bianca*, *Salon* 1877) and 1880 (*Conveying the Child's Coffin*, *Salon* 1880), he settled in an atelier at 147, Avenue de Villiers, creating an artistic career of his own. He had a wide circle of friends and a dynamic social life. He kept himself informed about the recent tastes in art and participated in the ongoing debates on artistic life: he had become an independent Parisian painter.¹³

We have already seen that Becker's art of the 1870s shows the influence of an increased admiration of Velázquez. Edelfelt's appreciation of great Spanish masters during the same decade indicates that the *Siglo de Oro* was still considered a worthy source of inspiration, which motivated painters to travel to Spain. In Paris of the 1870s and 1880s, the desire to be "modern" and simultaneously making a (perhaps more fashionable) career at the *Salon* motivated painters to visit Spain. By mapping Edelfelt's closest circle of teachers and fellow students, French as well as other Europeans and Americans, we soon learn how widespread the appeal of things Spanish was.

A full comparison must take into account also the works of a number of Parisian Spaniards. The paintings of Raimundo de Madrazo y Garreta (1841–1920), his brother Ricardo de Madrazo y Garreta (1852–1917) and, above all, Mariano de Fortuny y Marsal¹⁴ (1838–1874, husband of the Madrazo brothers' sister) are of central importance in understanding the reciprocal development of French interest in Spanish art and culture from the 1870s onwards. Through Fortuny's Neogoyesque manner, Goya's heritage found expression among Parisian art dealers and painters alike. Goya gained the reputation of being a suitable model for a modern painter, thus challenging Velázquez's position as the greatest of all Spanish painters.

4.1 *ESPAGNOLISME AND JUSTE MILIEU*

Art critics' and painters' views on Spain and Spanish topics changed in response to changes in art. The 1870s saw the "birth" of Impressionism, and a new interest in *plein-air* painting and urban themes dominated. At the same time toreros, Gypsies in colourful dresses, picturesque views and dark cathedral interiors were still painted and well liked, as is evidenced by the popularity of such painters as Fortuny and Raimundo de Madrazo. These painters are generally remembered and praised for the formal aspects of their work. Fortuny's or Raimundo de Madrazo's "ethnographic" choice of subject was frowned upon by art critics, since it was associated with tourist painting and favoured by the *bourgeois* collectors. Instead of focusing on the paintings' topics, the critics generally analysed the form and colour of

13 For more on Edelfelt, the (English) reader is referred to *Albert Edelfelt* 2004.

14 The name of Mariano Fortuny y *Marsal* is frequently confused with that of Mariano Fortuny y Carbo. Johnston 1971 (p. 187 fn 2) notes that Fortuny's name appears erroneously in Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler*, vol. 12, Leipzig 1916, p. 213. This error is repeated in Jensen (1994, index); Kontinen 1991, p. 114; and Kortelainen 2001a, p. 106.

the art works, nevertheless still using rhetorical expressions emanating from the Romantic period.¹⁵ This, of course, also affected the interpretation of the motif.

The formalist approach to Spanish subjects is particularly evident in the critical fortune of *El Jaleo* (Fig. 56) by the American painter John Singer Sargent (1854–1925). *El Jaleo* is generally regarded as Sargent’s break-through painting and the ultimate result of Sargent’s journey to Spain in 1879.¹⁶ The subject in *El Jaleo* is a kind of tourist painting; it depicts a dark cave occupied by several dancing figures. In the centre, the dancer in the white dress catches our attention.

Contemporary art critics did not consider *El Jaleo* to be a tourist painting. The critics’ emphasis was on the painting’s formal aspects – described by the critics as loans from Velázquez and Goya – which overshadowed the “shallow” subject, covering up the discrepancy between tradition and innovation. Barbara H. Weinberg notes that the critics recognised Sargent’s ability to “transform” his influences. She quotes Armand Silvestre’s critique in *La Vie Moderne* from 1882, when *El Jaleo* was exhibited at the *Salon*: “The Gypsy Dance, of Mr. Sargent, gives an impression of Velasquez when one focuses on the principal figure and an impression of Goya when one looks at the background. Does it follow that the work is without originality? Assuredly not.”¹⁷ The motif was thus interpreted in terms of technique, as transformed loans from the Old Masters. Another, anonymous art critic also observed the connection between *El Jaleo* and the Old Spanish Masters:



Owing to [Sargent’s] leaning toward the Spaniards – Velasquez, Goya, Fortuny – he may be classed, to speak very generally indeed, among the impressionists, and the thickness of his shadows, the heaviness of his draperies, the boldness of light and shade, the animation of his chief figure, increase the affiliation.¹⁸

56. J.S. Sargent, *El Jaleo*, 1882. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.

Obviously, Sargent here applied a *manière espagnole* to the figures.

Despite this focus on the formalist aspects, Sargent’s painting is not solely a comment on the Old Spanish Masters, but first and foremost a figure painting whose motif is placed in (a timeless) Spain. *El Jaleo* took a long time to complete; through numerous preparatory studies, we are able to see the development of the composition, which depicts the interior of

15 García Felguera argues that abstract expressions such as *vérité* and *sincérité* were given a new meaning and came to allude to the actual painting *technique* and the way of looking at Nature, affected by the concurrent Impressionism (García Felguera 1991, p. 134 ff). But as I will demonstrate, the topic was still central, although critics tended to focus on the formal aspects so as to conceal the paintings’ Romantic precedents.

16 After the journey, he was to experiment with the composition of *El Jaleo* for several years (Volk 1992, catalogue).

17 Weinberg 2003, p. 299.

18 Simpson 1998, p. 12 fn 49.

an imagined dancing-cave in Seville. Although the subject is based on Sargent's experiences while he was in Spain, the scene is not "authentic"; Sargent has carefully arranged the different figures in the scene. The white-dressed lady, who prances in the heat of the dance with her hand raised, occupies the centre. The figure functions almost as an icon for Spanishness. The same can be said of the musician in the middle background, who is reminiscent of Manet's *Spanish Singer* from 1860 (see Fig. 25). Guitars and a tambourine hang on the wall, people stand by the back wall clapping their hands, and in the far right edge of the composition we see additional dancers.

The elements of *El Jaleo* are the "correct" iconographical symbols for Spain – dancers, musicians, tambourines and guitars – and Sargent also applied a bold painting technique and overall "Spanish" colours. In forthcoming chapters on Edelfelt in Spain, I further discuss Dean MacCannell's ideas on "staged authenticity" in tourist settings, but at this point I would like to stress that Sargent here has successfully composed a "staged" representation of the Spanish dance. The motif points directly to a scene that might take place anytime in Seville, and thus it turns into an indexical sign for Spanishness. At the same time, the main figure functions almost as an icon; the dancer's stereotypical pose both resembles as well as alludes to the Spanish dance.

When he was travelling from Granada to Malaga in 1840, Théophile Gautier had the chance to witness natives dancing the *jaleo* out in the street. In his *Voyage en Espagne* he informs his readers:

It was eleven o'clock by the time we entered Velez-Malaga, where the windows shone merrily, and the sound of voices and guitars rang through the streets. Young girls were sitting on the balconies singing stanzas, accompanied from below by their *novios*; at the end of each stanza there was a lengthy burst of laughter, exclamations and applause. Other groups were dancing the cachucha, the fandango and the jaleo at the street-corners. The hollow thrum of the guitars rose like the hum of bees, the castanets pattered and clacked: all was joy and music.¹⁹

In his picture, Sargent evoked memories from his experiences in Spain, of the heated dance and the atmosphere; it is indeed a "staged authentic experience". According to the *Larousse* Spanish-English dictionary, *jaleo* is a popular Andalusian dance, but it also stands for a "row [or] rumpus". "*Armar jaleo*" means "to kick up a row or fuss", to create "mess" or "confusion", or can be seen as a synonym of "*aplausos, gritos*", which means "cheering". It also stands for "binge" and "spree", "jumble". In American Spanish, *jaleo* means "courting".²⁰

Sargent's picture is implicitly *inauthentic*, but by using the "right" markers for Spanishness, he created a convincing "snap-shot" of the performance, or a "framed sight", to use MacCannell's terms. The fluid painting technique and the allusion to the Old Spanish Masters effectively conceal the painting's touristic and superficial qualities, despite their presence in the image. Thus, the swift technique was set against (earlier) tourist paintings'

19 Gautier 1926, p. 230.

20 *Larousse: Diccionario Español-Inglés/Inglés-Español*, 1996 (s.v. *jaleo*).

often meticulous and precise execution: Sargent had created a tourist painting that did not look like one. By combining a subject that normally (but not necessarily) was consigned to the genre of tourist art (“Low Art”) with loans from the Spanish Baroque (“High Art”), Sargent managed to balance between two allegedly contradicting traditions. Thus *El Jaleo* can be defined also as being *juste milieu* – in the middle.

The (first) Spanish boom, which at that point in time mainly occupied the literary elite, reached its height at about the same time as the political term *juste milieu* was coined during the July Monarchy (1830–48).²¹ The Romantics had “rediscovered” the Old Spanish Masters, and Louis-Philippe’s *Galerie espagnole* was made public. The Third Republic saw a second, revitalised phase of Hispanicism, and the middle course painters were those who succeeded at the *Salon*; this Edelfelt also wished to accomplish.²² It is unclear whether Edelfelt considered himself a *juste milieu* painter, but on at least one instance, in an article in *Finsk Tidskrift* from 1879, Edelfelt employed the term. A portrait of Gérôme by one of the latter’s pupils, Glaire, was exhibited at the *Salon* 1879 and deemed by the critics to be too mediocre. Edelfelt takes standpoint in favour of the portrait, which apparently did not entirely please those critics who, as Edelfelt phrases it, “everywhere in art wish to see something ‘damn it!’, and who do not think that the mediocre and ‘juste milieu’ are anything but a seal of incompetence”. The likeness of the portrait was, according to Edelfelt, excellent, and Gérômes attitude of “an old military man” faithfully rendered.²³

The discussion of the concept *juste milieu* is a complex one, and researchers do not always agree on the usefulness of the concept, which might be considered too broad and all-embracing in order to be able to “define” anything. The quotation from Edelfelt’s text shows that “juste milieu” was, indeed, regarded as being the same as “mediocre”, which implies that *juste milieu* art did not stand up to the “devilishly infernal”. But does this definition suffice or explain the large group of middle course painting that was produced in the nineteenth century? Understanding the *juste milieu* (and Sargent’s *El Jaleo*) as art that is not classified as specifically mediocre, but intermediary, a link between the avant-garde and the (too) traditional and academic, adds other traits to the definition. Anna Kortelainen, who

21 During the July Monarchy (1830–1848), the *juste milieu* policy meant keeping the revolution in check (Boime 1994, p. 223). See also Gynning 1999, pp. 41–43.

22 Edelfelt has frequently been described as a *juste milieu* artist, for instance by Anna Kortelainen (Kortelainen 2002a, p. 243) and Elina Anttila (Anttila 2001). By the time of the Third Republic, genre painting had invaded the *Salon* and other establishments, commercialising the art production in favour of painters who exhibited works that pleased the audience and presumptive buyers. According to Kortelainen, painters were therefore forced to produce small pictures that appealed to their middle-class bourgeois buyers through their virtuosity and emotional mood. The status of history painting had declined dramatically, which meant that academic painters were forced to paint in a small format if they wanted to sell their work (Kortelainen 2002a, p. 241). Kortelainen’s view of Edelfelt and the *juste milieu* is based on her reading of Boime 1971; Jensen 1994; Mainardi 1994; Monnier 1995; Blake & Frascina 1993.

23 “Ett godt porträtt i helfigur af Gérôme, måladt af hans elev Glaire, är kanske något för ordentligt och oklanderligt för att riktigt behaga dem, som öfver allt i konsten vilja se något ‘tusan djefla’ och som icke anse jämn-mättet och ‘juste milieu’ såsom annat än ett oförmågans insegel. Likheten är ypperlig, och hela detta äkta franska tycke af gammal militär, som är utmärkande för Gérôme, är troget återgifvet” (Edelfelt 1879, p. 124).

agrees that the *juste milieu* has a intermediary quality, defines the *juste milieu* painters as a group whose main purpose was to please the audience without being too radical or, on the other hand, too traditional.²⁴ They could thus choose subjects and techniques more freely, without conforming to a predetermined style or theme.²⁵

The *juste milieu* may also be defined as a way of avoiding participation in the ongoing discussion between the Classicists and the avant-garde. In *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, Albert Boime discusses the concept of *juste milieu* during the Third Republic as a means to cover up the distinction between official and academic art.²⁶ Boime clarifies:

Certainly, [*juste milieu* painters] debased the ideals of the Impressionists in favour of contemporary taste, but in so doing, they introduced into official and academic circles such features as a lighter palette and a looser, quasi-Impressionist execution. The *juste milieu* group, and especially artists like Bastien-Lepage, Roll, Besnard and Carrière, represented to the world at large the last word in modernism, and many of the younger generation idolized their work. At the same time, they gratified the public taste for *modernism combined with traditionalism* by modifying the disquieting features of Impressionism and rejecting the polished technique of the academic painters. The public could appreciate the Impressionists' doctrine of light and colour when it was made palatable by more solid draughtsmanship.²⁷

As I see it, the loans from the Baroque (particularly Velázquez and Frans Hals) but later also Goya, suited these pursuits. Admiring (innovative) Old Masters allowed the painter to be both traditional and original; technical loans from earlier art were applied to contemporary themes.

Tourist paintings from Spain were generally (with the exception those by Manet) created without overtly radical statements. By combining a contemporary topicality with loans from the Old Masters, the Hispanicists could avoid radicalism but were nevertheless able to make individual statements.²⁸ They were thus situated between tradition and innovation, connecting the veneration of Old Masters with the demand for modern themes. The Hispanicists, like *juste milieu* painters, consequently created a bridge between different trends and the academic tradition,²⁹ and in this respect both phalanxes worked with the same goal in mind. Robert Jensen claims that the *juste milieu* painter offered “the semblance of moder-

24 Kortelainen uses the expression a “brotherhood of pleasure” (*mielihyvän veljeskunta*). According to her, the *juste milieu* was an eclectic tactic that mixes certain genres and contents, creating their own meaning in their specific context (Kortelainen 2002a, p. 245).

25 The painters were thus able to decide on the subject matter “according to the reigning situation, be it the commissioner, the art market, the visitors at the galleries and exhibitions or economical realities” (Kortelainen 2002a, p. 252).

26 According to Boime, “*Juste milieu* artists of the Third Republic were intensely aware of the stylistic alternatives available to them. They deliberately chose the informal technique of the independents, either [separating] parts of the picture crudely or attenuating and blending the contours of forms into each other” (Boime 1971, p. 16).

27 Boime 1971, p. 17 [my emphasis].

28 Comp. Boime 1971, p. 10. Kortelainen remarks that “the *juste milieu* was at the same time in the middle of everything and in opposition” (Kortelainen 2002a, p. 257).

29 Boime 1971, p. 16.

nity with the accessibility, the narrative and pictorial coherence of the academic tradition”.³⁰ *Juste milieu* painters were, accordingly, intermediaries between the avant-garde, the artist proletariat, the *Salon*-establishment and the commercial galleries.³¹ On many instances, these requirements met within the Spanish trend, which, like the *juste milieu*, has its roots in French Romanticism.³² The initially Romantic *espagnolisme* had only to be “modernised” in order to please contemporary taste(s).³³

Despite the “kitsch” character of many of the tourist paintings from Spain,³⁴ they retained their significance. As Nicolai Cikovsky argues, at times, *Hispanicism* was a clear sign that the painter kept up with the times, that he was modern.³⁵ And if the painter succeeded in keeping up with the current formalistic demands, success was granted by both the general public (with a taste for popular themes such as Spanish dancers) and the critics. Spanish tourist paintings after ca. 1870 were frequently painted in a technique that suggests knowledge both of Impressionist art and a new way of looking at the Old Masters. Sargent’s *El Jaleo*, for instance, is such a picture, and as we know, it gained immediate success.³⁶

Sargent was Edelfelt’s friend and colleague. The American’s vivacious technique was much admired by the Finn. Sargent’s triumph with *El Jaleo* proves that Spanish things were useful. Edelfelt’s reaction to *El Jaleo* in 1882, expressed at a point when Edelfelt had been in Spain the previous year, reveals what he may have sought in Spain. He felt that *El Jaleo* was absolutely the best work at the *Salon* that year. I re-quote: “Sargent’s Spanish dance is the greatest success, bizarre, daring but full of genius, infernal, extraordinary.”³⁷ The painting was evidence of a late-nineteenth-century Spanish imagery, designed to be noticed by presumptive buyers but, at the same time, it aimed to impress the (more serious) art critics as well, thereby satisfying coexisting demands for contemporaneity and a dismissal of academic tediousness.³⁸ Sargent’s topic balanced between two audiences: the wealthy buyers who visited the annual shows at the *Salon*, and the much-valued comments received from critics and colleagues. Perhaps this is why Edelfelt admired it; he, too, had to make a living

30 Jensen 1994, p. 139 (comp. Kortelainen 2002a, p. 245). Also Mainardi defines *juste milieu* as painters whose production falls somewhere in between modernism and the traditional (Mainardi 1994, pp. 10-11).

31 Jensen 1994, p. 15.

32 Jensen defines *juste milieu* painting as a heritage of the 1830s, as a result of the contradictions between Classicism and Romanticism. According to Jensen, the tradition may be extended as far as the First World War, which supports Löwy and Sayre’s argument that Romanticism continued well into the twentieth century (Jensen 1994, p. 37; comp. Löwy & Sayre 2001, *passim*).

33 The *juste milieu* of the July Monarchy was, of course, modernised in order to meet the artistic requirements of the Third Republic.

34 Spanish topics represented a rather “low” kind of art, “kitschy” souvenirs for tourists. Particularly during the 1870s and 1880s, critics denounced earlier pictures with Spanish themes from the 1850s and 1860s as old-fashioned and “academic” because of their smooth surfaces and superficial composition. They were not depicting the “real” and “authentic” Spain. But as I will demonstrate, through their function as souvenirs, they still represented a piece of authenticity, a “proof” that the artists had been “there”.

35 Cikovsky 1992, p. 19.

36 Jensen 1994 (*passim*) and Gynning 1999 (p. 43, comp. p. 233 fn 16) define Sargent as a *juste milieu* painter.

37 “Den största succès’n är Sargents spanska dans, bizarrt, vågat, men genialiskt, infernaliskt, snillrikt.” The quotation is from a letter dated 1 May 1882, and is not among the microfilmed originals. This fraction is found in Berta Edelfelt’s revised edition of Edelfelt letters, published in 1921 (Edelfelt 1921, p. 165).

38 Volk 1992; Chikovski 1992; Simpson 1998.



57. Albert Edelfelt, *The Inauguration of the Academy at Åbo 1640*, first sketch 1890–91. Turku Art Museum.

and, above all, a career. He could neither afford to turn his back on potential buyers, nor on the art critics. He had to be in the middle of the artistic battlefield; he had to be *juste milieu*. And *espagnolisme*/Hispanicism, it seems, was well suited to meet with these particular demands.

4.2 VELÁZQUEZ-FEVER IN PARIS

Velázquez's practice of painting scenes that nineteenth-century painters and art lovers mostly thought to be accomplished "on location", and the fact that this made his paintings resemble photographic shots must have been something that fascinated them. We find this admiration increase during the 1870s and culminate in the 1890s – most painters showed it in their private sphere.

4.2.1 Edelfelt's later History Painting

One of the main reasons for Edelfelt's journey to Spain was his admiration for Velázquez. In a letter to B.O. Schauman, written in 1881 several months before the journey, he expresses his wishes to study Velázquez's composition *The Surrender of Breda* (*Las Lanzas*) (see Fig. 44) at the Prado.³⁹ By the time Edelfelt applied for a travel scholarship to Spain, he was working on a large composition for the Ceremonial hall in the Alexander University in Helsinki, *The Inauguration of the Academy at Åbo 1640* (Fig. 57). Before he decided on the final composition, he wished to study Velázquez carefully, preferably *in situ*.⁴⁰ He also nurtured plans to go

39 "Jag skall i Madrid se noga på 'la reddition di Breda' [*sic*] af Velasquez [...]" (Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Paris 2 January 1881, FNG/Archives [not among the microfilmed originals]).

40 Edelfelt claims that in this work he presented four important aspects of "the development of our people", that is: "det protestantiska prästerskapet, folket, Sveriges stormaktstid (representerad av Per Brahe samt krigsfurstarna), och sist Universitetet" (Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Paris 2 January 1881, FNG/Archives [not among the microfilmed originals]); "på ord och ställe" (Albert Edelfelt, "Bilaga till ansökan af det s.k. Hovingska resestipendium", Helsingfors d. 6 okt. 1879, *Finska konstföreningens protokoll* (*Proceedings of the Finnish Art Society*)),



58. Albert Edelfelt, *From the Directory Period*, 1881. Private Collection.

to Haarlem immediately after the Spanish journey with the intention to study Frans Hals.⁴¹ Edelfelt's final, now destroyed painting was completed only several years later, in 1904-05.⁴²

Edelfelt did not visit Haarlem in 1881, despite his plans to do so. In the summer of 1890, he nevertheless had the opportunity to travel to Holland; with the composition in mind, he intended to study Hals's group portraits. During the same journey, he also visited Berlin, where he spent hours in the Kaiser-Friedrich museum, admiring Holbein, Dürer, Rembrandt as well as Velázquez.⁴³ That same year, Edelfelt wrote to B.O. Schauman about his encounter with Hals in Haarlem, and claimed that after seeing Velázquez in Madrid, he

1879, FNG/Archives).

41 Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Paris 2 January 1881, FNG/Archives [not among the microfilmed originals].

42 For a full account of *The Inauguration of the Academy at Åbo 1640*, see Kiviluoma 1964 [unpubl.]; Hintze 1942-44, II, particularly pp. 180 ff.

43 Hintze 1942-44, II, p. 36.

had never been as enthusiastic as a *painter* as now.⁴⁴ This statement shows the period's interest in both Velázquez and Frans Hals. Later in his life, Sargent told a student that Velázquez had been his supreme mentor; he advised the student to “[b]egin with Franz Hals, copy and study Franz Hals, after that go to Madrid and copy Velasquez till you have got all you can out of Franz Hals”.⁴⁵

In some of Edelfelt's paintings from the 1880s, executed after his Spanish journeys, we see traces of influence from Velázquez as well as Hals, for instance, in *From the Directory Period* from 1881 (*Fig. 58*). Here, the colour range is derived from Velázquez, but the expression is typical of Frans Hals's portraits. During this time, painters frequently compared these Old Masters: the Dutch painter's free brush and “sketchy” effect with Velázquez's “optical” painting.⁴⁶ Tutta Palin, who has investigated Edelfelt's art in the light of the Frans Hals renaissance during the nineteenth century, points out that Hals's French admirers (like Velázquez's) can be divided into two generations. During the 1860s, the politically orientated generation appreciated Hals's typically bourgeois topics, while the interest shifted during the 1870s and 1880s to admire primarily his use of colour and dynamic brush.⁴⁷

Palin also notes the problem of discerning influences from the Dutch and Spanish Baroque. Velázquez was, like Caravaggio, frequently interpreted as an ally of Northern, earthly Realism. Dress fashion was also rather similar in Holland. Judging which of these cultures their followers refer to is, therefore, not always possible.⁴⁸ This problem is particularly apparent in Edelfelt's *Self-Portrait in 17th-Century Costume* from 1889 (*Fig. 59*), probably painted as a study of contemporary costumes with *The Inauguration* in mind.⁴⁹ Here we see a sharp contrast between light and shade, and a reversion to a Baroque colour scheme. In a letter to his mother, Edelfelt wrote that he had painted a self-portrait for his dining room, depicting himself dressed in “a Velasquez-Rembrandt costume” [*sic*] within an ancient Spanish frame, which he possibly had bought in Seville in 1881.⁵⁰ This self-portrait refers to his work with

44 “jag tror jag aldrig varit så förtjust som *målare* sedan jag såg Velasquez i Madrid” (Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, quoted in Hintze 1942–44, II, p. 181, referring to an article in *Åbo Underrättelser*, 15 January 1919).

45 Quotation from a letter from Sargent to Julie Heyneman, as it appears in Weinberg 2003, p. 298 (originally in Evan Charteris, *John Sargent*, New York 1927; also quoted in Simpson, who observes that Sargent had himself reversed the order, visiting Spain in 1879 and Haarlem in 1880 (Weinberg 2003, p. 297 fn 143). See also García Felguera 1991, pp. 147–148.

46 Haskell 1976, p. 134.

47 Palin 2004b, pp. 78–79. Palin's notion is drawn from Petra ten-Doesschate Chu's research: *French Realism and the Dutch Masters: The Influence of Dutch Seventeenth-Century Painting on the Development of French Painting between 1830 and 1870* (Utrecht 1974), and “Nineteenth-Century Visitors to the Frans Hals Museum”, in *The Documented Image: Visions in Art History*, ed. Gabriel Weisberg & Laurinda Dicon (Syracuse 1987). Palin also acknowledges a similar change in the Frans Hals reception in Germany around 1890 (see Thomas W. Gaetgens, “Wilhelm Bode and Dutch Painting”, *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 49:1 (2001) and Johannes Stückelberger, *Rembrandt und die Moderne. Der Dialog mit Rembrandt in der deutschen Kunst um 1900*, München 1996).

48 Palin 2004b, p. 79.

49 For his self-portrait, Edelfelt borrowed a costume that was tailored in a style from the period of Per Brahe (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, 10 December 1889, SLSA). Later, in 1904, when he had resumed working with *The Inauguration*, he also let himself be photographed in a similar costume, as a study of pose and dress. For illustrations, see Kortelainen 2004, pp. 131, 138–139.

50 “I dag har jag köpt en skulpterad ram” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, 10 December 1889; Seville 25 April 1881, SLSA). The portrait was intended for his dining room, where the walls were covered with oak panelling.



the composition of the monumental painting intended for the University's ceremonial hall, since he is here dressed in a costume from the era of Per Brahe,⁵¹ the main figure in the composition. Maybe this is the reason why we also see Edelfelt holding a spear, like the soldiers in Velázquez's *Las Lanzas*: the erect spear is an effective symbol for military power (comp. Fig. 44).⁵²

59. Albert Edelfelt, *Self-Portrait in 17th-Century Costume*, 1889. Ateneum Art Museum.

This turns the painting also into a rather suitable piece for decorating the room.

51 Count Per Brahe the Younger (1602–1680) was governor general of Finland 1637–41 and 1648–54.

52 In Velázquez's *Las Lanzas*, which Edelfelt had in mind when he planned his composition for *The Inauguration*, the spears on the victorious side (to the right) are erected, while the defeated troops' spears are more or less in disorder.



60. Albert Edelfelt, study of Velázquez's *Surrender of Breda* ("Las Lanzas"), 1890–91. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

included the soldier to the left who holds a spear, and the faint outlines of the warrior in white and the head of a horse, placed behind General Nassau. Spinola's generous gesture, when he leans forward to touch the shoulder of his foe, and the hindquarters of his horse are also rendered rather faithfully by Edelfelt, while most of the soldiers on the victorious side have a sketchy finish. The erected spears are only partially included, as is the aerial view in the background, probably due to limited space.

If Edelfelt thought of Velázquez's painting as a work that documented reality and thus as a suitable "contemporary" model, he was deceived: no such ceremony of surrender ever took place. As Garrido and Brown inform us, Velázquez's composition was developed according to a play by Pedro Calderón, *El Sitio de Bredá*, performed at court shortly after the event which had taken place in 1625. But as they note, Velázquez's composition is not merely an illustration to Calderón's text, but rather an imaginative rendition of what it might have been like to be present at such an instant in time.⁵⁴ In this sense, the depiction is not a journalistic document of a historical fact, but rather a manifestation of its time. Thus, its function as a model for Edelfelt in his re-enactment of the events when Per Brahe paraded in Turku in the south west of Finland, in order to inaugurate the first University in the Swedish province in 1640, is not lessened.

Edelfelt's self-portrait from 1889 also resembles what presumably is Velázquez's self-portrait included in *Las Lanzas* to the absolute far right in terms of form. Here we see the Spaniard's half-profile, wearing a broad-brimmed hat and dressed in a grey costume with a white collar, like Edelfelt in his self-portrait. As in Velázquez's composition, the light pours in from the left, illuminating the face. The overall brownish-yellow tones in Velázquez's

53 The booklet contains drawings and studies from several years. In Edelfelt's sketchbook number 1517:45 (FNG) we find studies related to works executed between the years 1887 and 1894. The study of Velázquez's *Las Lanzas* is included in a time sequence placing it after his preliminary drawings for *The Student* (*Tales of Ensign Stahl*) and before studies for *The White Lady* (*Den vita frun*, 1890-92), which is why Marina Catani concludes that the study of Velázquez's *Las Lanzas* was executed around 1889-90 (MA Marina Catani, private consultation). Further support for this date comes from the University Council announcement of a contest for the future paintings in the University Ceremonial Hall March 1890 (Hintze 1942–44, II, p. 181).

54 Brown & Garrido 1998, pp. 81-92.

composition are also present in Edelfelt's handling of the background. The most striking dissimilarity from Velázquez is Edelfelt's treatment of the surface structures in the costume; here our thoughts are transported to the work of Frans Hals.

An important notion is that Edelfelt's admiration of Hals and Velázquez was bound up in his sense of historicity: Edelfelt studied the Old Masters with the eye of a history painter. Edelfelt was particularly pleased that several of Hals's paintings were from about the same date as the event in his *The Inauguration*. Thus his studies of Hals were invaluable when he was recreating the seventeenth-century costumes in his own composition.⁵⁵ Richard Ormond also points to the importance of Hals for Sargent, who has executed several copies after the Dutch master. Ormond claims that Sargent looked upon Hals as a "kindred spirit", and that Sargent was spellbound by the Dutch painter's "technical mastery, his loose, open brushwork and economy of means", but above all, his "lively characterization of individuals". This is why Sargent's choice of Velázquez's and Hals's paintings are primarily works of portraiture.⁵⁶

As we know, when Edelfelt saw Hals in Haarlem in 1890, he claimed that after seeing Velázquez in Madrid he had never been so delighted to be a painter. Velázquez's vigorous handling of light and colour became a manifesto for painters in the 1880s to express painterliness. As a result, other "painterly" Old Masters became also admired, and soon the stimulus from the Spanish tenebrism and the harsh contrasts increasingly coalesced with stylistic influences from the Dutch Baroque: Hals and Rembrandt were the favourites.⁵⁷ The fact that Edelfelt chose to combine these influences in his execution of his self-portrait is an expression for the fusion of Velázquez, Hals and Rembrandt. By painting his historicising self-portrait reusing their style and iconography, he identified himself with these painters in an exceptionally concrete and intimate manner.

Furthermore, the somewhat "royal" stance of Edelfelt's pose in his self-portrait is similar to the one we see in Velázquez's *Cardinal Infante Ferdinand as a Hunter* (Fig. 61). A study of the light and shade in Velázquez's work appears in a later sketchbook from 1900–1901, which also contains similar analyses of Velázquez's *Las Meninas* and *Menippus* (Fig. 62).⁵⁸ The same booklet includes drawings after Ernest Meissonier's cavaliers in historical attire. Edelfelt had once again resumed working with *The Inauguration*.⁵⁹ Edelfelt's wash-drawing of the *Infante* is a study of the tones in Velázquez's composition, leaving all details to the imagination: the dog (save for the muzzle) and the landscape in the background, for instance, are excluded, as are all material effects in the costume. This Spanish royalty, the Infante Ferdinand, one of



61. Velázquez, *Cardinal Infante Ferdinand as a Hunter*, 1632–36. Prado, Madrid.

55 Palin 2004b, p. 82, referring to Edelfelt's letter to B.O. Schauman, Haiko 3 September 1890 (FNG/Archives); Hintze 1942–44, II, p. 181.

56 As Ormond points out, in Hals's group portraits of civic guards, the Dutch painter "broke with the conventions of formal portraiture to show people as they really are" (Ormond 2006 [in print 2005], Chapter 7: Studies after the Old Masters, ca. 1879–1880 [Velázquez; Frans Hals]).

57 See also Ormond 2006 [in print 2005], Chapter 7: Studies after the Old Masters, ca. 1879–1880 [Frans Hals].

58 Edelfelt's sketchbook 1517:19 (FNG). See also Kilpinen & Catani 2004, pp. 129–130.

59 Hintze 1942–44, II, p. 186.



62. Albert Edelfelt, detail of Velázquez's *Cardinal Infante Ferdinand as a Hunter*, 1890–91. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

the king's two younger brothers, was a particularly suitable model for Edelfelt's composition since he later became a soldier.⁶⁰

When recreating history, authenticity was important: the picture should look real, like a journalistic document of the historical past. The viewer should feel that the painter really had been "there", that he had travelled in time; Edelfelt needed "contemporary" models, such as Hals and Velázquez for his *Inauguration*. This re-creational nostalgia is aptly expressed in one of Edelfelt's letters, addressed to his sister Berta from Atwerp in 1890:

Of course, it has been a great joy having been familiar with all this from before. Through photographs, etchings and the like, I have already for fifteen years lived through these masterworks. I know every painting like I would know an old friend with whom I have corresponded but never seen.⁶¹

He was particularly pleased that he now could appreciate Jan Steen's art, which he felt that he had never been able to understand due to a critique written by Drachmann. "And now I come to the Hague and see his masterworks so vivid, strong and without frivolity and so delicious in colour, that I take off my hat and bow deeply, deeply for him."⁶² Edelfelt needed to study the original Old Masters, not solely through prints and copies. This approach was often decisive when painters decided to go to Spain: only there were they able to study their heroes from art history, and simultaneously they sanctified their journey. The conviction that Velázquez could only be studied in Madrid strengthened the urge, and they gained official approval for their journey.

4.2.2 The Impact of Velázquez's Portrait Painting

His black is more precious than most other people's crimson.⁶³

John Ruskin, *The Elements of Drawing* (1857)

During the 1870s, Velázquez-fever increased. In his review in *Finsk Tidskrift* from 1877 of the annual *Salon*, Edelfelt commented on the work of Carolus-Duran⁶⁴(1837–1917) and his fascination with Hispanic subjects. Edelfelt was particularly pleased with Carolus's "swiftly executed life-like portraits".⁶⁵ The current demand for individualisation, truth and

60 Brown & Garrido 1998, pp. 131-135.

61 "Naturligvis har det varit mycket roligt för mig att känna till allt så väl förut. Genom fotografier, etsningar o.d. har jag redan femton år levat mig in i dessa mästerverk. Jag känner varje tavla som en gammal vän, som man korresponderat med utan att någonsin ha sett" (Edelfelt 1926, pp. 294-295).

62 "Och nu kommer jag till Haag och ser mästerverk av honom så levande, så kraftiga, så utan flärd och så härliga i färgen, att jag tar av mig hatten djupt, djupt för honom" (Edelfelt 1926, pp. 294-295).

63 John Ruskin in *The Elements of Drawing*, 1857, quoted in Simpson 1998, p. 3.

64 Charles-Émile-Auguste Durand, called Carolus-Duran or Carolus.

65 "[...] raskt utförda levande porträtt" (Edelfelt 1877a, p. 339).

serious efforts as regards drawing and colour were particularly suited for portrait painting, Edelfelt declared:

Bonnat makes the persons, whom he immortalises, so alive, and gives them such a strong relief, that one thinks that they step out of the canvas; the fine colourist Henner has created portraits so simple, so distinguished, that they always will remain in one's memory among the finest in modern painting; Carolus Duran's bold, rich brush has in this genre created works, which resemble Velasquez; and Cabanel, although his paintings have recently become empty and tedious, has depicted countesses and duchesses with great elegance.⁶⁶

That three of the portraitists whom Edelfelt mentions were eager advocates of Velázquez is noteworthy. We have already discussed Bonnat's debt to Spanish art. He taught also his students to study seventeenth-century figure painting, especially the Spaniards. His Danish pupil P.S. Krøyer, for instance, has executed portraits reminiscent of Bonnat's Franco-Spanish style, such as his *Self-Portrait* from 1879 (Fig. 63).⁶⁷ Bonnat's Scandinavian students were drawn particularly to Velázquez and the Spaniard's more informal portraits, such as *Juan de Pareja*, (Fig. 64) and to Rembrandt's intimate self-portraits. Siuvolovao Challons-Lipton observes that the sitters in the portraits, executed by Bonnat's Scandinavian pupils from the late-1870s onwards, "look out at the viewer from the shadows of a vacant background".⁶⁸ These portraits were normally painted with a heavily loaded brush and with bold highlighting, typical of Bonnat's early portraiture from the 1850s and the 1860s, when his interest in Spanish art was most acute. As Laurits Tuxen (1853–1927), another of Bonnat's Danish students testifies, his teacher's portraiture was the perfect compromise between tradition and innovation.⁶⁹



63. P.S. Krøyer, *Self-Portrait*, 1879. Skagens Museum, Denmark.



64. Velázquez, *Juan de Pareja*, 1650. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

66 "Bonnat gör de personer, som förevigas, så levande, och ge dem en så stark relief, att man tycker dem stiga fram från duken, den fina koloristen Henner har gjort porträtten så enkla, så distingerade, att de städes kvarstå i ens minne bland det bästa i modernt måleri, Carolus Duran's djerfva, saftiga pensel har i denna genre frambragt verk, som påminna om Velasquez, och Cabanel, så innehållslöst och tråkigt än hans måleri blifvit på senare tider, har återgifvit greffvinnor och hertiginnor med mycken elegans. [The following section is not translated and quoted in text: "Åven Dubufe, som är kanske en af de mest anlitade porträttmålare, har bland den massa han målat åstadkommit ett och annat, som varit förträffligt]" (Edelfelt 1877, p. 339).

67 Challons-Lipton notes that Krøyer's *Self-Portrait* adopts a pose similar to those in Bonnat's portraits (Challons-Lipton 2001, p. 110).

68 Challons-Lipton 2001, p. 110.

69 Challons-Lipton 2001, pp. 110-111 (referring to Laurits Tuxen's letter to his sister Nicoline Tuxen, Paris, 29 October 1877, quoted in Tuxen's *En malers arbejde gennem tredsindstyve aar fortalt af ham selv*, Copenhagen 1928, p. 256), p. 129.



65. Jean-Jacques Henner, *Henriette Germain*, 1874. Musée National J.J. Henner, Paris.



66. Velázquez, *Infanta Margarita*, ca. 1653. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



67. Helene Schjerfbeck, copy of Velázquez's *Innocentius X*, 1892. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

According to Geneviève Lacambre, Jean-Jacques Henner (1829–1905) was also a “great admirer” of Velázquez.⁷⁰ Henner’s portrait of *Henriette Germain* from 1874 (Fig. 65), for instance, was inspired by Velázquez’s *Infanta Margarita* (Fig. 66) in Louvre’s *Salon Carré*, where the masterpieces of the collection were shown.⁷¹ Henner was particularly admired for his paintings of children, and he praised his royal model on several occasions. According to Henner, Velázquez’s *Infanta* in the Louvre was “one of the most beautiful things in the world: the nose and mouth are not quite so accomplished but the upper parts of the hair, the forehead, and the temples are masterpieces of contouring and simplicity of tone”.⁷² Lacambre notes that Henner analysed Velázquez’s “natural earth tones rather than yellow, and silvery hues”, and when painting the skin tones, adopted these tonalities. His portrait of the little four-year-old girl echoes the sparkling vitality of the princess of the same age in Velázquez’s portrait.⁷³

Henner’s *Henriette Germain* also reproduces the values of black and earthy tones that painters admired about Velázquez’s art at this time. In 1887, Lucien Solvay described “its adorable symphony of blacks, blonds, and pinks”, and referred to its refinement, which many contemporary painters tried to achieve. According to Javier Portús Pérez, the portrait of *Infanta Margarita* in particular had a great impact on the admiration of Velázquez in Paris during the second half of the nineteenth century.⁷⁴ The Finnish painter Helene Schjerfbeck, for instance, expressed her appreciation of the painting as late as 1925, when she recalled seeing the portrait during her Parisian apprenticeship in the 1880s.⁷⁵

After Velázquez’s canonisation process was complete, Helene Schjerfbeck also executed a copy after *Pope Innocent X* in St. Petersburg’s Hermitage in 1892 (Fig. 67). The copy was commissioned by the *Finnish Art Society* as a part of the *Society’s* recently established copy-programme.⁷⁶ Velázquez was the only Spaniard on the *Society’s* list whose works the paint-

70 Henner’s interest in Velázquez predates his journey to Spain in the summer of 1883, when he visited Madrid and Burgos. *Manet/Velázquez* 2003, pp. 400, 482 [text by Geneviève Lacambre].

71 The *Infanta Margarita* is presently attributed to Velázquez’s work-shop (Lacambre 2003, p. 74).

72 Jean-Jacques Henner to Émile Durand-Gréville, 6 March 1882, quoted in *Manet/Velázquez* 2003, p. 483, catalogue entry 126 [text by Geneviève Lacambre].

73 Lacambre 2003, p. 71 [illustration], p. 74.

74 *Velázquez/Manet* 2003, pp. 456-457, catalogue entry 78 [text by Javier Portús Pérez].

75 Helene Schjerfbeck to Einar Reuter, 1 March 1925, ÅAB/Manuscript Department.

76 A noteworthy enterprise regarding copies in Finland was the federal collection of copies. The register was in use between 1891 and 1912, that is, relatively late when copying had already fallen into decline. During the 1860s and 70s, the *Finnish Art Society* had bought a considerable number of copies from Finnish students abroad (Tikkanen 1896). A relatively positive attitude towards copies prevailed within the *Society*. As late as 1890, Estlander presented his idea of a copy museum (Malmström 1987, pp. 48, 53 fn 53). As a result of Estlander’s proposition, and despite disputes over the poor artistic quality of the replicas and on copyrights (Kiiski 1984 [unpubl.], p. 22 ff), the *Finnish Art Society* compiled a catalogue listing over 1200 works. The originals were located throughout Europe, with an emphasis on Raphael, Titian and Veronese, that is, the Italian school; the division is twelve pages long. Of the Spanish school, the fifty-eight Murillos formed the majority, although there were 48 titles for both Velázquez and Ribera as well. The fact that Ribera was a Spaniard is important to notice (*Förteckning på mästare inom målarekonsten* 1891, pp. 17-19). The titles of the Spanish school were compiled by Tikkanen, who had established himself as an art historian during the 1880s. He also chose the representatives of the Italian and German schools. Tikkanen had studied in Becker’s *Private Academy* in 1877. He also stayed at the art academy in Munich 1880-81 (Höltkö 1997, Appendix 12, 14; Westermarck 1941, p. 88). Tikkanen maintained that Becker was the Father of Finnish Realism (Murtti 1997, pp. 10-11 fn 13, 14). Through these contacts, in particular as regards the period in Becker’s *Private*

ers were prepared to copy. The *Finnish Art Society* accepted the copies without problem, as they regarded these originals as particularly suitable.⁷⁷ The next year, in a grant application, Schjerfbeck announced her intention to copy Velázquez's *Infanta María Teresa* (Fig. 68), in addition to paintings by Leonardo and Holbein.⁷⁸ The copies were executed at the *Kunsthistorisches Museum* in Vienna in 1894.⁷⁹ Konttinen observes that Schjerfbeck probably chose to copy those originals that were painted with a broad brush, and thus which satisfied contemporary tastes for the aesthetic of the sketch.⁸⁰ Like Velázquez's *Innocentius X*, his version of the *Infanta* was also a freer and rather "optically" executed artwork, particularly when compared to his early portraits of the members of the royal family.⁸¹ Schjerfbeck's *Innocentius X* and *María Teresa* (Fig. 69) are nevertheless rendered in an even looser manner than the originals. This illustrates the fact that, from the end of the 1870s, painters mainly started to copy Velázquez as means of obtaining a more liberated, airy painting manner.⁸²

In addition to Henner, Velázquez and the Louvre's *Infanta* attracted several copyists over the course of the nineteenth century, including Degas, Millet and Sargent. According to William Stirling-Maxwell, Velázquez's *Infanta* was among the most popular pictures in the gallery. Henner was indeed in good company, and was included among those nineteenth-century painters who "followed the path of Velasquez", as the Scottish critic Robert Alan Mowbray (R.A.M.) Stevenson, former student of Carolus, declared in 1895:



68. Velázquez, *Infanta María Teresa*, ca. 1652. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

Academy, Tikkanen probably knew more of Spanish painting than the other members of the *Finnish Art Society*. Tikkanen's role in choosing the Spanish originals is based on his annotations in the margins of the duplicate of the list that is located at the University of Helsinki, Art History (Kiiski 1984 [unpubl.], pp. 35-45 fn 141).

The formation of the collection depended on the students' journeys abroad. The Hoving travel scholarship facilitated the envoys, and the copies were a by-product of the trips (Kiiski 1984, p. 45. Elin Danielson (1861-1919) announced her interest in executing copies while she stayed in Paris. She had also studied in Becker's *Private Academy* 1878-80 (Adolf von Becker to B.O. Schauman, 14 December 1886, FNG/Archives; Hölttö 1997 [unpubl.], Appendix 14). She wished to copy Velázquez's *Infanta María Margarita* and Titian's *The Madonna and St. Catherine*. Danielson claimed they were both masterpieces that would be a great pleasure to copy. Nevertheless, she did not finish the undertaking, since she did not consider it worth the effort after all (Kiiski 1984 [unpubl.], p. 46). The previous year (1890) she had applied for a travel scholarship in order to study painting in Paris and Spain. The same year, the sculptor Emil Wikström (1864-1942) included Spain in his application for the same scholarship, where he expressed his desire to visit the largest art cities ("konstorterna") in Europe (E. Danielson: "under den för stipendiets åtnjutande föreskrifna tiden studera målarekonsten i Paris och Spanien"; *Finska konstföreningens protokoll (Proceedings of the Finnish Art Society)*, 1890, FNG/Archives). Neither of them actually travelled to Spain.

77 Kiiski 1984 [unpubl.], p. 48.

78 Kiiski 1984 [unpubl.], p. 49.

79 *Helene Schjerfbeck* 1992, p. 139 number 140.

80 Konttinen 2004, pp. 164-166.

81 The portrait was executed in 1654 (Brown & Garrido 1998).

82 Velázquez's popularity waned during the late nineteenth century, only to return infrequently. One painter who was interested in Velázquez's work was Werner von Hausen (1870-1951). In September 1908, von Hausen offered two copies to the *Finnish Art Society*: Velázquez's portrait of a young girl [?] and Fragonard's *Reclining Nymph*. The *Finnish Art Society* acquired the copy after Fragonard, but not the portrait after Velázquez; the Society seems not to have appreciated the Velázquez-copy (Kiiski 1984 [unpubl.], p. 59). Velázquez was also represented in a collection of half-tone blocks in the Porvoo Museum, purchased as late as 1900-1902 by Louis Sparre (1863-1964) and Edelfelt (Kiiski 1984 [unpubl.], p. 62).



69. Helene Schjerfbeck, copy of Velázquez's *Infanta Maria Theresa*, 1894. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

The sight of Velasquez at Madrid does not make us look upon the works of Regnault, Courbet, Manet, Carolus-Duran, Monet, Henner, Whistler, Degas, Sargent and the rest as plagiarist. It rather gives the man of our century confidence that he is following a path not unlike that trod to such good purpose by the great Spaniard.⁸³

Whilst Edelfelt's critique of the *Salon* of 1877 merely recognised Carolus's "bold, rich brush" as associated with Velázquez, his observations two years later were more elaborate. In his critique of the *Salon* of 1879, he paid particular attention to Carolus's portrait of the Countess de Vandal, which he described as encompassing something akin to Renaissance grandness. The blond and "somewhat stout" middle-aged countess was dressed in a grand, fur-collared black coat that revealed her white silken dress, ample bosom and soft white arm. Edelfelt summarised his impression:

Comparing with the Old Masters is a questionable undertaking, and it would perhaps be more creditable to the originality of the moderns if no external associations existed between them and the Old Masters, but, this said without diminishing Carolus Duran's merits and originality, this countenance brings Velasquez to mind because of its deep, silvery-grey tone, and Rubens's because of its wet, flowing treatment [of paint].⁸⁴

Carolus developed an extremely successful career in portrait painting. After the Commune, he opened an atelier in Paris that was particularly popular among Americans; he was, for instance, Sargent's inspiring teacher from 1874 onwards. As Tinterow observes, Sargent learned from Carolus "his profound respect for Spanish painting as well as some technical practices he had observed while in Spain".⁸⁵ The influence of Velázquez can be seen in Carolus's emphasis on individuality and the ability to see things afresh. As Stanley Olson has pointed out, Carolus was convinced that forms were made up of flat planes, the arrangement of which was ordered by light, a feature apparent also in Velázquez's art.⁸⁶

John Ratcliff's study of Sargent's *oeuvre* also emphasises Carolus's inclination towards Spanish art.⁸⁷ Carolus had won his first *Salon* medal in the 1860s, when he still painted art-

83 R.A.M. Stevenson, *The Art of Velasquez* [sic], London 1895, as quoted in Weinberg 2003, p. 259 fn 2.

84 "Jämförelser med de gamle mästarne är en vansklilig sak, och det skulle kanske lända de modernes originalitet till största heder, om alls inga yttre föreningspunkter funnes emellan dem och de gamle, men, vare detta sagdt utan att förringa Carolus Durans värde och originalitet, detta konterfej påminner om Velasquez i den djupa, silfvergrå färgen och Rubens i den våta, flytande, behandlingen" (Edelfelt 1879, p. 119).

85 *Manet/Velázquez* 2003, p. 468 [text by Gary Tinterow].

86 The painting process required, according to Carolus, "accumulation, not filling in", from which one should understand the half-tones (Olson 1986, pp. 37-40).

87 Ratcliff 1982, pp. 37, 38-40, 66.

works influenced by Gustave Courbet.⁸⁸ Then Carolus travelled to Spain where his French Realism gave way before the influence of Velázquez. According to Ratcliff, “Carolus saw in the Spaniard’s elegance a way to bring Realism out from the weight of Courbet’s heavy palette and thick fracture”.⁸⁹ His successes at the *Salon* after his three-year-long stay in Spain in 1866–68 clearly show his assimilation of Spanish art in general, Velázquez in particular, but also Goya.⁹⁰ *Lady with a Glove* (Fig. 70) was shown at the *Salon* of 1869, and is a work that directly alludes to Velázquez’s portrait painting.⁹¹ As we have seen, Velázquez’s fame during the 1860s depended on the Realists’ appreciation of his royal portraiture, together with his pictures of jesters and fools at the Spanish court.⁹²

As a teacher, Carolus favoured the *alla prima* technique and told his students to paint what they saw. “Velasquez, Velasquez, Velasquez, ceaselessly study Velasquez”, Carolus would push his students. He paid more attention to portraiture than to history painting, and promoted the Baroque tradition rather than the classical. As Barbara Weinberg observes, Carolus identified with Velázquez, whose virtues he stressed on all occasions. He responded to praise by declaiming: “Myself, God, and Velasquez!”⁹³

Velázquez’s influence on portraitists was profound, particularly for Carolus and his talented pupil, J.S. Sargent. As Weinberg observes: “There is almost no painting by Sargent – from his atelier studies to his more ambitious portraits and outdoor genre scenes – that does not reveal a debt to the manner and method of Carolus-Duran and, fundamentally, to the art of Velázquez.”⁹⁴ Like several other Parisian painters, Edelfelt’s portraits from the last decades of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth also evoke the spirit of Velázquez.⁹⁵

The trace of Sargent as well as Velázquez is quite obvious in Edelfelt’s portraits from the 1880s onwards.⁹⁶ Edelfelt’s *In the Nursery* from 1885 (Fig. 71), for instance, takes up the



70. Carolus-Duran, *Woman with a Glove*, 1869. Musée d’Orsay, Paris

88 Linda Nochlin has demonstrated the impact of Velázquez as regards the formation of Courbet’s early Realist pieces (Nochlin 1976, esp. pp. 61 ff, 116-119; Nochlin 1971, pp. 78-82; comp. Fried 1990, esp. pp. 87, 114).

89 Ratcliff 1982, p. 37. The change might be described by stating that Carolus exchanged Courbet’s palette knife for Velázquez’s brush.

90 *Manet/Velázquez* 2003, p. 468 [text by Gary Tinterow].

91 *Lady with a Glove* alludes to Velázquez in its shallow space and monochromatic palette. Titian, English portrait painting and Manet are also mentioned in conjunction with this portrait (Weinberg 2003, p. 295)

92 See e.g., García Felguera 1991, p. 130 ff; Lipschutz 1972, *passim*; Pardo 1989, *passim*.

93 “Moi, Dieu et Velasquez!” Carolus’s remark was reported in *Art Age* 2, no. 23 (June 1885), p. 168, quoted in Weinberg 2003, p. 295.

94 Weinberg 2003, p. 296.

95 On Sargent and Velázquez, see Weinberg 2003, pp. 294-305.

96 Similarities appear in e.g., *Portrait of Jean-Baptiste Pasteur* (1881, Institut Pasteur, Paris), *Portrait of Alexandrine (Shura) Manzay* (1881, The Art Museum of Porvoo), *Michael and Xenia, Children of the Tsar Alexander III* (1882, Private collection), *Portrait of Mrs. V.I. Miatleff* (1882, Pushkin Art Museum, Moscow), *In the Nursery* (1885, The Hermitage, St. Petersburg), *Lieutenant Alexandre Weissgerber de Stragéwiczin as a Child* (1887, The Finnish National Gallery, Helsinki), *Portrait of the Artist’s Wife Ellan Edelfelt* (1896, The Finnish National Gallery, Helsinki), *Portrait of the Opera Singer Aino Ackté* (1901, The Finnish National Gallery (Antell), Helsinki) and possibly in *Portrait of the Actress Ida Aalberg* (1902, Private collection).

Velázquez’s influence on Edelfelt’s portraiture is enduring and requires a separate and in-depth analysis. For instance, *Michael and Xenia, Children of the Tsar Alexander III* from 1882 (Albert Edelfelt 2004, ill. p. 90), bears close resemblance to Sargent’s portrait of *Robert de Cévieux* from 1879 (Weinberg 2003, p. 297, fig. 10:41), particularly in its colours and “brushy” handling of the paint. The earthy ochres, the black values and the highlights in white and red are repeated by both artists, recreating Velázquez according to contemporary



71. Albert Edelfelt, *In the Nursery*, 1885. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

nuances of Sargent's variation of *Las Meniñas* as seen in his portrait of one of his friends, *The Daughters of Edward Darley Boit* from 1882 (Fig. 72).⁹⁷ Contemporary critics always noticed that Sargent's painting was an intentional commentary on Velázquez; the American William C. Brownell observed that "[... Sargent] is Velasquez come to life again".⁹⁸ Indeed, it may be no coincidence that one of Edelfelt's two travel companions in Spain in 1881 was Boit

requirements. As Weinberg points out, Sargent's portrait of *Robert de Cévrieux* "is a legacy of youthful subjects painted by Velázquez and Goya" (Weinberg 2003, p. 297). Trevor Fairbrother, on the other hand, discusses similarities between Sargent's portrait of Robert de Cévrieux with Manet's *Boy with a Sword* (1860–61, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) [and *The Young Lange*, ca. 1861, Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, author's comment], because both boys are isolated in a dark, shallow pictorial space. Both artists attempt to catch a fleeting moment, Manet's boy is seen in a "walking pose", while Sargent's Robert holds a squirming dog (*Manet/Velázquez* 2003, p. 529, cat. 210 [text by Trevor Fairbrother]). A similar approach to the handling of the paint is seen in Edelfelt's *Dear Friends I (Berta and Capi)* from 1881 (The Hermitage, St. Petersburg), while its colourism remains lighter. The portraits of children frequently also include a dog.

97 Richard Ormond notes that during the years following Sargent's journey to Spain in 1879, he "became a master of the dark interior". As regards the often-quoted suggestion that *The Daughters of Edward Darley Boit* is a "modern-day *Las Meniñas*", he disagrees. He sees that the two pictures are different in character. Instead, he proposes that the inset alcove, which we see in the group portrait, has more in common with *Las Hilanderas*, another of Velázquez's works that Sargent copied at the Prado in 1879. See Ormond 2006 [in print 2005], Chapter 7: Studies after the Old Masters, ca. 1879–1880.

98 Weinberg 2003, pp. 299, 304.

(see Chapter 5.2. Preparing for the Journey). Edelfelt's scene from the nursery is painted in the same vein as Sargent's similar domestic portrait, although the references to Velázquez are not as obvious as in Sargent's painting.⁹⁹

Edelfelt's *Lieutenant Alexandre Weissgerber de Stragėwicz as a Child* from 1887 (Fig. 73) also resembles Sargent's similar compositions based on Velázquez. Elina Anttila observes that the portrait of the young Alexandre is reminiscent of Velázquez's royal portraiture, as regards its colouring, composition as well as its painting technique. She speculates that Edelfelt might have intended to furnish the young boy with some of the "royal" character as seen in Velázquez's portraits.¹⁰⁰ Edelfelt's colouring is also strikingly similar to Sargent's experiments in a few, sometimes monochromatic colours in the manner of Velázquez. As Weinberg points out, "paying homage to and updating Velázquez continued to be Sargent's pattern in his portraits".¹⁰¹ Several of his portraits are painted in "black-against-black", such as *Lady with the Rose* (*Charlotte Louise Burckhardt*) (1882, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) and *Madame X* (*Madame Pierre Gautreau*) (Fig. 74). In Edelfelt's portrait, the young Alexandre is seen against an opaque black background, the boy's suit a colour triad of white-grey-black, similarly to a later portrait by Sargent, *Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Newton Phelps Stokes* (1897, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). In addition to the economy of the palette, the direct gaze of the boy also connects Edelfelt's portrait with Velázquez.¹⁰²

An excessive use of black (against black) is seen also in James McNeill Whistler's (1834–1903) portraits; Velázquez's elegant and restrained colourism caused Whistler to claim that "art has dipped the Spaniard's brush in light and air".¹⁰³ Whistler's portraits after 1896,



72. J.S. Sargent, *The Daughters of Edward Darley Boit*, 1882. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

99 I would also like to pay attention to Edelfelt's famous portrait of *Virginie* from 1883. Its colours are a rather limited scale of earthy ochres and reds, black values and highlights in white, which brings to mind Sargent's and Whistler's similar exercises in limited, subdued colours, inspired by Velázquez. Edelfelt's summary technique in the white lace against the black dress is a typical Spanish – and Whistlerian – accent [the same technique also appears in Edelfelt's rendition of the lacework in his *Portrait of Thérèse Scheifner* from 1885, private collection, ill. *Albert Edelfelt* 2003, p. 143]. Edelfelt's division of the room, by dividing the space with the screen and the illuminated window seen in the far back, with the black sculpture against the light, is reminiscent of Velázquez's spatial solutions in *Las Meninas* (see also Sargent's *The Daughters of Edward Darley Boit*).

100 She compares Edelfelt's portrait with Velázquez's *Philip IV* from 1626 at the Prado (Anttila 2001, p. 154).

101 Weinberg 2003, p. 299.

102 Comp. Weinberg (2003) on Sargent's portraiture and Velázquez (Weinberg 2003, pp. 304-305, ill. pp. 301, 302, 303).

103 Simpson 1998, p. 3; Tinterow 2003, p. 61. From the 1870s onward James (Abbot) McNeill Whistler (1834–1903) was preoccupied by the problems of portrait painting, creating a number of masterpieces, *Arrangement in Grey and Black, No. 1: The Artist's Mother; Miss Cicely Alexander: Harmony in Grey and Green* (1873); *Arrangement in Grey and Black, No. 2: Thomas Carlyle* (1873); and *Symphony in Flesh Colour and Pink: Mrs. Frederick R. Leyland*, among others. These are paintings that underline his aestheticism, his liking for simple forms and muted tones, and his dependence on Velázquez. The comparison with musical terms provide further support for the modus theory – Bialostocki points out that the terminology for the modus theory origi-



73. Albert Edelfelt, *Lieutenant Alexandre Weissgerber de Stragewicz as a Child*, 1887. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

for instance, show a new, personal connection to the sombre, deceptively monochromatic portraits of Velázquez that he had long admired. As Trevor Fairbrother observes, Whistler's late self-portraits feature dark, shadowy backgrounds and economical applications of paint that "readily recall the Spaniard".¹⁰⁴ Whistler's single figures are mostly seen in strong silhouettes against a neutral, often dark background, and the figure is centrally placed in relation to the edges of the canvas. As Weinberg observes, Whistler's "arrangements in black", which may be seen as explorations of "painterly values", favoured black, white, silvery greys and golden ochres, owing much to such court portraits by Velázquez such as *Pablo de Valladolid* (Fig. 75) and *Don Juan de Austria*, both in the Prado.¹⁰⁵

Whistler's debt to Velázquez endured throughout his life, and his last self-portrait, *Brown and Gold: Self-Portrait* from ca. 1896 (Fig. 76), is a tribute to Velázquez's *Pablo de Valladolid*.¹⁰⁶ Edelfelt's portrait of his wife Ellan from the same year (Fig. 77) resembles Whistler's self-portrait in many respects: in colour, fracture as well as the figures' stature and balanced placement in relation to the edges. In Edelfelt's portrait, his wife is seen against an indeterminable background in subdued nuances of brown and ochre (comp. Sargent's *Madame X*), obviously painted in the spirit of a "Whistlerian" Velázquez (and Sargent), particularly as regards the black

tonalities ("black-against-black") and her direct and tranquil gaze.

Edelfelt visited Whistler's exhibition in London in 1884. As Anna Kortelainen has pointed out, Edelfelt's prior knowledge of Whistler's art, including possible first-hand information through Sargent who met Whistler in Venice in the early 1880s, was extensive.¹⁰⁷ Kortelainen concentrates mainly on Whistler's and Edelfelt's respective interest in (and influences from) Japanese art, but Velázquez was also present in Edelfelt's remarks on the Anglo-American painter: "He imitates nobody, except himself and Velasquez", Edelfelt explained

nates in discussing musical moods (comp. Bialostocki 1966, pp. 17-18).

104 *Manet/Velázquez* 2003, p. 542, catalogue entry 226 [text by Trevor Fairbrother].

105 E.g., *Arrangement in Black, No. 3: Sir Henry Irving as Philip II of Spain*, 1876, revised 1885 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); *Arrangement in Black: Pablo de Sarasate*, 1884 (Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh). For illustrations, see *Manet/Velázquez* 2003, pp. 267, 268.

106 Weinberg 2003, pp. 260-271.

107 Kortelainen 2002a, pp. 386-416.

in 1884.¹⁰⁸ The remark was included in Edelfelt's analysis of Modern English painting in *Finsk Tidskrift* in which he reviewed Whistler's harmonies of colour and light effects:

He has painted splendid things, always keeping to these deliberate harmonies of colour. He subdues the light and places his models far back in space, and because of the painting's dusky tone it obtains an ancient look, particularly abreast of modern, glaring canvases. Therefore he does not resemble the great Spaniard in this respect, who never hesitated to place his figures in full light, but [Whistler's] brush has this subtlety and light, sweeping movement, his grey tones acquiring this tinge of pearly lustre, which we admire in Velasquez's *Infantas*. Accomplishing such consistency and depth in thin paint is certainly astonishing.¹⁰⁹

As we see, Edelfelt acknowledged Whistler's debt to Velázquez, paying particular attention to the brushwork and the "grey tones" and its pearly lustre, characteristic of the Spaniard.

Kilpinen and Catani also notice that in a later portrait (1901), of the famous Finnish soprano Aino Ackté (*Fig. 78*), Edelfelt's use of thin paint, dark colours and a "Whistler-inspired and Symbolist colour asceticism"¹¹⁰ resemble the technique we observe in Whistler's later, thinly painted portraits.¹¹¹ Initially, Edelfelt restricted his palette to a colour range of blacks, browns and greys, but the completed work also included reds and yellows, in addition to reflections in greyish blue in the browns and blacks.¹¹² Edelfelt's studies after Velázquez, such as *Menippus* and *Cardinal Infante Ferdinand as a Hunter*, appear in the same sketchbook where we also find preliminary drawings for Ackté (*Fig. 79*). Included is also a study after Sargent's *Portrait of Asher Wertheimer* from 1898.¹¹³ According to Kilpinen and Catani, these studies show how the confinement of the figure within the boundaries of the Ackté-portrait was fundamentally influenced by the way in which Velázquez and Sargent placed *their* figures in portraits that were frequently of the high and narrow format.¹¹⁴

Edelfelt's portrait of the famous singer, which resembles the portrait of his wife in terms of its colours, was indeed regarded as being imbued by Velázquez according to Edelfelt's contemporaries. Edelfelt's colleagues remarked that the portrait of Ackté was "largement peint" and referred to Velázquez. The following quotation from a letter to his wife summa-

108 "Han imiterar ingen, utom sig själf och Velasquez" (Edelfelt 1905, p. 93 ["Modernt engelskt måleri", pp. 78-97]).

109 "Han har målat ypperliga saker, alltid med bibehållande af dessa afsigtliga färgharmonier. Han dämpar ljuset och ställer sina modeller långt inne i rummet, så att taflan genom sin dunkla ton får ett ålderdomligt utseende, i synnerhet i bredd med moderna, skrikande dukar. I detta fall liknar han således icke den stora spanioren, som aldrig tvekade att ställa sina figurer i fullt ljus, men hans penselföring har detta subtila och lätt löpande, hans grå toner få denna perlemor skiftning, som vi beundra hos Velasquez' infantinnor. Att med tunna färger åstadkomma en sådan konsistens och ett sådant djup är i sanning otroligt" (Edelfelt 1905, p. 93).

110 They prefer the term "colour asceticism" to "monochromatic". In most colour-ascetic works in the Symbolist period, one or two colours were used, but disparity was achieved by applying tonal variation with grey or white. The forms were emphasised by strong contrasts between light and dark tones (Kilpinen & Catani 2004, p. 131).

111 Kilpinen & Catani 2004, p. 131.

112 Kilpinen & Catani 2004, p. 132.

113 Edelfelt's sketchbook 1517:19 (FNG). For an illustration of Sargent's *Asher Wertheimer*, see Ratcliff 1982, p. 175.

114 Kilpinen & Catani 2004, pp. 129-130. This format is, of course, quite natural for full-length portraits.



74. J.S. Sargent, *Madame X (Madame Pierre Gautreau)*, 1883–84. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Arthur Hoppock Hearn Fund).



75. Velázquez, *The Jester Pablo de Valladolid*, ca. 1632–35. Prado, Madrid.



76. James McNeill Whistler, *Brown and Gold: Self-Portrait*, ca. 1896. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.



77. Albert Edelfelt, *Portrait of the Artist's Wife Ellan Edelfelt*, 1896. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

risers Edelfelt's reflections on the portrait, which was executed in a manner close to Velázquez's, Sargent's and Whistler's harmonies:

Jean Baptiste Pasteur was here a moment ago, – enchanted by Ackté's portrait, which is just about finished. *Je crois que vous tenez là un trez groz [sic] succès, succès d'artiste et succès de public. Ecrivez donc à Mme Edelfelt qu'elle vienne ici assister à cela – cela en vaudra la peine!* [I believe that you here have a great success, an artistic success and a success among the public. Do write to Mme Edelfelt that she should really come here so as to take part of all this – it is worth while doing so!] I'm merely quoting. No one other than my neighbour de Latenay and Amic[?] have seen it but they are both very pleased. They regard it *largement peint* and talk about Velasquez! I have tried to concentrate the effect in her squirrel-eyes – something simultaneously fanatical and rigorous that she possesses, when she is not speaking or singing. The illumination, which is totally artificial, with gaslight on the one side, faint daylight on the other, endows [the painting] with the most strange colour nuances – the countenance is modelled in green and yellow, everything in half-tones [...] the eyes the only powerful (brown with a strong lustre of light) in the mask, the whole painting is made up of light ochres, reddish yellows, browns, black-browns, opal-greens and dark-green blacks, with a few tinges of faint grey-blue light from the rear – that is, not a particularly wide range of colours.¹¹⁵

Edelfelt's remark on Aino Ackté's "squirrel-eyes", imbued by "something simultaneously fanatical and rigorous", provides an intriguing connection to the contemporary view of Velázquez's influence also on Sargent's portraiture.¹¹⁶ Marc Simpson points out that nineteenth-century writers were frequently struck by the way Sargent, and presumably

115 "Jean Baptiste Pasteur var just nu här, – förtjust i Acktés porträtt, som nu är så godt som färdigt. *Je crois que vous tenez là un trez groz [sic] succès, succès d'artiste et succès de public. Ecrivez donc a Mme Edelfelt qu'elle vienne ici assister à cela – cela en vaudra la peine!* Jag bara citerar. Ingen annan än min granne de Latenay och Amic[?] har sett det men de är båda mycket förtjusta. De tycka det är *largement peint* och tala om Velasquez! Jag har försökt koncentrera effekten i hennes ekorrögon – något fanatiskt och strängt på samma gång som hon ha [sic], då hon icke talar eller sjunger. Belysningen som ju är alldeles artificiell med gasljus på ena sidan, svagt dagsljus på den andra ger de underligaste färgnyanser – ansigtet är modellerat i grönt och gult, allt i halfton [der?] ögonen är det enda kraftiga (brunt med starka glansljus) i masken, hela taflan går i ljusochra, rödgult, brunt, svartbrunt, opalgrönt och i mörkgrönt-svart, med några svaga gråblå sidoljus – icke alltför stor färgskala, således" (Edelfelt to Ellan Edelfelt, Paris 11 January 1901, SL5A).

116 Kilpinen and Catani notes that in his study after Sargent's *Asher Wertheimer* (Edelfelt's sketchbook 1517:19, FNG), Edelfelt has concentrated on the American's "intensity of expression" (Kilpinen & Catani 2004, p. 130).



78. Albert Edelfelt, *Portrait of the Opera Singer Aino Ackté*, 1901. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.



79. Albert Edelfelt, *Study for Portrait of the Opera Singer Aino Ackté (1901); Menippus*; drawing after Velázquez's Philip IV partly visible to the right, 1890–91. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

words in the world”.¹¹⁹ This is an obvious reference to Whistler and his “colour harmonies”.¹²⁰ Edelfelt executed several additional portraits during the late nineteenth century that suggest inspiration from Whistler’s portraiture and value painting in black-against-black; a feature considered a heritage from Velázquez. As John Ruskin expressed it as early as 1857 in his *Elements of Drawing*: “[Velázquez’s] black is more precious than most other people’s crimson.”¹²¹

Clearly Edelfelt reaffirmed his appreciation of Velázquez as a portrait painter in Paris.¹²² As Simpson has demonstrated, the similarities between Sargent’s portraiture and Velázquez were obvious for the writers of the 1880s.¹²³ In Becker’s atelier in Helsinki, and during later sessions in Paris (1874), Edelfelt had probably had the opportunity to

Velázquez, “looked straightforwardly at the people and things placed before him, his realism *pur sang*”.¹¹⁷ This was, Simpson continues, in Sargent’s case increased by “the imposed edginess or wariness that various observers sensed as endemic of his era – what his friend Vernon Lee (Violet Paget) called ‘*crispation de nerfs*’ [contraction of the nerves]”.¹¹⁸

Edelfelt continued his letter to his wife from 1901 by describing how delighted he was to be painting again, to be living in a world of nuances and values, “which, like music, can reproduce the tones of the picture better than all the

117 Simpson 1998, p. 9.

118 Simpson 1998, pp. 8-9. Comp. Kortelainen 2002b and Kortelainen 2003, where she argues that Edelfelt used hysteria performances in Paris as the inspiration for some of his portraits from the late nineteenth century (i.e., *Christ and Mary Magdalene, a Finnish Legend*, 1890, The Finnish National Gallery, Helsinki).

119 “[...] som likt musik kan återge stämningar [*sic*] bättre än alla världens ord tillsammans” (Edelfelt to Ellan Edelfelt, Paris 11 January 1901, SLSA). Here, Edelfelt plays on the Swedish word for “mood” – “stämning” – which he deliberately misspells with two “m” (“stämningar”) to refer to the idea of music or an instrument being in tune.

120 Compare Kortelainen’s discussion of Edelfelt’s interest in Whistler and the naming of his milieu portrait *At the Piano* (1884, Gothenburg Art Museum, Sweden). Edelfelt considered naming this artwork “*Rik harmoni*” (Eng. “*Rich harmony*”), clearly alluding to Whistler’s art (Kortelainen 2002a, pp. 387-391; Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, [Paris] 23 May [18]84, SLSA).

121 Quoted in Simpson 1998, pp. 3, 10 fn 4. The flesh-colours of the figures in Edelfelt’s *Portrait of Pietro and Mario Krohn* from 1894 (Private collection), for instance, are seen against an opaque black background, dressed in black suits. Edelfelt repeats and exaggerates the painterly values of black in the portrait of the author Julien Leclerc from 1897 (Private collection). In addition to the flesh tones, the white collars and cuffs are the only highlights. Edelfelt’s portrait of his mother (1883) in a black dress might also be seen as inspired by Whistler’s similar portraits (see Kortelainen 2002a, p. 390). Edelfelt painted his mother also in 1894 in a more subdued variant, which is more close to the monochrome, “Whistlerian” variations of Velázquez that were in vogue in Paris.

122 See also Catani 2004, p. 172; Catani & Lundström 2001, p. 158.

123 Simpson 1998.

study some of Becker's copies after the Spaniard. Furthermore, during his Spanish journey in 1881, he admired Velázquez as the most modern of the Old Masters. He wrote to his mother from Madrid about one of his visits to the Prado, informing her that he had never before sensed such intimacy with the Old Masters: "Maybe it is because here Velasquez is in the lead; [he is] the most modern of the Old Masters, that is, he is the one who looked upon the world in a way that is closest to our way of seeing."¹²⁴

As Edelfelt opined that Velázquez was the most modern of the Old Masters, Sargent's defenders and critics always saw his Spanish influences (predominantly from Velázquez) as connected to the camp of the modernists, including Manet, Carolus and Whistler. As Simpson observes, the perception of Sargent's modernity, and another tie to the legacy of Velázquez, was the "individual voice" that was discerned in Sargent as well as the Spanish Old Master. Despite the strong influences from Velázquez, "he had something new to say": he stood out from the crowd.¹²⁵

It is "difficult to pinpoint Velasquez's influence with any precision", as Richard Ormond observes.¹²⁶ Generally, the critics paid attention to the formal sentiments. Simpson summarises the presumably shared characteristics:

[T]he restricted palette and extreme tonal range (often weighted to the dark); the enlivening placement of figures within the confines of the canvas; the pervasive sense of atmosphere and palpable air filling the scene; and, in the few multiple-figure works, a friezelike composition of darkened forms with an off-centre, brightly lit focal point.¹²⁷

In many respects, Edelfelt's portraits discussed here can be included in this comparison. For instance, a portrait from 1882 (*Fig. 80*), presently called *Virginie* but presumably depicting his Parisian model Laetitia,¹²⁸ is a particularly vigorously painted exercise in the colour triad of black-white-ochre. The figure is seen in raking light against an impermeably black background, with strong accents between light and shade, executed in a painting manner that might be referred to as *Velasquez à la Parisienne*.¹²⁹

We should be aware of that Edelfelt's formal influences from Velázquez, like Sargent's, are clearly "Parisianised" variants. Ratcliff refers to R.A.M. Stevenson's book on Velázquez from 1895 in which he describes how Sargent "takes the Spanish painter's means, transmitted by Carolus-Duran, to be those of painting itself". According to Stevenson, Carolus urged his students to study Velázquez without respite. In this way, they were supposed to

124 "Som sagdt, jag har aldrig förr erfarit denna känsla av intimitet med de gamle. Kanske är det derföre, att i spetsen här står Velasquez, den modernaste af alla de gamle, d.v.s. den som såg mest såsom vi." (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 12 May 1881, SLSA).

125 Simpson 1998, p. 9, quoting Claude Phillips, "The Royal Academy. I", in *The Academy*, no. 731 (8 May 1886), p. 333.

126 Richard Ormond, *John Singer Sargent: Paintings, Drawings, Watercolours*, New York 1970, quoted in Simpson 1998, p. 8.

127 Simpson 1998, p. 8.

128 MA Marina Catani, private consultation.

129 The work is not included in Hintze's catalogue.



80. Albert Edelfelt, *Virginie*, 1882. Private Collection.

1880s and that the Spanish master held his place as a continuous source of inspiration throughout Sargent's career. Influence from Velázquez is apparent in his figure painting from the 1880s. As James Henry's summarised in 1887: "the great Velasquez became the god of his idolatry."¹³⁴

As we have seen, Velázquez remained also Edelfelt's "god", whom he had worshipped in the Prado in 1881. Edelfelt's comments from his visit at the museum this year are surprisingly scarce, but enthusiastic:

The Museum! It is the best gallery in the world – if not for an aesthetic (they do not understand much), so for a painter. It is as if all the painters in the world – Titian, Raphael, Moro, Dürer, Rubens, Van Dyck – had decided to arrange a *concours* so as not to be ashamed if compared to Velasquez, and the most remarkable collection of masterpieces was created. Here I have seen the

¹³⁰ Ratcliff 1982, pp. 38–40.

¹³¹ In addition to García Felguera 1991, see e.g., *Velázquez et la France* 1999, *passim*; Haskell 1976, p. 39 ff.

¹³² Ratcliff 1982, pp. 38–40. Furthermore, the model's posture and placement within the composition alludes also to Velázquez's portrait of *Pablo de Valladolid* at the Prado, a figure that Manet had described a few years earlier as having "only air" around him. As Manet observed, the background "disappeared". According to Brown and Garrido, this "created an illusion of greater immediacy and liveliness could be achieved, and a new way of painting was posited, although its implications was not be exploited for another two hundred years" (Brown & Garrido 1998, p. 93). In later portraits, Sargent sometimes reverted to Velázquez by using his "extremes of moodiness", as in his painting of the head of Poppy Graeme, a member of Joseph Farquarson's family (Ratcliff 1982, p. 66).

¹³³ Sargent also kept reproductions of Velázquez on his studio wall (Simpson 1998, p. 3).

¹³⁴ Simpson 1998, p. 9, and fn 51.

learn to "express the maximum with the minimum".¹³⁰ This particular feature the following generation of modern painters found most appealing in Velázquez's art.¹³¹ As Ratcliff comments: "Under the influence of Velázquez, Carolus had sensitized his eye to the most delicate inflections in the flow of light. ... Sargent soon learned to do the same [sacrificing solid architecture to the momentary effects of light and form]," as demonstrated in Sargent's *A Male Model Standing before a Stove* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).¹³²

Sargent's leaning towards Spanish art had thus emerged during his apprenticeship from 1874 onwards in Carolus's studio. Sargent had been in Spain with his parents as early as 1868, but his artistically more significant journey to Spain took place in 1879, when he copied Velázquez at the Prado. According to Simpson, the first time art critics connected Sargent's style with that of Velázquez was this same year. In reviews of the annual *Salon*-exhibition, they compared Sargent's portrait of his teacher with the character of Velázquez's types.¹³³ Simpson also notes that Sargent made several pronounced remarks about the genius of Velázquez well into the

most outstanding Titian ever, a portrait of Philip II. And Velasquez – nobody, nobody has painted in oil in this way and just think that here you can see about 20 of his large paintings.¹³⁵

Velázquez was the most sublime painter Edelfelt ever had encountered. Of four days in Madrid, he spent three in the Prado. He wrote to B.O. Schauman that no other gallery had managed to impress him to this extent and even his expectations with regard to Velázquez were exceeded:¹³⁶ “It is absurd even to try to express in words what the eye alone can distinguish.”¹³⁷ Real experiences of genuine artworks were particularly significant, since they both demonstrate the visiting painter’s connoisseurship as well as the major force of tourism, that of authentic experiences.

Painters had thus to see the Old Masters with their own eyes, *in situ*, in order to have an “empowering experience”, as Alisa Luxenberg puts it. According to her, one of the reasons why *Las Meninas*, for instance, triumphed during the latter part of the nineteenth century, was that the painting’s subject departed from the Spanish tradition of religious painting, and was considered especially original.¹³⁸

Luxenberg observes that a variety of factors influenced painters’ responses to *Las Meninas*, including the “empowering experience” which occurred when visitors to the Prado after 1820 were able to “step into the royal shoes” of the King and Queen.¹³⁹ In addition to the influence of museums, academies, exhibitions, market forces, tourism, scholarship and publishing, Luxenberg observes that the “significant themes and qualities raised in interpretations of *Las Meninas* [*sic*] [...] match the values of the growing tourist economy”.¹⁴⁰ Luxenberg’s conclu-

135 “Museet! Det är det bästa galleri i världen – om ej för en estetiker (de begripa ej mycket) så för en målare. Det är rakt som om alla världens målare Tizian, Rafael, Moro, Dürer, Rubens, Van Dyck skulle ha beslutat att ställa till en concours [tävling] för att ej skämmas vid sidan av Velasquez, och deraf har uppstått den makalösaste samling af mästerverk. Här har jag sett den bästa Tizian jag någonsin sett, ett porträtt av Philip II. Och Velasquez – ingen, ingen har målat så i olja och tänk att här finnes ungefär 20 stora tafvor af honom” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 11 April 1881, SLSA).

136 “Att jag af fyra dagar tillbragte 3 i museo del Prado behöfver jag väl ej säga. – [...] Aldrig har någon samling målerier gjordt ett sådant intryck på mig. [...] Jag hade aldrig trott att Velasquez var så märkvärdigt dugtig, Tizian har aldrig synt mig bättre och några porträtt af Van Dyck och Antonio Moro, fullständiga mästerverk, förvånade mig. Rafael är makalöst väl representerad, och står sig genom sin ädla teckning ypperligt vid sidan af en sådan kolorist som Velasquez [...]” (Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Granada 18 April 1881, FNG/Archives).

137 “Det är vanvetligt att i ord söka skildra det som endast med ögat kan uppfattas” (Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Granada 18 April 1881, FNG/Archives). In addition to Velázquez, Titian was the painter most admired by Edelfelt: “Jag inskränker mig till att omnämna ett porträtt af Filip II såsom ung af Tizian; i mitt tycke öfvergår detta allt hvad han gjordt, t.o.m. hans nakna qvinnofigurer hvaraf kanske de vackraste finnas i Madrid” (Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Granada 18 April 1881, FNG/Archives). In another letter, Edelfelt informs B.O. Schauman that he learned to admire Titian in the Prado “as never before”. Other painters he mentions specifically are: van Dyck, Albrecht Dürer, Raphael and El Greco. Their aura is nevertheless diminished when compared to Velázquez. (See e.g., the following excerpt from one of Edelfelt’s letters: “Museet i Madrid ha lärt mig beundra Tizian såsom aldrig förr. Jag bugar mig också nu djupare för Van Dyck än då jag kände honom blott från de Nordiska museerna. Albrecht Dürer har 2 porträtt här, båda mästerverk, Holbein likaså. Jag upprepar ännu en gång, att om alla de stora beslutat att hvar i sin stad söka skapa en riktigt utmärkt samling, skulle de ej ha lyckats bättre. Den enda stora luckan är Rembrandt, men å andra sidan kan man endast se Velasquez här. Rafaëls ’la Perla’ är bland det finaste, noblaste, som finnes. En målare som endast ses i Spanien är ’el Greco’ elev af Tizian”, Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Toledo 7 May [1881, continued in Madrid 10 May 1881], FNG/Archives.)

138 Luxenberg 2002, p. 13.

139 The formal composition allows a “pictorial space” in front of the canvas, which implies the viewer’s position.

140 Luxenberg 2003, p. 10.

sions draw on MacCannell when she asserts that these values derive from “the human desire for authentic experience”; a central force in tourism. And in nineteenth-century texts, viewing original works of art was a recurrent demand. By challenging the frequently exaggerated physical hardships of journeying to Spain, the art “hidden” behind the Pyrenees was mystified and the travellers’ insight authorised, turning them into elite connoisseurs: several painters, art critics and authors claimed that one could see Velázquez only in Madrid.¹⁴¹

Indeed, the demand for authentic experiences included viewing works directly rather than through prints, lithographs and photographs. By experiencing the original artwork, the voyagers were able to “distinguish their aesthetic credentials from the crass majority satisfied with the facsimile at home”.¹⁴² Luxenberg cites texts that suggests that nineteenth-century French and Spanish commentators saw these art travellers – in their search for a “secular, spiritual enlightenment” – as being akin to medieval pilgrims: the Prado museum was a shrine.¹⁴³ Similar views are expressed by the Fenno-Swedish painter Louis Sparre (1863–1964)¹⁴⁴ in his description of his meeting with Velázquez at the Prado in 1908. The Spanish master affected him deeply: “His great hall is a temple where every single one of the 60 [*sic*] canvases is an altar where one kneels in prayer.”¹⁴⁵

We ought to remember that Edelfelt had been in the position to examine *Las Meniñas* while he was in Spain in 1881: he had been able “to step into the royal shoes” of the Spanish rulers. Much later, in 1900–1901 when he worked with Aino Ackté, he executed two drawings after *Las Meniñas*, probably using a reproduction. One is a drawing in pencil, depicting the central part of Velázquez’s composition (*Fig. 81*). The drawing is inscribed in the upper right corner “las Niñas”.¹⁴⁶ Here we see the painter by his easel to the left, and the three girls in the centre: infanta Margarita María, the daughter of Philip IV and his second wife, Mariana of Austria, who are reflected in the mirror at the back, and the two maids of honour, *las meniñas*, María Agustina Sarmiento to the left and Isabel de Velasco. The man in the far background, who is standing against the light coming from the door opening is José de Nieto, the chamberlain of the queen’s quarters of the palace. Edelfelt has left out the upper part of Velázquez’s composition and the figures and windows to the right, and the dog lying in front of Isabel de Velasco.

Surely this “largest oil sketch ever painted”, as Brown and Garrido describe it, must have appealed to a painter like Edelfelt, who struggled to depict the visual world around him

141 As Edelfelt’s friend Georg von Rosen reported after his return from Spain in 1880: “Those who have not seen Velázquez in Madrid do not know what painting is” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, 16 March 1880, SLSA).

142 Luxenberg 2003, pp. 10–11.

143 Luxenberg 2003, pp. 10–16.

144 The Swedish painter and industrial designer Louis Sparre had been in Finland since 1889, and before he returned to Stockholm in 1908, he ventured on an art historical itinerary through Spain and Italy. In Spain, he visited Burgos, Madrid, Toledo and Seville (Lundström 1996 [unpubl.], pp. 102–106).

145 “Hans stora sal är ett tempel där hvar och en af de 60 dukarne är ett altare där man faller ned och tillber” (Louis Sparre to Uno Donner, Madrid 3 November 1908, ÅAB/Manuscript Department).

146 Edelfelt’s sketchbook 1517:19 (FNG).

through the direct study of nature. Throughout his artistic career, Velázquez also struggled with similar problems concerning the relation between the physical world and the painted object. Through “strategies of indefiniteness”, Velázquez achieved his goal in this masterpiece by making the world around him come alive. The interplay between the canvas and colour, often applied in no more than a few quick touches and with very fluid paints, his “summary manner”, creates “an almost palpable reality”.¹⁴⁷ These endeavours were central to painters active in Edelfelt’s generation. Edelfelt did not execute his studies in oil, but paid particular interest in the interplay of light and shade, and the relation of the figures on the two-dimensional canvas.

This is particularly apparent in the other study of *Las Meniñas* (Fig. 82), a simplified wash-drawing where Edelfelt has tried to express the “maximum with the minimum”, as Carolus described Velázquez’s technique. Brown and Garrido note: “Everyone wants to get into the picture, to show that they are the equal of the genius who created it.”¹⁴⁸ This, I argue in line with Luxenberg, is one of the main reasons for the painting’s outstanding position among painters during the last decades of the nineteenth century. *Las Meniñas* offered a solution to the prevalent problem of transferring reality onto the canvas and also satisfied the demand of direct observation.

They had, as it were, to translate Velázquez in order to recreate his achievements according to their own idea(l)s.



81. Albert Edelfelt, detail of Velázquez’s *Las Meniñas* I, 1890–91. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

82. Albert Edelfelt, detail of Velázquez’s *Las Meniñas* II, 1890–91. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

147 Brown & Garrido 1998, pp. 181-280.
 148 Brown & Garrido 1998, p. 280.

4.3 RECYCLING OLD SPANISH MASTERS IN PARISIAN ATELIERS

The role of art teachers in passing on suitable models from the past to their students is paramount. As we have seen, when Adolf von Becker studied in Paris, studying the Old Spanish Masters was a standard component of studio life in the 1870s. Becker's education had included exercises in a Franco-Spanish painting manner, the *manière espagnole*, including his studies in the Prado. He was surrounded by "Spanishness", not only whilst in Spain but also whilst in Paris. In addition to his journey to Spain, Becker's training in Paris was at least as important.

The explicit reason for Edelfelt's enrolment in Gérôme's atelier was the latter's exotic genre compositions and history painting. An alternative to Gérôme as teacher had been Bonnat, who had been recommended by Becker.¹⁴⁹ Becker was instrumental in turning Fenno-Scandinavian pupils to Bonnat. As we know, Becker had been among Bonnat's first Scandinavian pupils, and we know that he was actually present when the *Atelier-Bonnat* opened in 1867.¹⁵⁰ Challons-Lipton's investigation shows how Bonnat's teachings in many ways affected the birth of Scandinavian Naturalism that thrived in late-nineteenth century.¹⁵¹ In Scandinavia, Bonnat was considered to be the most modern art instructor in Paris, and several Scandinavians sought him out as an alternative to what they saw as "an outworn Academism of their native school", as John Whiteley puts it.¹⁵² In her memoirs, the Finnish painter Helena Westermarck (1857–1938), for instance, described her teachers in Paris – Bonnat, Gérôme and Bastien-Lepage – as some of the finest in Paris and the most innovative Realists.¹⁵³

Bonnat's influence on Scandinavian art school training was crucial. From the 1880s, the new trends in French art were welcomed by the majority of Finnish painters mainly through Becker, who passed on his knowledge to his numerous pupils.¹⁵⁴ A great number of Finnish women painters – Becker's former students – enrolled in Bonnat's atelier around 1880. Becker must thus be accredited for introducing women in particular to French Naturalism and transferring them to the Parisian studios.¹⁵⁵ As Challons-Lipton argues, Becker's teach-

149 For more on Gérôme, see Ackerman 1986, p. 92.

150 Challons-Lipton mentions the years 1867–1873 as being the period during which Becker attended the *Atelier-Bonnat* (Challons-Lipton 2001, p. 169 [Appendix A:a]). Becker was followed by his countryman and landscape painter Berndt Lindholm (1841–1914) in 1868. Lindholm stayed in *Atelier-Bonnat* from 1868–1870 and again from 1873–1875 (Challons-Lipton 2001, p. 70).

151 Challons-Lipton 2001 (see p. 69 on Becker's importance).

152 Challons-Lipton 2001, p. 3; Dr. Jon Whiteley, preface to Challons-Lipton 2001, p. ii. Whiteley observes that this view of the named painters occurs at the same time as both Bonnat and Carolus-Duran, from a French perspective, were associated with Academism and the enemies of the avant-garde.

153 Westermarck 1941, pp. 101–103. Westermarck had studied for Becker in Helsinki, and continued to do so in Paris in 1879.

154 Challons-Lipton observes that Edelfelt further promoted the "French Realist style and open-air painting" in Finland. Berndt Lindholm continued a course similar to Becker in Sweden (Challons-Lipton 2001, p. 151).

155 Finnish women painters in *Académie-Trélat* and Becker's former pupils included, in addition to Helena Westermarck and Helene Schjerfbeck, Ada Thilén, Ellen Favorin and Alma Engblom (Challons-Lipton 2001, p.

ing was “run according to the precepts of a Parisian atelier” and thus functioned as a preparing support when his students arrived in Paris.¹⁵⁶ As Riitta Konttinen also argues, the popularity of Becker’s *Private Academy* rested on the fact that he, like many of his former teachers (Couture and particularly Bonnat) favoured painting over drawing, and also because he had adopted what might be called a “French art pedagogy”. Instead of concentrating on details, he directed his students to observe the *forms* of the total composition, and to use colours sparingly.¹⁵⁷ His students cultivated the teachings and “initial techniques” of contemporary French art that they had received initially from Becker and later from Bonnat:¹⁵⁸ using a palette knife, two to three brush sizes, an appreciation for originality and honesty, a close study of nature and a striving after truthful depiction.¹⁵⁹

4.3.1 Murillo: Coquettish in a Womanish Way?

One of Becker’s pupils was Helene Schjerfbeck, who studied with Becker between 1877 and 1879. She was also one of the many women painters whom Becker referred to Mme. Trélat de Vigné’s academy for women, the *Académie-Trélat*, where Schjerfbeck studied 1880–81.¹⁶⁰ At the *Trélat*-academy, Bonnat and Gérôme were Schjerfbeck’s first Parisian teachers, but according to a later remark to Einar Reuter, Bonnat came to the studio only once while she was working there.¹⁶¹ Schjerfbeck recalls not having a particular liking for Bonnat; she considered him to be dull and, much later, in the 1930s, she also regarded his teachings as having been conservative.¹⁶²

Schjerfbeck’s studies with Bonnat were cut short when Mme. Trélat closed the atelier in the autumn of 1881, and several of the students were transferred to the *Académie Colarossi*.¹⁶³ But the teaching methods of the *Académie-Trélat* and *Académie Colarossi* did not differ that much.¹⁶⁴ Challons-Lipton emphasises that although Bastien-Lepage’s influence on these Fenno-Scandinavian women painters was vital, the techniques they learned were derived

170 [Appendix A:c)].

156 Challons-Lipton 2001, p. 94.

157 Konttinen 2004, pp. 48-49.

158 Konttinen observes that Becker’s methods were largely derived from Bonnat’s teachings, a statement with which I also agree (Konttinen 2004, p. 63).

159 Challons-Lipton 2001, p. 152, referring to Schjerfbeck’s letter to Einar Reuter, dated 15 September 1926, ÅAB/Manuscript Department. According to this letter, it was Becker who initially introduced Schjerfbeck to the “French technique” of painting.

160 Challons-Lipton 2001, p. 170 (Appendix A:c).

161 The atelier’s third teacher, Bastien-Lepage, probably never visited (Konttinen 2004, p. 63, referring to Schjerfbeck’s letter to Einar Reuter, 22 January 1930). In a letter from 1880, she remarks that Bonnat will arrive in the studio the next day, in order to “correct” their work (Konttinen 2004, p. 63, referring to a fragmentary letter for her family, dated in late autumn 1880).

162 Konttinen 2004, p. 64, referring to letter from Schjerfbeck to Einar Reuter (17 July 1928) and Helena Westermarck (20 November 1932).

163 Challons-Lipton 2001, p. 95; Konttinen 2004, p. 64. For more on the artistic circles of *Académie-Trélat* and *Colarossi*, see also Konttinen 1991, pp. 112-119.

164 Challons-Lipton 2001, p. 95.



83. Helene Schjerfbeck, *Boy Feeding his Little Sister*, Brittany 1881. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

from Bonnat, Courbet¹⁶⁵ and the Old Spanish Masters.¹⁶⁶ Helene Schjerfbeck's *oeuvre*, for instance, frequently shows how these and other influences would be re-used, translated and reconciled into a personal synthesis. In terms of the Spanish constituent, Schjerfbeck's *Boy Feeding his Little Sister* (Fig. 83), which she painted in Brittany in 1881, can favourably be compared to Murillo, particularly as regards the subject. The painting also resembles Velázquez (and Ribera) in its colouring of subdued patches of blue, brown and black with highlights in red and white, painted with a broad brush à la Bonnat. Schjerfbeck's painting also shares the same fate as Murillo's street-urchins; when her work was exhibited in Finland in 1881, the critics regarded the motif as lowly, the children animal-like, ugly and utterly despicable.¹⁶⁷ The boy's features are, formally, close to those in Murillo's early genre paintings¹⁶⁸ and, as such, they fit with the view of Spanish art and particularly

165 Helena Westermarck's *The Ironing Women* (1883), for instance, shows awareness of Courbet's art, which certainly was discussed in Becker's *Private Academy*. In her memoirs, Westermarck described her attitude towards painting: "I tried to recreate what I saw in nature [with broad brush strokes] and I did not intend to paint as much as I did to defy the public's taste, or its perception of what is beautiful and ugly." ["Jag full av ungdomlig iver försökte återge vad jag såg i naturen, och jag hade inte haft någon tanke på att måla såsom jag gjorde det för att därmed trotsa publikens smak eller dess uppfattning om skönt och fult."] (Westermarck 1941, p. 96, translation according to Challons-Lipton 2001, pp. 112-113). We should also remember, that Becker later wrote a short essay on his time in Courbet's Independent atelier, a text which stresses Courbet's insistence on looking directly at nature (Becker 1891).

166 Challons-Lipton 2001, p. 137.

167 Konttinen 1991, pp. 187-188, 202-207; Konttinen 1992, p. 42. However, Konttinen does not mention Murillo as a source of inspiration, but does mention the Dutch Baroque, which Schjerfbeck admired as well. It is worth noticing that Murillo was inspired by Dutch seventeenth-century painting as well (e.g., Gerrit Dou, Honthorst and Rembrandt). During Murillo's lifetime, Spain and the Netherlands were united by the same political borders, and his commissions were thus partly directed by the Dutch style (Ayala Mallory 1990, pp. 249-250).

168 Schjerfbeck's paintings of children were frequently executed in a painting manner that, in terms of their delicacy, is close to Murillo's late painting mode. The stance of Murillo (and Velázquez), evident in *Girl with a Sallow Twig* from 1886, is still present in the 1890s in works like *Praying Girl* (1891-92). Konttinen observes that Schjerfbeck's art from the 1890s onwards exposes a stylistic change [towards symbolism] at the same time as her subject becomes more spiritual. Religiously attuned topics dominate the decade (Konttinen 2004, p. 96). Additionally, in its humble and tranquil spirituality, *Praying Girl* is close to Murillo's subdued, simple and pious *Dolorosa*-images, which were frequently used as copy material. In other works from the early 1890s, such as *Children Playing*, Schjerfbeck combines Murillo's ragamuffin-iconography with his later, sentimental style. The image shows two small boys, occupied by dividing a piece of wood, sitting tightly together on the floor in a cottage (Helene Schjerfbeck 1992, cat. 94, 131, 137, 152). Today Schjerfbeck is loved by the general public particularly for her sentimentalising images of small children with downy hair (Schulman 1992 [unpubl.]). In this regard, Schjerfbeck's paintings form a continuity with Murillo's late-nineteenth-century status, when his paintings were "fashionable objects" to own, despite (or, because of?) their non-academic status. Francis Haskell discusses the attitude of "the man in the street" towards Murillo around mid-century, pointing out a particular affection for paintings like *The Good Shepherd*. Nathaniel Hawthorne constitutes an example, as he loved this particular painting most of the hundreds that he saw at *The Art Treasures Exhibition* in Manchester, 1857 (Haskell 1976, p. 160 ff).

Murillo's beggar boys as "down-to-earth" subjects, suitable as models for a (pending) Naturalist painter.

As Challons-Lipton observes, few of Bonnat's students mimicked his art closely, but many produced paintings with identifiable characteristics which can be traced to Bonnat as well as the influence of his French colleagues and of other pupils in his ateliers.¹⁶⁹ Bonnat's students frequently studied Spanish art also in Spain.¹⁷⁰ Challons-Lipton likes to see a connection between Bonnat's religious art, inspired by the Spanish Baroque, and one of Schjerfbeck's early works, *The Rich Man and Lazarus* (Fig. 84) from 1878–79. Challons-Lipton regards Schjerfbeck's work as reminiscent of Bonnat's *St. Vincent-de-Paul* from 1865 (Fig. 85), particularly in its naturalistic figures, which both painters have placed close to the picture plane, a feature that I would like to stress is frequently deployed in Spanish seventeenth-century painting. Additionally, both Bonnat's and Schjerfbeck's paintings are sketch-like, painted in dark, Spanish Baroque colours, "depicting a frozen moment in time".¹⁷¹ It is not a heroic moment that is chosen, but rather a genre scene, depicting real and unidealised people. Challons-Lipton is of the opinion that Schjerfbeck's work imitates the religious paintings of the Spanish Baroque masters as well as Bonnat's derivations from the same source.¹⁷² However, since Schjerfbeck did not enrol with Bonnat until 1880, the actual inspirational source must have been Becker's teaching. Thus, the French teacher's influence was only indirect, in formal as well as technical aspects and as regards the association with the Spanish Baroque.¹⁷³

Other, more obvious but essentially indirect influences from the Spanish Baroque can be recognised in Schjerfbeck's art, such as the small *A Child of Destitution (Girl by the Stove)* from 1883 (Fig. 86).¹⁷⁴ Konttinen connects this painting with the current *faiblesse* among Naturalists for poor children; it would thus be Schjerfbeck's comment on the issue. Konttinen also associates Schjerfbeck's work with Bonvin's *The Little Chimney-Sweep* from 1845 (see Fig. 48), but does so without elaborating on the connection.¹⁷⁵ Indeed, Schjerfbeck resumes



84. Helene Schjerfbeck, *The Rich Man and Lazarus*, preliminary study, ca. 1879. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.



85. Léon Bonnat, *St. Vincent-de-Paul prenant la place d'un galérien*, 1865.

169 Challons-Lipton 2001, p. 99.

170 Challons-Lipton comments on, for instance, the Danes Frans Henningsen's, Frants Schwartz's, P.S. Krøyer's and Julius Lange's journey to Spain in 1878, and mentions several other Scandinavians imbued by Velázquez or Ribera, introduced to them by Bonnat: the Dane Laurits Tuxen, the Swede Gustaf Cederström, the Norwegian Hans Heyerdahl and the Swede Hildegard Thorell. She also mentions Edvard Munch, who was the last Scandinavian to enrol in Bonnat's atelier in 1889, and the Norwegian painter's attraction to Velázquez. Save for the art historian Lange, all were Bonnat's pupils. In addition to the influence of the Spanish Baroque on religious art, the admiration of the Spanish school also had an impact on genre painting, which frequently involved Spanish topics (Challons-Lipton 2001, pp. 102–110).

171 Challons-Lipton 2001, p. 105.

172 Challons-Lipton 2001, p. 105.

173 Konttinen sees similarities between this work and Raphael's *The School of Athens*. Several of Schjerfbeck's religious works from the late 1870s were imbued with influences from the Old Masters (Konttinen 2004, p. 53).

174 *Armodets Barn (Flicka vid Spisen)*. This painting was destroyed in the bombing of Helsinki in 1944. For an illustration, see Appelberg 1949, p. 54; *Helene Schjerfbeck* 1992, p. 112 cat. 76.

175 This painting can also be interpreted as a depiction of Schjerfbeck's innocuous circumstances as a young painter in Paris, inspired by the newly revitalised Octave Tassaert and his *Un coin de son atelier* from 1845. For a discussion on *A Child of Destitution (Girl by the Stove)* in connection with social engagement in art, see Konttinen 1991, pp. 171–173.



86. Helene Schjerfbeck, *A Child of Destitution (Girl by the Stove)*, 1883. Destroyed in 1944.



87. Hanna Frosterus-Segerstråle, *Sunday-School Children by the Cooking Stove*, 1888. Private Collection.

a similarly dejected figure as seen, for instance, in Bonvin's paintings of children, inspired by Murillo's street urchins. In this respect, Schjerfbeck also takes up the compositional themes in Bonnat's similar images of children "posing in a world of reverie", seen against a plain background.¹⁷⁶ Other details also connect the subject in Schjerfbeck's composition with Murillo's pictures of street urchins (for instance, *Beggar Boy* or *Three Boys Playing Dice*), such as the girl's feet with their worn out socks protruding towards the viewer, and the empty basket to the right.

Hanna Frosterus-Segerstråle's (1867–1946) *Sunday-School Children by the Cooking Stove* from 1888 (Fig. 87) also belongs to this category.¹⁷⁷ This work exposes a popular nineteenth-century ragamuffin-iconography à la Murillo; the boy to the left is reminiscent of Murillo's earlier works, such as the Dulwich Gallery *Invitation to the Game of Pelota* (Fig. 88), a veristic painting executed in a rigorous manner. In Frosterus-Segerstråle's work, the features of the boy to the left shows striking resemblance, formally as well as regards the topic, with the standing figure in Murillo's work. The dirty feet that protrude towards the viewer in both pictures – the trait of Murillo's genre pictures that Ruskin disliked so much – enhance the

176 Quotation from Challons-Lipton 2001, p. 143. See also Challons-Lipton 2001, fig. 1 (Bonnat's *Portrait de la famille de l'artiste*, 1853).

177 Finnish art history characterises Frosterus-Segerstråle as "a painter of children" (Lindberg 1998, p. 213).

resemblance further.¹⁷⁸ In contrast to this painting, a softer Murilloesque influence is visible in *The Little Newspaper-Boy* from 1887 (Fig. 89). Here, the vaporous brushwork, reminiscent of Murillo's later works, such as *Two Beggar Boys Eating a Tart* at the Alte Pinakothek in Munich (comp. Fig. 15), creates a more emotional personification of the small vendor than that of the boys in the previous painting, reminiscent of Schjerfbeck's similar works, such as *Girl with a Sallow Twig* from 1886.

Like Velázquez, Murillo's art was comprehended according to current tastes, and his appeal was frequently referred to as "feminine". The art of Velázquez, the Dutch, Frans Hals and Rembrandt, the Primitives and, to some extent, the Rococo and Rubens, on the other hand, might be referred to as being "manly". While copies after Murillo are absent from Schjerfbeck's *oeuvre*,¹⁷⁹ we know that she copied Velázquez's *Infanta Margarita* and *Pope Innocentius X*¹⁸⁰ and other "masculine" Old Masters, such as Frans Hals and the Dutch as well as the Primitives.¹⁸¹ In this respect, she constitutes an exception among Finnish women painters.¹⁸² Although Murillo was included among Edelfelt's favourites in Madrid, his style and subjects were not admired without reservation.¹⁸³ Edelfelt wrote of his visit in the Prado in 1881: "Murillo, whose best works also are here, is good for Misses when compared to Velasquez – a first-rate painting Master."¹⁸⁴ Edelfelt's choice of words is significant; they reflect the prevailing opinion of Murillo. As late as 1910, Murillo was described by the Finnish art historian J.J. Tikkanen as "*naisellisesti mielistelynhaluinen*" – coquettish in a womanish way – in contrast to Zurbarán's reserved masculinity and Velázquez nobility.¹⁸⁵ The "womanish coquettish" Murillo won no place in the world of the Moderns, and a sort of masculinity cult prevailed.¹⁸⁶ Velázquez manly character as a genius (court) painter was a suitable idol within such a cult, while Murillo and his "feminine" motifs were not – or: his subjects did



88. Murillo, *Invitation to the Game of Pelota*, ca. 1670. Trustees of Dulwich Picture Gallery, London.

178 A connection to also Velázquez's *Las Hilanderas* is discernible in Frosterus-Segerstälé's inclusion of a spinning wheel to the far left (see Fig. 87).

179 Schjerfbeck's biographer H. Ahtela [Einar Reuter] refers to a copy of a Madonna by Murillo, but assumes this is a forgery, or, at the very least, an academic study ([Einar Reuter's list of forgeries and uncertain attributions of Helene Schjerfbeck's paintings], ÅAB/Manuscript Department).

180 In *Helene Schjerfbeck* 1992 (cat. 140), the painting is called *Infanta Maria Theresia* [sic], but the accurate title of the original painting is *Infantina Margarita* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna). Schjerfbeck copied *Innocentius X* at the Hermitage in St. Petersburg.

181 Schjerfbeck copied Hals (1892), Ter Borch (1892), Holbein (1894), Lippi (1894). *Helene Schjerfbeck* 1992, cat. 104, 132, 133, 139.

182 Schjerfbeck's later correspondence with Einar Reuter reveals that Spanish art continued being important throughout her life (the letters span from 1919 onwards, today at the ÅAB/Manuscript Department). From 1912 onwards, she also started to show particular interest in El Greco, of whom she later executed several personal pastiches and copies (one in 1926 and several in the 1940, shortly before her death). She also discussed El Greco frequently in her correspondence with Reuter. Her interest in and replicas of El Greco deserve a separate investigation.

183 "Here pose Raphael, Velasquez, Murillo, Titian, van Dyck, Tintoretto, Holbein and Albrecht Dürer side by side" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 12 May 1881, SL5A). For Edelfelt's preferences of Old Masters in general, see Anttila 2003.

184 The citation is impossible to translate directly: "Murillo, vars bästa saker också finnas här [Prado in Madrid], är bra för mamseller i jämförelse med Velasquez – en målarmästare som heter duga" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 11 April 1881, SL5A).

185 Tikkanen 1910, p. 158 ("Murillo", pp. 156-158). On Finnish art history and Old Spanish Masters, see Lundström 2001a.

186 This notion is apparent throughout Pollock 1999, and Pollock 1998, p. 59 ff.



89. Hanna Frosterus-Segerstråle, *The Little Newspaper-Boy*, 1887. Private Collection.



91. Helene Schjerfbeck, *Spaniard*, 1880. Ateneum Art Museum (Ester and Jalo Sihtola Collection), Helsinki.



90. Helena Westermarck, *Toreador*, 1880–81. Private Collection.

not allude to the public sphere.¹⁸⁷ Instead, Murillo's influence as regards choice of subject and style is overwhelmingly seen among women painters.¹⁸⁸

Schjerfbeck and her sisters in the *Académie-Trélat* never travelled to Spain, and their admiration for Spanish art is thus exclusively a result of their Parisian training. The closest they came to employing Spanish genre subjects are the few portraits, or, rather academic studies, from the early 1880s, for instance Helena Westermarck's *Toreador* (Fig. 90).¹⁸⁹ Schjerfbeck painted the head of a Spaniard that same year,

probably at the same session (Fig. 91). In addition to a clearly Bonnat-esque colouring and technique, their subjects represent the stereotypical Spanish imagery that reigned in Paris. The torero/Spaniard was probably painted using a professional model (not even necessarily of Spanish origin), and the pose in Westermarck's image is strictly academic, his costume vaguely reminiscent of those worn by Manet's toreros (Fig. 92). Furthermore, the subdued colouring of Westermarck's "torero", the *manière espagnole*, was an important element when turning the subject into an expression for Spanishness. Westermarck's figure, for instance,

187 This view is supported in Pollock 1999, when she suggests that the standpoint of women being referred to the domestic sphere is "due to the culture that the modernists soon attempted to create [...]" (p. 35); see also Pollock 1998; Kontinen 1991, pp. 7-23, 202-207. Kontinen discusses here and throughout her book the radicalism in the work of women painters in Finland in the 1880s, when they operated under difficult circumstances in a sphere that was dominated by their male colleagues.

188 In 1871, Mary Cassatt for instance, travelled to Spain "in her search for the means to become a notable painter", Murillo also influenced her art, as can be seen in, for instance, in *On the Balcony* from 1873 (Pollock 1998, p. 101). Opposing this argument may be Renoir's paintings of maternal happiness, executed as late as the 1890s. However, their influence is primarily indebted to Velázquez (García Felguera 1991, p. 143).

189 The man depicted in Westermarck's painting is not, however, dressed as a torero; rather he is wearing a (traditional) Spanish costume.

is composed of a range of black nuances with bright red and white highlights set against a neutral, blackish-green background, completely in line with Bonnat's teachings. Spanish influence in Schjerbeck's as well as Westermarck's art is thus an indirect and particularly eclectic variant of the *manière espagnole*.

Murillo's popularity continued among women painters. Venny Soldan travelled to Spain in 1890 inspired by her father's high regard for Murillo. Copying was the official reason for her journey. She admired also Velázquez, but it was Murillo and not Velázquez whom she copied.¹⁹⁰ She stayed in Seville for several months, executing copies in order to make a living. She wrote to her friend Eva Topelius that she had copied very little, only as much as she needed to stay alive.¹⁹¹ In addition to enjoying the foreign culture, she strolled in the many churches admiring the Old Masters. In another letter to Eva Topelius, she described her relation to Spanish painting and her copying tasks:

The art is nevertheless superior to [Seville's] nature and people, I almost was about to say! What I mean is that it's not worthwhile going to this place for anything else! From Europe, nobody can conceptualise Murillo or any other Spanish painter or sculptor. Absolutely wonderful things [can be seen] in old churches, hospitals etc., and in Madrid, Velasquez [*sic*] and other [masters]. In Paris, I already admired Velazquez [*sic*] very much, but in Madrid, I realised that I hadn't had the faintest idea [of his greatness], because he is a colourist in the best meaning of the word, maybe the foremost of them all, old and new, namely, he is the greatest. I have painted some copies – Madonnas for Russia – but they are not yet finished. [...] I understood that I was to finish [the copies] after my return in the autumn, [and then they would be handed over to the *Finnish Art Society*]. Perhaps I will send something, but probably not while I'm here. I got one [copy] ready for Finland, but then [I received] a request from Russia. I swear to you, I'm starting to get tired of copying; recently, I've been really lazy because of Easter and the numerous festivities and processions!¹⁹²

One of Soldan's presently known copies from Seville reproduces Murillo's *Moses before the Rock of Horeb* in Hospital de la Caridad (Fig. 93). The original is one of Murillo's most famous religious paintings.¹⁹³ The copy was requested by a Russian aristocrat. What we see here is



92. Édouard Manet, *A Matador (The Saluting Torero)*, 1866–67. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

190 In the correspondence between Soldan's sisters, we read: "The other day there was an announcement that Venni was in Seville in order to copy Old Masters (Is it true that this is why she is there?)" ["Det stod i tidnin. härom dagen att Venni är i Sevilla för att kopiera gamla mästare (Är det sant att det är därför?)"] (Helmi Soldan to Alma Soldan, 29 January 1890, National Archive, Helsinki).

191 "Men sagdt åt dig alldeles personligen är, att jag kopierar ytterst litet, har kopierat just så mycket att jag kunnat lefva med det, hvilket återigen alldeles ej upptager hela min tid, utan ett minimum. Hvaraf följer att det är en bra födkrok!" ["But said to you in confidence, I copy extremely little, I have copies just as much as to be able to make a living out of it, which does not take up all my time, but a minimum. From this follows that it is a means of livelihood!"] (Venny Soldan to Eva Topelius, Seville 13 July 1890, HUL).

192 "Men bättre än naturen och menniskorna är dock konsten, höll jag på att säga! Menar dermed, att för annat lönar det ej fara hit! Men i Europa kan man ej göra sig ett begrepp om Murillo ej heller om de andra gamla spanska målarna och skulptörerna. Här finnes i gamla kyrkor, hospitaler etc. alldeles underbara ting. Dertill i Madrid, Velasquez [*sic*] och andra. Hade i Paris ren stor beundran för Velazquez [*sic*] men fann i Madrid att jag ej haft en aflägsen aning, ty han är en kolorist i ordets bästa mening och kanske den första af alla, nya och gamla, d.v.s. den största: – Jag har kopierat något madonnor till Ryssland och har ej slutat dermed än. (Tack att du intresserar dig för mina affärer!) Hade just sjelf uppfattat saken så att de skulle blifva färdiga derhemma till hösten, att emottaga. Nog kan det hända jag skickar något, troligen dock ej härifrån. Hade nog preparerat en till Finland, men så skrefvo de efter den från Ryssland. Jag börjar få nog af kopiera må du tro; har och latats dugtigt på senare tider ty nu är påsktid och bara fester och possessioner! [*sic*]"] (Venny Soldan to Eva Topelius, Seville 14 April 1890, HUL).

193 General Soult removed a large number of Murillo's paintings from the Caridad before the French troops left



93. Murillo, *Moses before the Rock of Horeb (Moses Striking the Rock)*, ca. 1670. Church of the Hospital de la Caridad, Seville.

the copyist was a woman.¹⁹⁵

Among Soldan's studies from Spain we find also a small drawing of the head of the child in Murillo's famous and well-liked, half-length image *Virgin and Child* (1665–66), known popularly as the *Virgin of the Napkin*, in the *Museo de las Bellas Artes* in Seville (Fig. 95, Fig



94. Venny Soldan, *Moses before the Rock of Horeb (Moses Striking the Rock)*, copy of Murillo's original, Seville 1890. Ateneum Art Museum.

96). It is a fine example of Murillo's chiaroscuro technique – his “vaporous” manner – and the *Virgin and Child* are seen illuminated against a dark background. The Child seems to leap out of the painting because of his life-like stance and relief. Despite the sacred subject, Murillo has managed to give his figures a “down-to-earth” expression. Additionally, it is striking that it once again was a woman painter who was drawn to Murillo's portrayals of the *Virgin and Child*.

Seville in 1813. The only works that remained intact in the church, due to their large size, were *The Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes* and *Moses before the Rock of Horeb*, which Soldan copied (Cano Rivero 2003, p. 111).

194 Kontinen 1996, pp. 82-84, 101; Lundström 1996 [unpubl.], pp. 201-203.

195 Comp. my earlier discussion on women painters as copyists of Spanish religious themes. As Harriet Weckman has observed, Finnish women painters (born in the nineteenth century) frequently painted or copied religious art (in addition to “minor” subjects such as still-life paintings with flowers, genre scenes, self-portraits and other portraits, pictures of animals...). Contemporary and later Finnish art historians (in general surveys) repeatedly distinguished (or disliked) these women painters' religious subjects, frequently referring their artistry to the domain of dilettantism (Weckman 2005 [unpubl.]).

From Spain, Soldan continued on to Italy.¹⁹⁶ Shortly after her return, she painted a half-length self-portrait, where she is seen holding a naked child (Fig. 97). Black and flesh constitute the main colour range, while the sheer white sash that she wears around her shoulder and her hand holding the child offer the only highlights against the dark background. A halo-like light surrounds her blonde (or rather, golden) hair. This image is certainly a comment on (and synthesis of) her encounters with Italian but particularly Spanish religious art; we know that she studied Murillo's *Virgin of the Napkin* closely while she was in Seville. In her *Self-Portrait*, Soldan takes the place of the Virgin, wrapping the Child in a sash similar to the napkin in Murillo's painting in Seville. By painting herself in an image reminiscent of Murillo's art, she expresses her admiration for the Sevillian painter, and identifies herself with her idol. This assumption is further supported by the fact that Soldan was not yet a mother in 1891 when she painted her self-portrait, and the child may rather be comprehended as encompassing a symbolical meaning; Soldan depicted herself as a productive painter.

4.3.2 Velázquez: The Epitome of Manliness?

In addition to the Finns Becker and Lindholm, several other male painters from Scandinavia also studied under Bonnat. It is striking that several of these students were imbued by a particularly strong fascination with Velázquez, for instance P.S. Krøyer and Gustaf Cederström. In Spain, Bonnat's students were chiefly drawn to Velázquez. Krøyer wrote to Heinrich Hirschsprung from Granada in 1878: "After studying in Paris

196 Kontinen 1996, p. 85.1



95. Venny Soldan, drawing after Murillo's *Virgin and Child* ("Our Lady of the Napkin"), ca. 1890. Private Collection.

96. Murillo, *Virgin and Child* ("Our Lady of the Napkin"), 1665–66. Museo de las Bellas Artes, Seville.



96a. Reproduction of Murillo's *Virgin and Child* ("Our Lady of the Napkin"), 1665–66.



97. Venny Soldan, *Self-Portrait*, 1891. Private Collection.



98. P.S. Krøyer, *Italian Village Hatters*, 1879–80. The Hirschsprung Collection, Copenhagen.

this winter, nothing was more right for me or attracted me more than Velasquez.”¹⁹⁷ In their topic and colours, some of his paintings from this period are strongly influenced by the Spaniard, for instance *Italian Village Hatters* from 1879-80 (Fig. 98). Here Krøyer’s technique is borrowed from Bonnat, but the fierce naturalism in the half-nude hatter and his sons is also reminiscent of Velázquez’s *The Forge of Vulcan* (Fig. 99). Challons-Lipton observes the use of dark colours and realistic painting style, including the sweat dripping off the hatter’s nose, his stature and posture, as bearing similarities to the figures in Velázquez’s painting.¹⁹⁸ Borrowings from Spanish art can also be detected in Cederström’s *Epilogue* from 1874 (Fig. 100); in this painting, the artist paraphrases an Italian painting in the National Gallery in London, once attributed to Velázquez. Cederström’s painting also resembles Manet’s *The Dead Toreador* from 1864 (Fig. 101). In addition to its similarities to the works of Manet and Velázquez, Cederström’s

197 P.S. Krøyer to Heinrich Hirschsprung, Granada 19 August 1878, quoted in Challons-Lipton 2001, p. 104.

198 Challons-Lipton 2001, pp. 107-108.

naturalistic rendition, melancholy colour, light and dark contrasts and the overall mood are characteristic of a work derived from the studio of Bonnat.¹⁹⁹

Bonnat's teaching was thus crucial in promoting Spanish art among his students from the Nordic countries. He was, of course, not the sole source of inspiration, which becomes evident, for example, in Ernst Josephson's great admiration for the Spaniard.²⁰⁰ As Hans Henrik Brummer observes, Josephson tried, whenever possible, not to merely recreate his idol's colours, subjects and technique but also to paint in the same physical manner. Josephson's travelling companion, Christian Skredsvig,²⁰¹ reports that when Josephson worked out

in the open with the *Spanish Blacksmiths* in Spain in 1881 (Fig. 102), he used particularly long-shafted paintbrushes, like Velázquez, in order to recreate also the Spaniard's behaviour when painting. Josephson painted faster than ever before, making the canvas tremble from his fierce attacks with the brush, and then he quickly stepped back in order to examine the outcome of the strike.²⁰²

Josephson was a great individualist as regards his admiration for the Old Masters, which took form during his travels throughout Europe and through his numerous copies and replicas

199 Challons-Lipton 2001, p. 109.

200 For two articles on Josephson and Velázquez, see Borelius 1954 and Grönvold 1934. Sizeable investigations on Josephson's art have been published also by Blomberg 1956, Brummer 1991 and Wählin 1912. The topic of Spanish influence on Scandinavian art in general is, however, too large to be discussed to any greater extent within the confines of this thesis. Therefore, I am presently preparing a longer article on Scandinavian painters (including Edelfelt) and their encounters with Spanish art and culture in the period of 1870–1890. In addition to Bonnat's students, mentioned here and in Challons-Lipton 2001, pp. 169–171 [Appendix A. "Table of Léon Bonnat's Scandinavian Painting Pupils"], Hugo Birger, Ernst Josephson and Anders Zorn who all admired Spanish art and travelled to Spain during this period are also included. Egron Lundgren's earlier fascination with Spanish art and culture must also be reconsidered. For a short account of the dialogue with Spanish art during the nineteenth century, which also discusses a few Swedish painters, see Brummer 2003.

201 Skredsvig was Bonnat's pupil in the *Atelier-Bonnat* 1874–1875 and 1879–1885 (Challons-Lipton 2001, p. 169 [Appendix A:a]).

202 Brummer 2003, p. 132.



99. Velázquez, *The Forge of Vulcan*, 1630. Prado, Madrid.



100. Gustaf Cederström, *Epilogue*, 1874. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.



101. Édouard Manet, *Dead Toreador*, 1864. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.A. (Widener Collection).



102. Ernst Josephson, *Spanish Blacksmiths I*, Seville 1881. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

of art from the past, including Velázquez. Aron Borelius notes that two masters particularly inspired the Swedish painter: Rembrandt and Velázquez. In 1876, when copying “small pieces” by Rembrandt and Velázquez in the Louvre, Josephson stated: “Velazquez [*sic*] is the name that is the watchword of the day among everyone who calls himself a painter, and he does indeed deserve it; with the simplest means he has achieved the highest possible effect.”²⁰³ As Borelius observes, Velázquez was The Painter from the past who represented the current (and fashionable) artistic demands.²⁰⁴

We should note that Josephson also was Gérôme’s student at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, where he enrolled in 1874, the same year as Edelfelt. Like Edelfelt, his choice of teacher was made between Bonnat and Gérôme. Together with some of his Scandinavian colleagues, he paid a visit to Bonnat, and Josephson was thrilled by his meeting with “the famous portrait painter”. Karl Wählin recounts that they engaged themselves in a discussion of the mission of painting, which resulted in Bonnat fetching a copy of Rem-

brandt’s “The Night Watch” and exclaimed: “This is what colour should look like!” Wählin claims that Josephson, in response to this exclamation, would have liked to embrace the older painter, but instead he silently preserved Bonnat’s words as a welcome confirmation of his own thoughts. The incident caused Josephson to consider seriously enrolling in Bonnat’s atelier, but after having paid a visit to Bonnat’s facilities and not finding them to his liking, he settled for the *École* and Jean-Léon Gérôme instead.²⁰⁵

Although Gérôme’s inclination towards Velázquez was not as strong as Bonnat’s, Velázquez was the “watchword of the day”, as Josephson phrased it. Edelfelt’s inclination towards Velázquez certainly must also have been strengthened during his apprenticeship in Gérôme’s atelier. After Gérôme’s journey to Spain in 1873, one of his travel companions reported on Gérôme’s great enthusiasm for Velázquez. According to Gerald Ackerman, this was “one of the few times we hear of Gérôme praising any artist”.²⁰⁶ His student certainly indulged the atmosphere in Gérôme’s studio where Velázquez *was* present, but not as forcefully as in Bonnat’s.

Edelfelt’s relation to Gérôme remained satisfactory, albeit distant; as late as 1886, when Edelfelt was seated next to his old teacher at a banquet, Gérôme expressed his regret that Edelfelt had always remained so reserved.²⁰⁷ A possible explanation as to why Edelfelt remained so aloof is his statement that he did not appreciate his teacher’s way of depicting

203 “Velazquez [*sic*] är ett namn som är dagens lösen bland allt vad målare heter, och han förtjänar det i sanning, han har med de enklaste medel nått den högsta möjliga verkan” (quoted in Wählin 1912, p. 122).

204 Borelius 1954, p. 75.

205 Wählin 1912, pp. 88-89.

206 In 1873, Gérôme had travelled through Spain to Algiers with Gustave Boulanger, Théophile Poilpot, Guillemot and Reboullot. Ackerman relies on an earlier publication, Charles Moreau-Vauthier’s *Gérôme, peintre et sculpteur*, Paris 1906, p. 269 (Ackerman 1986, p. 92); Edelfelt’s and Gérôme’s relation remained, however, reserved (Lundström 2001b, pp. 52, 251 fn 38).

207 Edelfelt 1926, pp. 118-119.



103. Jean-Léon Gérôme, *Leaving the Mosque*, s.a.

reality like a camera. He regarded the images from antiquity and of Oriental life as being too formal, unoriginal and stale (*Fig. 103*). According to Edelfelt, Gérôme had never created spirited, lively art, “only recounted anecdotes and reproduced costumes”. Edelfelt had little regard for Gérôme’s Oriental productions.²⁰⁸ In her comments on Edelfelt’s letters, his sister Berta²⁰⁹ confirms this antipathy towards his teacher. According to her, he considered Gérôme’s preoccupation with this genre as proof that the painter merely wanted to show that he had travelled far: “E[delfelt] did not at the least like Gérôme’s painting”, Berta wrote in her notes, “and many times he grieved that he had him, in particular, as teacher. I very well remember when he, in 1889, showed me G[érôme’s] paintings and his depreciatory assertion: Widely-travelled!”²¹⁰ This belittling notion bears close resemblance to remarks on tourists who travelled about without getting to know the “real thing”. Therefore, it is most likely that Gérôme had less impact on Edelfelt’s inclination towards Spanish art than had his other contacts in Paris.

A decisive encounter in Edelfelt’s developing appreciation of Spanish art and culture was his friendship with Julian Alden Weir (1852–1919).²¹¹ Weir was one of Gérôme’s many American students; he enrolled with Gérôme in 1874, the same year as Edelfelt.²¹² Through Weir, Edelfelt gained access to the “right” circles in Paris, with evening soirées, theatres and dinners. Weir and Edelfelt enjoyed each other’s company, and they decided to share living quarters.²¹³ Edelfelt moved in with Weir in his atelier at 5, Rue du Pont de Lodi, 6^c, at the end of November that same year.²¹⁴ Weir introduced Edelfelt to Sargent shortly thereafter.²¹⁵

208 “Inte därför att jag obetingat skulle applodera hans ämnen eller hans färg, men han har två förtjänster [...] utmärkt, allvarlig teknik och oupphinnelig sanning i uppfattningen”; “endast berättat anekdoter och återgivit kostymer” (Hintze 1942–44, I, p. 64 ff).

209 Berta Edelfelt edited Edelfelt’s letters from Spain, among others, into printable form in the 1920s. In this particular case, see Edelfelt 1926.

210 “E. tyckte ej det ringaste om Gérômes måleri, och sörjde många gånger över att just ha haft honom som lärare. Jag minns mycket väl när han 1889 visade mig G:s tavlor och hans nedsättande yttrande då: Berest!” Berta Edelfelt’s comment on one of Albert Edelfelt’s letters to Alexandra Edelfelt, between 1889 and 1890, SLSA.

211 According to Kortelainen, they met as early as in June 1874. For more on their friendship, see Kortelainen 2001a, pp. 120–122.

212 Young 1960, p. 51 ff.

213 In a letter to his mother, dated in November 1874, Weir wrote: “I had an early visitor this morning a Mr. Edelfelt, a Finlander whose good Republican ideas and social sentiments have made him in my eyes an enviable companion, together with his more than ordinary talent, for although but twenty, I think him the most talented and well balanced student I know, an industrious worker and lover of his art. This is but to introduce to you a man who is my ‘chum’ so to speak, and who next month will live with me and together share the expenses. [...] So next month we expect together to besiege the temple of knowledge” (Weir to his mother, 8 November 1874, quoted in Young 1960, punctuation as in original).

214 Their joint household lasted for about half a year (Gutman 2001, p. 252 fn 2).

215 As far as I have been able to determine, the first recorded encounter between Edelfelt and Sargent is Edelfelt’s recount to his mother when he and Weir attended a dinner party at the Sargent residence in January 1875 (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 20 January 1875, SLSA). Anna Kortelainen offers the year 1874 as the year Edelfelt met Sargent, but does not provide any evidence (Kortelainen 2002a, p. 102). It is nevertheless likely that Weir introduced Edelfelt to Sargent during the autumn of 1874, at the latest after they had decided to share living quarters. Weir had met Sargent in the autumn of 1874 (Olson 1986, pp. 45–46, referring to a letter by Weir to his mother, dated 4 October, 1874; comp. Young 1960, p. 50, also in Anttila 2001, p. 120 fn 272). Elina Anttila, on the other hand, assumes that Sargent’s and Edelfelt’s first encounter occurred as late as May 1875. She refers to Olson’s remark that Weir introduced his two friends to each other; Olson dates the beginning of their friendship even later, to the winter of 1876–77 (Olson 1986, p. 48, comp. Anttila 2001, p. 120 fn 272).

In January 1875, Weir brought Edelfelt to a dinner party at the Sargent residence.²¹⁶ This was the beginning of a friendship that lasted several years. Throughout the 1870s and well into the 80s, they seem to have enjoyed each other's company, attending evening gatherings together.²¹⁷ Edelfelt's admiration was constant.²¹⁸ Several years later, in March 1881, shortly before his journey to Spain, Edelfelt wrote about how Sargent's "light, pleasant, almost playful game of colours, his extraordinarily delicate '*Kunstsands*' [*sic*] and his *touche* please me infinitely".²¹⁹ Edelfelt felt that Sargent's artistic view was closer to his own than that of Bastien-Lepage or Dagnan-Bouveret. His concept of art seems to have been one that Edelfelt considered worth striving for,²²⁰ which is also demonstrated by his great admiration for *El Jaleo*, discussed above. Edelfelt followed the success of Sargent closely. Not until 1884 do we see signs of anything other than praise; Sargent's continuous success led Edelfelt, perhaps enviously, to describe Sargent's paintings as increasingly "eccentric and far-fetched".²²¹

Weir's and Edelfelt's mutual interest in Spanish art clearly established itself early, since they both followed a similar path of enquiry into the world of the Old Masters: "We expect together to besiege the temple of knowledge", Weir wrote in November 1874.²²² Weir frequently mentions Velázquez in his letters. The first time he does so was at the end of November 1874, which is about the same time that Edelfelt moved in with him.²²³ Later Weir wrote: "... if there is paint on the canvas or not as long as it makes you feel the influence that

216 In January 1875, Edelfelt was among the guests in Sargent's parental home in Paris. Prior to the occasion, he was rather nervous and a letter to his mother indicates that he did not know the Sargent family well; he went to considerable trouble to buy gloves (on a Sunday) so that he could "perform" appropriately in the elegant environment (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 20 January 1875, SLSA). After his first encounter with Sargent, Edelfelt described him as "a splendidly decent chap, with extraordinary talent" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 20 January, 1875, SLSA). He described Mr. Sargent as a former doctor, "tremendously wealthy [which was not true] who has for 20 years resided in Europe, mostly in Nice, Venice and Florence which is why his two children, my friend the painter 19 years old and a girl slightly younger, were born in Italy. [...] I have never seen any lady [like M^{ms} Sargent] who discusses painting the way she does, just like a man of the profession. And I heard that she has painted and still paints watercolours very well." ("M^r Sargent är en f.d. amerikansk läkare, som är mycket rik och sedan 20 år vistas i Europa mest i Nizza, Venedig och Florens, hvarföre också hans två barn, min vän målaren 19 år och en flicka något yngre, äro födda i Italien och fullständiga Europeer. M^r Sargent, père, liknar Stjernschantz, och är mera allvarsam. M^{ms} S. är röd och trind samt ytterst glad liflig och fiffig. Jag har aldrig sett ett fruntimmer som resonerat så i måleri, precis som en man av yrket. Också fick jag höra att hon målat och ännu målar aquareller mycket bra. Sonen är en utmärkt hyggelig gosse, med ovanliga anlag. Dock tror jag mera det är hans fulländadt sorgfälliga artistiska uppförstran som gjort honom till skicklig, och vanan att se mycket har betydligt utbildat hans smak. Han har en massa skizzer, figurer och landskap från Italien, Spanien, Böhmen, Tyrolen, Ungern o.s.v. alla gjorda med en förvånande färdighet. – Han spelar bra piano, talar ledigt en massa språk och har förresten ett lifligt intresse för allt möjligt." (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 20 January 1875, SLSA).

217 For example, in a letter to his mother, dated 3 May 1875, Edelfelt mentions that he has just come home from one of Sargent's parties. See Edelfelt 1921 and Edelfelt 1926, *passim*.

218 Edelfelt 1926, pp. 249, 285; Anttila 2001, pp. 103-104.

219 "*Kunstands*" might be Edelfelt misspelling the German "*Kunstsans*", which refers to the adjective "*Kunstsin-nig*", describing someone who is particularly good at judging art.

220 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 18 March 1881, SLSA; comp. Edelfelt 1921, p. 39; Hintze 1942-44, I, p. 132.

221 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, 17 February 1884, SLSA. Elina Anttila also points at that Edelfelt had difficulties with Sargent's success (Anttila 2001, p. 120 fn 273).

222 Weir to his mother, 8 November 1874 (quoted in Young 1960, p. 52).

223 Weir to his mother, 22 November 1874 (quoted in Young 1960, p. 56).

nature has had on you it is good art. You find this in Velasquez more than in almost any other artist.”²²⁴

At least one reproduction of Velázquez was prominently displayed on the walls of the atelier that Edelfelt and Weir shared until the summer of 1875.²²⁵ Weir certainly owned photographs of Velázquez’s works. They were probably purchased while he still lived with Edelfelt. In a letter to his mother from June 1875, Weir recalls mentioning the photographs to a Mr. Hicks, a student of Thomas Couture who was visiting Weir’s atelier. Hicks had “stayed several hours and looked over all my things”, Weir wrote, “and then asked me to show him where I got my photographs of Velasquez”.²²⁶ Perhaps it is a Velázquez-reproduction that we see in a wash-drawing by Edelfelt that was included in a letter to his mother (Fig. 104).²²⁷ The picture shows Edelfelt and Weir in their atelier at Rue du Pont de Lodi just before Christmas in 1874. One of the images that are pinned to the back wall resembles a full-figure portrait of Philip IV by Velázquez (Fig. 105), but because of the wash-drawing’s blurriness it is impossible to establish with certainty which work is in question.

Edelfelt’s preferences of Old Masters altered quickly, but some favourites remained. Earlier, in the spring of 1874, Edelfelt had studied the Old Masters at the Louvre; at that time, Ribera was among those who impressed him, in addition to Raphael and Rubens.²²⁸ In August that same year, his perception of the Prado as an excellent collection began to take form: “If I wanted to visit a museum I think it would be the one in Madrid. Velasquez, Murillo, Ribera and then there are my dear Rubens and Van Dyck!”²²⁹ Edelfelt never wholeheartedly appreciated the Italian school; the Flemish (Rubens, van Dyck, Crayer), Dutch (Rembrandt, Frans Hals) and the Spaniards (Velázquez, Murillo, Ribera) were closer to his tastes, in particular with regard to their colourism. He concludes: “I admire the Italians, but these others I love”. He also expressed his hopes that, some day in the future, he would be able to see the paintings in the Prado “which seems to be the best museum in the world [...]”.²³⁰ The Old Master Spaniards and their temple in Madrid had an excellent reputation in the French capital.

In line with contemporary recommendations to see great works of art *in situ* and not to be content with prints, reproductions and copies, Weir travelled to Spain in 1876 together with



104. Albert Edelfelt and Julian Alden Weir in their Studio (5, rue du Pont Lodi, Paris), 1874. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.



105. Velázquez, *Philip IV*, 1624, oil on canvas, 201 x 102 cm. Prado, Madrid.

224 Weir to John Weir, Paris 7 February 1876 (quoted Young 1960, p. 95).

225 This picture was included in Edelfelt’s and Weir’s collection of reproductions of paintings by van Dyck, Rembrandt, Frans Hals, Michelangelo, Raphael and Holbein (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris, 16 December 1874, SLSA).

226 The reproductions are also mentioned in a letter to Julian by his father (8 August 1875). See Young 1960, pp. 77 (quotation), 84.

227 The drawing is in the collections of the Finnish National Gallery, Helsinki.

228 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 22 May 1874, SLSA.

229 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 26 August 1874, SLSA.

230 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris [Advent Sunday] 1874, SLSA.

another of Gérôme's students, the Italian painter Filadelfo Simi. Weir imagined himself as travelling to "the birthplace of the great Velasquez".²³¹ The trip was initiated by their teacher. According to Weir, Gérôme had "put into the heads of my most intimate friend, Simi (the Italian) and myself to go to Spain and study Velasquez and other painters, and, in fact, make a tour through there, taking in the Alhambra. [...] I see no better time for making this trip, which of all Europe I prefer the most." Before the journey, Weir also visited several Spaniards in Paris, to get "*renseignements*" for hotels, galleries, etc.²³²

Weir's trip to Spain proved disappointing. Velázquez was not as impressive as he had anticipated,²³³ and he thought Goya's work was "trash". In particular Velázquez's uncertain drawing bothered him. On the other hand, Raphael's skills in this regard were considered praiseworthy: "Had [Velasquez] had the force of Raphael with his charming color or vice versa there would then have been one perfect artist."²³⁴ In this regard, Edelfelt seems to disagree. When Weir and Simi had returned from their trip in late October, Edelfelt and several of his old friends reunited in Weir's Parisian atelier.²³⁵ Edelfelt was surprised that what Weir and Simi admired most in the Prado were the works of Raphael, Holbein and Titian. "Strangely enough", he wrote to his mother, "they are not as delighted about Velasquez and Murillo as would be expected. On the other hand, they talk enthusiastically about Alonso Cano, about the Titians and Raphaels in El Prado."²³⁶

Edelfelt's taste differed from that of Weir. When Edelfelt later travelled to Spain, almost five years had passed between Weir's and Edelfelt's Spanish journeys, and this was a turbulent period in French art. One of the most striking points was that Weir thought Goya's work was "trash". This insensibility towards Goya is, in a way, odd when thinking of the huge fame of Manet's Spanish subjects from the 1860s, of which several were directly inspired by Goya's prints and paintings. However, Weir was very young when he travelled to Spain and his tastes may reflect his lack of experience. Alternatively, the time may not have been ripe for a new coming of Goya (after the last Goya fad that was caused by Manet in the 1860s). Edelfelt, on the other hand, nurtured a more progressive idea of Goya's art in 1881.

231 Weir to his father, Paris 13 July 1876 (Young 1960, p. 100).

232 Young 1960, p. 98.

233 Only Velázquez's *Los Borrachos* managed to impress Weir.

234 Weir to his father, Madrid 5 August 1876; Weir to his mother, Madrid 12 August 1876; Weir to his parents, Seville 27 August 1876 (as quoted in Young 1969, pp. 101-103).

235 Edelfelt had only just returned to Paris after spending the summer in Finland.

236 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris [14] November 1876, SLSA.

4.4 “GOYA – THE MOST ECCENTRIC COLOURIST WHO EVER EXISTED”

Goya – the most eccentric colourist who ever existed, the true precursor to the modern school. Delacroix has copied him, Regnault has got ideas from him, Fortuny and Madrazo have, in many ways, been inspired by this unique genius.²³⁷

Albert Edelfelt, Madrid 11 April 1881

As can be seen from the epigraph, Edelfelt found the individuality and colourism of Francisco Goya (1746–1828) extremely appealing. In this regard, Goya challenges the position of Velázquez, who, until now, had been Edelfelt’s favourite. As the following text will show, his remarks on Goya also bind him more tightly to Sargent, who admired Goya’s extraordinary technique and modern subject matters; Sargent eagerly advertised the eccentric Spaniard to his friends.²³⁸

Although the taste for Impressionist painting was not widespread even in the 1890s,²³⁹ Nigel Glendinning has shown that, during the 1880s, Goya came to be regarded as a pioneering, modernist painter. The Impressionists started to stress his technical virtues, emphasising his modernity in the naturalistic way he looked at Nature.²⁴⁰ Therefore, Edelfelt’s and Sargent’s admiration of this Spanish painter is unsurprising. In a biography of Goya from 1889, Richard Muther states: “The last of the old masters, Goya was at the same time the first of the moderns.”²⁴¹ Edelfelt embraced this opinion; in the epigraph to this chapter, he describes the Spaniard as the true precursor to modern painting.²⁴² In this case, Edelfelt took on an enlightened and forward-looking standpoint.

At that time (in the 1880s), Velázquez and Goya were admired for roughly the same reasons; their optical technique (*Fig. 106*).²⁴³ Goya can be distinguished from Velázquez through his choice of subjects. The images of sensuous women, scenes from everyday life and the expressive and lively portraits resonated to the beat of Parisian art world in terms of



106. Francisco de Goya, *The Milkmaid of Bordeaux*, 1825–27. Prado, Madrid.

237 “Goya – den mest excentriska kolorist som någonsin funnits, den verkliga förelöparen till den moderna skolan. Delacroix har kopierat honom, Regnault har fått idéer av honom, Fortuny och Madrazo ha mycket inspirerat sig av detta enastående snille” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 11 April 1881, SLSA).

238 Glendinning 1977, p. 141; Volk 1992, p. 61 ff.

239 Glendinning 1977, p. 128.

240 Glendinning 1977, pp. 119–143.

241 Glendinning 1977, p. 131.

242 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 11 April 1881, SLSA.

243 For more on Velázquez, see Brown & Garrido 1998, pp. 15–20, 181–194, esp. 191. For more on Goya, see Glendinning 1977, p. 119 ff.

their subjects and attitudes.²⁴⁴ In one letter from her later discussion on Goya, specifically his “little Antonio Cuervo”, Schjerfbeck commented to Reuter that

Goya has seen light and shade on light objects, the face, but dark, like the coat, does not manage to take up lights in diffuse illumination, it is flat [...]. He paints bad people! [...] He has hated the *janitresse*-type Marie-Louise, and he often takes walks along the river among “loose” people, takes time off the court – if I had been Spanish, [and] lived there!²⁴⁵

In 1925, Schjerfbeck still recalled her preferences at the Louvre, where she spent time as a young student in the 1880s, and other places she visited:

[...] Titian's man with a glove and a nymph with yellow complexion under a tree – was it a Tintoretto? It hung next to Titian's entombment in *Salon Carré*. I looked at Holbein and stopped for a while, hesitating, without thoughts, by Daumier, and reluctantly before Mona Lisa's sly smile. And *Infantas!* A young girl by Goya, her striped dress, carrying roses, reddish hair.²⁴⁶ Tintoretto-portraits in three colours, in Vienna, frescoes and primitives in Italy; and “The Night”.²⁴⁷

A few years later, she wrote to Reuter that she clearly remembered seeing Goya in Paris at the age of nineteen. She wrote about a portrait of a girl holding a flower, a painting that she, at that time, regarded as “magnificent”, “*storartad*”, that is, she recalled the same painting as she did in 1925. Moreover, Schjerfbeck claimed that Goya had a “modern spiritual life”.²⁴⁸ As future prominent portrait painters in their own field, Sargent's and Edelfelt's appreciation of Goya is understandable. Mary Crawford Volk demonstrates that Goya's influence on Sargent was paramount. Whereas Sargent's admiration of Velázquez can be regarded as a legacy from his teacher Carolus-Duran, Goya's place in Sargent's Pantheon of Old Master's was more a matter of personal taste than something he learnt from his teacher. While travel-

244 Gendinning 1977, p. 122 ff.

245 “Goya har sett ljus och skugga på ljusa föremål, ansigtet, men mörkt som rocken orkar inte ta i en dager i diffust ljus, är platt [...]. Han målar dåliga människor! [...] Han har hatat portvakteske-typen Marie-Louise, och han går ofta längs flodens stränder bland 'löst' folk, vilar sig från hovet – om jag varit spansk, lev't där!” (Helene Schjerfbeck to Einar Reuter, 22 Juli 1928, ÅAB/Manuscript Department).

246 I strongly suspect that the “young girl by Goya”, dressed in a striped dress is *Infanta Margarita*; this was a work that hangs in the Louvre and which is presently attributed to the workshop of Velázquez.

247 “[...] som helt ung om Tizians unge man med handsken och en gulhyad nymf under ett träd – var den av Tintoretto? Den hängde bredvid Tizians 'gravläggning' i *Salon Carré*! Såg på Holbein, och stannade i förbifarten, tvekande utan tankar vid Daumier, och motsträvig framför Mona Lisas sluga leende. Och *Infantinnor!* // En ung flicka av Goya, randig klädning, rosor i hand rödaktigt hår. // Tintoretto-porträtt i tre färger i Wien, fresker o. primitiva i Italien: och 'Natten'” (Helene Schjerfbeck to Einar Reuter, 1 March 1925, ÅAB/Manuscript Department).

248 Helene Schjerfbeck to Einar Reuter, 31 July/3 August 1928, ÅAB/Manuscript Department. Their discussion on Goya continued for several months during 1928. Reuter had sent Schjerfbeck a magazine and books with pictures of Goya's art, and Schjerfbeck comments on which ones she had seen during her travels, remembering her impressions from several years ago. In one letter, Schjerfbeck wrote to Reuter: “If I only could see the Goya of my youth again! – dangerous – every moment our mind alters according to our mood, every year we demand more and more – and yet it was maybe instinctively right. Not everyone can bear with the first love of their youth. [Om jag såg min ungdoms Goya igen! – farligt – var stund tycka vi efter vår ståndpunkt, stämning, vart år begära vi mer och mer – och ändå var det kanske instinktivt rätt. Inte alla hålla ut med sin första ungdoms älskade]” (Helene Schjerfbeck to Einar Reuter, 15 September 1928, ÅAB/Manuscript Department).

ling in Spain in 1879, Sargent encountered the world he had seen in Goya's images more often than that of Velázquez. Later, this imagery dominated his famous *Salon*-success *El Jaleo*: dancing Gypsies, beggars, musicians, matadors, people of ordinary life.²⁴⁹

The first museum Edelfelt visited on his arrival in Spain was the *Academia de las Bellas Artes de San Fernando*, after which he went to the Prado. In Madrid, his guide was Ricardo de Madrazo,²⁵⁰ who was the son of Don Federico de Madrazo (1815–1894), Léon Bonnat's former teacher and the director of these two artistic establishments; thus, Edelfelt was able to gain access to the collections. According to Edelfelt, Ricardo did not leave him during his three initial days in Spain and Madrid. They visited other museums, private collections, and spent the evenings together.

One particularly significant event occurred on the third day of Edelfelt's stay, when Ricardo took him to *San Antonio de la Florida*, which Edelfelt called "a small church outside Madrid".²⁵¹ Sargent had also visited the church in 1879.²⁵² As Glendinning observes, Sargent played a crucial role in the process of discovering Goya's murals in this church (Fig. 107). The fame of these wall paintings reached its height in the 1890s, when the *Decadents* turned their attention to these earlier "inappropriate" paintings. Glendinning points out that it was Sargent who had particularly urged the decadent painter, William Rothenstein, to look at them closely.²⁵³

Edelfelt described Goya's frescos in *San Antonio de la Florida* as "the most spiritedly bizarre that one can visualise, astounding in colour" (Fig. 108).²⁵⁴ For a budding painter of modern life, the frescoes in the small church are remarkably suitable models. Depicting contemporary life in the early nineteenth century, they are an outstanding example of Goya's



107. Francisco de Goya, detail of *The Miracle of Saint Anthony of Padua*, 1798. Church of San Antonio de la Florida, Madrid.



108. Francisco de Goya, detail of *Fresco of the Angelitas*, 1798. Church of San Antonio de la Florida, Madrid.

249 Volk 1992, pp. 61-62.

250 Presumably Sargent also knew Ricardo de Madrazo, or at least his brother Raimundo (Fortuny's friend and painter companion), whom he (must have) met in Paris. Furthermore, Ricardo countersigned a copy registration at the Prado in 1903 for Sargent for an unknown original by Velázquez (Volk 1992, p. 95 fn 9).

251 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 11 April 1881, SLSA.

252 Seven years later, Sargent advised Vernon Lee on what to see in Spain. He mentioned this particular church and several other places of interest as regards Goya (Alameda del Duque d'Osuna, the Academy, "and [one should] not be content with only the Prado and Escorial [*sic*]"). Volk also draws attention to his other friends whom he had told about Goya, which indicates that he discussed the matter with Edelfelt as well. Sargent also admired Goya's etchings. He had a book of prints from *Tawomachia* that he had received from Ralph Curtis in 1887, and Sargent donated a volume of Goya's etchings to Carroll Beckwith in 1880 (Volk 1992, pp. 40-41).

253 Glendinning 1977, p. 141.

254 "[...] de mest spirituellt bizarra man kan se, makalösa i färgen" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 11 April 1881, SLSA).



109. Francisco de Goya, *The Clothed Maja* (*Maja Vestida*), around 1800. Prado, Madrid (until 1901 in the San Fernando Academy of Fine Arts).

below. Their plump, round, white hands play meaningfully with their fans; a thick cluster of ringlets waves over their bare shoulders; their sensual eyes languish with a seductive fire; a faint smile plays round their voluptuous lips. . . . There is much *chic* in this Church picture. One very imprudently-behaved angel is supposed to be the portrait of the Duchess of Alba, who was famed for her numerous intrigues.²⁵⁵

freely applied technique and topicality. The chief picture represents St. Anthony of Padua raising a man from the dead. Goya's main focus, however, was on the observers at the balustrade. Richard Muther described the picture in 1893:

On a balustrade all around he has brought in the lovely, dainty faces of numerous ladies of the court, his *bonne amies*, who lean their elbows on the balcony and coquette with the people down

Although Edelfelt considered Velázquez to be the most modern of the Old Masters at the Prado,²⁵⁶ his enthusiasm for Goya is evident. Prior to his visit in the church, he had already admired Goya at the *Academia de San Fernando*, where he saw several works, and his senses were open to the extravagant colourism in the dome. At the *Academia*, he saw the two *Majas* (Fig. 109). Like his description of the *San Antonio*-frescos, he referred to these paintings of a lady that he defined as a “Spanish coquette”, as being “a masterpiece of colour”.²⁵⁷ Goya's depiction of modern life and embodiment of modern attitudes impressed him. Goya “had faith in nature himself”, as Lucien Solvay expressed it in 1887, which explains why the naked and the clothed *Maja* made Goya “entirely original”. Solvay continues:

Goya was “modern” in a very real and precise sense of the term, and not only in his accent, his way of putting things, his subject matter, or that *je ne sais quoi* which brings him so close to us that he seems our contemporary. He was also “modern” in his artistic technique: his new concept of the picturesque, and his experiments with colour and light which are so much to our taste these days [...] Goya's art *is* Modernism: the reality of the world around us; things of the moment.²⁵⁸

As Solvay's description shows, Goya was interested in life, in the open air, “catching things in movement, fixing them in a few quick and bold strokes of the brush, with all the spontaneity of sketches drawn from life or based on the immediate impression of what was seen [my emphasis]”, as Solvay put it.²⁵⁹ Working in the open air was central for Impressionism as well as *pleinairism*, the latter being a calmer movement in the manner of Bastien-Lepage.²⁶⁰

255 Glendinning 1977, p. 141, quoting Richard Muther, *The History of Modern Painting*, 1893 (English transl. 1895), I, pp. 71-72.

256 This is an observation belonging to the Realist tradition within which Edelfelt was schooled (“the one who saw most like us”, Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 12 May 1881, SLSA).

257 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 9 April 1881, SLSA (“ett mästestycke i färg”).

258 Glendinning 1977, p. 123, quoting Lucien Solvay, *L'Art Espagnole*, 1887.

259 Glendinning 1977, p. 123, quoting Lucien Solvay, *L'Art Espagnole*, 1887.

260 Bastien's influence on Edelfelt was, without doubt, considerable. In his letters, Edelfelt frequently comments on Bastien-Lepage's influence on his art (SLSA, FNG/Archives). See also Kontinen 1991, p. 105; Sarajas-

According to Glendinning, the interest for *pleinairism* made critics and painters to look more closely at similar aspects in Goya's art, thereby marking him a precursor of Impressionism.²⁶¹

Glendinning also remarks that Goya's earlier influence on the Impressionists is largely overlooked; Velázquez alone is praised for the luminosity and vivacity in technique that the movement admired. Still, Richard Muther describes the "impressions of life" in Goya's paintings as expressed in "a few clean, sharp strokes",²⁶² which would be a highly suitable programme for the modern painter during the 1880s. This optic illusionism as seen, for instance, in Velázquez and Frans Hals (and even Rembrandt) was, in fact, enhanced by the idea of the Modern as seen by Goya (*Fig. 110*). Thus, the "new" approach to Goya has to be seen in the light of recent developments in art.

But still another mediator was needed for the promotion of Spanish themes in Paris: Mariano Fortuny and his followers. Theophile Gautier's remark that Fortuny's work was "a sketch by Goya, finished and retouched through the manner of Meissonier", was not casual. During the 1870s, Goya's works were subjected to considerable attention in Spain, resulting in the movement later known as *Neogoyesca*. Through his Spanish subjects, such as bullfighting-scenes, landscapes, *señores* and *señoritas* painted with considerable independence, Fortuny became the central representative of this trend.²⁶³ Fortuny's fame is also explained by the trend of Rococo Revival and its historicising subjects. According to Carol Duncan, images of *la vie élégante* may well be seen as a heritage of this trend. The view of *modernité* as the Romantics understood it, penetrated well into the core of Impressionism. Duncan describes Renoir, for example, as "an Impressionist who wavered between modernism and the art of the past".²⁶⁴ Spanish iconography had its own place in the budding *juste milieu* painting, which emerged parallel with Impressionism's "avant-garde" endeavours, paving the path for the predilection of "lighter" subjects.



110. Francisco de Goya, *The Forge*, ca. 1813–18. The Frick Collection, New York.

Korte 1989, p. 210-211.

261 Glendinning 1977, pp. 125-126.

262 Glendinning 1977, pp. 130-131.

263 *Pintores españoles en Paris (1850–1900)* 1989, pp. 113-114.

264 Duncan 1976, pp. 112-114.



111. Mariano Fortuny, *The Vicarage*, 1870. Museu Nacional d'Art Catalunya, Barcelona.

4.5 THE IMPACT OF MARIANO FORTUNY

Colourful, splendid, inimitable – moreover, [Fortuny is] the greatest water colourist that I have seen.²⁶⁵

Albert Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 28 April 1875

The above epigraph by Edelfelt from 1875 illustrates the concurrent opinion in Paris of the Orientalist and *juste milieu* painter Mariano Fortuny's virtuosity. In order to commemorate the premature death of his brother-in-law, Raimundo de Madrazo had arranged a retrospective exhibition of Fortuny's work in *Hôtel Drouot* in Paris that year.²⁶⁶ On Gérôme's recommendation, Edelfelt also visited the exhibition and was immensely impressed by the colourism in the exhibited works.²⁶⁷ To his mother, he described Fortuny as one of the boldest colourists he had seen, and comments that Fortuny suddenly had become one of the painters that were most discussed within the artistic world (in Paris).²⁶⁸ Fortuny consciously resumed Goya's world, peopled with clerics, courtiers and bullfighters, as can be seen in one of his major works, *The Vicarage* of 1870 (Fig. 111). In line with Edward Sullivan, John F. Moffitt notes that Fortuny's "little pictures were a fitting complement to the bourgeois furnishing of a new urban domesticity".²⁶⁹ In this sense, Fortuny brought Spanish subjects and, above all, Goya into the private galleries of the Parisian art world.

Fortuny's popularity in Paris was another impulse that might have reinforced Edelfelt's and other foreigners' predilections for Spain. The Spaniard's colourism was admired particularly by Americans, painters as well as collectors who were drawn to his liberated technique.²⁷⁰ Merritt Chase, for instance, when back in New York, was called "the Fortuny of

265 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 28 April 1875, SLSA.

266 *Pintores españoles en Paris (1850–1900)* 1989, p. 161.

267 "I still have Fortuny in my head. [...] He is one of those who are excellent the way he is, but dangerous to imitate" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 28 April 1875, SLSA).

268 "Yesterday, Weir, Pauline and I saw a remarkable exposition of the young Spanish painter Fortuny's works (F. died this winter in Rome), F. is among the boldest colourists one has seen and he has suddenly become one of the most discussed painters in the artistic circles. Colourful, splendid, inimitable – moreover, the greatest water colourist that I have seen – he painted mostly small Spanish and Oriental pictures – gardens with flowers in dazzling colours, Spanish *señores* and bullfighters. [Igår voro Weir, Pauline och jag och sågo på en märkelig exposition, den af den unge spanske målaren Fortuny's arbeten (F. dog i Rom i vintras), F. är en bland de djerfvaste kolorister man sett och har med ens blifvit en af dem hvarom man talar mest i den artistiska verlden. Grann, präktig, oefterhärmlig – dertill den största aquarellist jag sett – målade mest spanska och orientaliska små bilder – trädgårdar med granna blommor, spanska señoror och tjurfäktingar"] (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 28 April 1875, SLSA).

269 Moffitt 1999, p. 195. Sullivan 1989 comments that Fortuny's work appealed directly to American taste in the late Victorian era, as a detail in interior decoration. At this time, eclecticism was emphasised in interior decoration, and the continuing revival of eighteenth-century Rococo styles mingled with a fascination for Oriental motifs. The blending of these elements was perfectly accomplished by Fortuny. In art, no one could succeed as well as a fashionable, not too-experimental artist (Sullivan 1989, p. 103).

270 A large number of late nineteenth-century American painters were touched by Fortuny's style, his most outstanding disciples being Robert Frederick Blum (1857–1903) and William Merritt Chase (1849–1916). "Often", writes Sullivan, "as with Fortuny, their subjects were nothing but an excuse for a display of a skill that was in reality the subject". Blum was such an obvious admirer of Fortuny's manner that art critics often called him "Blumtunny" later in his life. An interest in Japanese art was often accompanied by an interest in

the Tenth Street Studio” by Oliver Larkin in 1949. In Munich, Chase was also introduced to Spanish seventeenth-century painting, which proved to be a constant source of inspiration throughout his life.²⁷¹

Several of Fortuny’s later works are examples of “pure painting” (Fig. 112). According to Sullivan, the art of Fortuny, therefore, often served as one of the most potent forces, attracting a wide variety of Americans who were fascinated by his subjects and his manipulation of light. The American taste for strong, saturated sunlight, or “glare aesthetic” was, for them, an alternative to the diffused and filtered light of the French Impressionists.²⁷² Here, I argue, Edelfelt also found an alternative. The later discussion as to whether or not Edelfelt is an Impressionist painter is still heated among Finnish art historians, and I return to this question later in conjunction with my discussion of Edelfelt in Seville.

Edelfelt also visited the major collection of Fortuny’s work in Paris, the Stewart collection, in 1877.²⁷³ The Stewart collection housed Fortuny’s most famous Rococo revival style piece, *The Choice of a Model* (Fig. 113). Stewart purchased most of this representative collection of over twenty of Fortuny’s works through the art dealer Adolphe Goupil (1806/09–1893), who had introduced Fortuny to the Parisian art market. Fortuny had a special arrangement with Goupil, who bought all his pictures for a fixed price. In the 1860s and early 70s, Fortuny’s work was not generally known to the public because Goupil used to show his pictures only to a limited number of high brow friends. But artists could examine Fortuny’s artistic production with relative ease, since Fortuny’s famous works were reproduced in prints and photogravures in art periodicals.²⁷⁴

Stewart, on the other hand, endeavoured to promote Fortuny’s work by allowing visitors to view his collection. W.R. Johnston claims that Stewart opened his house to a number of artists and connoisseurs every Sunday afternoon. Additionally, Stewart lent his entire Fortuny-collection to the *Exposition Universelle* in 1878, where they received much praise



112. Mariano Fortuny, *Landscape from Granada*, 1870–72. Barcelona, MAM.



113. Mariano Fortuny, *The Choice of a Model*, 1866–74. William A. Clark Collection.

Fortuny, as can be seen from Blum’s preferences. His encounter with Whistler in Paris merely strengthened this existing predilection. Later he travelled to Japan where he stayed for several years (Sullivan 1989, pp. 109–113).

271 Chase was also the artist who brought Manet to the United States. Specifically, he brought two pieces, both of which were heavily influenced by the Spanish Baroque admired by Manet: *Woman with a Parrot* and *Boy with a Sword*. Chase’s style was eclectic, but several other scholars have also stressed the importance of Japanese art, in addition to a strong commitment to the French Impressionists’ vision of landscape (Sullivan 1989, pp. 105–107, 113–115).

272 Sullivan 1989, p. 109 fn 13, quoting William H. Gerdts, *American Impressionism*, New York, 1984, pp. 17–21. According to Sullivan, American artists saw in Fortuny a continuation of the grand tradition of the Golden Age (Sullivan 1989, p. 103).

273 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, 18 May 1877, SLSA. The American expatriate William Hood Stewart (1820–1897) had left his native country for Paris at the time for the American Civil War (1861–65). He died in Paris. He is chiefly remembered as the patron of Fortuny, with whom he had direct personal ties. Stewart also served as the benefactor of other Spanish-speaking artists in Paris (Johnston 1971, p. 183). He should not, however, be confused with Alexander Turney Stewart (1803–1876), another American merchant (a department store magnate) and art collector. In Young 1960, p. 73 fn 2, this mistake appears and it is repeated in Anttila 2001, p. 118 fn 212. (As regards the possibility of confusion, see Ackerman 1969, p. 255 fn 33). A.T. Stewart bought at least two of Gérôme’s pictures. To add to the confusion, William H. Stewart’s son, Julius L. Stewart (1855–1920), was a painter and student of Gérôme and Raimundo de Madrazo. In 1874, Julius followed Gérôme on his journey to Egypt (Ackerman 1986, pp. 92, 94, 108, 168).

274 Sullivan 1989, s. 103.



114. Mariano Fortuny, *The Snake Charmer*, 1869.

from the critics. The Parisian league of columnists was apparently well prepared for Fortuny's art; as early as 1870, Gautier had applauded his *Café of the Swallows* (1868) in his review of Goupil's holdings.²⁷⁵

Goupil was instrumental in introducing Fortuny's paintings to prosperous travellers from abroad, as well as to aristocratic and bourgeois collectors in general.²⁷⁶ For-

tuny became perhaps best known for his pictures of Oriental subjects, which Stewart obviously also appreciated (*Fig. 114*).²⁷⁷ Contemporary French painting had attracted Fortuny to Paris, and from 1865 onwards he was constantly travelling between Paris, Madrid and Rome. In Paris, he socialised with other Spanish expatriots, and became intimate friends with Raimundo de Madrazo, Martín Rico y Ortega (1833–1908) and Eduardo Zamacoïs. Zamacoïs introduced him to Goupil that same year. After Fortuny married Cecilia de Madrazo, Raimundo's sister, the couple settled in Rome.²⁷⁸

Despite this move, Fortuny did not abandon Paris altogether. In 1869, he returned to the French capital. He borrowed the studio of his friend Jean-Léon Gérôme and finished a great number of paintings begun in Rome which were then put up for sale at Goupil.²⁷⁹ Goupil provides an obvious link between Fortuny and Gérôme; Gérôme was married to Goupil's daughter,²⁸⁰ and Goupil sold almost all of Gérôme's work to America.²⁸¹ Edelfelt commented on the fame of the Spaniard on the Parisian and American art market as early as 1874.²⁸²

275 Johnston 1971, pp. 183-186; see also Pardo 1989, pp. 191-268; Guillaumie-Reicher 1936.

276 *The Vicarage*, for example, was sold in 1869 for a fabulous price to a private collector, Madame Cassin, which raised Goupil's expectations about the young artist (*Pintores españoles en Paris (1850–1900)* 1989, p. 112, catalogue).

277 Sullivan 1989, pp. 103-105, see also p. 116 fn 9 (quotation p. 105, from Ripley Hitchcock, "The Stewart Paintings", *The Art Review*, vol. 1, n° 4, 1887, p. 7). In battle scenes that were sent to Paris, Fortuny documented the war between Spain and Morocco in 1859. *Pintores españoles en Paris (1850–1900)* 1989, p. 111 [catalogue]. These works apparently created a solid foundation for later Oriental compositions. In Rome, a circle of Italian Orientalist painters gathered in Fortuny's studio, thereby establishing his (international) reputation as a painter of eastern scenes. During an early visit to Paris as a student, Fortuny was also attracted to works by Horace Vernet, Eugène Fromentin and Ernest Meissonier (*Pintores españoles en Paris (1850–1900)* 1989, p. 111). In addition to battle scenes, these painters were also concerned with contemporary Orientalism. Due to its Moorish heritage, Spain must have inspired Fortuny's Oriental motifs as well (see e.g., *Fortuny* 1998).

278 *Pintores españoles en Paris (1850–1900)* 1989, p. 112.

279 *Pintores españoles en Paris (1850–1900)* 1989, p. 112; Gérôme's inclination towards Spanish art, and the fact that he visited Spain later, may have been affected by this contact with Fortuny. They shared several interests, such as (Oriental) battle scenes and other eastern motifs; pictures that Fortuny was then finishing in his studio. According to Ackerman 1986 (p. 87), Gérôme left Paris for London during the siege in 1870, and left his studio in the care of Fortuny, who, however, soon moved to Madrid. Gérôme's friendship with Fortuny must have enhanced Gérôme's contacts with Spaniards. Further testimony of this influence can be found in his discussion with Raimundo de Madrazo, which took place prior to Gérôme's departure for London (Ackerman 1986, p. 92).

280 In 1863, Gérôme was married to Marie Goupil. Weinberg notes that Gérôme constantly exploited this family connection with his art dealer father-in-law, in particular as regards distributing photogravures of his most famous paintings (see Weinberg 1984, pp. 8-9).

281 Weinberg 1984, pp. 8-9. Fortuny was one of the most expensive and sought after artists on the American market. On Goupil as art dealer, see Ackerman 1986, Weinberg 1984, Sullivan 1989, Johnston 1971. On the development of art dealing in Paris in the nineteenth century, see Green 1987, 1989.

282 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 26 August 1874, SLSA.



115. Albert Edelfelt, *Man in Rococo Costume*, copy of illustration by Mariano Fortuny in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1875). Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

Fortuny was also an important unifying force between Spanish expatriot painters in Paris.²⁸³ Edelfelt found his way into this circle of Spaniards (several of them related in one way or another), and by 1877 at the latest, he had met Raimundo de Madrazo²⁸⁴ and his brother, Ricardo, probably a year later. Several Spaniards were students in Gérôme's atel-

283 Fortuny's brothers-in-law, the Madrazo brothers, belonged to an influential family of artists. Their father Federico de Madrazo y Küntz (1815–1894) was the director of the *Real Academia de las Bellas Artes de Fernando* and the Prado in Madrid.

284 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 18 May 1877, SLSA.



116. Mariano Fortuny, [*Man in Rococo Costume*], illustration in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1875.

ier, among them Raphaël de Ochoa de Madrazo (1858–1935), whom Edelfelt frequently mentions in his letters. In the winter of 1878, for example, Ochoa tried to tempt Edelfelt to follow him to Spain whilst he visited his relatives. “We would be permitted everywhere, even at the Court”, Edelfelt exclaimed in a letter to his mother.²⁸⁵ Edelfelt’s friendship with Ochoa, his fellow student in Gérôme’s atelier, most certainly facilitated his contact with the Spanish group.²⁸⁶

4.5.1 Reproducing Fortuny

Although Edelfelt cautiously regarded Fortuny’s style as being dangerous to imitate, he executed several small drawings after Fortuny’s history genre scenes and costume pieces that same summer. According to Hintze, some of Edelfelt’s small pencil drawings from the 1870s are executed “in exact, slightly dry ink with strong contrasts between light and shade, reminiscent of Fortuny’s style”.²⁸⁷ Some of his later historical costume pieces from the early part of the 1880s, in works that were commissioned by art-dealers in New York and London, still show the influence from Meissonier and Fortuny. Hintze argues, rather arrogantly, that these costume pieces do not add anything to our understanding

of Edelfelt’s art and his personality as a painter at the time.²⁸⁸ These drawings after Fortuny’s Rococo revival pieces are nevertheless evidence of Edelfelt’s commitment to this trend.

One of Edelfelt’s finer drawings after Fortuny was executed in the summer of 1875 (*Fig. 115*).²⁸⁹ Here we see a full-length, eighteenth-century figure bent slightly forward as if examining something, with his hands behind his back. Edelfelt has reproduced every line and detail, even to the extent of supplanting Fortuny’s signature with his own inscription: “d’après Fortuny, le 23 juillet 1875”. The contrast between light and shade is stronger and more accentuated in Edelfelt’s version, but otherwise they are extraordinarily similar. In fact, a suitable model for Edelfelt’s drawing after Fortuny was conveniently at hand. While

285 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, 18 February 1878, SLSA.

286 Ochoa, on the other hand, was the son of Eugenio de Ochoa, Raimundo de Madrazo’s brother-in-law (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 13 May 1878; comp. Edelfelt 1917, pp. 120–121).

287 Hintze 1942–44, I, p. 113.

288 “I likhet med en följd mindre, historiska kostymbilder från 1880-talets första år [...] vittna dessa i ljusbehandlingen ofta utsökta målningar om Edelfelts skicklighet och återhållsamma smak, de visa hans historiska sinne och hans beundran för Meissonier och spanjoren Fortuny, men till helhetsbilden av hans konstnärsskap foga de inga väsentliga drag” (Hintze 1942–44, I, pp. 113, 244 fn 111a).

289 The drawing is dated 23 July 1875 (Finnish National Gallery, Helsinki, All 1817:23; comp. Hintze 1942–44, I, p. 244 fn 111a).

the retrospective exposition was still open to the public, two sequential articles on Fortuny appeared in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* in March and April (1875).²⁹⁰ The second part of the article (April 1875) includes an engraved illustration that corresponds to Edelfelt's drawing in every detail (*Fig. 116*).²⁹¹ Edelfelt has probably drawn the outlines of the figure by putting a sheet of his sketchbook on top of Fortuny's image.²⁹²



117. Albert Edelfelt, study after a print of Mariano Fortuny's *Arabe veillant le corps de son ami*, illustration in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1875. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

Edelfelt also copied one of Fortuny's Orientalist subjects by putting a sheet upon the image and then drawing the outlines (*Fig. 117*). Edelfelt's drawing appears in the same sketchbook as the Rococo costume piece. Edelfelt's model was a facsimile of an engraving after Fortuny's *Arabe veillant le corps de son ami* (*Fig. 118*), and was included as an illustration to the same article by Fol featuring the man with the Rococo attire.²⁹³ Unlike the costume piece, Edelfelt's copy is now more "original". He applies several different techniques and the outcome is rather an individual modification as regards reproducing the tones and shades of the facsimile.²⁹⁴ However, yet another copy of the same picture exists. I have not been able to locate Edelfelt's original; the picture we see here (*Fig. 117a*) – a reproduction of an image that probably is a drawing in ink – was found in the archives among plates used as visual aid for students in art history before the era of slideshows and Power Point, at the Department of Art History at Åbo Akademi University.



117a. Albert Edelfelt, study after a print of Mariano Fortuny's *Arabe veillant le corps de son ami*, illustration in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1875. Location unknown.

Fortuny also attracted the attention of the young Helene Schjerfbeck shortly after her arrival in Paris in 1880. In March the next year, she wrote to B.O. Schauman of the Spaniard's

290 Fol 1875a; Fol 1875b.

291 Fortuny's eighteenth-century picture piece was engraved by Goupil.

292 Placing an overhead folio of Edelfelt's figure (ratio 1:1) on top of the illustration in the *Gazette*, reveals that this must be the case.

293 In total, three of Fortuny's Orientalistic works were reproduced in Fol's two articles in the *Gazette* (1875). In addition to the engraving that Edelfelt copied (i.e., *Arabe veillant le corps de son ami*), another engraving called *Kabyle mort* (second article) and a print of the famous oil painting *Le charmeur de serpents* (first article) were also included (Fol 1875a-b).

294 According to conservator Tuulikki Kilpinen, Edelfelt probably painted the "frame" first, after which the outlines of the figures and other parts were executed in pencil and ink. Thereafter, the fields were filled in with different hues in wash-drawing in ink or watercolour, possibly sepia (Tuulikki Kilpinen, private consultation, 27 September 2002).



118. Mariano Fortuny, *Arabe veillant le corps de son ami*, illustration in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1875.



119. Helene Schjerfbeck, study of illustration by Mariano Fortuny in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1875), s.a. Private Collection.



120. Helene Schjerfbeck, drawing after Mariano Fortuny's *Un bibliophile (Tableau de Fortuny)*, illustration in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1875), s.a. Private Collection.

exuberant use of colour and brilliant handling of paint.²⁹⁵ Five undated copies after Fortuny by Schjerfbeck exist.²⁹⁶ We find models for all these drawings in the two *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* articles from 1875. One depicts the standing Rococo-man that Edelfelt also copied; she has also drawn a detail of the man's head (Fig 119). Another of Schjerfbeck's drawings after Fortuny is *Un bibliophile (Tableau de Fortuny)* (Fig. 120), yet another Rococo-image that was included in

Fol's first article.²⁹⁷ Two drawings depict Oriental motifs that we find in Fol's second article: *Kabyle mort* (Fig. 121) and *Arabe veillant le corps de son ami*.²⁹⁸

The fifth and final copy is an outline drawing of the shepherd boy in the "mythological vision" *Idylle* (Fig. 122), reproduced in Fol's second article as a facsimile after an engraving.²⁹⁹ Fortuny's watercolour from 1868 that functioned as model for the engraving is today in the collections at the Prado (*El Casón*) (Fig. 123). The subject was popular, and the engraving was executed by the artist himself.³⁰⁰ In 1875, Fol paid particular attention to Fortuny as an *aquarelliste*, arguing that he exposed a rare talent as *aquafortiste* in his works executed after his watercolours. Fol mentions specifically *Kabyle mort*, *Arabe veillant sur le corps de son ami* and *Idylle*, all of which were included as illustrations in his article and then copied by Schjerfbeck or Edelfelt.³⁰¹

Fortuny's influence can also be seen in Schjerfbeck's *Tabernacles (Fête juive, Hebr. Sukkot)*, painted in 1883 (Fig. 124). Fortuny was inspired by Japanese prints, and his watercolours can frequently be considered, as Fol puts it, as "Japanese paintings" executed with resources from European art, as regards their form and drawing.³⁰² A particularly vivid example is Fortuny's *The Artist's Children in the Japanese Salon* from 1874 (Fig. 125), a work that definitely has inspired Schjerfbeck's *Tabernacles*. Riitta Konttinen describes Schjerfbeck's technique as "almost brilliant" ("*lähes virtuoosinen suoritus*"), and as I see it, it echoes Fortuny's handling of paint and colour. The subject depicts the quiet celebration of a Jewish holiday. An elderly man dressed in a black suit, sits with his legs crossed on a mattress, stroking the hair of his daughter, who lies beside him. The work is painted at a time when anti-Jewish ideologies were widespread across Europe, and may be regarded as Schjerfbeck's statement against the

295 Helene Schjerfbeck to B.O. Schauman, 18 March 1881. Helsinki University Library.

296 Unfortunately, I have not been in the position to examine the originals, and their size also remains unknown. During her lifetime, Schjerfbeck executed several paintings and drawings according to illustrations in books, because an illness and her situation in life prevented her from travelling.

297 Fol 1875a [illustration between pages 279/280].

298 Fol 1875b, p. 360.

299 Fol 1875b, p. 365.

300 In one of the Prado's many catalogues, the watercolour is described as having been painted with a "delicate refinement that never falls into the syrupy excesses of his contemporary Italian colleagues": it lacks all traces of "grandiloquence" and "pedantry". This work was bequested in 1904 (*Paintings of the Prado* 1994, pp. 574-575).

301 Fol 1875b, p. 366.

302 "[...] l'effet est celui, don't nous parlions plus haut, d'un tableau japonais peint avec les ressources de modelé et de dessin de l'art européen" (Fol 1875b, p. 364).



121. Helene Schjerfbeck, detail of Mariano Fortuny's *Kabyle Mort*, illustration in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1875), s.a. Private Collection.



122. Helene Schjerfbeck, *Idyll*, drawing after an engraving by Mariano Fortuny, illustration in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1875), s.a. Private Collection.

persecutions. Her model was a young Jewish girl living in Helsinki, Eva Slavatskij, whom Edelfelt had painted as a Spanish girl the previous year.³⁰³ As Konttinen observes, Schjerfbeck frequently used Jewish models, for instance during her apprenticeship in Becker's *Private Academy*.³⁰⁴

The scene in Fortuny's work, on the other hand, is set in one of the rooms in the artist's house. Fortuny's young son sits

303 Helene Schjerfbeck to Einar Reuter, 2 June 1929, ÅAB/Manuscript Department.

304 Konttinen 2004, pp. 91-93, [and text to "Lehtimajjuhla (Fête Juive)", colour illustration appendix].



123. Mariano Fortuny, *Idyll*, 1868. Prado (El Casón), Madrid.



124. Helene Schjerfbeck, *Tabernacles*, 1883. Villa Gyllenberg, Helsinki.

125. Mariano Fortuny, *The Artist's Children in the Japanese Salon*, 1874. Prado (El Casón), Madrid.



with a bare torso on a divan to the left, whereas his daughter is reclining, dressed in white and holding a fan.³⁰⁵ The same stillness that Konttinen observes in Schjerfbeck's *Tabernacles* also imbues Fortuny's work. *The Artist's Children in the Japanese Salon* is one of his major works, and a supreme example of his "Japanese-European style".³⁰⁶ Both works are illustrations on what could be called an "aesthetic abstraction", for which both artists strove.

As regards Schjerfbeck's engagement with her copies after Fortuny's Rococo-pieces, I can see no other explanation than that they were fashionable and expressed an exuberant colourism.³⁰⁷ This is the case at least with the Rococo-figure that both Edelfelt and Schjerfbeck copied; the Rococo's trend-setting status is evident in that both Schjerfbeck and Edelfelt chose to copy a drawing executed in this fashion. The character is reminiscent of the figure close to the scene in another of Fortuny's famous Rococo-pieces, the *Choice of a Model* (now in The W.A. Clark Collection of the Corcoran Gallery Art, USA), which then belonged to the Stewart collection (see *Fig. 113*).³⁰⁸ Certainly this work was on display at the retrospective exhibition as the Stewart collection's absolute *chef-d'œuvre*, a collection that Edelfelt also visited. The setting of Fortuny's eighteenth-century costume piece shows the lavish *Salon* in the Palazzo Colonna in Rome, where the members of the Academy of Saint Luke examine a nude model. In Johnston's study of the collection, he describes the light in the work as "playing across the varied surfaces". He concludes that "the exuberance of detail epitomize the Spaniard's extraordinary technical brilliancy".³⁰⁹ The theme of *The Choice of a Model* also seems to adapt to the rules of Orientalism, a genre in which exposed odalisques were scrutinised by presumptive buyers on the slave market. But it also echoes the contemporary Spanish taste for genre painting that now is called *costumbrismo*. John F. Moffitt sees Fortuny as the foremost exponent of this "rather flattering ethnic anecdotalism".³¹⁰

4.5.2 "Retailing" Spain: Fortuny, Modernity and the *Juste Milieu*

Fortuny's use of the Rococo manner reflects the strong persistence of this eighteenth-century style far into the nineteenth century. As Carol Duncan has shown in her study of the Rococo revival in French Romantic art, the Romantics' interest in the vivacious manner of Boucher, Fragonard and Watteau had a long-lasting effect on painters such as Renoir, Degas and even Manet.³¹¹ Edelfelt's commitment to the Rococo revival began early. As Marina Catani has

305 *Paintings of the Prado* 1994, p. 574.

306 Later, Schjerfbeck expresses her admiration for Hokusai and other Japanese artists (see e.g., Helene Schjerfbeck's letters to Helena Westermarck, Hvinge 31 January 1906; 18 February 1915, ÅAB/Manuscript Department).

307 In 1930, Schjerfbeck discusses artists' "passing, artificial celebrity" with Einar Reuter. By way of example, she mentions Picasso, comparing him with Fortuny: "But the illusions last only for a while, a [new] generation comes (and sooner than one expects) who simply will explain that Picasso is a talented magician, a kind of Fortuny... [Men illusionerna vara en tid, en generation kommer (och snarare än man tror) som enkelt skall förklarar att Picasso är en skicklig trollkonstnär, en slags Fortuny...]" (Schjerfbeck to Einar Reuter, 25 August 1930, ÅAB/Manuscript Department).

308 As I will discuss further below, Edelfelt visited the Stewart collection in 1877.

309 Johnston 1971, p. 185.

310 Moffitt 1999, p. 195.

311 Duncan 1976, pp. 109-115.

shown, Edelfelt painted several pieces in a Rococo manner, notably his first commissioned work, *Le Billet doux*, in 1874 (Fig. 126). Edelfelt regarded the motif as being “very modern”, depicting a young woman in eighteenth-century dress, reading a love letter. Curiously, Edelfelt thought the model was “no Andalusian beauty”: “[...] no eyes gazing into the heaven, no raven-black curls that can be compared to the skies and so forth.”³¹² Apparently Edelfelt would have liked to improve the painting by including a Spanish component, a taste that connected Spanish themes with the Rococo revival.

Two years later, in 1877, Edelfelt wrote in the Finnish periodical *Finsk Tidskrift* about Fortuny and his school. Edelfelt showed no compassion for the numerous followers in Paris, trying to emulate Fortuny’s Spanishness by incorporating stolen types and figures: seventeenth-century old men, Spanish toreros and small pretty women.³¹³ Therefore, Edelfelt’s paintings of similar subjects are remarkable; they reveal both his knowledge of current trends and his need to work within contemporary bourgeois tastes for the picturesque.

Edelfelt’s (official) opinion of Fortuny and his school also affected his record of a visit to Raimundo de Madrazo’s atelier that he made together with Ochoa in 1877. According to Edelfelt, this was “the most bizarre and grand atelier I have seen”.³¹⁴ Madrazo was greatly admired within *juste milieu* circles, but his Parisian colleagues tried to imitate his lively technique and colourism in vain.³¹⁵ He was heavily influenced by Fortuny, with whom he had painted in Granada in the early 1870s.³¹⁶ Indeed, Edelfelt was critical of Madrazo’s art



126. Albert Edelfelt, *Rococo Lady (Le Billet doux)*, Paris 1874. Private Collection.

312 Catani 2001a, p. 22; Catani 2001b, p. 114, quotation from Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 11 July 1874; Paris 5 September 1874, SLSA (“inga himmelskt blickande ögon, inga ramsvarta lockar som kunna förliskas vid skyar o.d.”).

313 Edelfelt concludes that because of Regnault’s and Fortuny’s fame, water-colour painting was revitalised. Edelfelt writes: “Man förlåter gerna Fortuny alla dessa bizarra nycker, denna fullständiga brist på tanke som så ofta röjes i hans arbeten, ty han var ett sällspordt färggeni och har frambragt något fullkomligt nytt och originelt i konsten, ja gått längre än någon annan i att framställa starka soffeffer, praktfulla brokiga draperier och accessoarer, och ingen har väl någonsin målat aqvarell som han. Men nu då man ärligen får se dussintal af dessa lätt igenkännliga bilder med typer och figurer stulna från Fortuny, med hans gubbar från 18:de århundradet, hans spanska toreadorer och hans näpna små fruntimmer, och i allt dessa skönjer bara litet af Fortuny’s stora talent, då tänker man ovillkorligen ’Mången fins som sig tycker spanjor / Fast han ej är ett tecken spanjor’” (Edelfelt 1877c, pp. 175-176). The same line of thought appears in a letter (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, 18 May 1877, SLSA) recording his impressions after a visit in the Stewart collection: “I alla fall tror jag att de många som nu söka att imitera Fortuny slå in på galen väg. Han som var ett snille kunde tillåta sig dessa extravaganser, hos de andra bli de tråkiga.”

314 “[...] det bizarraste och präktigaste jag sett i atelierväg [...]” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 13 May 1877, SLSA).

315 Rincón García s.a., p. 607.

316 Fortuny 1998, p. 184.

despite his love of the painter's colourfulness. He felt that it was not the mission of art to "intoxicate the eye with such harmonies of colour, and lull the mind, fantasy and soul into such extravagance".³¹⁷ It seems somewhat amusing that Edelfelt was to re-furnish his own studio with the same properties he despised in Madrazo's atelier – embroidered drapes of silk and velvet, pillows with golden stitching, Japanese vases and Persian rugs³¹⁸ – only a couple of years later.

On the same day that they visited Raimundo de Madrazo's atelier, Ochoa and Edelfelt also saw the Stewart collection.³¹⁹ Weir had visited the collection as early as 1875, when he and Edelfelt still shared lodgings. Weir described the Stewart collection as the finest modern gallery in Paris: "He has some nineteen Fortunys, a number of fine Meissoniers, Gérômes – in fact the finest works of the greatest men. He was Fortuny's patron, so has any number of sketches, and I must say never in my life have I seen water-colours that could equal his, most of which Mr. S. told me he did in the evenings. His work although small is broad, and by the side of Meissonier's and Gérôme's look like life."³²⁰ But Edelfelt's impression is less positive: he wrote to his mother that Fortuny has set out on a dangerous journey and described the colourful paintings as something produced by a talented child: "It is spirited art without the slightest hint of thought – similar to a piece of jewellery, it is stunning to look at, but it impresses the eye more than the soul". But Edelfelt admired his colourfulness: "The most famous works by Fortuny are here: 'Le choix du modèle', 'Fantasie', 'Carneval du Vénice' and so forth. The colourfulness and opulence in these small pictures are beyond belief."³²¹

Edelfelt's comments on Fortuny's "childish" paintings may explain Edelfelt's degrading opinion of Raimundo de Madrazo, when he states that Madrazo "in several respects tries to imitate Fortuny, never expose anything at the *Salon* and sells much and dearly. *Shade*, that it always is the same thing, a beautiful Spanish woman amongst flowers or something similar."³²² Therefore, it is remarkable that Edelfelt's first image with a Spanish iconography depicts exactly such a "beautiful Spanish woman amongst flowers". *La Señorita* (see *Fig. 1*) was painted a year after his visit in Raimundo's atelier, in 1878.³²³ The alluring portrait is

317 "[...] berusa ögat med sådana färgharmonier, och insöva tanke, fantasi och själ med sådan lyx" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 13 May 1877, SLSA).

318 Edelfelt describes the atelier: "Det går ännu runt i huvudet på mig, då jag tänker på alla dessa enorma broderade draperier av siden och sammet, dessa guldstickade dynor, dessa japanesiska vaser och dessa persiska mattor" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 13 May 1877, SLSA).

319 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, 18 May 1877, SLSA.

320 Weir to his father, 10 April 1875, quoted in Young 1960, pp. 73-74.

321 "Det är spirituellt konst utan den minsta tanke – det är vackert att se på som ett juvelerarbete, men det lemnar mest intryck på ögat, icke i själen"; "[Fortuny har] gifvit sig ut på en farlig väg"; "Det ser ut som ett bortskämt och ytterst begåfvat barn roat sig med att fästa sina egendomliga fantasier på duken"; "De mest berömda Fortuny finnas här: 'Le choix du modèle', 'Fantasie', 'Carneval du Vénice' etc. En färgprakt och en lyx i dessa små bilder som är otroligt" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, 18 May 1877, SLSA).

322 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, 18 May 1877, SLSA ("i mångt och mycket [söker Madrazo] härma Fortuny, exponerar aldrig något på *Salongen* och säljer mycket och dyrt. *Shade* att det alltid äro samma sak, en vacker spanska bland blommor eller något dylikt").

323 *La Señorita* ended up on the American art market. In 1919, it appeared at a public sale in New York (i.e., Sotheby's, Park Bernet, Purchase receipt, The American Art Association, New York, January 17, 1919). In 1927, its owner was still an American, a William A. Perbet. In 1991, the painting ended up in Finland in a private collection (FM Marina Catani, private consultation, according to *La Señorita's* provenance records,



128. Raimundo de Madrazo, *Pierrette*, illustration in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1878.

129. Albert Edelfelt, *Virginie*, Paris 1883. Joensuu Art Museum (Arla Cederbergs Collection).

executed within the tradition of Fortuny and Madrazo and, as we know, depicting Edelfelt's friend and model, Antonia Bonjean dressed in a white mantilla with flowers in her hair. When Edelfelt painted *La Señorita* he had not yet been to Spain, which may explain why the painting does not possess the usual combination of red and orange nuances that are traditionally combined with images from the South. Instead, the colour range is soft and airy, very Parisian; the roses are painted in light nuances of rosy-colours, white and pale yellow.

La Señorita is perhaps also inspired by the more than forty paintings by Raimundo de Madrazo that were exhibited at the *Exposition Universelle* in Paris that same year (Fig. 128). The critic Paul Lefort wrote in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* of Madrazo's glowing colours and the triumph of light in his small canvases, executed in the manner of Fortuny.³²⁴ This tradition may be traced in Edelfelt's later paintings of women. For instance, the portraits of his model Virginie often bear the stamp of the colours of the Spanish Baroque, but they also bear similarities with Raimundo de Madrazo's innumerable portrayals of his model Aline Masson. Compare, for example, Edelfelt's *Virginie* (Fig. 129) with Madrazo's *La Carta* (s.a., Private collection),³²⁵ or with *The Model Aline Masson with a White Mantilla* (Fig. 130). As Kortelainen has pointed out, several of Edelfelt's paintings from this period are costume



127. Raimundo de Madrazo, *Lady by a Clavier*, s.a. Location unknown.

copy in Catani's private archives, 2001). Due to the painting's similarity to the works of Fortuny, Madrazo and the rest of the Spanish school, *La Señorita* was apparently a desirable object for American collectors.

324 *Pintores españoles en Paris (1850–1900)* 1989, pp. 161–162; comp. Lefort 1878.

325 For a reproduction of Raimundo de Madrazo's *La Carta*, see *Pintores españoles en Paris (1850–1900)* 1989, p. 160.

130. Raimundo de Madrazo, *The Model Aline Masson with a White Mantilla*, s.a. Prado (El Casón), Madrid.

pieces rather like *Virginie in a Black Bonnet*, which presents the lure of Parisian women, representing the modern times as a piece of *nouveauté*.³²⁶

Planning his display at the annual *Salon*, Edelfelt's choices reveal similar strategies to those of Sargent in 1882. In 1881, shortly before he left for Spain, Edelfelt completed his entries for the *Salon* that year. For this first so called "liberated" *Salon*, he decided to exhibit a portrait of his friend Dagnan-Bouveret (Fig. 131), and an interior from his atelier, *Chez l'Artiste* (Fig.

131. Albert Edelfelt, *Portrait of the Painter P.-A.-J. Dagnan-Bouveret*, 1881. Musée Georges Garret, Vesoul.



132).³²⁷ Edward J. Sullivan proposes that the American painter Merritt Chase's pictures, which are repeatedly set within the rooms of the artist's studio, evoke the same feeling as Fortuny's similar subjects of highly decorated interior spaces.³²⁸

Relating Sullivan's idea to Edelfelt's *Chez l'Artiste* opens up new ways of viewing this canvas. In terms of feeling and atmosphere, Chase's *In the Studio* (The Brooklyn Museum) is indeed reminiscent of both Fortuny's cluttered eighteenth-century scenes and his renditions of modern interiors. These same features are also visible in Edelfelt's canvas, albeit more moderately. Here we see a young lady in the

326 *Edelfelt i Paris* 2001, p. 152 cat. 24 [text by Anna Kortelainen].

327 Kortelainen 2002a, p. 233 ff.

328 According to Sullivan, Chase's style was eclectic, but several scholars have also stressed the importance of Japanese art, in addition to a strong commitment to the French Impressionists' vision of landscape. In 1880, Chase made his first trip to Spain. He was impressed by what he saw and returned often. His pictures from the 1880s bear strong resemblance to those of Fortuny. His portrait of *Miss Dora Wheeler* has frequently been compared to paintings by Sargent, but Sullivan also sees the portrait as a testimony of Chase's interest in the rapid brushwork and light touch of Fortuny (Sullivan 1989, pp. 113-116).



132. Albert Edelfelt, *Chez l'Artiste*, 1881. Private Collection.

painter's studio, leisurely looking through a collection of engravings. Her extravagant, black and white dress descends lavishly to the floor. Near her neck, Edelfelt has painted a bouquet of brightly red roses so as to highlight the subdued colours. To the left is a baroque cupboard on which Edelfelt has arranged some objects, and the walls are decorated with a palm branch and a striped cloth that Edelfelt also used in other compositions. To the right we see the back of Edelfelt's easel. The interior also indicates Edelfelt's interest in Japanese art: in the far background there is a screen with Japanese decoration, the woman rests a red Japanese fan on the engravings in her lap. Kortelainen points out that the painting may be seen as Edelfelt's

advertisement for presumptive buyers at the *Salon*.³²⁹ Curiosity about Japanese art and culture were often seen alongside an interest in Spain. *Chez l'Artiste* may well be considered to serve the double purpose of advertising the artist's engagement with modernity and the *manière espagnole*.³³⁰ Edelfelt's painting is also strikingly similar to Raimundo de Madrazo's *Lady by a Clavier* (Fig. 127).

In *Chez l'Artiste*, Edelfelt blended two traditions. Edelfelt attempted to enliven his brush and treatment of the paint in the manner of the popular Spaniards in Paris, but his achievement was nevertheless tempered by the academic specificity of the figure. Gérôme promoted the academic tradition, but many of his students tended to avoid painting in his precise and meticulous manner. This can be seen in the works of another of Gérôme's pupils, the American painter Thomas Eakins (1843–1916).³³¹ Some of Gérôme's students, like Eakins, who were drawn to Spain and Spanish art and to a more painterly style, on occasion supplemented their studies by enrolling for shorter periods with Bonnat.³³² As a result, Eakins learned to appreciate the painterliness of Velázquez during his brief period in Bonnat atelier in 1869 and a subsequent stay in Madrid and Seville.³³³ Weinberg observes that Eakins's desire was to recombine the best aspects of the French academic and Spanish Baroque traditions in his art. But he wrote in his "Spanish sketchbook": "I must resolve never to paint in the manner of my master

329 Kortelainen mainly pays attention to the canvas' Japanese *bibelots* as a sign of modernity (Kortelainen 2002a, p. 257 ff).

330 To mention only one example, on the wall in the background of Manet's portrait of Emile Zola, we see two small copies in the upper right corner: Velázquez's *Los Borrachos* and a Japanese print, prominently demonstrating Manet's (and Zola's) affiliation towards *both* these two French trends.

331 Eakins was one of Gérôme's most important American students, which resulted in a stream of Americans flowing into his studio. Eakins serves as a "methodological model" in H. Barbara Weinberg's article on the working methods in Gérôme's atelier. She focuses on the American pupils, who thought highly of Gérôme's teaching. New pupils came to Paris each year to enrol in his atelier. Eakins enrolled in 1866 (Weinberg 1984, pp. 35-47, 102). Gérôme's contact with the art dealer Adolphe Goupil, who sold almost all of his production to the American market, played a decisive role in this development.

332 Gérôme and Bonnat were, as Gabriel Weisberg states, "in personal and professional sympathy" with their students, despite Gérôme's devotion to orthodox academic techniques and Bonnat's "richer surfaces in the tradition of Velasquez and Ribera" (Weinberg 1984, p. 55). Following John C. Van Dyke's *Modern French Masters*, New York, 1896, p. 47, Gerald M. Ackerman supports this assumption (Ackerman 1969, p. 253 fn 14).

Gérôme's exotic genre painting influenced Eakins's multi-figured compositions. His first more complex composition was *Street Scene in Seville* (Mrs. John Randolph Garret, Roanoke, USA) from 1870, noticeably depicting a Spanish theme (Weinberg 1984, pp. 38-39; ill. in *Manet/Velázquez* 2003, p. 274 fig. 10.13). Weinberg comments that Eakins's composition is a "stagelike arrangement" that refers to Gérôme's *Pfifferari* from 1859 of which Eakins had obtained a photograph in Paris. It nevertheless displays a freer brushwork in the manner of Bonnat and Velázquez. In Bonnat studio, "stern realism was the law", as one of his student in the late-1870s exclaimed, and another student later recalled that Bonnat had a "fiery enthusiasm for Velasquez and almost as much for Ribera" (quoted in Weinberg 2003, p. 272). Thus, Weinberg ascribes Eakins's liking for Spanish painting and painterliness to his short period as a student in Bonnat's atelier in August 1869. After returning to Gérôme in September, he decided to complete his studies. Before he returned to America, he travelled to Madrid and Seville, probably inspired by Bonnat (Weinberg 2003, pp. 271-273).

333 Weinberg revises the customary impression among scholars that seventeenth-century Spanish paintings, which Eakins saw in Madrid just before his return to America, were crucial to the development of his style. Instead, she points out the likelihood that Eakins's interest in Spanish art developed under the influence of his Parisian teachers. As noted above, Gérôme was enthusiastic about Velázquez, and it was probably he who referred Eakins to Bonnat in 1869. For more on Eakins's relation to Gérôme and Bonnat, see Ackerman 1969.

[Gérôme]. ... One can hardly expect to be stronger than he, and he is far from painting like the Ribera or the Velasquez works, although he is as strong as any painter of polished surfaces.”³³⁴

Exhibited alongside with *Chez l'Artiste* was Edelfelt's *Portrait of Dagnan-Bouveret*, depicting his friend and neighbour seated by his easel, working busily. Edelfelt completed this painting shortly before he left for Spain, and it refers to the Spanish Baroque more clearly than his earlier pieces. The overall colours take up Velázquez's dark nuances with highlights in white and red. Dagnan's palette holds the same colour accord, put on display in much the same vein as Velázquez's *Las Meniñas*. Like *Las Meniñas*, the *Portrait of Dagnan-Bouveret* and *Chez l'Artiste* represent the interior of an atelier, in this case Edelfelt's new studio at 147, avenue de Villiers.³³⁵

Since the portrait of Dagnan, like *Chez l'Artiste*, were executed shortly before Edelfelt left for Spain, they may be regarded as a testimony to Edelfelt's interest in the Spanish Baroque. The palette is remarkably similar in both, albeit slightly more subdued in the portrait. As a pair, these paintings place Edelfelt among those who adopted a Spanish painting manner in order to be noticed at the *Salon*.³³⁶ The next year, Sargent presumably had the same idea in mind when he showed the audience at the *Salon* his large *El Jaleo* together with the portrait of Charlotte Louise Burckhardt (*Lady with a Rose*), another portrait that directly alludes to Velázquez (*Fig. 133*).³³⁷

As works intended to show off the artists' abilities in the field of painting popular subjects as well as portraits, *El Jaleo* like *Chez l'Artiste* and their portrait counterparts are admirable, cunning examples of self-promotion. Similar subjects to those seen in *Chez l'Artiste* and the *Portrait of Dagnan-Bouveret* also resume the vogue initiated by Fortuny. His atelier interiors, at first executed in his extravagant Rococo revival style, were extremely popular and resulted in numerous similar compositions, as testified by Chase's *In the Studio*, mentioned above.³³⁸ *Chez l'Artiste* also belongs to this group. Thus, the issues of Modernity in Paris in the 1870s and 1880s are mirrored within the Spanish trend also in this regard.

*

In conclusion, painting Spanish subjects and using a Spanish painting manner were, at times, signs of modernity; as stated above, Sargent's success with *El Jaleo* was his ticket to fame.³³⁹ Spanishness, as the Sargent example shows, enabled painters to gain success at the Parisian *Salon*. This resulted in Sargent's success amongst the art dealers, who were indispen-



133. J.S. Sargent, *Lady with the Rose* (*Charlotte Louise Burckhardt*), 1882. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

334 Weinberg 2003, pp. 274-276.

335 Dagnan's equipment is expensive, showing that he (as so, indirectly Edelfelt as well) had the means to use high quality painting material in an ultramodern Parisian atelier (Catani & Lundström 2001, p. 158).

336 Kortelainen also considers these works as a pair, intended to be exposed together at the *Salon* (Kortelainen 2002a, pp. 259 ff).

337 Olson 1986, pp. 75-80, 90-94; Volk 1992; Ratcliff 1982.

338 Sullivan 1989, pp. 103-105.

339 Volk 1992, pp. 21-109.

sable for young artists just starting out their careers as strangers in Paris.³⁴⁰ In this respect, journeys to Spain may be seen as a positivist appreciation of progress. According to Robert Jensen, the notion of progress was found in areas such as “industry, communications, medicine, practical and theoretical science [...] a different kind of modernism than the sense that normally dominates twentieth-century art criticism and historiography”.³⁴¹ Travelling and the growing tourism industry are tightly connected to economic growth, which facilitated the expansion of the railroad network, revolutionising, among other things, Spanish tourism. The modern era thus gave birth to a new kind of traveller/tourist who opened up new possibilities for painters seeking fresh experiences.³⁴²

In his article on the topographical aesthetic in French tourism and landscape, Greg M. Thomas provides a suitable parallel when he, drawing on MacCannell, remarks that “the picturesque [is] a modern mode of mapping actual experience according to preconceived signs of modernity”.³⁴³ This is highly relevant for understanding Spanish iconography. Thomas discusses the “transformed raw experience into culture” which “elevates” not only landscape painting but also tourist art as a signifier of cultural consciousness. The fundamental goal of tourism and landscape representations, writes Thomas, is

to convert the physical experience of moving through a sequence of prospects into a cultural experience, an experience that would enhance one’s understanding of human life and human history while confirming one’s own cultural ideologies.³⁴⁴

Therefore, the dichotomy of “Spain” – the interrelationship between high art and tourist painting (its *juste milieu* character) – can also be considered in relation to the concept of tourism; the concept of *juste milieu* is connected with economic and commercial forces.³⁴⁵

Later art historians have excluded many paintings of bullfighters and Flamenco-dancers from the canon of (high) art purely on the basis of their subject, forgetting their original meaning as regards the subject’s actuality and “proof” of authenticity; the painter had actually been in Spain. The increasing number of journeys to Spain corresponds to the growth of the tourism industry. Thomas notes that the new form of travelling which was made

340 Marina Catani’s research stresses the fact that the art market in Paris was substantially responsible for the shaping of Edelfelt’s artistic career. Edelfelt exposed his pictures at Georges Petit’s (1856–1920) gallery, and cultivated his contacts with local art dealers such as Bulla, Goupil (later Boussod, Valadon & Co, Reitlinger), Leroux, Mac Lean and Tooth in London, and Knoedler from New York. He also delivered illustrations for *Figaro Illustré* (see Catani 2001, pp. 8-9, 248).

341 Jensen 1994, p. 11; comp. Kortelainen 2002a, p. 251.

342 Comp. Thomas 2002.

343 Thomas 2002, pp. 1-3.

344 Thomas 2002, pp. 5, 7. Travelling is a fundamental condition for change. In *The Mind of the Traveler* by Richard Leed, the Journey is presented as a passage, a transition from one stage into another – the traveller never returns the same. Being a foreigner, away from home, the painter found himself among fresh impulses and new motifs. The encounter with a strange country and culture, being away from home and fatigued by the hardships of the journey strengthened the impressions. Therefore, Leed’s investigation provides a plausible explanation as to why stylistic change often occurs during or closely after a journey, rather than in the safe environment of the familiar atelier.

345 Comp. e.g., Blake & Frascina 1993, p. 67.

possible by tourism was a means of renewal for painters, too, as they sought inspiration through new experiences abroad. “Art and tourism have staged modern experience hand in hand”, Thomas claims; this statement is highly pertinent to artists’ journeys to Spain in the nineteenth century.³⁴⁶ As Thomas points out, when the French chose to go, for instance, to Brittany, they were following a trend within the history of travelling. But they went against the common trend when choosing places that were not as easily accessed.³⁴⁷ Such travelling was believed to be more individual. Journeys to Spain can be regarded in much the same light. Despite Spain’s proximity, the poorer quality of the railway system and roads and the difficulties of crossing the Pyrenees made Spain seem like an exotic destination.³⁴⁸ Spanish tourist paintings served as testimony to genuine encounters with foreign milieus.

Therefore, artists who painted popular images from Spain in the mid-nineteenth century did not regard their work as being tourist kitsch.³⁴⁹ The subject had another meaning at that time: as I will show in the subsequent chapters, Spanish subjects stood for authenticity. Whilst Edelfelt’s *La Señorita* was created according to a French recipe, in Spain he turned to native (and “authentic”) models such as Mariano. As we will see, in his *chef d’oeuvre* from Spain *The Alms* (1881), Edelfelt used an interior from the monastery of *San Juan de los Reyes* in Toledo, contrasting two rugged beggars with a finely dressed lady and her daughter. Another of his Spanish pictures, the famous *Gitana Dancing*, depicts a typically posed, dancing Gypsy girl. Here, the inscription “Granada –81” is clearly visible, thereby heightening the authenticity of the picture; at all times the tourist wants to see “the real thing”. Paintings with Spanish subjects, intended for the *Salon* in Paris, and other sources of knowledge about Spain that I have discussed in the preceding text, offered good signposts for where the sights were and what to look for in Spain. The Spanish painters’ presence in Paris was also important, and their popular subjects increased general curiosity about Spain. It is thus reasonable to conclude that those foreigners who travelled to Spain sought motifs that interested contemporary Spanish painters, too. In the following, we shall therefore leave the painted and imagined Spain behind, and scrutinise Edelfelt’s journey in detail, focusing on the empowering experiences provided by his contact with the foreign milieu.

346 Quotation from Thomas 2002, p. 1.

347 Thomas 2002, pp. 1-3.

348 As Luxenberg points out, the French had a highly patronising attitude towards Spain during the nineteenth century. This was largely due to Napoleon’s invasion of Spain and the subsequent need to emphasise their superiority over their (economically) less developed southern neighbour (Luxenberg 1993).

349 Spanish tourist iconography can easily be regarded as being *juste milieu*: picturesque land- and townscapes, ethnic types and exotic milieus. This may explain why such tourist paintings today frequently are excluded from the established Canon of Fine Art. As Kortelainen notes, the decline in value of *juste milieu* paintings is connected to its increased populism. Kortelainen observes that Japonism [which has much in common with *espagnolisme*], though being a trend born from radical self-criticism and aesthetic renewal, in its attempt to delight it quickly became commercialised by “a smattering of exoticism, of sensuality, of Parisian atmosphere, and a little of modernity and temperament” (Kortelainen 2002a, p. 258). Painters such as Manet had been attracted to both these trends, but their radical potential was lost when the subjects became too popular (Kortelainen 2002a, pp. 258-259). As a result, Edelfelt left behind his experiments within Japonism as well as his Hispanicism.

So many have written about Spain. Great authors and lesser men, poet minds and dry chroniclers! And yet, it is not sufficient. Spain is still a myth, and that which is known and remembered about El Cid's, Don Juan's and Don Quijote's country is reduced to a few general ideas of bullfights and dancing girls with almond-shaped eyes. The corrida and the dance are the climaxes of all traveling accounts, and that is hardly surprising. Spanish art, that is Murillo and, above all, Velasquez, maybe Alhambra as a splendid mirage far in the background! But by and large, Spain is still "*inédit*", as the French express it [...].³⁵⁰

Axel L. Romdahl, *Spanska konstintryck*, 1920

350 Romdahl 1920, p. 1: "Huru många ha inte skrivit om Spanien. Stora författare och små, poetsjälur och torra kronister! Och ändå är det inte skrivet nog. Spanien är alltjämt en myt, och vad man vet och minnes om El Cids, Don Juans och Don Quijotes land inskränker sig till några allmänna förställningar om tjurfäktingar och mandelögda danserskor. Corridorna och dansen utgöra glanspunkterna i alla reseskildringar, och det är kanske ej att undra över. Spansk konst, det är Murillo och framför allt Velasquez, kanske också Alhambra såsom en grann hägring långt i fjärran! Men i det hela är Spanien alltjämt [1920] 'inédit', såsom fransmännen säger [...]."

5 ALBERT EDELFELT'S IMAGINED SPAIN

Edelfelt has worked but a short while within the world of our Parisian attractions, and yet he already dreams of leaving it. Edelfelt's skilful use of the paintbrush and dexterous draughtsmanship already made us believe that he would master all the secrets of his art. He alone seems to be convinced of the opposite. And so, after having studied Rubens and Rembrandt in their own lands, and Italian Masters in the museums of Rome, Venice and Florence, or French Masters at the Louvre, we now find him ready to accompany a friend, Benjamin Constant, on a tour to the country of Velasquez and Goya. I wanted, before he leaves, to see him once more and so to hail in him the dawning *École finlandaise* [...].¹

FABRICE

The above epigraph is a passage from an article written by Edelfelt's friend Jean-Baptiste Pasteur (1851–1908), son of the famous microbiologist Louis Pasteur (1822–1895). Jean-Baptiste was an art critic who had also studied art. It was probably through him that Edelfelt was to receive the commission to paint the successful portrait of *père* Pasteur (1885, Musée d'Orsay, Paris).¹ Pasteur's article, which appeared in the French magazine *Le Moniteur Universel* in April 1881, is a report of Pasteur's visit to Edelfelt's studio, where the interior decoration and exhibited works were admired.

Pasteur seems to have had some problems with Edelfelt's decision to travel to Spain. Obviously, Pasteur thought that Edelfelt already had sufficient skills: he had studied Rubens, Rembrandt and the Italian masters in their own countries and the French masters at the Louvre; why on earth, Pasteur seems to suggest, does Edelfelt need to go to Spain? But Edelfelt was convinced of the opposite. His knowledge of canonised and accepted masters, such as Rubens, Rembrandt and the Italians, would be supplemented with something different, if he travelled to Spain. This would turn Edelfelt's Spanish journey into a proclamation that Edelfelt was not content with accepted and secure idols. Instead, he stepped away from the ordinary in search of further knowledge from the Spaniards. Obviously, when a painter knew "everything", Spain seems to have been one of the few options left in the search for new sources of inspiration (Pasteur seems to suggest such sources are redundant). And, as I asserted earlier when discussing the Realists' view of Spanish art (from Courbet onwards), their changed view of Spanish art and culture marked a paradigm shift in the canon of nineteenth-century art. Edelfelt had already explored Rembrandt and Rubens during the 1870s, which was a step away from the models of severe Realism prevalent in the 1860s. Then, in the late 1870s and early 1880s, Frans Hals and Velázquez became the leading stars for painters who sought new technical solutions for light-effects and *plein-air* painting. The Spaniards repeatedly served as models for the emergent Naturalism of the 1880s, enabling artists to see things directly.²

1 Palin 2004a, pp. 138-190.

2 For a definition of (Finnish) 1880s-Naturalism, see Palin 2004a (pp. 317-322).

5.1 AN ITALIAN INTERLUDE (1876)

*Venezia! Nome celebre! Non posso recitarle senza estasi!
Evviva la città dei maestri, da Tiziano e Tintoretto.*³

Albert Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Venice 13 March 1876

It is startling to note that the *Spanish* Baroque was also used as a norm for describing the realism of *Italian* peasants as early as the 1860s. The Renaissance epitomised Italian art, which was perceived as idealising and unrealistic; the fact that Caravaggio, for instance, was an Italian Baroque master and the inspiration behind Ribera, Zurbarán and Velázquez, was frequently forgotten. During the 1870s, admiration of Old Master painters such as Velázquez and other Spaniards, Rembrandt and Frans Hals indicated a rejection of the prevailing, normative Italian influences. Italy was thus, in a way, “Hispanised” through the affiliations with Spanish realism, at least on an ideological level. Peasants *anywhere* were perceived through Romantic nostalgia and a yearning for simpler and purer lifestyles, which, as a rule, were found in their most untouched form in Spain. It seems that perceptions of Spanish art and Spain were the key to the nineteenth-century interpretation of the picturesque, even when painters painted Italian subjects.

The admiration for Old Spanish Masters was a break with that of the idealising Italian Renaissance, establishing a new canon of the fine arts. In order to come to terms with one’s time, one needed to know what to look for in Spain, which meant knowing which masters were to be admired and in what way. Velázquez was now suitable to admire for his “optical” technique, while Murillo was passé: “Murillo, whose best works also are here [at the Prado], is good for Misses when compared to Velasquez – a first-rate painting Master”, Edelfelt wrote from Madrid in 1881.⁴ Indeed; his choice of words is significant. When he was about to leave Spain, he desired to create “something manly”, “to work after a harsh and characteristic nature”.⁵

Alisa Luxenberg notices that Spanish realist art was considered the principal prototype for “masculine” painting. As early as 1866, Saint Victor described Bonnat’s *St.-Vincent-de-Paul* (see *Fig. 85*) as recalling “the masculine religious painting of the Spanish school of the seventeenth century”, while another critic associated the Spanish Baroque masters with “honest, direct, masculine” art. Luxenberg observes that Bonnat himself admired the “vigorous, ‘masculine’ painting of Velázquez and Ribera, who *dared* to paint everything they saw

3 “Venice! Celebrated name! I cannot say it without being imbued by ecstasy! Long live the city of the Old Masters, the city of Titian and Tintoretto!” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Venice 13 March 1876, SL5A).

4 “Murillo, vars bästa saker också finnas här [Prado in Madrid], är bra för mamseller i jämförelse med Velasquez – en målarmästare som heter duga” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 11 April 1881, SL5A).

5 “någonting manligt”; “arbeta efter en karg och karakteristisk natur” (Edelfelt 1921, p. 102).

[my emphasis]”, and the critics frequently noted his “*touche mâle*” – his manly touch.⁶ This “*touche mâle*” included Bonnat’s Italian genre scenes from the 1860s, which were attributed masculine qualities, even though they mostly depicted young girls and women. By measuring the pictures against *Spanish* art (probably because of Bonnat’s art studies in Spain), their figures’ realism was asserted; the characters were regarded as having a majestic but “dignified” posture and vigorous bodies of a “dark colouring” that evoked the “masculine qualities of pride, independence, capability”.⁷ I quote Luxenberg: “Such realism and virility went beyond three-dimensional forms and bold colors to include French notions of what *Italy* was all about [my emphasis].” This “sense of the picturesque” was present in “natural postures, rustic costumes, and lazy independence”, as Luxenberg describes the perceived (southern) Italian *far niente* mentality:

To the French audience, these lower-class Italians seemed sincerely simple and harmlessly free in their ways, whereas their own French peasants, uprooted, commercialized, politicized, did not. Bonnat himself shared in this French nostalgia for Italy for which he supplied convincing imagery.⁸

Despite Italy’s increasingly reduced status as a source of inspiration, Edelfelt visited Italy in 1876, a journey that constitutes an intriguing juxtaposition to Edelfelt’s later experiences in Spain. After having spent two years in Paris, the rich patron of the arts, Victor Hoving (1846–1876) from St. Petersburg, offered Edelfelt a chance to accompany him on a journey to Italy. In addition to Hoving, a Mr. Harling escorted him on this disastrous journey. During their stay in Rome, Hoving died of typhoid fever, and Edelfelt also came close to death.⁹ Edelfelt’s friend, the Dane Pietro Krohn (1840–1905),¹⁰ arrived in Rome to take care of him and Hoving, and literally saved Edelfelt’s life.¹¹

Nevertheless, before Edelfelt fell ill, he, Hoving and Mr. Harling stayed for a few days in Venice before hastily continuing to Rome. Edelfelt was busy finding his bearings in the unfamiliar surroundings. After one day in Venice, he remarked in a letter to his mother that if he recounted everything that he had seen, he would for the most part repeat the information in a Baedeker guide:

Mother knows what it is like in the beginning, when one has arrived at a famous spot. Then one immediately starts looking for the old, familiar monuments, consults Baedeker, gets lost and in a

6 Luxenberg 1991, p. 131 fns 299, 300, 301.

7 Luxenberg 1991, p. 133.

8 Luxenberg 1991, p. 133.

9 Pietro Krohn to Charles Baude, Rome April 1876 [according to Bertel Hintze’s transcript and translation of Edelfelt’s autograph letters], FNG/Archives. During his convalescence in the hospital by Monte Caprino in Rome, his friend Pietro Krohn cared for him and saved his life.

10 Pietro Krohn was a painter and draughtsman. Later he became the director of Denmark’s Arts and Design Museum. He had studied in the Danish Art Academy. He travelled in Germany and Holland and spent many years in Rome. In 1876, Edelfelt described Krohn as a great connoisseur of the Italian Old Masters (Kortelainen 2001a, pp. 204-205).

11 Kortelainen 2001a, p. 203.

few hours collects more numerous and varied impressions than for days thereafter. As you know, here is not a single house, church or bridge that one has not seen before in a painting, drawing or photographs.¹²

After arriving in Rome, he still was convinced that “*nothing*” could live up to Venice: “See there is colour! And the city’s old-fashioned, mystical, grand disposition.” He admired the people, the handsome men and the wonderful, pale girls with large, dark and sincere eyes, wearing veils over their thick hair. In Venice, everything was an “*ensemble*”: the bright sun, the vividly blue sea and the clear sky.¹³

After his illness, Edelfelt re-visited Venice together with Krohn, admiring the colours of Tintoretto and Titian.¹⁴ It was important, Edelfelt claimed, to see the paintings *in situ* in order to comprehend them.¹⁵ Venetian painters should be seen in *Venice*, in their own city, just as Rubens should be seen in Antwerp.¹⁶ He was still enthralled by the city. Nothing, he wrote to Charles Baude, is more enjoyable than Venice:

While Rome and Florence offer much for reflection, the beauty of Venice affects only emotive feelings – there, one dreams, and one feels to be within a *cercle enchanté* in this *ville unique*. The colours, architecture, Titian’s and Tintoretto’s paintings – everything constitutes a harmony, and one asks how the existence of such an exquisite beauty is possible in a world in which inconsistencies strike on at every step.¹⁷

Edelfelt’s appreciation of the picturesque had already begun to develop, as can be seen in his love of the blushing colourism of Venetian Old Masters but also in the way he appreciated the landscape and the Italian people. The town of Frascati, where Krohn and Edelfelt stayed during the latter’s period of convalescence, was also “admirably beautiful”, and the villas and forests “constantly provide new and picturesque sights”, Edelfelt maintained. The

12 “Mamma vet huru det är I början, då man anländt till en berömd ort. Man ser sig genast omkring efter gamla bekanta monumenter, bläddrar i Baedeker, går vilse, och uppfångar under några timmar flera och mer omväxlande intryck än under dagatal efteråt. Det finnes ju här knappast ett enda hus, en kyrka, en bro, som man ej sett tusen gånger förut i tavla, teckning eller fotografier” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Venice 13 March 1876, SLSA).

13 “Se der är färg! Och detta ålderdomliga, mystiska präktiga tycke som den staden har och folket sedan! Vackra, ståtliga karlar med en gång och en växt som kunde göra en forngrek afvundsjuk, och dessa underbart vackra bleka flickor med slöjor på det tjocka håret, och stora allvarliga ögon! Nej se det är “*ensemble*” i allt i Venedig och solen är här så grann, sjön så blå och himlen så klar” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Rome 18 March 1876, SLSA).

14 Hintze 1942–44, I, p. 82 ff.

15 Edelfelt to Charles Baude, Frascati Albanerbergen 11 June 1876 [according to Bertel Hintze’s transcript and translation of Edelfelt’s autograph letters], FNG/Archives.

16 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Venice 13 March 1881, SLSA.

17 “Medan Rom och Florens erbjuder mycket för eftertanken, berör Venedigs skönhet enbart känslan – där drömmer man, och man känner sig såsom i en *cercle enchanté* i denna *ville unique*. Färgerna, arkitekturen, Tizians och Tintoretts målningar – allt bildar en harmoni och man frågar sig huru det kan finnas någonting av en så fulländad skönhet i en värld, där disharmonierna frapper vid hvarje steg” (Edelfelt to Charles Baude, Frascati Albanerbergen 11 June 1876 [according to Bertel Hintze’s transcript and translation of Edelfelt’s autograph letters], FNG/Archives).

Italian women were also unforgettably beautiful and pale, with black eyes “*dans leur voiles coquettes*”.¹⁸

His stay in Rome before his illness included visiting every conceivable site.¹⁹ In a short time, he and his companions roamed the city, including famous antique sites such as Forum Romanum, the Colosseum, Circus Maximus and walking the Via Appia, but also taking in the Trastevere and indulging in the local cuisine. In Trastevere, Edelfelt announced, one could see the people exactly as they were, although he did not meet any “divinely beautiful Italian woman” of the kind seen in “German books”. The type that he came across possessed much less artificial sentimentality, but a great deal more character and beauty than seen in “those eternal oil-prints” with which Berlin blessed the world.²⁰

Edelfelt visited most of Rome’s art galleries and *palazzos*, the Vatican and the Sistine Chapel, and the main churches.²¹ He and his companions also made a short trip to Florence.²² Florence was crowded with visitors. In the galleries, hordes of copyists were occupied with their “businesslike” task. Edelfelt was terrified by the thought that those poorly copied faces, which appeared to him as if they adorned the lid of a pomade jar, would spread throughout Europe announcing that “Raphael, Titian, Andrea del Sarto etc. painted in this way”.²³ He obviously greatly disliked this kind of copy practice.

- 18 “beundransvärt vackert”; “erbjuda ständigt nya och måleriska anblickar” (Edelfelt to Charles Baude, Frascati Albanerbergen 11 June 1876 [according to Bertel Hintze’s transcript and translation of Edelfelt’s autograph letters], FNG/Archives). Edelfelt also comments on how nature affects architecture: “Here in the South (Italy and Greece), nature abundantly offers so many different shapes, a richness and variety in the lines, that architecture has to choose simple and refined shapes in order to create a contrast with the surrounding’s extravagancy. The planes in Northern France and Flanders have also produced their own kind of architecture, the pointed arch (which is called the Gothic style, although the Germans do not have anything to do with this purely French-Normandish art) which so to speak supplements their nature – therefore this Northern style possesses a profuse display of forms and ornaments. [Här i Södern (Italien o Grekland) erbjuder vanligtvis landskapet en sådan mångfald af former, en sådan rikedom på varierande linier, att arkitekturen måste välja enkla och fina former för att bilda kontrast mot öfverflödet rundt [*sic*] omkring. Nordfrankrikes och Flanderens slättland hafva också frambragt en egen arkitektur, [Ogruäl/Opüal?]-konsten (den s.k. gothiken, fastän tyskarna ej haft något att göra med denna rent fransk-normanniska konst) – som så att säga kompletterar naturen der – derföre är denna Nordiska byggnadskonst rik på form och ornament i högsta grad]” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Frascati 5 June 1876, SLSA).
- 19 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Rome 18 March 1881; Rome Wednesday [March 1881]; Rome 25 March 1881, SLSA.
- 20 “Idag på morgonen förrän jag gick till doktorn, gjorde jag en vandring till Trastevere, och förvillade mig flera gånger, fastän jag hade stadsplanen i fickan. I dessa små smutsiga gränder kan man få se folket riktigt sådant det är. Någon gudaskön Italienska, sådan som de som finnas I tyska böcker såg jag ej – typerna ha här mycket mindre tillgjord sentimentalitet med vida mera karaktär och skönhet än man ser I dessa eviga oljetrycks taflor, som Berlin, denna krona bland städer, välsignar verlden med” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Rome 25 March 1881, SLSA).
- 21 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Rome 18 March 1881; Rome 25 March 1881, SLSA. When arriving in Rome, they were met by the Finnish sculptor Walter Runeberg (1838–1920). In Runeberg’s studio, Edelfelt became acquainted with the Danish sculptor Vilhelm Bissen (1836–1913). He also visited the studio of yet another Finnish sculptor, Johannes Takanen (1849–1885).
- 22 In Florence, Edelfelt bumped into a fellow student from Gérôme’s studio, an American called Blackman, who guided Edelfelt and his companions during their stay.
- 23 “Ett rysligt affärsmessigt kopierande tyckes vara infördt i de italienska gallerierna. Ej en enda kopist som skulle göra det för sakens skull, eller för att studera, alla göra vackert, sött slickade och dåligt för att pracka på dumt folk. Det är så att det vänder sig i en då man tänker sig att dessa pomadaburksansigten skola gå ut i verlden och predika för allt folk att Rafael, Tizian, Andrea del Sarto m.m. målade så” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Rome 18 March 1881, SLSA).

As we learn from his reports to his mother, during the short period prior to his illness, Edelfelt was a very busy tourist; for a period of about two weeks, he travelled here and there, all over the place. Yet he complained that he could not cope with all of it.²⁴ His travel companion, Mr. Harling, helped him by consulting Baedeker's red-covered guidebook, while Edelfelt seems to have been a more independent tourist.²⁵ A touch of disillusion as regards what he had seen in Rome gnawed at him. He compared everything with the watercolours that hung on the walls in the salon of his childhood home, judging whether the depicted view corresponded with reality. Italy was not as it appeared in pictures, Edelfelt declared. Instead, everything was more dignified, stern and daring, in a way "darker".²⁶ In his last letter before he became unwell, he also expressed his desire to paint, but laments that he had not yet managed to do so.²⁷ One year later, when recalling his Italian journey in a letter to Krohn, his antipathy towards "tourist art" is apparent:

Believe me, I had more use of my journey to Rome such as it was than if I, like thousands of other painting tourists, had returned with my sketchbook filled with pictures of *pfifferari* and Roman street scenes, devoid of any deeper impressions, perhaps only more superficial, more sceptical [...].²⁸

Edelfelt contrasted himself with painter tourists, thereby revealing that his attitude towards what I call tourist painting was depreciatory and somewhat reserved. He ranked the Italian Old Masters far higher than the pictures of the *pfifferari*, which he dismissed as merely being "tourist art".²⁹ He seemed pleased that he had not been able to paint "picturesque" subjects, which might be considered his reaction to the "kitschy" and touristy; Italian pictures had long been on the market, copies as well as original artworks. Spain, by contrast, offered something new.

If Edelfelt's Italian journey is compared with his later Spanish journey, we soon learn that Edelfelt did paint what might be characterised as tourist art. By then, his attitude towards

24 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Rome Wednesday [March 1876], SLSA.

25 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Rome 25 March 1881, SLSA. Knowing that a Baedeker guide travelled with the company, we can suppose that Edelfelt also consulted its contents. At least during his convalescence, he frequently conferred with the guidebook, in addition to Gsell-Fels's "Rome-book". At that time, he took lessons in the history of Roman and Italian architecture; his teacher was another convalescent, a German architect called Eckhardt. (Kortelainen 2001a, p. 210). Moreover, Edelfelt's parents had travelled to Rome for their honeymoon in 1852, visiting all the main sights, such as palaces, churches, art collections, archaeological sites and monuments from the Antiquity (Kortelainen 2001a, p. 188).

26 "Italien är, tycker jag icke fullt sådant som man ser det på bilder. Världigare, allvarligare, djerfvare i teckningen, mörkare i tonen. För resten har jag kontrollerat alla våra sals-aquarellers riktighet på platserna sjelfva. Vuen af forum Romanum som hänga ofvan soffan har bron för långt borta, den är ju byggd så godt som fast i den andra tempelruinen" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Rome Wednesday [March 1876], SLSA).

27 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Rome 25 March 1881, SLSA.

28 "Tro mig, jag hade mera nytta av min Romresa sådan den var, än om jag likt tusende andra konstnärsturister hade kommit hem med skizzboken full av *pfifferari* och romerska gatuscener, men utan något djupare intryck, kanske blott mera flack, mera skeptisk [...]" (Edelfelt to Pietro Krohn, Paris 28 June 1877 [according to Bertel Hintze's transcript and translation of Edelfelt's autograph letters], FNG/Archives).

29 Edelfelt to Charles Baude, Frascati Albanerbergen 11 June 1876 [according to Bertel Hintze's transcript and translation of Edelfelt's autograph letters], FNG/Archives; Edelfelt to Pietro Krohn, Paris 28 June 1877 [according to Bertel Hintze's transcript and translation of Edelfelt's autograph letters], FNG/Archives.

history painting was deteriorating. In Spain, he diverged from the “heroic” path and allowed himself to indulge in depicting picturesque townscapes, dancing Gypsies and bullfighters; subjects that are the equivalent of the Italian *pfifferari*. My question is, what had changed? He had completed his studies and managed to avoid getting ill during his Spanish journey, which, of course, gave the trip potential to become more successful. But his perception of tourist art had obviously also altered. Tourist art held its position among the wealthy buyers in Paris (and elsewhere) and Edelfelt was, of course, eager to sell his pictures and to forge his career; now he considered all genres to be valid.

How nice it is to go out in the evenings, when the sun lights up the town and countryside in a blood-red glow, and to look at the people. [...] Nineteen centuries of tradition, if not more, are inscribed in the brows of this people – this is a fine race, and cleverness radiates from their eyes. [...] When seeing their finely shaped stature, their faces filled with character and their intelligent expressions, proud or filled with mischief, you surely think: yes, this is what man should look like – exactly as one repeats over and over while being here: Art is made for this country.³⁰

Albert Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Frascati [Italy] 10 June 1876

5.2 PREPARING FOR THE JOURNEY

How will you manage to talk about Spain when you have been there?³¹

Heinrich Heine to Théophile Gautier [1840]

The above epigraph expresses the Romantics’ attitude towards the constructed, literary exoticism during the mid-nineteenth century. As David Scott points out, Victor Hugo had managed to reconstruct the Orient in his *Les Orientales* without setting foot in Asia Minor or North Africa. “What was the point of suffering the dangers and discomforts of weeks of travel [...] to see the real thing if there was no guarantee of the authentic experience being more vivid – and more susceptible to vivid expression – than the imaginary?” Scott ironically asks. There is always a risk when travelling to a place that, figuratively speaking, already exists in one’s imagination. But risk is “part of the very essence and point of travel: on the

30 “Hvad det er roligt att om aftnarna, då solen kastar ett blodrödt sken över stad och land, gå ut och se på folket som då kommer hem från arbetet eller vågat sig ut från sina om dagen tillslutna boningar. Dessa människor bära alla prägeln af ’19 anor’ och mer på sin panna – det är en fin race, och klokhet strålar ur deras ögon. [...] Men säkert är att man, då man ser deras fina ståtliga växt, deras ansigten fulla av karaktär, och deras intelligenta, än stolta, än skålmska uttryck [*sic*], tycker: Se så skall menniskor se ut, liksom man hundrade gånger upprepar: Konsten är gjord för detta land” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Frascati 10 June 1876, SLSA).

31 “Comment ferez-vous pour parler de l’Espagne quand vous y serez allé?” (Gautier [1843], p. 2).

one hand the stimulus and excitement of adventure, on the other the desire to measure oneself and the power of fantasy when confronted with reality”.³² Gautier was aware of this when he wrote on the first page of his *Voyage en Espagne*: “Perhaps I am going to lose one of my illusions, and will see the Spain of my dreams disappear, the Spain of romances, Victor Hugo’s ballads, Mérimée’s short stories and the tales of Alfred de Musset.”³³ His book ends with him stating “*Le rêve était fini*” – the dream was over:

On setting foot on the soil of my country, I felt tears in my eyes, not of joy but of regret. The vermilion towers, the silvery summits of the Sierra Nevada, the oleanders of the Generalife, the long, dewy, velvet glances, the lips like carnations in bloom, the tiny feet and tiny hands, all this came back so vividly into my mind, that though I was to find my mother there, France seemed to me a land of exile. The dream was ended [*sic*].³⁴

Between these pages, Gautier draws a romantic and colourful picture of the country beyond the Pyrenées, a country that had recently been ravaged by political turmoil. In French Romantic literature, Spain was transfigured through a nostalgic imagination. In the introduction to her English translation of Gautier’s *Voyage en Espagne* (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.³⁵

Although Phillips argues that Gautier “could cast aside all literary preconception”, I disagree. His descriptions are undoubtedly permeated by a nostalgic imagination, a distinctive feature of French Romantic literature. Gautier’s book and his other texts on Spain were among the most widely read of the second half of the nineteenth century.³⁶ Painters were also drawn to his colourful descriptions, perhaps due to his ability to recreate visual images in words, to draw “word-pictures” paying attention to the colour and composition of what he saw. Phillips notes that Gautier had a “painter’s eye”, and quotes Sainte-Beuve’s remark

32 Scott 1988, p. 10.

33 “Je vais peut-être perdre une de mes illusions, et voir s’envoler l’Espagne de mes rêves, l’Espagne du romance-ro, des ballades de Victor Hugo, des nouvelles de Mérimée et des contes d’Alfred de Musset” (Gautier [1843], p. 2). This passage is omitted in the English translation, comp. Gautier 1926.

34 Gautier 1926, p. 324.

35 Catherine Phillips’s introduction to Gautier’s *Voyage en Espagne* (Gautier 1926, pp. v-vii).

36 Gautier’s *Tra Los Montes*, which is the title of the first edition of what was to be reissued as *Voyage en Espagne*, is based on a series of nine articles *en voyage*, submitted to *La Presse* in 1840. An additional six chapters appeared in *Revue de Paris* and then *Revue des Deux Mondes* in 1841 and 1842, respectively. He also published a separate book of poems, *España*, in 1845 (Manet/Velázquez 2003, pp. 380-381).

that in his descriptions “it is not ink that he uses, but colours and lines; he has a palette, he has crayons”. Descriptions of landscape, architecture and art take a dominant position in his articles, and he was criticised for not including enough Spaniards in his descriptions. In *Voyage en Espagne*, he also appears as the eminent art critic that he was, “transposing the pictures into terms of words”, as Phillips expresses it, showing us “the artist’s characteristic devices of colour and composition as surely as if we were standing before the canvas”.³⁷ Edelfelt’s friend, Jean-Baptiste Pasteur, also referred to Gautier’s “quill-pencil” when he described Edelfelt’s studio in *Le Moniteur Universel* in April 1881.³⁸ Painters who intended to travel to Spain or, alternatively, were interested in the picturesque characteristics of this exotic country could find no better guide than Gautier.

Edelfelt mentions Gautier in at least two letters to his mother. In one letter he 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.”³⁹ Edelfelt also referred to Gautier’s statements on the beautiful *madrileñas*.⁴⁰ 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 Edelfelt’s 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 from Spain. Edelfelt appears to have found a model in Gautier for being a painter-tourist in Spain. In the following text, I frequently return to Gautier’s *Voyage en Espagne*,⁴¹ comparing his statements with Edelfelt’s observations. My concern is to determine whether Edelfelt – or Gautier – were able to cast aside “all literary preconceptions”, and whether Edelfelt managed to look upon Spain as it was.

When Edelfelt left Paris for Spain in 1881, he travelled alone, clearly disappointed since he regarded solitary travel as “a boring business”.⁴² He was particularly disappointed that Sargent could not accompany him. Sargent had recently returned from an extended stay in Venice during which time he had visited Spain. He was thus in no position to leave Paris again so soon.⁴³

Several facts support the conclusion that it was Sargent’s Spanish interests that finally triggered Edelfelt’s desire to go to Spain. Bertel Hintze first expressed this view.⁴⁴ Elina Ant-

37 Catherine Alison Phillips’s introduction to Gautier’s *Voyage en Espagne* (Gautier 1926, pp. viii-ix).

38 Fabrice [Jean-Baptiste Pasteur], “Chronique des artes: Les ateliers des Jeunes, III, Edelfelt”, *Le Moniteur Universel*, 2 avril 1881, as quoted in Kortelainen 2002a, p. 176.

39 “Men hvad Theophile Gauthier [*sic*] säger om dömens proportioner, t.ex. att Notre Dame de Paris kunde spatsera upprätt inne i kyrkan är då den fräckaste lögn” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Seville 22 April 1881, SLSA). In Gautier’s *Voyage en Espagne* (English translation 1926), the cathedral in Seville is described as follows: “Notre Dame de Paris could walk without bending her head down the central nave, which is of terrific height [...]” (Gautier 1926, p. 285).

40 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 11 April 1881, SLSA.

41 I mainly use the English translation from 1926 (Gautier 1926).

42 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 16 March 1881, SLSA.

43 Olson 1986, p. 80.

44 Hintze 1953, p. 136.

tila also assumes that it was Sargent's trip to Spain (in 1879) that inspired Edelfelt to lay concrete plans for a Spanish journey, including applying for a travel scholarship in 1880.⁴⁵ His first application for a travel scholarship is nevertheless dated as early as October 1879, which is even closer to the date of Sargent's sojourn in Spain that same year. According to Hintze, Edelfelt had submitted his application for the Hoving travel grant too late, which was why he did not receive the scholarship in 1879.⁴⁶ This argument must be revised because Edelfelt clearly did know about the deadline.⁴⁷

In his application, Edelfelt applied for 3000 Marks to enable him to study in Paris and to pay for a journey to Spain; the application is dated 25 September 1879,⁴⁸ which was well before the deadline. Some weeks later, Edelfelt supplemented his application, and noted that his earlier application was incomplete.⁴⁹ That year, the *Finnish Art Society* chose Fredrik Ahlstedt (1839–1901) as their beneficiary, after a vote between him and Edelfelt. The chairman, C.G. Estlander, cast the deciding ballot.⁵⁰ Edelfelt was granted the scholarship the following year, when he repeated his application in the autumn of 1880. Finally, Edelfelt received a sum of 3000 Marks to enable him to study the Old Spanish Masters in their own country.⁵¹

Further evidence that Edelfelt and Sargent probably discussed the appeal of Spain prior to Edelfelt's journey can be found in Edelfelt's acquisition of a bullfighter costume for Sargent on the latter's instructions from the torero *El Gordito* (Don Antonio Cormona) in Seville.⁵² Sargent also influenced Edelfelt's choices of sites and places to visit. In Madrid, Edelfelt stayed at the *Casa de Huespedes* at Calle de la Salud, 13,⁵³ the same address at which Sargent had lodged in 1879. Sargent's friend from Carolus-Duran's studio, James Carroll Beckwith, stayed at this hostel in 1880.⁵⁴ From Madrid, Edelfelt wrote to his mother that a man called Dominique Dupruilh (Señor Domenico Dupruilhe) ran a small French pension at this address

45 Anttila 2001, p. 121 fn 277.

46 Hintze 1942–44, I, p. 132.

47 Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Haiko 2 September 1879, FNG/Archives.

48 Albert Edelfelt, scholarship application, 25 September 1879 (*Proceedings of the Finnish Art Society*, 1879, FNG/Archives).

49 Albert Edelfelt, completion of scholarship application, 6 October 1879 (*Proceedings of the Finnish Art Society*, 1879, FNG/Archives).

50 "Protokoll fördt hvid Konstföreningens Direktionssammanträde d. 10 oktober 1879" (*Proceedings of the Finnish Art Society*, 1879, FNG/Archives).

51 Edelfelt, application for the Hoving travel scholarship, Helsinki 15 September 1880 (*Proceedings of the Finnish Art Society*, 1880, FNG/Archives). A conversion of the 3000 Marks reveals that in 1880 Edelfelt received 66.054 Marks according to the value of the Finnish Mark in 2004. Today, the value of Edelfelt's scholarship would be about 11 110 € (Conversion table [*Penningvärdetabell*], http://www.nordea.fi/swe/hen/sasi/rahanarvo_taulukko.asp?navi=nakymat&ititem), electronic document accessed 5 May 2005).

52 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Seville 24 April 1881, SLSA.

53 In the 1880s, the main street Gran Vía was not yet built; instead, the section of Madrid surrounding Calle de la Salud consisted of wiry, narrow streets. But the pension was situated centrally, near the Puerta del Sol. *Real Academia de las Bellas Artes de San Fernando* and the Prado Museum were within easy walking distance. Today, when Gran Vía has opened up the narrow street system, Calle de la Salud stretches down towards the church Santa Carmen, and number thirteen opens to a small *plaza* (Pza. del Carmen). In November 2001, a fish market was situated at this address in a house that was rebuilt in 1931, but there was still a small boarding house in the upper floors.

54 Volk 1992, p. 95 fn 8.

where, in addition to Sargent, Mariano Fortuny's French friends in Spain, Henri Regnault and Georges Clairin, had stayed as well.⁵⁵ Clearly, Edelfelt's curiosity about Spain had been aroused by Sargent and his American compatriots (e.g., Weir), in addition to Edelfelt's fellow painters in Paris.

In addition to Edelfelt's problems with funding, other factors stalled his departure, and so he did not set off until late April 1881. After being granted the scholarship in the autumn the previous year (1880), he initially thought about going with family friends, the Manzeys from St. Petersburg.⁵⁶ Edelfelt also learned that the Orientalist painter Benjamin Constant (1845–1902), who would have welcomed Edelfelt as companion, was on his way to Spain, and looked forward to the prospect of visiting the Alhambra in his company.⁵⁷ Edelfelt would have liked this very much, since Constant knew Spain very well and spoke Spanish fluently.⁵⁸ Constant did travel to Spain in February the same year, but according to Edelfelt he stayed only for a fortnight, which seems to have been too short a visit for Edelfelt.⁵⁹ Instead, Constant wrote letters of recommendation for Edelfelt's journey later that spring.⁶⁰

An alternative travel companion was Eugène Girardet (1853–1907), a pupil of the French history painter Alexandre Cabanel (1823/4–1889).⁶¹ Edelfelt also appears to have discussed his travel plans with his former fellow student in Gérôme's studio, the Swede Georg von Rosen (1843–1923). Rosen had talked enthusiastically about Spain and Velázquez in late 1880.⁶² Edelfelt also negotiated with Albert Aublet (1851–1938), his "old buddy and friend", about coming to Spain with him; Aublet had accompanied Gérôme on his Spanish journey in 1873. According to Edelfelt, Aublet was very keen on joining him, and Edelfelt would have enjoyed the company. Ultimately, several portrait commissions prevented Aublet from travelling,⁶³ and Edelfelt had to leave Paris on his own. Prior to the journey, Edelfelt arranged to meet two persons, whom he refers to as "Noël and Boit".⁶⁴ The former was a French (amateur) watercolour painter Albert Noël (dates unknown), while Boit is recognised as the American painter Edward Darling (1840–1915). An intriguing coincidence is that Sargent would later paint a portrait of Darling's daughters in a composition that is heavily influenced by Velázquez (see *Fig. 72*).⁶⁵

55 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 9 April 1881, SLSA; Volk 1992, p. 95 fn 8.

56 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, 15 October 1880, SLSA.

57 Edelfelt mentions Constant in at least two letters: Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, 10 October 1880; 24 November 1880; Paris [a Tuesday in January] 1881, SLSA.

58 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, 7 November 1880, SLSA.

59 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, [Paris] 2 February [1881], SLSA.

60 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, 10 February 1881, SLSA.

61 Edelfelt calls Girardet's teacher "Cabanelista" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, 2 February [1881], SLSA).

62 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, 16 March 1880, SLSA. In 1880, Rosen painted a copy after Velázquez's *Don Balthasar Carlos* at the Prado. Rosen's copy is in the collections of the Swedish National Museum in Stockholm [NM 1347] (Brunner 2003, p. 137).

63 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 16 March 1881, SLSA.

64 Edelfelt frequently mentions his travel companions, see for example Edelfelt's letter to B.O. Schauman, Granada 18 April 1881, FNG/Archives.

65 *The Daughters of Edward D. Boit* [Edward Darling], 1882 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), see Simpson 1998, pp. 5-6, ill. p. 9.

5.3 SPAIN AND ORIENTALISM: CONSTRUCTED OTHERNESS

I am astonished that Spanish painters in general should have painted in such sombre tones and devoted themselves exclusively to imitating Caravaggio and other gloomy masters. The pictures of Decamps and Marilhat, who have painted nothing but places in Asia or Africa, give a much truer idea of Spain than all the paintings brought back from the Peninsula at great expense.⁶⁶

Théophile Gautier in *Voyage en Espagne* [1843]

In the following text, Edelfelt's visit to Granada forms the basis for analysis. His pictures from Spain are regarded as indicative of the concurrent construction of Spanish tourist imagery. Yet, we can examine how well Edelfelt's art fits in to this particular European tourism. Nineteenth-century tourist imagery depended on literary sources and visual images of the far-away country. In order to position Edelfelt within this image formation, Edelfelt's pictures are analysed in conjunction with his statements about Spain.

We may first consider whether Edelfelt was a tourist or a traveller. As several scholars have pointed out, it is difficult to draw a sharp line between these two roles; James Buzard remarks that the distinction between "tourist" and "traveller" is highly exaggerated, and I agree with him.⁶⁷ By examining how Edelfelt positioned himself among other travellers and his comments about those travellers whom he called "tourists", in conjunction with the places he actually visited, I am able to pinpoint Edelfelt's preferences in the light of modern (nineteenth-century) tourism. The implicit dichotomy of "traveller" – "tourist" is present even in Edelfelt's first application for a travel scholarship. In that application, he wrote that his intention was to "look carefully at Velasquez at the Prado museum" while he was in Madrid. This statement is contrasted with more "touristic" and "unprofessional" activities, such as his hopes to be able to study the "countryside and people" in Toledo and Granada.⁶⁸ Like Buzard and several other scholars, I propose that distinguishing between a traveller and a tourist is impossible, and not particularly valuable. Edelfelt forms a fine example of this difficulty. He wished to go to Spain – at least officially – to enhance his profession as a painter by studying the Old Masters at the Prado. At the same time, he indulged (or at least intended to do so) in activities that were more in line with a preconceived tourist's idea of Spain that is common even today. Dean MacCannell's semiotics of tourism, particularly his concept of "staged authenticity", is of central significance in scrutinising the traveller's quest and the touristic desire for authenticity in tourist sites.

66 Gautier 1926, p. 196.

67 Buzard 1993.

68 "My intention is, as soon as I can afford it and have the opportunity, to depart for Madrid in order to profoundly study Velasquez at the Prado Museum. Furthermore, I would visit Toledo and Granada, with the purpose of studying the countryside and people. [Min mening är att, så snart jag dertill får råd och tillfälle, begifva mig till Madrid för att i Prado museet göra grundlig bekantskap med Velasquez. Vidare skulle jag begifva mig till Toledo och Granada för att der studera land och folk.]" (Albert Edelfelt, "Bilaga till ansökan af det s.k. Hovingska resestipendium", Helsingfors d. 6 okt. 1879, *Proceedings of the the Finnish Art Society*, 1879, FNG/Archives).

A considerable number of painters in France (and elsewhere in Western Europe and America) – including the Spaniard Mariano Fortuny – painted pictures of composed Oriental milieus; the Orientalists held a dominant position in maintaining Spain's position as a tourist destination. In travel literature, Spain was presented as the gateway to Africa, and trips to Tangier were frequently included in nineteenth-century guidebooks.⁶⁹ Gautier's *Voyage en Espagne* is also imbued with allusions to the Orient, and he constantly sought the eastern character in Spain.⁷⁰

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.⁷¹ The circumstances for Spain were quite the reverse; the connection with Africa integrated Spain with the Orient. The proclaimed exoticism and “otherness” of Spain turned her into a desirable travel destination. Prints of the Moorish Alhambra palace in Granada circulated in France and Britain, emphasising the medieval and Romantic nature of the historical sites, as did travel accounts and guidebooks. As Michael Scholz-Hänsel has shown, the Moorish heritage in Spain was extremely important for the (re)discovery of Spanish art and culture during the nineteenth century.⁷²

What was the motivation behind the Orientalists' travels? As we know, the first Orientalists were mostly French and British; for other European countries without major empires, the Orient was remote. Lynne Thornton points out that the French painters were, for the most part, attached to military, scientific or diplomatic missions, and sent to countries around the Mediterranean basin and to Persia. These were political decisions, since the French were anxious to keep the British away from those areas that were important to France. In general, the English explored Egypt, which was the port to their Indian Empire, and the “Biblical countries” in Palestine. The association between the Bible and the Orient was of great importance, Thornton states, since European painters travelled primarily in search of “authentic” backgrounds for their Biblical subjects, “convinced that the gestures and attitudes of the people they saw were survivals from ancient times”.⁷³ The British and French were also among the first to exploit Spain as a tourist resource.⁷⁴

The search for authenticated historicity is in line with MacCannell's argument. His analysis of sightseeing is based on “social structural differentiation”. He defines differentiation as “roughly the same as societal ‘development’ or ‘modernization’”, which can be interpreted

69 Baedeker's *Spain and Portugal* appeared in 1898 (Baedeker 1898).

70 Gautier 1926, *passim*. Several scholars have discussed Gautier's inclination towards Oriental art and culture, see e.g., Pardo 1989, pp. 269-294; Guillaumie-Reicher 1936, *passim*.

71 Thomas 2002, fn 6.

72 Scholz-Hänsel 1990.

73 Thornton 1994, p. 6.

74 When Gautier remarks in his *Voyage en Espagne* on the Spaniard's insensitivity towards their own, specific culture, he proposes that it was particularly the English travellers who were The Tourists, and who, in addition to the French, were the only ones interested in Spain's heritage (Gautier 1926, *passim*). In Gautier's text, “English” is almost used as a synonym for “tourist”.

also as the differentiation of Western civilisation from the “un-civilised” East. By “differentiation” MacCannell means

to designate the totality of differences between social classes, life-styles, racial and ethnic groups, age grades (the youth, the aged), political and professional groups and *the mythic representation of the past to the present* [my emphasis].⁷⁵

Thornton argues that when the fashion for painters’ insistence “on seeing the Orient under different disguises faded”, this was because “Europe had developed a *real* awareness” of the importance of Islamic culture and architecture.⁷⁶ Looking for authenticity thus supplanted the (admittedly not very successful) search for the imagery Orient, and painters became more focused on everyday life.⁷⁷ Conversely, Thomas Cook’s “hordes of tourists, clickclacking their Kodak cameras” resulted in painters “studiously avoid[ing] any hint of Europeanization”, that is, superficial tourist attractions. Instead, Thornton argues, most painters were drawn to “the glamorous aspects, proud Nubian guards, falcon hunts and thoroughbred horses in immense space, gorgeously dressed women reclining in harems and market places full of busy, contented people”.⁷⁸ This point of view nevertheless echoes MacCannell’s concept of “staged authenticity”, since these settings were not “authentic” in the widely understood sense of the word. These paintings were, after all, composed in a way similar to superficial tourist settings, where the proposed authenticity of the foreign culture was exhibited as something different.

Thornton also draws attention to the way “some painter began to show the harsher sides, the impoverished tribes of southern Algeria, blind beggars, the crumbling walls of tortuous streets” as a positive development within the Western view of the Orient.⁷⁹ But such scenes are not very different from the glamorous ones. Such “authentic” milieus were also sought out through differentiation, since such differentiation, according to MacCannell, “is the origin of alternative and the feeling of freedom in modern society”. He summarises: “It is also the ground of the contradiction, conflict, violence, fragmentation, discontinuity and alienation that are such evident features of modern life.”⁸⁰ Images of the harsher sides of society in the Orient should also be seen as a result of differentiation, presented for Western civilisation (the European bourgeois) as a fragmented, superficial “staged authenticity”, and not, as Thornton argues, as the “real” Orient. MacCannell’s concept of “staged authenticity” is, indeed, aptly reflected in the Orientalists’ *oeuvre*. Edward W. Said’s controversial work on

75 MacCannell 1976, p. 11.

76 Thornton states, that the reason why “Europeans began to lose their complacent sense of superiority was largely due to the sensitivity and awareness of such travellers as the English Egyptologist Edward Lee and the painter John Frederick Lewis, who for years immersed themselves in native Cairene life” (Thornton 1994, pp. 6-7).

77 This was largely due to the Crimean War of 1854–55 and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. Artists were sent to record these events.

78 Thornton 1994, p. 7.

79 Thornton 1994, p. 7.

80 MacCannell 1976, p. 11.

Orientalism,⁸¹ which appeared in 1978, supports MacCannell's view of the tourist experience (or, the experience of any traveller) as an *experience of otherness by strangers*.⁸²

For several reasons, it was difficult to paint on location, which caused painters, once they had returned from their journeys, to use travel sketches, photographs and prints depicting local people, scenery and architecture, and artefacts bought abroad, in the creation of later "make-believe" compositions. They also used other studio props such as Oriental carpets, costumes and Islamic works of art as aids.⁸³ Gérôme's studio, for instance, is an astonishing example of an Orientalist studio.⁸⁴ Edelfelt also furnished his studio in a predominantly "Orientalist" vein in 1880, but his mainly Chinese and Japanese studio props avoided turning his studio into a harem, like the one of Benjamin Constant he reported having seen the same year.⁸⁵ As discussed earlier, the year before Edelfelt joined Gérôme's studio, Gérôme had been in Spain (1873). While in Spain, Gérôme primarily worked in the palace of Alhambra, and a number of his later compositions incorporate settings from this Arabic

81 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 Western sense of superiority and its definition of the self and the Other. Certainly the painters discussed here, in their use of Orientalist iconography, 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. However, Said is not an art historian; the focus of his analysis is on the unmasking of the superstructure behind scholarly, literary, and political texts for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain and France and twentieth-century America, omitting Western attitudes towards the East as reflected in the visual arts. For more on the "'Orientalism'-debate", see MacKenzie 1996, pp. 1-19, and pp. 43-104, discussing Orientalism in art and architecture.

82 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. The Orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilisations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other" (Said 1991 (1978), p. 1). Treating both the intellectual tradition of Orientalism and contemporary political writing about Near Eastern affairs, 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, and different figures perform on this stage, representing the larger totality that they come from. This theatrical stage exposes a cultural repertoire which alludes to a fairytale world: the Sphinx, 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 fed on this repertoire (Said 1997 (1978), p. 142). 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, an unalterable, antihumanist faith incapable of development or reform" (Kerr 1980, [p. 544]). We should also note that when the first edition of Said's book was published in 1978, the picture on the dust jacket was Jean-Léon Gérôme's *The Snake Charmer* (c. 1870, Cleveland Museum of Art, Ohio). As Kerr remarks, "the picture itself speaks volumes" (Kerr 1980, [p. 544]): a naked, adolescent boy puts a sizeable snake, wrapped around his body, on show for a company of men and one small boy in ethnographic costume, sagging at the base of a blue wall of richly painted oriental tile. Gérôme's painting has also been the target of Linda Nochlin's Said-inspired analysis, in which she critically examines Gérôme's Orientalist paintings as depicting a place where time stands still (see e.g., Nochlin 1991 (1989)).

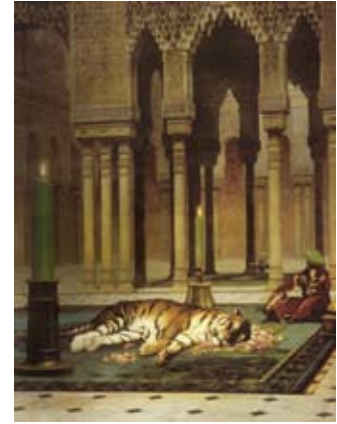
83 Thornton 1994, pp. 10-12.

84 A.E. Durantou: *Atelier du peintre Jean-Léon Gérôme*, (s.a., Galerie Tanagra, Paris), illustration in Thornton 1983, pp. 24-25.

85 Edelfelt received much praise for his interior decoration (Kortelainen 2002a, pp. 167-173 [referring to Edelfelt's letter to Alexandra Edelfelt, 24 November 1880], pp. 173-177).

milieu. The palace's Moorish interior provided excellent backgrounds for later compositions in line with the conventions of French Orientalism. For instance, an interior from the Alhambra is included in Gérôme's *Grief of the Pasha*, painted in 1882 (Fig. 134). Here we see a dead tiger covered with flowers, lying on an Oriental rug under the Moorish vaults.⁸⁶ Gérôme undertook a second journey to Spain in 1883, travelling in the company of Alberto Parisini and his student and assistant Albert Aublet. Aublet later told Moreau-Vauthier that Gérôme had been very eager to set off on this second journey, and direct results of this second visit appear in his small bullfight scenes.⁸⁷ As we have seen, painters like Gérôme regularly turned to Spain in their quest for subjects and inspiration. Dramatised settings of Orientalist themes were frequently inspired by southern Spain, a geographical region that bore associations with Northern Africa and the Islamic world due to its location; Spanish Orientalism was, indeed, based on the Moorish heritage in Andalusia.⁸⁸

As we know, Edelfelt disparaged Gérôme's Orientalist works by stating that "he only recounted anecdotes and reproduced costumes", he felt that Gérôme's sole intention was to show his viewers that he was "widely-travelled".⁸⁹ This deprecatory notion is similar to Edelfelt's remarks on tourists who travelled without getting to know the "real thing". A similar opinion of Orientalism's superficiality is seen as early as 1879 in Edelfelt's review of the *Salon*. He reviews works by Delacroix, Horace Vernet and Decamps and described their dazzling colours: bright blue skies, mosques, fiery steeds and stunning costumes. Edelfelt concluded that the old fairy tale country functioned as a pretext for "beautiful visions (*sköna fantasier*)" in colour and form. He comments on the meticulously painted ethnographic and archaeological scenes, such as those by Fromentin and Gérôme. Furthermore, he considered Orientalist paintings to be too conventional, since they exposed too much of the Parisian taste to manage to convince the viewer of their Oriental provenance.⁹⁰ Instead, Edelfelt preferred the truthfulness he found in a contemporary history painting by Aublet.⁹¹ The work by Aublet, which Edelfelt called "*le lavabo des réservistes*", was based on studies made *on the spot*, and therefore this painting convincingly expressed *truth*, which Edelfelt felt was



134. Jean-Léon Gérôme, *The Grief of the Pasha*, 1882. Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska.

86 According to Gerald M. Ackerman, the subject was taken from Victor Hugo's poem "La Douleur du Pasha" in *Les Orientales* (Ackerman 1986, p. 120, ill. p. 121).

87 Ackerman 1986, pp. 119-120.

88 On this branch within French Orientalism, see Jullian 1977, pp. 115-116; Scholz-Hänsel 1990.

89 Edelfelt's sister Berta Edelfelt's comment, included among Edelfelt's letters to Alexandra Edelfelt, [between 1889 and 1890], SLSA.

90 "Delacroix, Horace Vernet och Decamps målade orienten, dess klarblå himmel, dess spänstiga moské-inbyggare och dess eldiga hästar, de lekte med de sköna, klara färgerna, de bländande drägterna, och det gamla sagolandet gjordes till underlag och pretext för sköna fantasier i färg och form. Kommo så Fromentin och Gérôme, som med etnografens och arkeologens hela samvetsgranhet [*sic*] studerade Österlandet [...] Benjamin Constant utställer i år några vackra judinnor från Alger, som betrakta den nedgående solen från sina tak. De se dock mera konventionella [*sic*] än sanna ut, och ha ett för starkt parisertycke, för att man skall bli öfvertygad om deras österländska ursprung" (Edelfelt 1879, p. 124).

91 Aublet was, in fact, an Orientalist painter, but he also painted historical scenes and portraits. As mentioned above, Aublet was one of Edelfelt's colleagues whom he later considered as a travel companion for a trip to Spain and who would, indeed, go to Spain in 1883 in the company of Gérôme (see e.g., Thornton 1994, pp. 18-19).

frequently lacking in genre paintings.⁹² The Orientalists' artifice did not please Edelfelt at all, although Gérôme, for instance, painted studies on the spot, too.

Edelfelt's review emphasises the "French quality" of Orientalist pictures. This view of the Orientalist *oeuvre* explains why Edelfelt painted only two (known) paintings with an Oriental subject: the Biblical scene *Joseph Reveals Himself Before his Brothers* (1877)⁹³ and *Egyptian Queen* from about 1880 (Fig. 136). *Egyptian Queen* depicts a dark-skinned woman, stiffly enthroned in the manner of the colossal statues of Ramses II at Abu Simbel. In her hand, she



135. Albert Edelfelt, *Egyptian Queen*, ca. 1880. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

holds the Egyptian spire *fascēs*. Vague traces of a peacock-plume are visible, while her hair is covered with the typical headgear of the Pharaoh with red stripes. She wears a short top which exposes her abdomen, and a red sash is draped over her hips, completing her almost white, trouser-like vestment. Lotus flowers decorate the back wall. According to Hintze, the subject was painted entirely in the spirit of Gérôme.⁹⁴ By this, Hintze probably refers to its iconography, since the sketchy study has nothing in common with Gérôme's naturalistic scenes with high finish.⁹⁵ The study is probably from 1880, when Edelfelt had already left Gérôme's studio.⁹⁶ The Oriental motif appears at a time when Edelfelt was experimenting with different styles and topics. Nevertheless, Edelfelt has here composed a staged scene

92 "The sketch [for the final composition] was painted *in situ*, and therefore the painting displays a convincing, overwhelming *truth* that, I'm afraid, is rather often amiss in genre paintings [my emphasis]" ["Skizzen [för den slutliga kompositionen på utställningen] är gjord på stället, och har därför taflan detta utseende af öfvertygande, slående sanning, som, dess värre, rätt ofta saknas i genretaflor"] (Edelfelt 1879, p. 124).

93 Hintze 1953, cat. 86.

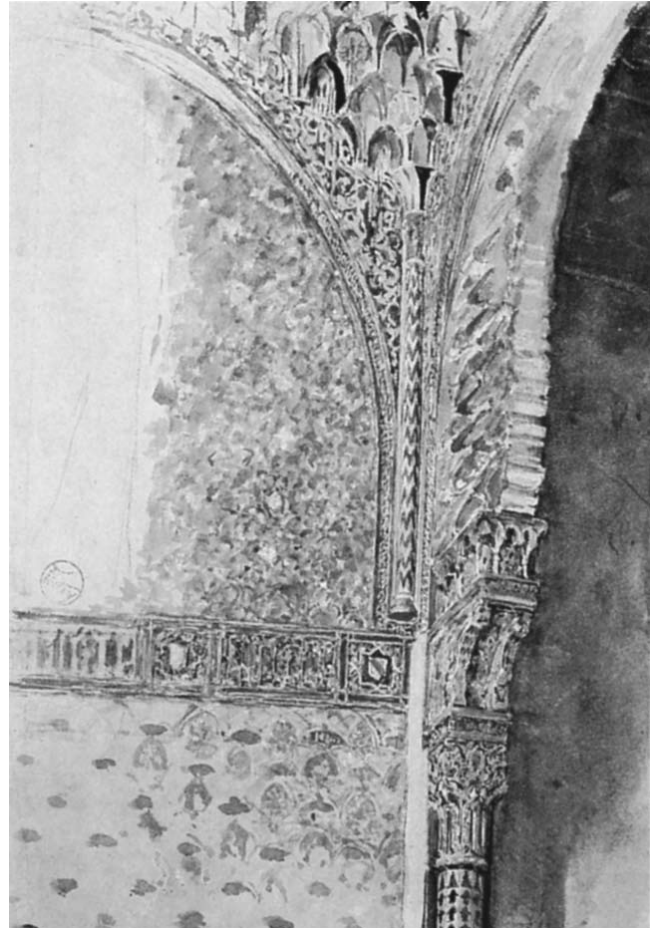
94 Hintze 1953, p. 94. In Finnish: "käsitetty täysin Gérômen hengessä."

95 Hintze dates *Egyptian Queen* 1877 or 1878, when Edelfelt still was Gérôme's apprentice, which makes this connection apparent.

96 Marina Catani dates *Egyptian Queen* according to sketches made for this particular work and which appear in a sketchbook from 1880–81 (Marina Catani, private consultation, 2001).

in the manner of the Orientalists. He had many opportunities to study objects for his composition, for example, in the collections of the Egyptian section in the Louvre, which provided a convenient source for inspiration.

Arabic art was also frequently discussed in art magazines, such as the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*. Edelfelt certainly read this art journal, since he had also copied two of Fortuny's pictures that accompanied Walter Fol's articles on Fortuny. In these articles, Fol also described Fortuny's Orientalist art after 1870, when Fortuny had stayed in Granada. According to Fol, Granada made a great impact on the Spanish painter, and this period was consequently "the most happy time in Fortuny's life".⁹⁷ The atmosphere of the city and its surroundings pleased him immensely. Like most painters, he lived at the hostel *Fonda de los Siete Suelos*, which was situated within the Alhambra. Several drawings, watercolours and oil-sketches of the irregular interiors, window recesses and colonnades, decorated with fine arabesques (Fig. 136) are from this period. In the gardens, the luxury of the plants and the sumptuous colours of the flowers enchanted him. He wrote from Granada to his friend, the Italian painter Attilio Simonetti (1843–1925):⁹⁸



I am sorry that you don't know Granada, it's a very beautiful region: imagine the villa Borghese on the top of a mountain, surrounded by old, Moorish walls, and in the middle the most beautiful Arabian palace one can dream of, with luxuriant and elaborate ornaments on the walls that look as if they were covered with lace and tapestries of the most outstanding sumptuousness [...].⁹⁹

136. Mariano Fortuny, *Arcos de Alhambra (Study of the Architecture in the Alhambra)*, 1870–72. Private Collection.

As Luis Quesada has shown, Spaniards also felt that they were "abroad" when they visited Andalusia.¹⁰⁰ Fortuny, who was brought up in the small town of Reus near Barcelona in Catalonia, made Andalusia appear like a foreign country, similar to the "real" Arab world that he had visited only a few years earlier. In Granada, Fortuny worked as never before. In 1870, he wrote from Granada to Walther Fol, who took the liberty of quoting this letter in one of his articles:

97 Fol 1875b: "[c]ette époque fut la plus heureuse de sa vie."

98 Attilio Simonetti was Fortuny's friend and pupil in Rome. In 1872, he visited Fortuny in Granada for a month, during which he painted Andalusian themes (Fol 1875b, p. 359; Quesada 1996, p. 191).

99 "Je regrette que tu ne connaisses pas Grenade, c'est un pays très-beau : figure-toi la villa Borghèse sur le sommet d'une montagne entourée d'antiques tours mauresques et au centre le plus beau palais arabe qu'on puisse rêver, d'un luxe et d'une richesse d'ornement tels que les parois paraissent couvertes de dentelles et d'étoffes de la plus grande richesse [...]" (Fol 1875b, pp. 350-351, quotation p. 351 from Fortuny's letter to Attilio Simonetti, Grenade juillet 1870).

100 Quesada 1996, *passim*.

The picturesqueness of this country is extraordinary; one cannot find anywhere else such a state of conservation of the ruins from the time of the Moors; and outside the Alhambra, I have discovered astonishing passageways and a blatant predilection for the bizarre, unknown among travellers. I'm thinking about executing studies of all the corridors if I only find the time.¹⁰¹

Fortuny's approach to the Alhambra was that of an Orientalist painter collecting "props" for later compositions, as can be seen in his copies of the ornaments on Arabian vases in local museums and of the arabesques as well as other embellishments in the Moorish palace.¹⁰² And since Edelfelt read this article in 1875 and later visited the Spaniard's retrospective exhibition in Paris, he had some knowledge of Fortuny and his views of the Alhambra's Oriental luxury.

Fortuny's reputation as an outstanding Orientalist painter was based mainly on his opulent use of colour. Fol stresses the importance of Fortuny's period in Granada, which released his *plein-air* painting.¹⁰³ During Fortuny's subsequent period in Rome, the impact is seen in luminous *plein-air* pieces, where nature is depicted in vibrant and brilliant colours. Fol uses the expression "*luxuriante végétation!*", and describes Fortuny's painting *Académie des Arcadiens écoutant une tragédie inédite dans le jardin de la Société* as encompassing everything that Fortuny had learned while in Granada:

His sentiment of nature, which has become refined after his sojourn in Granada, accompanies, entrapped and enhanced, an exactness in the picturesque, a finesse in the execution of the characters; in one word, it is a *petit chef-d'oeuvre*.¹⁰⁴

Such a description of Granada's impact on painting must have been enthralling for the young Edelfelt, and was certainly seen as something worth striving for. Fol's articles were published in the *Gazette* at approximately the same time as Fortuny's retrospective exhibition. In Paris, Fortuny was consequently known as a painter who "*adorait l'air et la lumière*", and the Arabian grandeur of the Alhambra was generally thought to have freed the Spaniard's brilliant colours.¹⁰⁵

Initially, Fortuny's reputation as a celebrated Orientalist painter was launched by an exhibition in Goupil's gallery in 1870.¹⁰⁶ Fortuny's Orientalist art, like his Rococo-revival pieces, discussed above, expose a similar technical brilliance and intense colours. Henri Reg-

101 "[L]e pittoresque de ce pays est extraordinaire; les ruines du temps des Maures s'y trouvent dans un état de conservation impossible à rencontrer ailleurs; en dehors de l'Alhambra, j'ai fait des découvertes de cours intérieures étonnantes et d'un goût fort bizarre, inconnues des voyageurs. Je pense faire des études de toutes ces cours si le temps me le permet" (Fol 1875b, p. 353, quotation from a letter to Walther Fol, dated Fonda de los siete suelos en Granada, 18 octobre 1870).

102 See e.g., Fol 1875b. Fortuny's view was twofold, since he also used local models for (picturesque) figure studies, in particular in images of Gypsies.

103 Fol 1875b, p. 366.

104 "[L]e sentiment de la nature, qui s'est affiné en lui pendant son séjour à Grenade, accompagne, encadre et fait valoir, avec une exactitude pittoresque, la finesse d'exécution des personnages; c'est, en un mot, un *petit chef-d'oeuvre*" (Fol 1875b, p. 360).

105 Fol 1875b, p. 362.

106 Sullivan 1989, p. 99 ff.

nault, who became one of Fortuny's most fervent admirers, and his friend Georges Clairin, succumbed to the influence of Fortuny and travelled to Granada the following year, visiting Tangier and Tetuan with Fortuny.¹⁰⁷ Both painters included the Alhambra in their *oeuvre*.

Regnault is one of the most famous French painters in Spain who also had an Orientalist *oeuvre*. In Rome in the 1860s, he had met Fortuny who coaxed him to come to Spain to see Clairin, who was residing there at that time. Regnault regarded Spain as part of the Orient, a wonderful country that he compared to Africa and Egypt. For Regnault, the palace in Alhambra constituted the most striking scene; he even converted to Islam for a short period to give praise to Muhammad, who had created such splendour.¹⁰⁸ Several of his artworks are inspired by the Alhambra, and the interior of the Nasrid palace occurs, for example, as the setting in the Orientalist history painting, *Summary Execution under the Moorish Kings of Granada* from 1871 (Fig. 137).¹⁰⁹ The subject in Regnault's composition also inspired Clairin – and Fortuny – to create their own versions of the scene.¹¹⁰ Fortuny's preoccupation with the Oriental heritage of his country had thus a large impact on the following generation of young (French) artists, Orientalist painters as well as others. Gérôme also knew Fortuny well, through his marriage to Goupil's daughter and he encouraged his students to study Fortuny's works. He certainly recommended the retrospective exhibition in 1875 to his students, as we know from Weir's letters.

Fortuny's reputation as an excellent Orientalist painter was enhanced by the 1878 *Exposition Universelle* in Paris. During this exposition, attention was directed to many nations of the world, including Spain.¹¹¹ Fortuny, who had died four years earlier, had in the years following his death gained further renown among the collectors and art-dealers in Paris. As stated above, one of his more prominent collectors was the American William H. Stewart, who now lent his entire collection of Fortuny's paintings to the Spanish division at the exhibition. Several of Fortuny's Orientalist works belonged to this collection, depicting Spanish "Oriental" themes such as *Tribunal of the Alhambra* (Fig. 138), *Courtyard of the Alhambra* and *The Alberca Court in the Alhambra*.¹¹² And generally, few residents in Paris left the *Exposition Universelle* unseen.¹¹³

Information about current (Parisian) events and trends in art was made accessible through the *Gazette*, and Edelfelt probably read the magazine frequently. Some articles also reviewed exhibitions on Hispano-Muslim art, for example, Henri Lavoix's "La Galerie Orientale



137. Henri Regnault, *Summary Execution under the Moorish Kings in Granada*, 1870-71. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

107 Thornton 1994, p. 88.

108 *The East Imagined, Experienced, Remembered* 1988, p. 131.

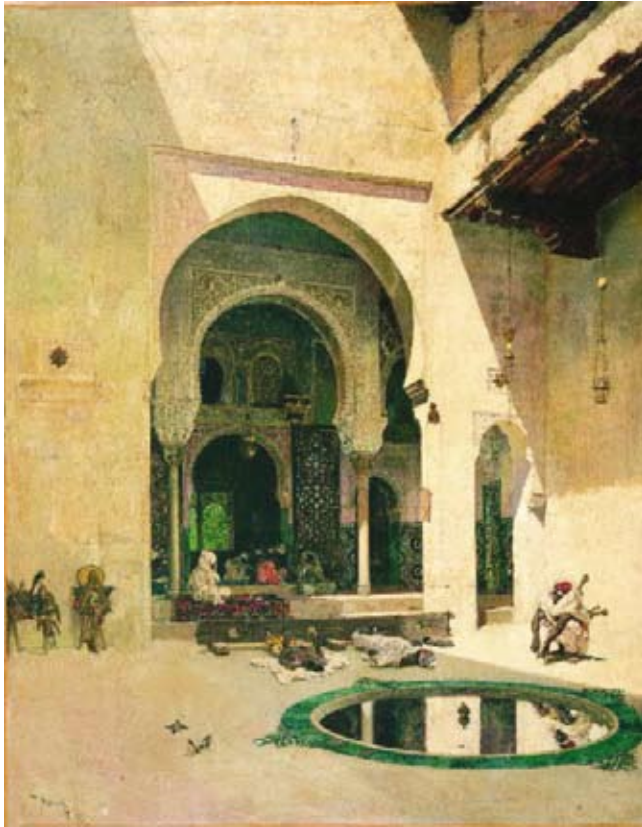
109 *The East Imagined, Experienced, Remembered* 1988, pp. 132-133.

110 *Peintres Orientalistes 1850-1914*.

111 In 1878, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* published articles on the different "schools" of European painting from July onwards. More "exotic" objects were discussed in texts on, for example, Asian ceramics and Japanese art in general (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, tome IIX [sic], juillet-décembre 1878).

112 Thornton 1994, p. 89; Johnston 1971, p. 185, 186.

113 A somewhat later example of the popularity of the *Exposition Universelle* is seen, for example, in Mark Twain's *The Innocents Abroad or The New Pilgrim's Progress* (1896). Here he reports on his visit to the Paris exposition in 1889, which he "of course" visited: "All the world did that" (MacCannell 1976, p. 127, quoting Mark Twain).



138. Mariano Fortuny, *Tribunal de la Alhambra*, 1871, once part of the Stewart Collection. Museo Dalí, Figueras, Spain.

du Trocadéro : Les arts Musulmans” of 1878. The instigator of this exhibition was, incidentally, Albert Goupil.¹¹⁴ At this exhibition, Spain’s Moorish heritage was made visible through the presentation of several vases and pieces of armour that had once been the property of Fortuny and were lent by his widow for the show.¹¹⁵ Once again, Fortuny’s role in the promotion of Moorish Spain was instrumental.

Edelfelt never travelled to the “real Orient”, but another of G r me’s Finnish students did. Edelfelt’s close friend Gunnar Berndtson (1854–1895) travelled to Egypt in October 1882, when he visited Cairo, Alexandria and other places.¹¹⁶ The most noticeable outcome of Berndtson’s Egyptian journey is *Alm e* (Fig. 139), a small work composed according to the most rigorous Orientalism; he was, after all, G r me’s pupil. Berndtson had witnessed six *alm es* dancing, presumably in his travel companion’s salon in Cairo. He reduced the dancers to one in the final painting. The male spectators at the divan are dressed in Western suits, which differs from Berndtson’s account of the event in which he mentions that the guests were dressed in Arabic outfits all day. As Berndt Arell notes, Berndtson has here transformed his experiences

into an apparent cultural clash.¹¹⁷

Berndtson’s Egyptian voyage is an interesting point of reference for examining Edelfelt’s Oriental interests, since they were close friends and both worked in G r me’s studio. Throughout his journey, Berndtson kept Edelfelt informed of his whereabouts.¹¹⁸ Edelfelt also planned to go to North Africa some time after his Spanish journey. In a letter to Pietro Krohn from December 1882, Edelfelt recalled his Spanish journey the previous year, adding that “next time” he intends to stay all winter in Andalusia and to “drop by” Morocco.¹¹⁹ He retained his

114 Lavoix 1876, p. 770.

115 Lavoix 1876, p. 790.

116 He travelled together with his friend Baron Delort de Gl on as a consultant for *Le monde Illustr *, with the aim of recording the much noted proceedings against Arabi Pasha. Arabi Pasha had been in charge of a league that aimed removing Turks from the Egyptian army. He was sentenced to death but the sentence was changed and he was exiled for nineteen years to Ceylon (Arell 1998, pp. 51-52). Berndtson spent the following summer of 1883 in Cairo, painting portraits of members in the colony of foreigners, but also using local models. One example is seen in a picture depicting Arabian dyers. Judging from a description of it which appeared in an article in *Finsk Tidskrift* shortly after the journey, Salme Sarajas-Korte assumes that the work may be regarded as a step towards a freer, more vivid painting technique. Illness limited Berndtson’s stay abroad and his working abilities, and he had to return to Finland (Sarajas-Korte 1989, p. 218).

117 Arell 1998, p. 54.

118 For example in: Edelfelt to Pietro Krohn, Paris Christmas Day 1882; Haiko 31 July 1883, [according to Bertel Hintze’s transcript and translation of Edelfelt’s autograph letters], FNG/Archives.

119 “[...] och g r s  en tittin i Marocko” (Edelfelt to Pietro Krohn, Gatchina slott [Gatchina Castle] 1 February 1882, [according to Bertel Hintze’s transcript and translation of Edelfelt’s autograph letters], FNG/Archives).

desire for the “real” Orient, but for reasons unknown to us, Edelfelt never travelled beyond Europe.

It is notable that Edelfelt applied for a scholarship to go to Spain the same year that he wrote his critical comments on the Orientalist works at the *Salon* (1879). In his application, he included Cordoba, Granada and Seville, places renowned for their Arabic heritage, and furthermore, he considered extending his Spanish tour to Tangier in Morocco. “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.¹²⁰ I would like to stress that it is precisely the word “real” that is of essential importance here, when contrasted with his notions (from the same year) of the decline of Orientalism.¹²¹ He would seek the real thing, the authentic, unlike the Orientalists. He held the implicit view that Spain’s Arabic heritage, strictly speaking, was not *really* real, or authentic. MacCannell clarifies such a view of authenticity: “The rhetoric of tourism is full of manifestations of the importance of the authenticity of the relationship between tourists and what they see: this is a *typical* native house; this is the *very* place the leader fell; this is the *actual* pen used to sign the law; this is the *original* manuscript; this is an *authentic* Tlingit fish club; this is a *real* piece of the true Crown of the Thorns.”¹²² Although the Moorish heritage in Spain 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 considerably less authentic than that in North Africa. Any traveller sought the authenticity of the sights, and this was a central concern among the moderns. The potential viewers of the travel pictures had to feel that the image gave a true depiction of reality, even though it often did not, which was achieved by bestowing the composition with authentic, albeit fragmented elements that were drawn from real life.

Even before setting out on his Spanish journey, Edelfelt feared that there would not be time for a trip to North Africa, a concern that we know was well founded. Instead, he gave all his attention for the “Orient” to Andalusia.¹²³

5.3.1 The Painter as Connoisseur: Experiencing Otherness

Edelfelt had no problem hearing others’ experiences about his travel destination. As stated above, his fellow students Weir and Simi had travelled to Andalusia as early as 1876. Through Weir and Simi, Edelfelt learnt about the art treasures in the Prado but also about Spain as a travel destination.¹²⁴ To Alexandra Edelfelt he wrote:

120 “Att få se en bit riktigt arabiskt liv vore ej så galet” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, [Paris] 1 April 1881, SLSA).

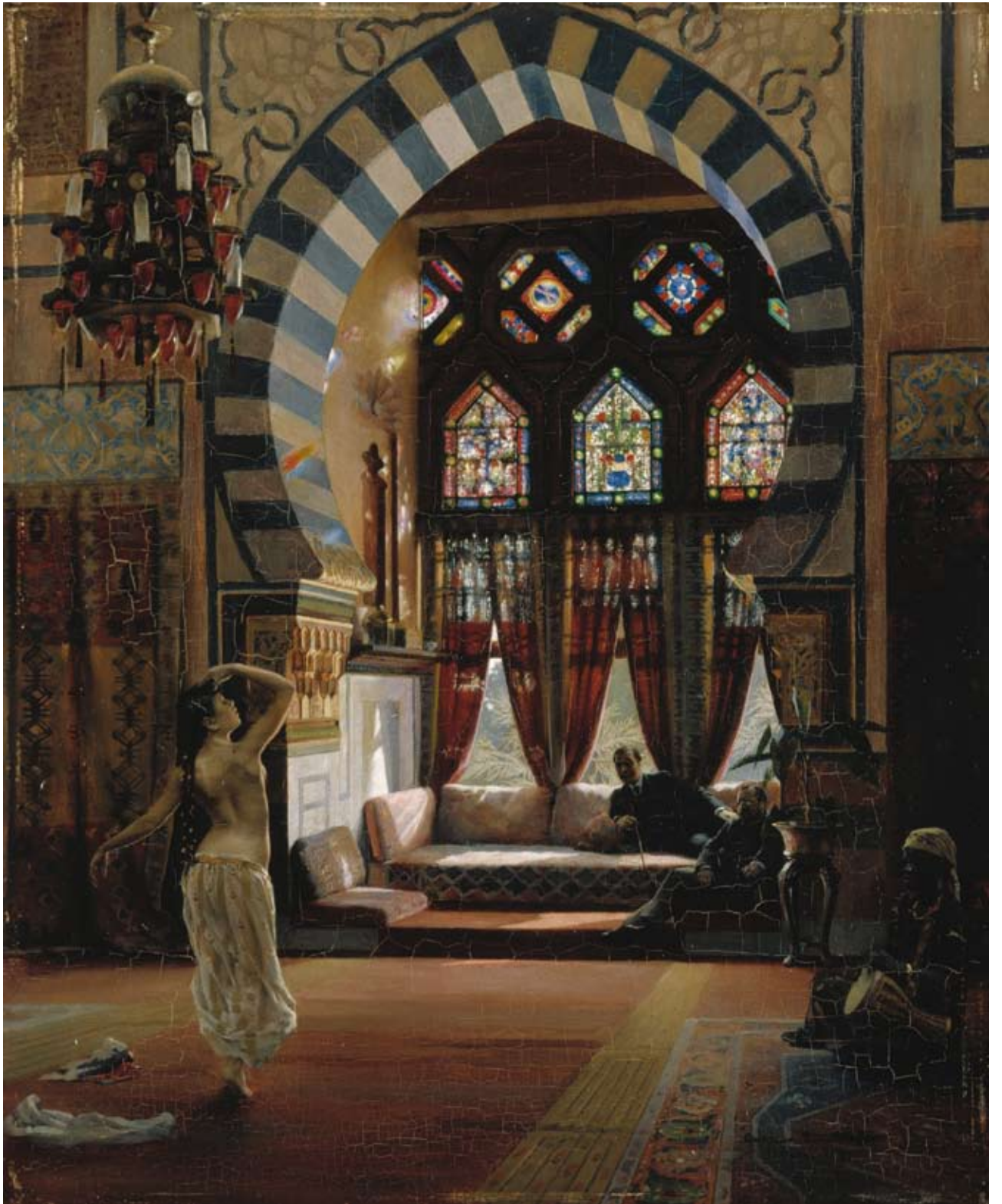
121 Edelfelt 1879, p. 124.

122 MacCannell 1976, p. 14.

123 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 11 April 1881, SLSA.

124 Weir and Simi accomplished several high-quality studies in the Alhambra and Toledo, mostly of architecture [“of course”, Edelfelt adds] (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 13 November 1876, SLSA).

139. Gunnar Berndtson, *Almée (Egyptian Dancer)*, 1883. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.



[Simi] has a lot of beautiful studies and photographs¹²⁵ from the Alhambra and Granada. Weir and [Simi] say that it is quite impossible to describe the Alhambra or to conceptualise it through photographs or the like, it has to be *seen*.¹²⁶ They agree that Granada and Toledo are the two most interesting places in Spain. – The Mosque in Cordova seems not to have made any greater impression on them. [...] The notorious Spanish beauties with “*le pied andaloux*” are seen only in Madrid, they say. They talk with disgust about the bullfights and say that one has to get used to this barbaric entertainment. – In Seville, they thought they would perish with heat. In several places, you still travel by coach in Spain and they say that it is awful.¹²⁷

Edelfelt heard about Weir and Simi's points of views about the circumstances in Spain and Spanish art. Their focus on the Alhambra may be regarded as a heritage from Gérôme. Before the journey, Gérôme urged Weir and Simi to “spend most of our time at Madrid and the Alhambra, and has raised our enthusiasm to the extreme height”.¹²⁸ As discussed above, Gérôme's view of Spain was that of an Orientalist, a point of view that Weir also encompassed. He praised the Moorish heritage in Andalusia, and felt that it was far superior to the Spaniards' later accomplishments. Once he had arrived in Granada, he was able to enjoy himself, ceaselessly painting picturesque scenes from the Alhambra and the city.¹²⁹ From the Alhambra he wrote that he now “find[s] the sayings of Gérôme true, which before I did not understand [...]”.¹³⁰

An explanation of what Weir had not understood can perhaps be found by viewing the Alhambra – the sight – as an exhibition; before the sight, “discovery” and “reconstruction” occurs through differentiation.¹³¹ A concept similar to MacCannell's theory on differentiation is discussed by Timothy 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. In general, the otherness of the Orient, a geographical, albeit more or less abstract realm to which Southern Spain was also considered to belong, was present (*sic!* not *presented*) at every Universal Exposition in the

125 “We take with us on our trip a photographic instrument, which we intend to use, with the idea of photographing the things we make studies of, which will serve if we paint pictures of the things for the detail” (Weir to his father, Paris 13 July 1876, quoted in Young 1960, p. 100).

126 Anttila interprets this passage as meaning that Weir and Simi's report of their Spanish journey triggered Edelfelt's wish to go to Spain, that he “had to see it” (Anttila 2001, p. 212 fn 277). But the original Swedish text refers, in the first place, to the splendours of the Alhambra and other sites that have to be seen (the underlining of this particular word is decisive) to be comprehended at all and not necessarily that Edelfelt felt that he *had* to go to Spain: “Både Weir och han säger att det är alldeles omöjligt att beskrifva Alhambra eller att genom fotografier o.d. göra sig ett begrepp derom, det måste ses” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, [14] November 1876).

127 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris [14] November 1876, SLSA.

128 Weir to his father, Paris 13 July 1876, quoted in Young 1960, p. 100.

129 Weir to his parents, Seville 27 August 1876; Granada 12 September 1876, Granada 16 September 1876; Alhambra Granada 4 October 1876 (quoted in Young 1960, pp. 103-107).

130 He also felt that he was now “learning to see nature simply and to place the tone as near as possible at the first start, studying each brush mark, and abhorring nothing that I see, but that all should hold its place in the grand mass – that a sharp line must be rendered sharp, and that a stone must be painted differently from mud – in fact, each object has its own values...” (Weir to his parents, Alhambra 9 October 1876, quoted in Young 1960, pp. 197-198). This approach to the painting process may be regarded as a heritage from Gérôme. For more on Gérôme's theories about art and working procedures, see Ackerman 1986, pp. 160-163 (“Theory and Practice”).

131 MacCannell 1976, p. 13.

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 organisation and planning of the Western world, constructing a “world-as-exhibition”.¹³² This was not, Mitchell argues, “an exhibition of the world but the world organized and grasped as though it were an exhibition”. At the Universal Expositions, this viewpoint was achieved by applying an apparent realism to the representation, such as real donkeys from Egypt, Frenchmen dressed in Arab costumes and dirty paint on the walls in a constructed Cairo street. 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*.¹³³ Griselda Pollock regards such orderliness in the World Fair’s structure as “artificial preservation and reconstruction” and dismisses it as “a spectacle for [a] modern, tourist society”.¹³⁴ By viewing universal exhibitions, the visitor learned to view the world as if it were a giant show (or picture), which I regard as being very similar to the notion of staged tourism experiences. Mitchell’s view echoes MacCannell’s, when he discusses how such spectacles mirrored the ways in which modern man has “lost touch with reality”.¹³⁵ Consequently, when travellers went to see the “real” Orient, they had problems grasping what they experienced.

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 so-called “real” world such images had depicted, when this “reality” was a place whose life was *not* lived (or at least not yet) as if the world were an exhibition?¹³⁶ According to Mitchell, Europeans in Oriental 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: “The world arranges itself into a picture and achieves a visual order [...]”.¹³⁷

This is exactly what occurred when travelling painters (and other tourists) visited Andalusia, specifically the Alhambra. The example of Weir in Granada, discussed above, and

132 The exhibitions exposed the “distinctiveness of the modern representational world” by producing an effect of a *non-present* reality, since the World Fairs’ function was not only to present objects to the visitors but to reduce “the world to a system of objects [...] to evoke some larger meaning”. 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 1977 (Mitchell 1989, pp. 468, 471 fn 22).

133 “Everything was arranged before an observing subject into a system of signification, declaring itself to be a mere object, a mere ‘signifier of’ something further” (Mitchell 1989, pp. 455-461).

134 For Paul Gauguin, Pollock states, the “sights” at the *Universal Exposition* in Paris in 1889 were an important influence on his later explorations in “real” Tahiti. Included at the exhibition was a major display of colonialism, where, as in earlier exhibitions, entire villages were reconstructed, their inhabitants included (Pollock 1992, p. 65, picture 46).

135 The exhibition does not cut us off from reality, instead it provides for an illusion of a “pristine realm existing prior to all representation” (Mitchell 1989, p. 465).

136 Mitchell 1989, p. 467.

137 “The experience of the world as a picture set up before a subject,” Mitchell argues, “is linked to the unusual conception of the world as an enframed totality, something that forms a structure or system” (Mitchell 1989, p. 468).

who suddenly found “the sayings of Gérôme come true”, included an act of re-framing what he saw as a picture. He spent time ceaselessly painting picturesque scenes, simultaneously “making sense of what he saw around him”. No wonder tourist painting from foreign countries repeatedly depicted similar views; it is a matter of orientation (and applying one’s own cultural conventions) in a strange country. In the act of making sense of the world around us, particularly in encounters with disordered otherness such as those 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 imagery 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.

This view is supported by Griselda Pollock’s argument that a painting of an “exotic” subject never can be really “authentic”. The objects depicted 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.” Pollock concludes: “The pre-modern or the non-modern cannot be conserved in the midst of the modern. That is the tourist fantasy of the trip [...]”¹³⁸

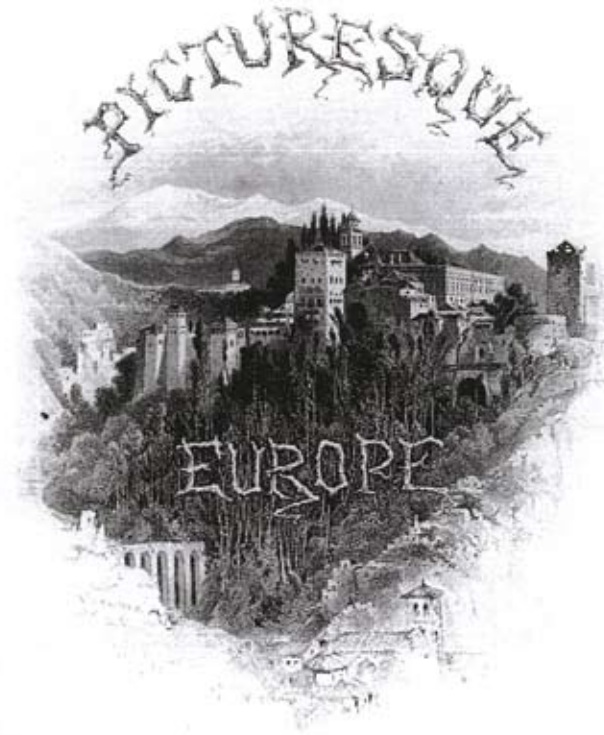
A good example of the (semiotic) function of images in the making of tourist sites is the illustration on the title page to Bayard Taylor’s *Picturesque Europe*, volume III, published in 1875–79. Here we see the Moorish palace in the Alhambra against the mountain Mulhacén (Fig. 140). The title encircles the view, framing the palace, accentuating the Alhambra’s position as *the* picturesque spot in Europe. With regard to its position as the frontispiece of a book, which James Buzard describes as “enshrining the touristic Europe”, this image encapsulates all previous notions of Spain (and, above all, Andalusia) as a picturesque country. Buzard does not comment on the image’s connotations, but uses Taylor’s “deluxe” three-volume publication as an example of how Europe was presented to Americans. He describes it as “a daunting set of tomes that seems to imply not only ‘here is Europe in its picturesque aspects’, but also ‘here is *Europe*, picturesque to the last detail’.”¹³⁹ In this context, the Alhambra’s place is paramount. In Taylor’s book, the Alhambra was presented as typifying the picturesqueness that travellers could find in Europe.¹⁴⁰ Following Timothy Mitchell, we see that the problem for painters in Andalusia was “not just to make an accurate picture” of, as in this case, the Alhambra, “but to set up [the Alhambra] as a picture. One can copy or represent only what appears to exist representationally – as a picture.” This applies also to travel writings, which “formed a picture” of that which was described.¹⁴¹

138 Pollock 1992, pp. 70-72.

139 Buzard 1993, p. 195 and Figure 7 (from the frontispiece to Bayard Taylor (ed.), *Picturesque Europe*, Vol. III, New York: D. Appleton 1875–79).

140 Unfortunately, I have not been in the position to examine Taylor’s book myself. Therefore, the frontispieces of the other two volumes are unknown to me.

141 Mitchell 1989, pp. 468-469.



140. *Picturesque Europe*, title page of Bayard Taylor's book with the same name, published 1875–79.

When Edelfelt wrote to his mother from Granada, he unsurprisingly concentrated on the Alhambra when he began his description. When he wrote the text, he was 27 years old, but felt still younger. His words are slightly romantic, and expressive of his overwhelming emotions before the sight:

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 I was 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!¹⁴⁴

“The most interesting day” in his life had put Edelfelt in a state of ecstasy; he clearly had experienced a valued moment of recognition, which he expressed in a manner that would find

142 Buzard quotes Coleridge's definition on picturesqueness as something “where parts only are seen and distinguished, but the whole is felt” (Buzard 1993, p. 10).

143 Buzard 1993, p. 10.

144 “Jag kan icke låta en av de intressantaste dagarna i mitt liv gå tillända utan att skriva till min älskade Mamma. Jag har hela dagen gått som i ett rus, och ändå har jag ej druckit vin. Denna morgon i Alhambra med Andalusien och Granada framför mig, med rosor, oleandrar och vårluft för näsan, har försatt mig i ett sådant stadium av förtjusning, att jag känner på mig att jag ännu är ung och att jag kan göra mycket ännu, ty annars skulle inte pulsen slå så starkt, hjärtat känna så varmt, ögat se så väl!” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Alhambra 13 April 1881, SLSA; Edelfelt 1921, pp. 51-52).

James Buzard discusses what he calls an “organic fit” between part and social totality” in tourist experiences, by which he means the aesthetic effect of a foreign culture as a co-ordinated picture or *mise-en scène* [compare MacCannell's “staged authenticity”]. In the act of grasping signs of an authentic milieu, which would integrate the “whole way of life”, travellers “reached for symbols that would express the essence of ‘whole’ places”. In so doing, the travellers “borrowed and extended the concept of the *picturesque*”.¹⁴² Places such as the Alhambra became symbols for a larger entity, in this case, an icon for Spain (at least Andalusia). Buzard summarises what he calls a “valued moment” that was taken to be “*pars totalis*, immediately expressing the whole”:

When [...] valued signs of these [larger] entities gathered from books, pictures, conversation, and other means of cultural preparation matched with scenes before [the visitors] – they could feel they had achieved meaningful contact with what these places essentially were; and if the visitors were *writing* their experiences, they could *display* the occurrence of that contact in their texts.¹⁴³

its place in any romantic-spirited nineteenth-century travel account from Spain. He had a plethora of examples to choose from, such as Gautier's writings on Spain. Gautier visited Granada around 1840, and his text was slightly less enthusiastic than Edelfelt's, but both authors express the disillusionment they felt before the sights (Fig. 141). "The general appearance of Granada", Gautier wrote in his *Voyage en Espagne*, "in many ways falls short of the idea which one has formed of it in advance". He continues:



141. José García Ayola, *Vista general de la Alhambra*, 19th-century photograph.

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.¹⁴⁵

Gautier's valued moment had its origin in Paris. At the same time, his 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 recognised his preconceptions as a "scene at the Opera" – from whence the step to MacCannell's "staged authenticity" is short. Gautier did not find the Spain that he expected; instead, he encountered "many disappointments". His "grasping of the world" was out of tune with his expectations, and he was lost. Gautier constantly compared his preconceptions with what he actually saw around him, as Edelfelt had done in Venice. Gautier 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

145 Gautier 1926, p. 178.

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".¹⁴⁶ He also felt that he had to "destroy" the preconceived illusion of the palace's "fairy-like 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.¹⁴⁷

Gautier wanted to present the palace not as it appeared, but as it really was, authentically. By this, he implicitly portrayed himself as a serious traveller and connoisseur (although his behaviour was touristic). He seems to imply that he did not merely skim the surface of what he saw. Instead, he wanted his readers to believe that he was acting like a connoisseur or collector, collecting new sights as if he were collecting artefacts, not merely souvenirs.

The painter abroad can also be regarded a collector; as tourists, painters behave like view-hunters collecting sights. Gautier notes in his *Voyage en Espagne* how painters could find views "ready-made" in the picturesque regions that they were visiting.¹⁴⁸ As Michael Harkin explains, if the visitor wants to avoid being a tourist who merely records "ready-made" scenes, he has to act as a connoisseur. Harkin describes such connoisseurship as touristic sophistication, something that "implies a high degree of touristic experience", and hence a maximum ability to "authenticate and frame sights of his own accord: sights that lack explicit marking".¹⁴⁹

One way to achieve such marking of unmarked sights is to photograph them, and thus record new experience.¹⁵⁰ Painting picturesque views (creating tourist paintings) differs only slightly from tourist photography in our own time. Painters frequently rely on photographic material collected on what I would like to compare with the ethnographer's or anthropologist's field trips.¹⁵¹ We know that Weir and Simi had taken a camera to Spain to document what they saw for further use in their Parisian ateliers. Edelfelt also purchased photographs on his Spanish journey.¹⁵² Gautier and his companion were probably among the first who managed to capture Spain in daguerreotypes.¹⁵³

146 Gautier 1926, p. 197.

147 Gautier 1926, p. 195.

148 At this instance, Gautier and his companion travelled south of Bordeaux on their way to Spain (Gautier 1926, p. 7).

149 Harkin 1995, p. 657.

150 Harkin 1995, p. 657.

151 Comp. Cowling 1989.

152 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 15 May 1881, SLSA.

153 At least at Burgos, they took a picture of the two towers and "a large portion of the doorway" of the Cathedral (Gautier 1926, p. 58).

Buzard, on the other hand, proposes the term “anti-tourist” as a description of someone who “wanted to show a uniquely meaningful relationship with visited places”.¹⁵⁴ By “anti-tourist”, I understand Buzard to mean that this kind of traveller acts like a connoisseur. Buzard makes a noteworthy point: while a sight can be taken in only from a distance, the “anti-tourist” (or connoisseur) had an “urge to show [himself] distinct from the nemeses at home” by getting off the beaten track, detecting new and undiscovered points of interest.¹⁵⁵ But I regard Buzard’s use of the term “anti-tourist” as misleading because, as I see it, it is merely a more ambitious form of tourism, encompassing travelling scientists and scholars. Painters were also paid to accompany scholars on scientific or military expeditions in order to document the findings. These painters were, of course, not tourists. Therefore, I prefer the term *connoisseur-tourist* for describing painters travelling abroad in order to enhance their career as painters.

Gautier did indeed (try to) act like a connoisseur. Adopting Michael Harkin’s definition, Gautier was one who was “able to authenticate and frame sights of his own accord; sights that lack explicit marking”.¹⁵⁶ By doing so, he produced new markers, or redirected the point of interest for subsequent travellers. In this case, the “redirected” point of interest is that of the “authentic” Moorish heritage in Southern Spain. But the fame of Moorish Spain can, nevertheless, largely be thought of as a heritage from the (pre- or) early romantic period. In England and Germany, as well as in France, this imagery had been fashionable for several decades prior to Gautier’s efforts to proclaim its superiority to the general public.

Edelfelt was, unsurprisingly, guided by Gautier’s and other travellers’ earlier experiences, but he was also eager to show that he knew what to look for, where the authentically Spanish features were to be found. He was also ambitious enough to “get off the beaten track” in order to show those back home in Finland that he was in command of his activities and that he knew what he was doing. To B.O. Schauman, he described his visit to “the small church *San Antonio de la Florida* outside Madrid”, in order to show off his thorough knowledge of the “real” sites. And while he was in Granada, he tried to describe what *he* saw and avoided repeating descriptions in travel journals and guidebooks. In this sense, he was a connoisseur-tourist, combining tourism with a more insightful form of travelling.

154 Buzard 1993, p. 12.

155 Buzard 1993, pp. 12-13.

156 Harkin 1995, p. 657.



142. Owen Jones, *Court of the Lions*, plate in Goury & Jones' *Plans, elevations, sections, and details of the Alhambra*, London 1842–45.

5.3.2 The Lost Paradise: Visiting the Alhambra

I would very much like to send to you a small piece of the Alhambra in my letter, with rose scent and spring sun.¹⁵⁷

Albert Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Granada 18 April 1881

Several scholars point to Gautier's love of the Moorish heritage in Spain, in particular as presented in *Voyage en Espagne*. Philippe Jullien calls the book "Orientalist" because Gautier, throughout his journey, sought out the Arabic influence on Spanish culture.¹⁵⁸ Arcadio Pardo, on the other hand, while noting the French poet's preference for the Oriental character of the cities in southern Spain, remarks that Gautier's view of Spanish architecture was two-fold: Gautier sought both the country's African heritage and its Gothic stamp. According to Gautier, this turned Spain into a bridge between cultures on two continents.¹⁵⁹ Andalusia's Moorish heritage was nevertheless vital for the "rediscovery" of Spanish art in the beginning of the nineteenth century, since the Romantics were predominantly drawn to the southern part of the country, where the Moorish heritage was still particularly visible (Fig. 142).¹⁶⁰

Thus, the otherness of the foreign culture as seen in Andalusia 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", applies to tourism in Spain and its dependence on its Moorish 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. Buzard regards such Western European and American touristic desires "as a measure of what tourists' own society *denies* them".¹⁶¹ They seek experiences – aesthetic and cultural – that would be impossible to experience at home. A most revealing epigraph supporting this notion is found in an article by Linda Nochlin: "What is more European, after all, than to be corrupted by the Orient?"¹⁶²

Like Gautier before him, Edelfelt's Granada was Oriental. When recounting his journey by train from Madrid to Andalusia, he describes the passage through the Sierra Morena and the *Puerta de los Perros* through which the Moors were expelled from Spain. On the other side of the mountains, he found a land quite different from what he had seen until then: "Palm trees, stone-oak [*steneck*], olive trees all over – cactus and aloe. It was the South, Africa!"¹⁶³ Such declarations of a movement from one realm to another are understood as the decisive step, as can also be seen in Gautier's travel account:

157 "Hvad jag gerna ville skicka Eder en liten bit Alhambra med rosendoft och vårsol i brevet" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Granada 18 April 1881, SLSA).

158 Jullien, p. 38. Gilberte Guillaumie-Reicher's doctoral thesis, *Théophile Gautier et l'Espagne* from 1936, is one of the earliest to discuss Gautier's love of Moorish Spain (Guillaumie-Reicher 1939, pp. 163-164).

159 Pardo 1989, pp. 270-273.

160 Scholz-Hänsel 1990, pp. 368-369.

161 Buzard 1993.

162 Nochlin 1991, p. 33 (quotation from Richard Howard, no other reference mentioned).

163 "Palmer, steneck, olivträd öfverallt – kaktus och aloë. Det var Södern, Afrika!" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt,

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.¹⁶⁴

Edelfelt, too, felt he had suddenly entered into a New World where a totally different landscape unfolded before his eyes. It is also significant that he compares his arrival in Andalusia as not being in *Paris* anymore. Implicitly, he thought that Andalusia was Paris' "other", and "Europe" was essentially synonymous with "Paris" (comp. Edelfelt's expression that "one has suddenly passed from Europe into Africa [...] and is indeed no longer in Paris").

Edelfelt's first encounter with Granada took place in moonlight, which appropriately reflects Edelfelt's 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!"¹⁶⁵ He had put his eyeglasses on quite in vain. According to Michael Harkin

the quest for authenticity is essential, if not to all tourism, at least to its more prestigious forms. Indeed, an anxiety about authenticity pervades the tourism experience, and reflects the perceived inauthenticity of modern life. [...] This concern for authenticity is focused not only on people and objects, who it is hoped are living in something approximating their "traditional" manner, but on material objects as well.¹⁶⁶

In its modernity, and hence inauthenticity, the *Singer* advertisement was at odds with Edelfelt's preconception of Granada.

While in Granada, Edelfelt, like most visiting painters, lived at the famous hostel *Fonda de los Siete Suelos* (Fig. 144), which was situated at the Alhambra inside the walls near the Puerta de los Siete Suelos (Fig. 143). Gautier had been even more successful, since he spent several nights in the actual Nasrid palace, sleeping each night in a different hall.¹⁶⁷ 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 – advising her to employ "the most flaming Oriental fantasy to create a picture of the landscape".¹⁶⁸ According to his description of his entry into the Alhambra through the *Puerta de la Justicia* – the Judgement Gate – his eyes were filled with tears

Alhambra 13 April 1881, SLSA).

164 Gautier 1926, p. 168.

165 "O nutid, o praktiska amerikanare, o horror!" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Alhambra 13 April 1881, SLSA).

166 Harkin 1995, p. 653.

167 Gautier 1926, p. 201 ff.

168 "Här har stora författare skrivit derom, lägg dertill den mest glödande österländska fantasi för att skapa landskapet, tänk på en vårmorgon med tusentals foglar som sjöng, rosor som doftar och ett ungt hjerta som slår, och Mamma kan gjöra sig ett begrepp om ensemblen af denna morgontur" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Alhambra 13 April 1881, SLSA).



143. *Fonda de los Siete Suelos* [Alhambra, Granada], letter heading, 1880s.

144. Ayola, *Hotels of the Alhambra* [with *Fonda de los Siete Suelos* to the left], ca. 1890.

(Fig. 144a). Deeply touched by the Arabian splendour of the ornaments, he described them as “the first *purely Oriental* that the eye meets in this labyrinth of fabulous beauty [my emphasis]”.¹⁶⁹ 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 he 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”.¹⁷⁰ Indeed, Edelfelt still felt that the Alhambra had to be seen to be comprehended, in line with his comments on Weir’s experiences of the palace a few years earlier. 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.

Michael Harkin agrees with MacCannell that “this relationship between the authentic original and mechanical reproduction is essential to the marking of an authentic tourism object or sight, or what [MacCannell] calls “sacralization”. It is what Walter Benjamin called the “aura” of the original.¹⁷¹ Following Harkin’s argument, 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 to certain aspects of the sight. And if texts did not render the “true” character of the Alhambra sufficiently, Edelfelt’s familiarity with Parisian Orientalism may have enhanced his predominantly “Oriental” expectations during his stay in Granada. As a rule, Spanish Orientalism always returned to the Moor-

169 “[...] det första rent orientaliska ögat möter i denna labyrinth af sagolik skönhet” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Alhambra 13 April 1881, SLSA).

170 “Första bästa resehandbok ger Mamma en minutuös beskrifning på alla dessa gångar, gårdar, salar, bad o.d. som bilda Alhambra, men hvad böckerna ej återge är intrycket som jag fick då jag ensam, en herrlig vårmorgon i långa drag drack denna skönhet” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Alhambra 13 April 1881, SLSA).

171 Harkin 1995, p. 653.

ish palace in Granada, supplementing their compositions with odalisques, black slaves and sultans.¹⁷²

As stated above, compared to the “real” Arab world in Northern Africa, Southern Spain and the Alhambra had the advantage that no Moors lived there anymore: no man (except for the Sultan and his eunuchs) would ever have been admitted into the Sultan’s private harem.¹⁷³ Still, when Edelfelt visited the Alhambra, his thoughts come close to an Orientalist approach, for instance, when he tried to put aside his disillusion-



ment in the famous Court of the Lions. 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 (*Fig. 145*). It was too neat, and in his mind he fantasised the courtyard filled with “flowers, sultanas and slaves”.¹⁷⁴

With the oriental splendour 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. The “fairytale” castle touched upon his fantasy.¹⁷⁵ Edelfelt’s vision of the Alhambra was totally imbued with its history, recalling MacCannell’s notion that “reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and cultures”. Edelfelt dreamed himself away into times long gone, bestowing an extended meaning on the palace. According to Harkin, signs of history are “another level on which authenticity is sought. [...] Authenticity is sought at the level of narrative closure, where lives can be ‘relived’ [...]”¹⁷⁶ Edelfelt returned frequently to the stories of the people who once inhabited the Alhambra. For in-

144a. Léon and Levy: *Torre de la Justicia*, Granada, 1888.

172 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 Arabic history was regarded as enhancing the exotic stamp (Jullian 1977, pp. 115-116; Scott 1988, pp. 3-17).

173 Thornton 1994, p. 7.

174 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Alhambra 13 April 1881, SLSA.

175 “ett behagligt drömlif”; “Dessa féslott som tillsammans bilda Alhambra tala helt och hållet till fantasien” (Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Granada Whit Monday 18 April 1881, FNG/Archives).

176 Harkin 1995, p. 654.



145. *Disguised Family Group, Posing at the Lion's Fountain, ca. 1900.*

like an Oriental”.¹⁷⁸ 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*, Christian prisoners. Before one dream was over, another came to his mind.¹⁷⁹ Edelfelt also accurately recognised Cordoba as “the City of the Caliphs”¹⁸⁰ – echoes of living (Arab) history are permanently present in his 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”: “It is a place of mere being, where essences are untouched by history, by intervention, by difference.”¹⁸¹ In this sense, the Orient resembles a dream world, just as Edelfelt imagined the Alhambra.¹⁸²

stance, he noticed that you could still see the three thousand years old cypress, where the sultana Zoraya met her lover.¹⁷⁷ 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, marks its authenticity.

At the same time, this world of dreams confused Edelfelt and left him a little disoriented. From the Alhambra he wrote that he, strangely and sometimes against his will, “felt

177 “Den tretusenåriga cypressen, under hvilken sultaninnan Zoraya brukade träffa sin älskare Abencerragen, står ännu kvar” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Alhambra 13 April 1881, SLSA).

178 “Eget är att man med eller mot sin vilja blir orientalistiskt stämd här” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Granada Whit Monday [18.4.1881], SLSA).

179 “Man vaggas in sig i en liknöjd lycksalighet, tanken står stilla, men fantasin reser af på de mest besynnerliga irrvägar. – Jag är nu alldeles förtrogen med de gamla mohriska slotten och kan säga att ännu ingenting i konst så fångat mig som detta. Fantasin fyller ovillkorligen dessa salar som påminna om Tusen och en natt med sultaninnor, Abencerrager, kristna fångar o.s.v. och innan en drömbild är slut, tränger en annan sig på mig [...]” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Granada Whit Monday [18.4.1881], SLSA).

180 “kalifernas stad” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Alhambra 13 April 1881, SLSA).

181 Mitchell 1989, p. 465.

182 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Granada Whit Monday [18.4.1881], SLSA.

Edelfelt did not paint much in the Alhambra; Hintze mentions only two watercolours and one painting from the gardens of the Generalife.¹⁸³ Only one interior from the Alhambra is known; according to Hintze, it 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.¹⁸⁴ “Like everyone else, I started to make studies in the Alhambra”, Edelfelt wrote, “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 colourism pleased him as “immensely fine, such as it now is, worn-out and pale”.¹⁸⁵ The same notion of the faded colours is present also in Jules Goury (1803-1834)¹⁸⁶ and Owen Jones’s (1809–1874) magnificent opus of the Alhambra, *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra* (London 1842–45). Included is a picture of “The actual state of the colours” (Fig. 146), which is strikingly pallid when compared with other plates of opulent and gilded ornaments in the large-sized book.¹⁸⁷ 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 preconceived fantasy imagery.

But the heyday of the Alhambra was long gone. In 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. In addition to centuries of neglect, the Napoleonic Wars (1808–12) and other political turmoil increased the damage, and several parts of the surrounding wall and towers had been destroyed. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Alhambra was converted from inhabited areas to a cultural site, from a decaying to a re-created monument.¹⁸⁸ When the reconstruction process began, the palace looked quite different from the Orientalists’ images that were exposed at the Parisian *Salon*. An early photograph by Torres Molina of the *Galería de Machuca* (Fig. 146a) reveals the scaffolding put in place to prevent the walls from falling apart, and the large chunks of plaster which were missing.¹⁸⁹

As Egron Lundgren commented in 1853, it looked as if lace-work had been mended with pack-thread. Mariano Fortuny’s pictures from the beginning of the 1870s also show



146. Owen Jones, “The actual state of the colours”, plate in Goury & Jones, London 1842–45.

183 Hintze 1953, p. 523 fns165, 166, 167. Their present location is unknown.

184 Hintze connects this picture with Edelfelt’s visit in the Alhambra, described in a letter to B.O. Schauman, Granada 18 April 1881 (Hintze 1953, p. 523 fn 166).

185 “Jag började, som alla andra att göra studier i Alhambra, men afstod snart derifrån. Fotografien ensam kan ge en svag bild af dessa fina ornament som ständigt varierande löpa kring väggar, tak och golf”; “makalöst fin, sådan den nu är, utnött och bleknad” (Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Granada 18 April 1881, FNG/Archives).

186 The French architect Jules Goury ended his days in Granada prematurely in 1834.

187 Goury & Jones 1842–45.

188 *Images in Time* 2003, p. 9 [text by Javier Piñar].

189 Photograph in *Granada in memoriam* 1996, p. 149.



146a. R. Señán y González, *Granada. Alhambra. Lion's Patio. Façade of the Two Sisters' Room*, ca. 1880. Private Collection, Granada.



147. Gustave de Beaucorps, [*Oriental Temple of the Lion's Patio during Restoration Works*], ca. 1858. Ortiz Echagüe Legacy, University of Navarre, Spain.

the patios in the Alhambra crowded with pigs grubbing in the soil and hens pecking the ground for seeds (Fig. 148).¹⁹⁰

In nineteenth-century photographs of the Alhambra, we frequently see sections that were profoundly remodelled by architects such as Rafael Contreras, whom Edelfelt also met.¹⁹¹ The early photographs reveal an Alhambra in ruins; these early pictures may include Gautier's or his travel companion's daguerreotypes from 1840.¹⁹² But soon a certain voluntary or arbitrary selection of vantage-points appeared.¹⁹³ The commercial image (pictures designed for tourists), which spread all over Europe and America, was more attentive to the restored areas of the Alhambra (Fig. 149). 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.¹⁹⁴ This enhanced the "fairy-tale" character of the

190 One example is *Patio in the Alhambra* [*Patio en la Alhambra*], 1870–72, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums; Gift of Grenville L. Withrop, Cambridge (Massachusetts) (Quésada 1996, pp. 176–177, ill. p. 173).

191 Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, 18 April 1881, FNG/Archives. Rafael Contreras y Muños (1826–1890) 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* 1995, p. 212).

192 Although no daguerreotypes of the Alhambra by Gautier or Gautier's travel companion in Spain, Eugène Piot (1812–1890), are preserved, Javier Piñot finds it probable that such were taken, since they travelled with a camera. They stayed in the Nasrid palace for four days and nights. If this were the case, it would be the first record of photographs of Granada and the Alhambra. Even without being in the position to examine the photographs, Marie-Loup Sougez argues that we are thus indebted to Gautier for a "contemporary, realist vision" of the Alhambra, faithfully reproduced by the daguerreotype operated by himself or Piot. Piot was very probably a founding member of the *Société Héliographique* (1851), a precursor of the *Société Française de Photographie* (1854). He was also the author of an album of 25 calotypes entitled *Italie Monumentale* (1851) (Sougez 2003, p. 14, referring to Javier Piñot, *Fotografía y Fotógrafos en la Granada del Siglo XIX*, Granada Caja General de Ahorros and Ayuntamiento, 1997).

193 The Alhambra has been documented by photography from the 1850s onwards (*Images in Time* 2003, p. 9 [text by Javier Piñar]).

194 Piñar 2003, pp. 166–167. It was not until the early 1920s that a



148. Mariano Fortuny, *Patio in the Alhambra*, ca. 1870–72. Fogg Art Museum (Harvard University).

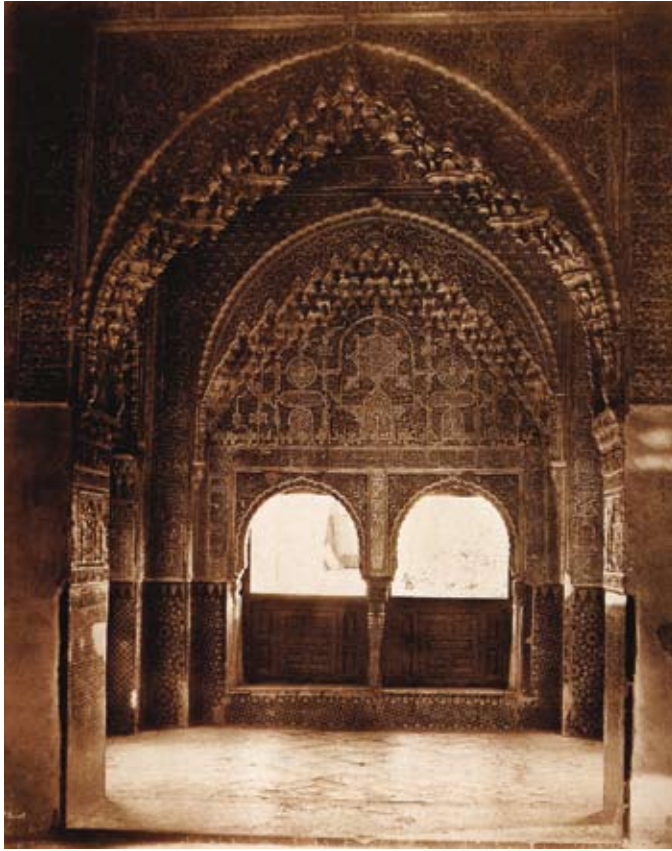
palace, and visitors were frequently disappointed when they experienced the actual state of the site. Visitors thus continued to search for the areas they were familiar with from earlier images, which depicted a restored and reconstructed luxury. As in all encounters with otherness, they needed these preconceived vantage-points in order to orient themselves in the strange milieu.

As mentioned above, I have not been able to locate Edelfelt's interior from the Alhambra. This is most unfortunate, since some of his watercolours

and oil sketches from the journey are painted in a free and vivid manner, celebrating the luminous air and colour. It would have been most enlightening to compare Edelfelt's Alhambra-interior with those of his Swedish colleague Anders Zorn, who travelled to Spain and Morocco the following autumn (1881). During the 1880s, Zorn returned to Spain several times, each time including Andalusia in his itinerary. In the Alhambra, he painted several watercolours depicting pillars and stalactite vaults. In general, his pictures from the Alhambra depict the palace, or parts of it, surrounded by a landscape bathing in light and colour. In his interiors, such as *Alhambra* from 1887 (Fig. 150), the play of the sun in the planes and ornaments also constitutes Zorn's main focus of interest. Unlike some of Zorn's later works, his Spanish watercolours lack the sentimentality and eroticism that commonly appear in Orientalist compositions from the Alhambra.¹⁹⁵ Zorn did not succumb to a me-

specifically documentary form of photography of the Alhambra emerged. These photographs offer an insight into the profound changes that affected the Alhambra throughout the 1920s and 1930s. For a series of photographs of the restoration work at the Alhambra, see *Images in Time* 2003, pp. 168-186.

195 Karin Ådahl notes that Zorn has not generally been referred to as an Orientalist painter, but due to his over thirty works with Oriental motifs (from Andalusia, Istanbul, Morocco and Algeria), she considers him to be one of the most important Swedish painters within this genre. He painted several studio compositions in the manner of the Orientalists in the aftermath of his journeys to the Orient (Ådahl 1989, p. 150 ff).



149. J.A. Lorent, [*Lindaraja's Verandab*], 1858. Société Française de Photographie, Paris.



150. Anders Zorn, *Alhambra*, 1887. Zorn Collections, Mora.

ticulous copying of the ornaments, halls and vaults.¹⁹⁶ Instead, the surroundings of the palace were at least as important. In this sense, he acted like a *plein-air* tourist, not a connoisseur like Gautier.¹⁹⁷ His liberated 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 a deteriorated ruin, that is, as 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. Thus Alhambra's reputation as a fairy-tale castle survived on an imaginary level also during the Impressionist era.¹⁹⁸

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In the following chapter, Edelfelt's encounters with the Gypsies in Granada are scrutinised. Instead of spending more time at the Alhambra, he ventured into depicting what he considered to be a more authentic Spain. In so

doing, he yielded to the tourist desire; the traveller at all times wants to see the "real thing". Painters sought models and inspiration from "real" contemporary life, and in order to find authenticity, they had to go "just around the corner" in their search for genuine experiences.

196 Not all painters from the Nordic countries in the Alhambra managed to avoid the artificiality of Orientalism. Frans Wilhelm Odelmark's (1849–1937) sentimental and intimate harem milieus 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, painted in the manner of Regnault or Clairin. It also resembles Mariano Fortuny's *Tribunal de la Alhambra* (1871), another work composed according to the laws of Orientalism. Such images were widespread, constituting the foundation for the (subsequent) imagery of the palace's now lost Oriental splendour. During the 1870s, Odelmark travelled to several European countries, including Spain. After 1882, Odelmark settled permanently in Munich, where he painted Orientalistic pictures in the manner of Ludwig Deutsch (1855–1935). Deutsch belonged to a group of German Orientalists who found their inspiration in Spain and Egypt (Ådahl 1989, pp. 144–147).

197 Nelson H.H. Graburn defines this kind of tourism, which he calls "Environmental tourism" as one aspect of Nature tourism, "where varied aspects of the land, sea, and sky perform their magical works of renewal – it's the 'pure' air, the soothing waters, or the vast vistas that are curative". All journeys are marked by the fact that they aim at producing at least some level of *re-creation*, which the English word also suggests (*recreational trips*). The painter, like any other traveller, wants to get away from his daily life and return home renewed. As Graburn notes, "the basic motivation [for tourism] seems to be the human need for recreation" (Graburn 1978, pp. 26–27).

198 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 "looser" techniques in order to avoid depicting the ruined Paris. They painted the people, not the buildings, and if they did, they used what would develop into the Impressionist painting manner in order to conceal the actual state of the built environment. Additionally, they travelled to the countryside, leaving the damaged city behind. In this way, Boime argues, the ravaged Capital of Art affected the birth of new subjects and the Impressionist approach to the depicted motif (see Boime 1997).

By analysing Edelfelt's paintings of the *gitanos*, my aim is to establish their meaning in the larger context of the prevailing European myth of the Gypsies. As Dean MacCannell argues, all kinds of travelling involve a reading of other cultures.¹⁹⁹ As we will see, Andalusia's Oriental heritage is crucial when interpreting Edelfelt's Granadian figure paintings, such as *Gitana Dancing*. The importance of taking the tourist aspect into account when analysing travel pictures becomes apparent also when examining Edelfelt's images of Mariano, the epitome of a "genuine" Granadian tourist attraction.

199 MacCannell 1976, p. 11.

6 THE ROMANTIC LURE OF THE SOUVENIR

To satisfy the general public's search for the picturesque, the tourist industry began to exploit the countryside, initially in England and France. As Greg 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.¹ 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 Arts 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.²

A central concept in the following discussion is *differentiation*: the process of recognising or identifying something as being different. This process presupposes a power imbalance, since the one who differentiates – and thereby marks the "Other" – is in position of greater power. Differentiation is thus always implicitly self-referential. MacCannell regards the "touristic integration of society" as something that "resembles a catalogue of displaced forms" in the same manner as differentiations of the modern world:

[E]lements dislodged from their original natural, historical and cultural contexts fit together with other such displaced or modernized things and people. The differentiations *are* the attractions [...]. Modernization simultaneously separates [the sights] from the people and places that made them, breaks up the solidarity of the groups in which they originally figured as cultural elements, and brings the people liberated from traditional attachments into the modern world where, as tourists, they may attempt to discover or reconstruct a cultural heritage or a social identity.³

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", states MacCannell, "it is doomed to eventual failure: even as it tries to construct totalities, it celebrates differentiation".⁴

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 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 be understood as a souvenir; pictures encompass and

1 Thomas 2002, pp. 6-7.

2 Thomas 2002.

3 MacCannell 1976, p. 13.

4 MacCannell 1976, p. 13.

create memories. According to Harkin, “the souvenir is an extension of the primary semiosis of the sight: a durable and portable signifier”.⁵

The act of collecting is itself part of the framing of the sight. The notion of “framing” takes on a literal quality when one considers photography. The same occurs when the painter abroad literally “frames” the sight when he chooses a view. “In the absence of other markers”, Harkin argues, “the act of photography itself constitutes the referent. It is pure signification.”⁶ He continues by stating that a picture of an already constituted sight is redundant, but that a “selection of a scene that is authentically, (characteristically, interestingly, even emblematically) Parisian [or, Spanish] [...] is an act of pure connoisseurship”.⁷ Maybe this is the reason why Edelfelt did not care to paint in the Alhambra, because “everybody else”, as Edelfelt expressed it, had done so already.

Beverly Gordon, who has categorised souvenirs into typological subcategories, also reminds us that the souvenir often functions as a gift. The souvenir enables the returning traveller to reincorporate himself into his old society. “[Travellers] often feel they cannot go home without ‘something’ [...] precisely because the souvenir gift is an entry – or re-entry – fee, required by the culture at large.”⁸ Edelfelt could not return without having something to show which would demonstrate that he had been in Spain and enjoyed the extraordinary experience. So he collected souvenirs in the form of stereotypical sights and motifs as “proof” for his audience at home. In addition to the “transcribed memories” we see on his Spanish canvases, he also brought home some “real” souvenirs for his family: a fan with photographs from a bullfight for each of his sisters Anni and Bertha, and a brooch from Toledo⁹ for his mother and another relative. But the donkey, parrot, ape and guitar, which one of his sisters had wished for, he had to leave for his next journey.¹⁰ He wrote from Granada that a dealer in antiquities could have purchased a great deal there, providing he had enough money. Yet Edelfelt decided to delay making his purchases until he was back in Madrid, hoping he could obtain similar items there.¹¹

But the most common type of souvenir is the pictorial souvenir. Today, the postcard, often called the “universal souvenir”, dominates. Its value is enhanced in that it indeed originates in the place of the heightened experience and is written during the visit. Then, it moves through space (by mail) as a messenger of the extraordinary, coming back to the ordinary realm.¹² A delightful parallel can be found in Edelfelt’s travel pictures that he painted

5 Harkin 1995, p. 657.

6 Harkin 1995, p. 657.

7 Harkin 1995, p. 657.

8 Gordon 1986, p. 138.

9 From Toledo Edelfelt writes that he intends to buy such a brooch, with small rapiers of chased-work: “Jag skall köpa Mamma en toledo-nål (små cisilerade [*sic*] värjor) de äro utmärkt vackra” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Toledo 28 April 1881, SLSA).

10 “Buttis åsna papegoja apa och guitarr få bli till nästa spanska resa – [...] En solfjäder med fotografier från tjurfäktningsarna har jag med mig åt Anni – en annan åt Butti, en nål åt Mamma och en åt tante Gadd” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 15 May 1881, SLSA).

11 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Granada 18 April 1881, SLSA.

12 Gordon 1986, p. 140.

during his journey. In her classifications of souvenir-postcards (of a type more connected to our own time), Gordon includes glorified images of beautiful landscapes or buildings with rich, romantic colours and lighting: “The camera angle is such that the subject looks bigger and more monumental than it may in fact be. The grass is always especially green and trash in the street is always invisible.”¹³ These types of images are descendants of the nineteenth-century travel-pictures I am discussing.

The postcard illustrates the power of the pictorial image in general, but Gordon also regards other types of pictorial images as souvenirs. Snapshots, documenting the immediate surrounding of the travellers, frequently also including themselves in the picture, are the most common forms of concretising travel experiences. She also includes illustrated books about particular regions or countries (in all these postulated categories, the parallel with tourist paintings are so obvious they require no further commentary), or utility goods imprinted with recognisable images. The fan decorated with imprints from a bullfight, which Edelfelt brought for his sisters, would belong to this last category. “Pictures, like souvenirs in general”, Gordon concludes, “are tangible, frozen-in-time reminders that carry an air of authority and finality that help people ‘get their hands on’ ephemeral events”.¹⁴

6.1 EDEL FELT STAGING REALITY: *GITANA DANCING*

I am totally crazy about 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.¹⁵

Albert Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Toledo 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* (Fig. 151), as a souvenir, since anything that is part of a touristic experience may be seen as a souvenir. Edelfelt’s letters from Granada constitute a reference frame for his opinions, together with contemporary, mostly French texts about Spanish Gypsies by, above all, Théophile Gautier. Like Spaniards, Gypsies were among the most popular subjects in Paris both for illustrations and for paintings. Numerous books and

13 Gordon 1986, p. 140.

14 Gordon also discusses “piece-of-the-rock” souvenirs, other (manufactured) three-dimensional objects and local products (Gordon 1986, pp. 140-141).

15 “De spanska danserna är jag alldeles galen i. Jag har försökt göra croquiser och hade till o. m. djerfheten att försöka måla en dansande gitana. (under 3 dagar hade jag modell) men den studie jag kunde göra är blott ett svagt eftersken af hvad jag kände och ville framställa” (Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Toledo 7 May 1881, continued in Madrid 10 [May 1881], FNG/Archives).



151. Albert Edelfelt, *Gitana Dancing I*, 1881. Gösta Serlachius Fine Arts Foundation, Mänttä.

articles appeared which were concerned with precise details of Gypsy language, dress and customs.

The most important publications on Spanish Gypsies include George Borrow's (1803–1881) *The Zincali: An Account of the Gypsies in Spain* (1841) and *The Bible in Spain* (published 1842, title page date 1843), the latter had instantaneous and overwhelming success. Despite its title, it is an account of Borrow's adventures while he was residing in Spain between 1835 and 1840; he was sent to the country by the

Bible Society “for the purpose of printing and circulating the Scriptures”. But, the author of the book states, the reader will find in the three volumes many things “which have little connexion with religion or religious enterprise”.¹⁶ He passed five years in the country, and had plenty of time “to live on familiar terms with the peasants, shepherds, and muleteers of Spain”.¹⁷ In his account, the reader will meet numerous Gypsies whom he met during his pilgrimages, “beauties of Seville” and Moors of Granada.¹⁸ But the most important source on Gypsies in Spain is his own *The Zincali*, published (almost) two years earlier. Here, we can read Borrow's description of an Andalusian Gypsy woman, whose “every movement denotes agility and vigour” – we should bear Borrow's portrayal in mind when scrutinising Edelfelt's *Gitana Dancing*:

Her face is oval, and her features are regular but somewhat hard and coarse, for she was born amongst rocks in a thicket, and she has been wind-beaten and sun-scorched for many a year, even like her parents before her; there is many a speck upon her cheek, and perhaps a scar, but no dimples of love; and her brow is wrinkled over, though she is yet young. Her complexion is more than dark, for it is almost that of a mulatto; and her hair, which hangs in long locks on either side of her face, is black as coal, and coarse as the tail of a horse, from which it seems to have been gathered.

16 Borrow 1843, I, p. x.

17 Borrow 1843, I, p. xii-xiii.

18 Borrow 1843, *passim*.

There is no female eye in Seville can support the glance of hers,—so fierce and penetrating, and yet so artful and sly, in the expression of their dark orbs; her mouth is fine and almost delicate, and there is not a queen on the proudest throne between Madrid and Moscow who might not and would not envy the white and even rows of teeth which adorn it, which seem not of pearls but of the purest elephant's bone of Multan. [...] Huge rings of false gold dangle from wide slits in the lobes of her ears; her nether garments are rags, and her feet are cased in hempen sandals. Such is the wandering Gitána, such is the witch-wife of Multan, who had come to spae the fortune [...].¹⁹

Borrow's book was introduced by Edward Thomas, in a later edition from 1924, as a fragmentary patchwork and mixture of elements that, nonetheless, "created a sensation wide and far". Thomas speculates that this, perhaps, was because the author had "achieved the extraordinary feat of writing a book in the nineteenth century with pretensions to originality". He specifically singles out Borrow's "pictures of the Gypsies of Granada, bronzed and naked at their forges in the caves of the Alpujarras, and the Gitana of Seville", quoted above.²⁰ Edelfelt's choices in Granada relate intimately to the prevailing, nineteenth-century Gypsy myth, but he also painted a few townscapes and views. A watercolour, *Sierra Nevada from Granada*, shows the Alhambra palace in the middle ground to the right. The corner of a whitish house occupies the foreground and snow-peaked mountains are visible in the background.²¹ Judging from this description, Edelfelt's picture repeats the many images of the Alhambra, in which the palace is set in contrast to the mountain range, such as the frontispiece to Bayard Taylor's book.

At some point, Edelfelt's view of Sierra Nevada and the Alhambra was framed together with two other watercolours from Granada: *Street in Granada* and *From the Gypsy Quarters in Granada*.²² Judging from the titles of his paintings, Edelfelt sought less obvious and well-known sights than the Alhambra.²³ As a serious traveller, Edelfelt went just around the corner to find new experiences, searching for what he considered more pure or authentic: "characteristically, interestingly, even emblematically" Spanish. His two watercolours from

19 Borrow [1841], p. 76.

20 Thomas 1924, p. vii-viii. Another similar publication is also by an Englishman, Sir Richard Ford (1796–1858). His three-volume *A Hand-Book for Travellers in Spain and Readers at Home*, was published in 1845; it is a work designed for the use of travellers. By intimate association with Spaniards and by travel on horseback over their mountains and plains, Ford had obtained a close and sympathetic insight into the ways of the people, besides an intimate knowledge of their country. According to the title, he describes the "cities, the natives and their manners, the antiquities, religion, legends, Fine Arts, literature, sports, and gastronomy", akin to modern, twentieth-century traveller's guides. According to the Foreword to a later edition, by Sir John Balfour, "[t]here can be few guide-books for tourists which have succeeded, as Richard Ford's has triumphantly done, in surviving the passage of time." Balfour notes Ford's "unrivalled knowledge of the Spain of his day, and the peculiarly individual manner in which he gave vent to his enthusiasm for the country and its inhabitants" (Balfour 1966, p. xi). The *Hand-Book* was followed by a shortened version, *Gatherings from Spain*, in 1846 (Ford 2000 (1846)). Ford had also an eye for Spanish painting when a sustained interest in the art of that country was in its infancy.

21 The current location of this work is unknown. For a description of the work, see Hintze 1953, p. 523, catalogue number 165.

22 Hintze 1953, p. 523, catalogue numbers 163, 164, 165.

23 The locations of these artworks are unknown.



152. José García Ayola, *Albaicín, Cuesta de San Cristobál*, late 19th-century photograph.

the city (*Street in Granada* and *From the Gypsy Quarters in Granada*) may be regarded as evidence of this pursuit.

Edelfelt nevertheless thought that the Gypsies in Granada were “a terrible swarm of beggars”. After visiting the Gypsy quarters in Granada, he wrote to his mother about “*los gitanos*”, who lived in caves that nobody dared to visit for fear of vermin, in spite of the caves’ picturesqueness: “They shout around you, beg, sing, make their children dance, in one word they are out-and-out vagrants”.²⁴ Despite his apprehension, Edelfelt painted a small watercolour during his visit with Boit in the Gypsy quarters in the Albaicín (*Fig. 152*).²⁵ After all, the Albaicín and the caves at the Sacromonte *were* “picturesque”, Edelfelt reported, and thus they represented Granadian local colour. Edelfelt painted his first version of *Gitana Dancing* at Granada’s Sacromonte, using a local girl as the model.²⁶ He wrote to his mother that she was thirteen years old and that he had been visiting with these Gypsies for some days, seen their caves and had become well acquainted with them. So as to further authenticate his experience, he provided their names: Mariano, Lucia, Dolores and so forth, all of them Edelfelt’s “old acquaintances”, as he put it.²⁷ The following phrases of his account

24 “Los gitanos äro ett förfärligt tiggarpack, bo i hålor, som kanske vore pittoreska, men dit ingen vågar gå af fruktan för ohyra. De skrika om en, tigga, sjunga, ha sina ungar att dansa, riktiga tattare med ett ord” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Alhambra 13 April 1881, SLSA).

25 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Alhambra 13 April 1881, SLSA.

26 Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Granada 18 April 1881, FNG/Archives. According to Edelfelt’s account, Edelfelt made his first draft for the painting that same day. This is probably the watercolour which Hintze refers to as *Spanish dancer* (Hintze 1953, p. 523, catalogue number 170).

27 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Granada 18 April 1881, SLSA. Gautier also notes in his *Voyage en Espagne* that the use of one’s first name is common in Spain, even among the bourgeois: “In Granada I was Don Teofilo,

to his mother about the “extraordinary” Gypsies are nevertheless written in a somewhat deprecatory fashion:

These *gitanos* are rather unique – it is shame however that they are a lot of riff-raff, the girls are not as exquisite as the Spanish women, but they dress in the most multi-coloured clothes – their dances which I now have seen on the spot, are somewhat Oriental.²⁸

But after his initial uneasiness caused by the poverty and deprivation of the Gypsy quarters, Edelfelt managed to revise his opinions about the Gypsies. A week later, after having worked with the draft for *Gitana Dancing*, he reported to B.O. Schauman that the *gitanos* were generally better than is their reputation.²⁹ He executed studies of the “Oriental” patios in the Albaicín, and allowed himself to stroll among the *gitanos*, the only models available.³⁰

Edelfelt’s growing acceptance of the Gypsies during his relatively short stay in Granada can also be analysed by using MacCannell’s notions on staged authenticity in tourist experiences. MacCannell elaborates on Erwin Goffman’s study of *front* and *back* regions in tourist settings. Front regions may be seen as “the meeting place of hosts and guests”. The back, conversely, “is the place where members of the home team retire between performances”.³¹ According to MacCannell, what occurs when foreigners encounter Otherness, can be seen theoretically as “a continuum starting from the front and ending at the back”. A characteristic feature of the front is that “the only reason that needs to be given for visiting them is to see them”. The absolute front region is “the kind of social space tourists attempt to overcome or to get behind”, the ultimate goal for tourists being to reach the absolute back region (MacCannell presents six stages). MacCannell observes:

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 peek. *Insight*, in the everyday [...] is what is obtained from one of these peeks into a back region.³²

According to Edelfelt’s second letter from Granada to his mother, written after he had had time to acclimatise, he had been allowed to “peek” behind the scene.

Edelfelt’s growing ease with the Gypsies stands in contrast to a performance of the Gypsy dance. According to MacCannell, tourists often participate in guided tours to gain access to areas they otherwise would not see, areas normally closed to outsiders.³³ Edelfelt’s first

and my friend had the title of Don Eugenio, while we were allowed the liberty of calling the women and girls of the families in which we were received by theirs: Carmen, Teresa, Gala, etc.” (Gautier 1926, p. 185).

28 “Dessa gitanos äro ganska egendomliga – skada blott att de äro ett pack[,] flickorna äro ej så vackra som spanjorskorna, men styra ut sig i de mest granna färger – deras danser som jag nu sett på ort och ställe, ha något helt orientalistiskt” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Granada 18 April 1881, SLSA).

29 Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Granada 18 April 1881, FNG/Archives.

30 Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Granada 18 April 1881, FNG/Archives.

31 MacCannell 1976, p. 92 (referring to Erwin Goffman’s *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*).

32 MacCannell 1976, pp. 100-102.

33 MacCannell quotes Goffman, stating that a (touristic) performance provides for “three crucial roles on the basis of function: those who perform; those performed to; and outsiders who neither perform in the show nor observe it”. The “role-player” has thus varying access to fronts and backs: “Performers appear in the front and

experience of the Spanish national dance occurred on what MacCannell calls the front stage. Edelfelt wrote to his mother:

– Tonight I have seen *gitanos* perform a dance – it would have been interesting if there had not been about 30 Englishmen and women who totally destroyed the illusion. The whole of it is a kind of pitiful comedy, put together for travellers, which costs a lot of money (6 Francs a person) and which leaves a depressing memory. From this grotesque species of the Spanish Gypsy dance, one can nevertheless envision what it once has been. The six dancing girls were hideous, and when I now, a minute ago, came back to the hotel, angry, Don José's beautiful daughter met me roaring with laughter (when one has such beautiful teeth and such beautiful eyes, one is allowed to guffaw): *N'est-ce pas qu'elles sont horribles, je vous l'avais bien dit* [they're horrible, didn't I say so]:³⁴

Edelfelt's observation that the English tourists – foreigners in Granada – “totally destroyed the illusion” is twofold. He seems to have forgotten that he also was a foreigner who might have destroyed the “illusion” for somebody else. His choice of the word “illusion” is curious. What did the English tourists destroy? The illusion of authenticity? Edelfelt was well informed about Spanish dances through his acquaintance with Sargent who was a passionate admirer of Andalusian dances and music. The English tourists' presence might have made the feeling of a “staged” authenticity too obvious for Edelfelt. He returned “angry” to his hostel, where the daughter of the innkeeper saluted him with a broad laugh. I am sure Edelfelt would have agreed with Théophile Gautier who, after having seen a Spanish *baile nacional* for the first time at a theatre in Vitoria (Northern Spain), exclaimed: “Spanish dances exist only in Paris, like sea-shells, which are only to be found in curiosity shops, and never at the sea-side.”³⁵

Despite the warnings of the innkeeper's daughter, Edelfelt had participated in the “comedy”. But he did his utmost to discover a tiny trace of authenticity in the performance; he had to admit that beneath the surface of the “grotesque species” of the Spanish Gypsy dance, he could imagine *what it once had been*. Edelfelt's harsh comment on the dancers' ugliness (“*fula som stryk*”) reveals his preconceptions about the appearance of a *gitana*: she should be beautiful (implicitly like Don José's daughter, who was so beautiful that she, disregarding contemporary decorum, was allowed to laugh with an open mouth). The Gypsy should dance in a natural surrounding and not before tourists (in Goffman's terms, in the back regions, not at the staged front). After such an experience, it is understandable that

back regions; the audience appears only in the front region; and the outsiders are excluded from both regions” (MacCannell 1976, p. 92).

34 “– Nu på aftonen har jag sett gitanos dansa – det hade kanske varit intressant om ej rundtomkring stått ett 30tal engelsmän och engelskor som totalt förstörde all illusion. Det hela är en slags usel komedi som är tillstäld för resande, kostar mycket pengar (6 francs person) och som lemnar ett tråkigt minne. Dock kan man man [*sic*] under denna groteska afart af den spanska zigenardansen ana hvad den varit. Fula som stryk voro de 6 dansande flickorna, och då jag nu för en stund sedan, arg, kom tillbaka till hotellet stod Don José's vackra dotter och ropade gapskrattande emot mig (när man har så vackra tänder och så vackra ögon har man lof att gapskratta): *N'est-ce pas qu'elles son horribles, je vous l'avais bien dit*” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Granada 13 April 1881, SL5A).

35 Gautier 1926, p. 30.

153. Raimundo de Madrazo, *A Gypsy*, s.a.. El Casón, Madrid.



Edelfelt chose to paint his dancing *gitana* by the caves of Sacromonte. The young girl, who he thought lived in a filthy cave with vermin, appeared to be a thousand times more authentic than the displeasing Andalusian women who he had witnessed dancing in a staged performance.

Edelfelt's use of the young (and poor) girl as model, painting her out in the open, reflects the concurrent Gypsy myth. The nineteenth-century myth of the *Zincali* – the Granadian Gypsies – was widespread, burdened with notions of their wild and untamed “Gypsy tem-

perament". Marilyn R. Brown has investigated the emergence of the myth of the Gypsies in nineteenth-century France. A steady number of pictures of Gypsies were exhibited at every Parisian *Salon* from 1831 to 1881.³⁶ 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 (*Fig. 153*). Their emergence is mainly due to popular literature; Romanticism transformed the Gypsies into a "mythic prototype of the social wanderer". For the French bourgeoisie, Brown states, the Gypsy legends

represented an effort by civilized Europeans to justify the sense of primitivism inspired in them by Gypsies. Bohemians were thought to be the lost link with the ancient and hermetic wisdom of the East [which also occurs in Edelfelt's notion about the dance performance – he sought something that was just about to disappear, fragments from a lost age]. The primitive and inexplicable natural force that determined their wandering instinct was thought to be superior and stronger than modern industrial progress.³⁷

This kind of nostalgia was also prevalent in the emerging tourist industry, which offered experiences to their clients through encounters with "purer, simpler lifestyles", as MacCannell expresses it.

Concurrently, the growing "pseudo-anthropology of "Gypsiology"³⁸ was, during the nineteenth century, fuelled by romantic exoticism. George Borrow's books about the Gypsies in Spain were the primary nineteenth-century sources of information on Bohemian customs and language;³⁹ a fact that makes the Spanish Gypsies take a special position in the mythification process.⁴⁰ Spain was a Promised Land for painters of Gypsies. Brown counts Théophile Gautier as another central figure in promoting knowledge of Gypsies in nineteenth-century Paris. Gautier was a contemporary of Borrow; his view, like Borrow's, was largely based on actual experiences during their travels to Spain. Gautier is careful to distinguish between "real" Gypsies and those who are "inauthentic". When he reviewed a French play in 1843, *Les Bohémiens de Paris* by Dennery and Grangé, he was outraged by

36 Brown 1985, pp. 4, 41.

37 Brown 1985, pp. 21-22.

38 Marilyn Brown mentions the German scholar Heinrich Moritz Gottlieb Grellman as being the person who founded the "factual background" for this 'science' (Brown 1985, p. 21). Grellman's most important publications are: *Die Zigeuner. Ein historischer Versuch über die Lebensart und Verfassung, Sitten und Schicksale dieses Volkes in Europa, nebst ihrem Ursprung*, Dessau und Leipzig 1783 [French translation: *Histoire de Bohémiens, ou tableau des mœurs, usages et coutumes de ce peuple nomade*, Paris 1810]; *Memoire historique sur le peuple nomade, appelle en France 'bohémien', et en allemagne 'zigeuner'; avec un vocabulaire comparatif des langues indienne et bohémienne, traduit de l'allemand de M. Grellman*, Paris M. le B. de Bock 1788. The titles mentioned in Brown 1985 differs slightly in spelling and wording (Brown 1985, p. 190 fn. 10).

39 Brown 1985, p. 21; Borrow 1841; Borrow 1843.

40 In France, Paul Bataillard published a vast number of books on Gypsies. Marilyn Brown regards other contemporary scholarly works as more or less redundant (Brown 1985, p. 191 fn 12). The Central Library (Social Sciences Library) in Manchester holds a Special Collection of books, pamphlets and manuscripts on the history, language and customs of Gypsies in Europe, collected by Paul Bataillard (*Social Science Library [Special Collections]*), Manchester, <http://www.manchester.gov.uk/Libraries/central/socsci/special.htm#Bataillard%20Gypsy%20Collection>, electronic document accessed 16 October 2006).



154. José García Ayola, *Albaicín. Subida a la Rauda*, late 19th-century photograph.

the sloppy connotations of the term *bohémien*.⁴¹ “Have you ever seen the real Bohemians?” he asked the playwrights. According to Gautier, real Bohemians were found (only) in Spain:

If you have ever wandered in Granada and followed the white and dusty path that leads to the *monte Sagrado*, you would have encountered some of these tall fellows with fine and nervous countenances, tawny as Havana cigars, majestically wearing noble rags on bronzed shoulders. Decamps has followed them, pencil in hand, with a respectful admiration. In their black diamond eyes breathes the antique and mysterious melancholy of the Orient, and stars glint in the dark night of their pupils.⁴²

Gautier also recognises another type of Bohemian, the Parisian variety, a “foolish youth which [*sic*] lives somewhat haphazardly from day to day by its intelligence”. In this group he includes “painters, musicians, actors, poets, journalists, who love pleasure more than money and who prefer laziness and liberty to everything”. Gautier concludes that “[a]long with the *gitanos* of Spain, the Gypsies of Scotland, the *zigueners* [*sic*] of Germany, here are the only Bohemians that we recognise”.⁴³

According to Brown, paintings of Gypsies make reference to the painter as a modern artist, a free and unrestrained person “who chose to lead a creative life outside the mainstream of bourgeois society, in order to assume an apparent freedom in a precarious, marginal life-style”. (French) nineteenth-century painters identified with “real” *bohémien*s, and by creating a visual representation of the Gypsies, they infused the myth of the nomad painter who, like the Gypsies, roamed the country in constant search for new motifs, without the restraints of bourgeois society (*Fig. 154*).⁴⁴

The above quotation from Gautier’s theatre-review is extracted from a text written three years after his Spanish voyage. In this text, he describes the Spanish Gypsies, whom he had met in Spain, as a glorious species. Like almost all travellers in Granada, he reports on a visit to the caves at the Sacromonte in his *Voyage*; his observations are quite similar to those of Edelfelt. As we can observe, Gautier’s description was not solely based on his actual experiences in Spain, but also includes references to literature:

41 “In literature, Gypsies had been mistakenly called *bohémien*s in France ever since they first arrived in the early fifteenth century” (Brown 1985, p. 2).

42 Brown 1985, pp. 21-22.

43 Gautier as quoted in Brown 1985, p. 1, from Théophile Gautier, *Histoire de l’art dramatique en France depuis vingt-cinq ans*, Paris 1858–59, III, pp. 106-107.

44 The term Bohemian and its connotation shifted in meaning to encompass the vanguard painters who painted such subjects. Marilyn Brown argues that the notion of the painter as an “outcast Bohemian” was crucial for the founding of Western modernism. By appropriating the real Bohemians, the well-known avant-garde legitimated its own intentions as “social outsiders” who encompassed a “clearer vision of the future than conformists”. Accordingly, painters “gradually displaced the social content of their pictures of Bohemian subjects into modernist notions of self-reference” (Brown 1985, pp. 2-3).

Inside [the Gypsy caves] swarms and pullulates the wild family; children with skins browner than Havana cigars play naked before the threshold, both sexes alike, and roll in the dust with shrill, guttural cries. The *gitanos* are usually blacksmiths, mule-clippers, veterinary surgeons and, above all, horse-dealers. They have a thousand recipes for producing fire and mettle in the most broken-winded worn-out beasts; a *gitano* would have made Rocinante gallop and Sancho's ass prance. But under cover of all this, their true profession is that of thieving.⁴⁵

Gautier continues by describing the Granadian *gitana*, whom he portrays as an amulet-selling and fortune-telling representative of the race:

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 [...]. Almost all the women possess a natural majesty of port and a supple carriage, and hold themselves so erect from the hips that in spite of their rags, dirt and poverty, they seem conscious of the antiquity and purity of their unmixed descent [...]. In one of these alleys [in the Albaicín], we caught sight of a little girl of eight, stark naked, who was practising dancing the *zorongo* on the sharp cobblestones. Her sister, gaunt and emaciated, with eyes like glowing coals in a lemon-coloured face, was crouching on the ground beside her, with a guitar across her knees, thrumming at the chords with her thumb, and producing music not unlike the shrill chirping of the grasshoppers. The mother, richly dressed, with her neck loaded with glass beads, beat time with the tip of a blue velvet slipper, on which her eyes dwelt with satisfaction. The savage attitude, the strange costume and extraordinary colour of this group would have made an excellent subject for a picture by Callot or Salvator Rosa.⁴⁶



155. José García Ayola, *Cuevas de Gitanos, Granada*, late 19th-century photograph.

This longish quotation may be seen as the epitome of the Parisian view of the Gypsies from about the time Gautier visited Spain.

Edelfelt's first version of *Gitana Dancing I* (see *Fig. 151*) shows the young girl in half-length, standing in the typical pose 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. A girl of the same appearance is seen in a photograph by José García Ayola (1863–1900) at the caves of Sacromonte (*Fig. 155*). Ayola was one of the first photographers in Granada and active during the last decades of the nineteenth century.

⁴⁵ Gautier 1926, p. 205.

⁴⁶ Gautier 1926, pp. 206-207.



156. Albert Edelfelt, *Gitana Dancing II*, 1881. Private Collection.

In his pictures, he documented Granada: panoramas, streets, individual people and popular types.⁴⁷ Here we see the caves at the Sacromonte 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: her profile, coiffure, dress and shawl. Edelfelt has been sure to include fragments of the characteristics of a *gitana*, conscious of the contemporary demand for accuracy.⁴⁸

The success of Edelfelt's *Gitana Dancing* is evident in that immediately after his return to Finland from Paris in the summer of 1881, he painted a second version of the subject (*Fig. 156*).⁴⁹ They differ in that the girl's pose is stiffer in the second version, and the painting manner more elaborate and slick. The replica also includes a window-recess with green shutters, and the shadow of a tiled roof. In one place, plaster has fallen off the wall, revealing the underlying bricks. Through these details, Edelfelt has "improved" the composition's local colour. Linda Nochlin calls such use of authenticating details "the reality effect", following Roland Barthes's definition of *l'effet de réel*:

Such details [in this case: the window-recess, the shadow of the roof and the revealed bricks], supposedly there to denote the real directly, are actually there simply to signify its presence to the work as a whole. As Barthes points out, the major function of gratuitous, accurate details like these is to announce "we are the real". They are signifiers of the category of the real, there to give credibility to the "realness" of the work as a whole, to authenticate the total visual field as a simple, artless reflection – in this case, of supposed Oriental [or as in Edelfelt's painting, Andalusian] reality.⁵⁰

Nochlin illustrates what she means by "artless reflection" in her discussion of Orientalist painters, such as Gérôme, who strove to conceal all evidence of the painter's touch, that is, "any reminder of the fact that it is really a question of art". All traces of the picture plane are erased, "veiling the fact that the image consists of paint on canvas".⁵¹

Edelfelt's second version of *Gitana Dancing* is like an Orientalist painting, executed in the manner of Gérôme. Unlike the first version, which is more fluently painted (except

47 Ramírez 1996, p. 12.

48 A certain amount of routine and semi-professionalism are nevertheless 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. He was thus staging his photographs. 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 manila*, *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: the way in which they wanted to be seen and comprehended. But it was also the way that the painters wanted to see them, due to a previously learned imagery (Ramírez 1996; Ayola 1997 [catalogue]).

49 Hintze 1953, p. 523, catalogue number 169.

50 Nochlin 1991 (1989), p. 37.

51 Nochlin 1991 (1989), p. 37.

for the hands that, significantly, were painted afterwards),⁵² this adaptation is, as Nochlin would put it, “pseudo-realist” in its execution, because the painting act is concealed. According to Nochlin, the painter’s strategy is to

make the viewers forget that there was any “bringing into being” at all, to convince them that works like these [Orientalist paintings] were simply “reflections”, scientific in their exactitude, of a preexisting Oriental reality.⁵³

The concealment of the act of painting goes hand in hand with the artlessness of the image, denoting the strange country as a world without change.⁵⁴ This would indicate no infiltration of the modernities of the Western World. This is exactly what is avoided in certain types of tourism and tourist art; authenticity is thought to be elsewhere, in purer, simpler lifestyles.

How does this kind of more or less picturesque documentation of reality correspond to contemporary art, such as late-nineteenth century Naturalism? Basing his arguments on several acknowledged twentieth-century scholars,⁵⁵ Ville Lukkarinen discusses the use of photographic aids when creating “naturalistic” artworks which are executed in order to be “faithful recording[s] of [an] external reality, an accurate transcript of nature”.⁵⁶ I see a direct correlation between these “naturalistic” artworks and painted souvenirs, such as *Gitana Dancing*. Travel pictures, or painted souvenirs, may be comprehended as transcripts of memories; *Gitana Dancing* represents not “reality”, but a *remembered* reality.

If regarding the painting surface as a whole, Lukkarinen argues, the reality effect discussed by Nochlin and Barthes⁵⁷ is “destroyed” by differences in the application of brushstrokes, causing flatness in the composition and the figures as well as frozen postures, features usually seen in collages and photography.⁵⁸ Such “photographic” qualities are present also in Edelfelt’s *Gitana Dancing I*. Firstly, her hands and face are rendered in a more meticulous manner as regards the brushstrokes than the background and her clothing. This is emphasised by her positioning against a discontinuous background, rather like a paper doll. These two features detach the background from the foreground figure. Secondly, the dancer’s posture is frozen; she is really posing, waiting for Edelfelt to capture her “movement”.

According to Lukkarinen, one explanation for such disruptions might be the Naturalists’ use of photographic models when composing their pictures. The flatness of figures and the frozen movements heighten the effect of what he calls “photographicality”, which

52 Aspelin-Haapkylä 1912, p. 192.

53 Nochlin 1991 (1989), p. 38.

54 Nochlin 1991 (1989), pp. 37-38.

55 Ville Lukkarinen’s arguments in his article, “The Naturalness of Naturalism Reconsidered” (1996), may be seen as a compilation of theories presented by Svetlana Alpers, Roland Barthes, Norman Bryson, Linda Nochlin, Richard Orton, Griselda Pollock and Michael Riffaterre (Lukkarinen 1996).

56 Lukkarinen 1996, p. 51.

57 Lukkarinen refers to Roland Barthes’s *L’effet de réel* (1982). He also mentions Michale Riffaterre’s *L’illusion référentielle* (1982).

58 Lukkarinen 1996, pp. 51-52.

turns the image into an icon of both reality and photography. And as we remember, such photographic quality also connects the motif to souvenirs and their function as memories; photography is fragmentary, but nevertheless an actual recording of the world as it is seen.⁵⁹ Photography is favourably compared to the souvenir's function as a "sign of a fact". In this case, the reference to photography is indirect, because we know that Edelfelt painted the *gitana* from a live model out in the open. Tourist paintings, such as the *Gitana Dancing I*, are made to appear similar to a photograph in order to tell their viewers that direct observation has occurred; the motif has been experienced in real life.

The photographic approach was thus valuable when creating travel pictures, where direct observation and documentation of reality should be made visible. Precise and/or pictorial detail are commonplace in tourist art, above all because of its function as a document of foreign places. The heightened photographic character is seen, for instance, in the reduction of visible brushstrokes (the painting process remains more or less hidden in the image).⁶⁰ The assumed documentary qualities bestows the artworks with collage-like properties, since they are constructed by collecting fragments to represent an entirety, as seen in Edelfelt's *Gitana Dancing II*.

Lukkarinen offers Manet's *Mademoiselle V. in the Costume of an Espada* (Fig. 157) as an example of an artwork with a fragmentary quality.⁶¹ It is well known that Manet's pictures of Spanish musicians and dancers (although he frequently used French models) constituted the basis for similar topics that were later produced in Paris.⁶² It may be a coincidence that Lukkarinen chose this particular painting, but the fact that Manet's work alludes to Spanish "ethnographic" pictures, strikes me as significant. Its "fake" realism (background detached from the foreground figures), which connects the painting with certain staged photographs, functions similarly to "staged authenticity" in tourist art. Further support for this connection is that Manet probably used *carte-de-visite* photographs of popular French entertainers dressed à l'espagnole as visual sources for *Mademoiselle V*.⁶³

Alisa Luxenberg comments on the painting's compositional features: the figure of Victorine exposes an "unconventional modelling of form and a *spatial disjunction* which he seems to have derived from Goya's portraits, such as the *Duque de Osuna*". She also notes that the background, consisting of a bullfight-scene that Manet had borrowed from one of Goya's

59 Lukkarinen reminds us that photographs have been characterised as iconic signs, as "indexical [...] imprints of the object which is their referent". This turns them into immediate signs that serve as evidence of the presented event (Lukkarinen 1996, pp. 53-56).

60 This might also explain the later exclusion of tourist paintings from the avant-garde canon of art, which prefers an "Impressionist" approach and sketch-like finishes.

61 Lukkarinen 1996, p. 58.

62 Manet's picture can be seen as a testimony of his "connoisseur" knowledge of Parisian nightlife, where Spanish song and dance could frequently be viewed from the 1850s onwards. Alisa Luxenberg points out that Manet had witnessed such performances, considered "racy, popular entertainment, especially for born- and bred-bourgeois like him" (Luxenberg 1993, p. 25).

63 Luxenberg points out an "illuminating discussion of the interchange between Manet's work and *carte-de-visite* photographs" in Elisabeth Anne McCauley, *A.A.E. Disdéri and the Carte de Visite Photograph*, New Haven 1985 (Luxenberg 1993, pp. 25-26).

prints, is oddly slanted.⁶⁴ The painting's photographic quality is partly due to Manet's use of photographs of contemporary opera and ballet stars as sources,⁶⁵ but its contradictions in composition can also be seen as derivations of or influences from Spanish painting, namely from Goya.⁶⁶

Another feature of tourist art which has references to Orientalist painting is the sense of "timelessness": time stands still "as it does in all imagery qualified as 'picturesque', including nineteenth-century representations of peasants in France itself", Nochlin states. I would also include images such as Edelfelt's *Gitana Dancing II* in this genre of representation. Timeless, atemporal customs and rituals are here presented as "untouched by the historical process that was 'afflicting' or 'improving' but, at any rate, drastically altering Western societies at the time", as Nochlin puts it.⁶⁷

When Nochlin discusses Gérôme's Orientalist works (*Snake Charmer* and *Street in Algiers*), she pays attention to details that reveal decay, neglect and poorly repaired architectural functions since these offer "a standard topos for commenting on the corruption of contemporary Islamic society".⁶⁸ Such "decay" is included also in Edelfelt's second version of *Gitana Dancing*, in the plaster that has fallen off the wall. Gautier's and Edelfelt's comments about the Gypsies in Spain are indicative. The "Arab" character of the Andalusian dance is frequently pronounced. The free, roaming life of the Gypsies is dislocated from "traditional" work (which is another feature that is absent in Orientalist paintings),⁶⁹ thereby achieving an impression of idleness, which implicitly has resulted in the neglected wall.

As Nochlin observes, work and industry are generally excluded from Orientalist painting, since their presence would disturb their timelessness and, consequently, bring the Western civilisation into the "untouched" world that we see in the image. She states that such *architecture moralisée* – decaying architecture and ruins in Eastern scenes – give the impression that "lazy, slothful, and childlike, if colourful [people] have let their own cultural treasures sink into decay".⁷⁰ The supposedly free life of the Gypsies did not include maintaining buildings. While the Gypsy girl is dancing, she is indifferent to the decay of her surround-



157. Édouard Manet, *Mademoiselle V. in the Costume of an Espada*, 1862. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

64 Luxenberg 1993, pp. 25-26 [my emphasis].

65 On this matter, see also Wilson-Bareau 2003, p. 222, referring to McCauley 1985, p. 181, figs. 179, 180.

66 Wilson-Bareau views this image not as "revealing Manet as an artist short of inspiration", but as a picture where Manet manipulates "a great variety of sources with wit and flair. In this intriguing piece of picture making", Manet may have also superimposed the Spanish setting on a composition by Raphael, engraved by Marcantonio Raimondi after a set of virtues, *Temperance* and *Justice*. "Manet rivals Goya as a master of fantasy and caprice", Wilson-Bareau concludes (Wilson-Bareau 2003, p. 222).

67 Nochlin 1991 (1989), pp. 25-36.

68 Nochlin 1991 (1989), p. 39.

69 Nochlin 1991 (1989), p. 39.

70 This notion is also obvious in Gautier's account from Spain, when he frequently refers to the Spaniards' neglect of their valuable (Moorish) art treasures. One example is Gautier's account of how the attendants of the Alhambra left a vase to decay, and that its handle had recently been broken: "On the left are the archives, and the room to which, be it said to the shame of the inhabitants of Granada, is relegated, among rubbish of every sort, the magnificent Alhambra vase, nearly four feet high, and all covered with ornaments and inscriptions; a monument of inestimable rarity, which alone would be the glory of a museum, but which *Spanish negligence* [my emphasis] allows to go to rack and ruin in a wretched back room. One of the wings which form the handles has recently been broken" (Gautier 1926, p. 193).

ings.⁷¹ I can only presume that this was the reason why foreigners in Granada found it quite “natural” that the *gitanos* lived in the caves by the Sacromonte. The Gypsy culture in Spain was regarded as inferior when compared to the viewer’s own society, implying a moralising gaze that posits the viewer above the depicted subject (*Gitana Dancing II*).

Gitana Dancing’s fortune started immediately when it was exhibited at the *Finnish Art Society’s* annual exposition in 1881. Thirty years later (1912), Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä, who bought the first version of *Gitana Dancing* when Edelfelt had completed the hands (the painting was thus not finished in Granada), described the Andalusian dancer with romanticising phrases: “The most notable of the Spanish sketches was the dancing Gypsy girl [...] Above all the head is charming in its southern, dark full-bloodedness.”⁷² In their review of the exhibition in *Finsk Tidsskrift*, the pen names Scylla & Charybdis had quoted a poem by Alfred de Musset (1810–1857):

*C’est une ange !
Elle est jaune comme une orange,
Elle est vive comme un oiseau.*⁷³

Firstly, we should note that the girl is described as being “*comme une orange*” – like an orange; Spanish women were generally described as having an olive-coloured complexion. In Gautier’s description of the girl dancing *Zorongo* in Granada, he describes the girl, her sister and mother as having “a touch of the Arab and the Mahometan”. Her older sister was, according to Gautier, “gaunt and emaciated, with eyes like glowing coals in a *lemon-coloured face*”.⁷⁴

The older girl’s lemon-coloured complexion as described by Gautier brings to mind Musset’s poem; Gautier certainly knew Musset’s poetry.⁷⁵ Musset had published his *Contes d’Espagne et d’Italie* in 1829, his first collections of poems. The work won the approval of Victor Hugo, who admitted Musset into his Romantic literary circle *Cénacle*.⁷⁶ Many of his poems with Spanish themes were set to music, for the most part by Hippolyte Monpou (1804–1841). In September 1830, Monpou set *L’Andalouse* to music, and it was an instant success. This song was followed by other similar settings, among them *Madrid*, which is the

71 In developing this claim, I rely on Nochlin’s criticism of Orientalist paintings regarding the details of Orientalist paintings suggesting decay: “There is a clear allusion here, clothed in the language of objective reportage, not merely to the mysteries of the East, but to the barbaric insouciance of Moslem peoples, who quite literally charm snakes [she refers to Gérôme’s *Snake Charmer*, late 1860s, which adorned the dust jacket of Said’s *Orientalism* in 1978] while Constantinople falls into ruins” (Nochlin 1991 (1989), p. 39).

72 Aspelin-Haapkylä 1912, p. 192 (“Sieltä tuotujen luonnosten joukossa oli huomattavimpia tanssiva mustalais-tyttö [...] Varsinkin tytön pää on viehättävä etelämaisen tummassa verevydydessään”).

73 Scylla & Charybdis 1881, p. 412 (rough Engl. Translation by the author: “It’s an angel // She is yellow like an orange // She is animated like a bird”).

74 Gautier 1926, pp. 206-207 [my emphasis].

75 As quoted above: “Je vais peut-être perdre une de mes illusions, et voir s’envoler l’Espagne de mes rêves, l’Espagne du romancero, des ballades de Victor Hugo, des nouvelles de Mérimée et des contes d’Alfred de Musset” (Gautier [1843], p. 2). This passage is omitted in the English translation, comp. Gautier 1926.

76 “Alfred de Musset (1810–1857)”, <http://www.kirjasto.sci.fi/demusset.htm>, electronic document accessed and printed 25 February 2004.

poem where the quoted lines appear (“C’est une ange !” etc.).⁷⁷ The song was performed by Pauline Viardot (1821–1920) sometimes before 1838. The verse, in which the quoted lines are incorporated, reads as follows (my emphasis):

Car c’est ma princesse Andalouse!
Mon amoureuse, ma jalouse,
Ma belle veuve au long réseau!
C’est un vrai démon, c’est un ange!
Elle est jaune comme une orange,
*Elle est vive comme l’oiseau!*⁷⁸

Musset’s original text is much shortened in the song, but the lines quoted by Scylla & Charybdis have been preserved.

According to the nineteenth-century (French) perception, the “true” Spanish female type was Oriental, Moorish. While Gautier was in Madrid, he described the “true Spanish feminine type” as something that did not exist, at least not according to “what we understand in France by the Spanish type”. “When we speak of a *señora* or a mantilla”, Gautier observed, “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 [observe that pomegranates are a symbol of Granada], and over all, a warm, golden tone justifying the words in the song: ‘She is as yellow as an orange’” (Gautier is obviously referring to the poem by Musset here). He continues: “This is the Arab or Moorish type, not the Spanish”, a type that is found only in southern Spain. Gautier also remarks that the women in Madrid “in no way [resemble] one’s previous ideas of them”.⁷⁹ For Europeans, the “authentic” Spanish type was the Moorish one; the one found in Edelfelt’s image.

The “southern, dark full-bloodedness” of Edelfelt’s *Gitana Dancing*, as Aspelin-Haapkylä expressed it in 1881, fascinated the Finnish public. According to Scylla & Charybdis, the figure was a “poem”, and they compared the painting with the text by Musset. Edelfelt had found his inspiration in Nature, they asserted, and then he had attached the image to the canvas in glowing colours.⁸⁰ This statement is supported by Edelfelt’s comment to B.O. Schauman; his painting was merely a faint afterglow of what he had felt and wanted to give a picture of.⁸¹ Scylla & Charybdis drew attention also to Edelfelt’s other pictures of Gypsy girls:

77 Delbert, R. Simon/Fiona Clampin /Eric Frederick Jensen: “Monpou, (François Louis) Hippolyte”, *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com>, electronic document accessed and printed 25 February 2004.

78 “Alfred de Musset: *Madrid*”, <http://www.recmusic.org/lieder/m/musset/madrid.html>, electronic document accessed and printed 25 February 2004.

79 Gautier 1926, pp. 86-87.

80 “Det är ett poem, hemtadt direkt efter naturen och i glödande färger fästadt på duken” (Scylla & Charybdis 1881, p. 412).

81 Edelfelt to B.O. Scahunan, Toledo 7 May 1881, FNG/Archives.

We see how truly and deeply Edelfelt comprehends moods of mind in the three heads of women, the dancing girl mentioned above, the small “*catorce años*” and maybe above all in the soulful, dark Moorish Dolores, in whose maidenlike features we find something akin of the Old Masters’ Madonnas.⁸²

6.1.1 The Gypsy Myth in Paris

In the following, I shall establish the wider context for Edelfelt’s images with “Gypsy” iconography, such as *Gitana Dancing*, extending my viewpoint to current French perceptions of the Spanish Gypsies. After a review of the situation in Paris, I analyse Edelfelt’s works of art with Spanish motifs that he created after his return, placing them in their respective context. Clearly, they mirror the situation in Paris at that time. As Manja Wilkens has shown, French critics dedicated more attention to paintings with a Spanish iconography than the number of works exposed at the annual *Salon* would seem to warrant. After the opening of Louis Philippe’s *Galerie espagnole* in 1838, the number increased slightly, but over the course of the nineteenth century the number never exceeded one percent, mostly staying between 0,5 and 0,9 percent of the total number of exposed artworks. As Wilkens points out, the reason why paintings with Spanish iconography appeared in the reviews more frequently than before had less to do with an abundance of Spanish artworks at the Galleries and more to do with the fashionable status of Spanish things. Moreover, from the 1840s and 1850s onwards, well-established painters chose Spanish motifs, thereby further raising their status.⁸³

While the number of exposed artworks with Spanish iconography still stayed at the humble maximum of 0,9 percent during the 1850s and 60s, critics engaged themselves in commenting on Spanish subjects in an ever-increasing number. Wilkens explains this mainly by the growth in the numbers of published travel accounts from Spain, including such writings as Gautier’s *Voyage en Espagne*, which had initially appeared as a serial in various French periodicals and purely scholarly texts during the 1840s.⁸⁴ Such publications provided detailed descriptions of the Spanish people: the beautiful Andalusian woman was epitomised by the temperamental *gitana*.

The myth of the Gypsies among painters had thus an early founder and promoter in Gautier,⁸⁵ but of course, he was not alone. Marilyn Brown has shown that the myth of the Gypsies saturated French literature from the 1830s onwards, that is, from Gautier’s and Borrow’s days. During its most vital period (1830-71), the Bohemian myth became established as painters became fascinated with Gypsies and transformed them into a mythic prototype

82 “Huru sant och djupt Edelfelt fattar själsstämningar se vi i de tre kvinnohufvudena, den ofvännämnda dansande flickan, den lilla “*catorce años*” och kanske främst i den själfulla mörka moriskan Dolores, i hvars jungfruliga drag vi finna något, som man ser hos de gamle mästarne madonnor” (Scylla & Charybdis 1881, p. 412).

83 Wilkens 1994, pp. 28-40.

84 Wilkens 1994, pp. 41-42.

85 Brown 1985, p. 9.

of the social outcast.⁸⁶ An important factor in this mythmaking was their presence in Paris during the nineteenth century. Both seasonal and permanent proletarian migration continued to increase enormously throughout France. Paris itself was literally a city of transients, Gypsies included. Since the Gypsies were not allowed to camp inside the city, their “towns” grew up outside the walls including (before the 1860 annexation), the Batignolle, Montmartre, La Chapelle, Belleville, Ivry and Clichy. Political crises led to influxes of Gypsies to Paris (1830, 1848, 1851 and 1871). The Bohemian of the Gypsy myth encompasses a large number of subcategories, including different kinds of musicians, dancers, acrobats (the *saltimbanque*), ragpickers (*chiffonniers*) and *commedia dell’arte* artists; that is, various kinds of performers, in addition to a variety of travelling merchants. Soon they became regarded as a thieving and dangerous class, which resulted in the French State endeavouring to expel or restrict their activities by law, but the numbers of performances did not decline.⁸⁷

Brown shows how the Gypsy (or Bohemian) myth transformed to include painters as a *bohemién*, an emblem of liberty.⁸⁸ The increasing growth of the travel industry in the nineteenth century made it possible for painters to come into contact with the heavily concentrated Gypsy communities in foreign lands. According to Brown, the most substantial concentrations of Gypsies were found in Spain and the eastern parts of Europe (including Moldavia, Walachia, Transylvania, Hungary and Turkey).⁸⁹ The common denominator [for all subcategories and admixture of Bohemian types] was mobility, Brown asserts and continues:

The voyage acquired its own special fascination in a society in which technology supplied increasingly sophisticated means of travel. Progress itself was seen as a kind of voyage towards the future. Popular travel literature, songs, and poetry mythologized the voyageur, ranging in type from bourgeois tourists to Bohemian *rapins*, beggars, humanitarian pilgrims, exotic caravans, and political exiles.⁹⁰

To varying degrees, French painters appropriated these wandering types and their mythological baggage. Brown states that the Gypsy functioned as the “mythic archetype” of the other Bohemian subcategories. Artistic interest in such subjects thus includes “broad geographic and demographic trends towards social mobility, as well as self-referential notions”.⁹¹ The

86 Brown 1985, pp. 26-28.

87 Marilyn Brown lists almost 70 occupations of Gypsies in Vaux de Foletier’s inventory at the department of Eure between 1863 and 1869 (Brown 1985, p. 28 fn 36, referring to François de Vaux de Foletier, *Les Bohémiens en France au 19e siècle*, Paris 1981, p. 28).

88 According to Marilyn Brown, “quotidian Gypsy life was filled, for the most part, with work in crafts, ambulant trades, entertainment and music; Gypsies were producing artisans who acquired a reputation as archetypal artists” (Brown 1985, pp. 23-26, 35).

89 Brown 1985, p. 22.

90 Marilyn Brown points to the writings of Pierre Lachambeaudie, who “used the voyageur as a symbol of *le peuple* marching towards a brighter future”. Gérard de Nerval’s *Voyage en Orient* and Baudelaire’s poems, on the other hand, “turned wanderlust into a symbolic longing for artistic identity and, ultimately, a spiritual escape from ennui into the search for the ‘other’” (Brown 1985, pp. 34, 195 fn 59).

91 Brown 1985, p. 36.

Gypsy myth (like the stereotype) is thus less informative about the Gypsies than they are about the painters who included them in their works of art; they specifically reveal how the painters viewed Otherness.

Brown points out that in the *Salon* of the 1830s, the painters frequently found their models in socially and geographically distant places, such as among the Gypsies in Spain, the provinces and other exotic countries, or in the historically remote and Romantic past.⁹² An “ideology of social and geographic distancing” was apparent, mainly through the representations of “prototypically ‘real Bohemians’”, that is, literally of Gypsies. One example is Narcisse Diaz de la Peña, who during the 1840s became perhaps the most famous painter to be associated with paintings of “real” Gypsies, including Spanish ones. His Spanish ancestry (his parents were Spaniards) added to his fame, and his dark features caused him to be called a *gitano* frequently.⁹³

Diaz de la Peña’s great success with such topics at the *Salon* in the 1840s caused a steady stream of Bohemian subjects to be exhibited at the annual *Salon*. Adding Spanish local colour to paintings of Gypsies now became customary. This can be seen in, for example, Frédéric Peyson’s *Bohemians in the Midi of France* from 1843, a work of art exposed at the *Salon* of 1844 (Fig. 158).⁹⁴ This proto-realist picture includes many articulated details, meant to enhance the local colour, such as the wrinkled face of the old *gitana*, the dirty hands and wounded foot of the young woman to the left, her deep décolletage and the man’s clothing, in addition to the scattered objects on the dirt floor in front of them. Brown points out that the composition “connects the artist’s ethnic specificity with the Spanish masters such as Murillo”, whose genre paintings could be viewed at Louis Philippe’s *Galerie espagnole* at this time.⁹⁵

In addition to the composition and the subject, the general Spanish mood in Frédéric Peyson’s *Bohemians in the Midi of France* is also evident in the technical features, such as its stark tenebrism, which suggests that the painter was familiar with Murillo’s *Beggar Boy* at the Louvre. Interestingly, it seems that the realist Spanish Baroque painting affected the way in which Gypsies were perceived; hence the intertwining of these features represents the prototypically Spanish Gypsy. This is further supported in Peyson’s work when one examines the old woman to the right; she is reminiscent of the woman in one of Velázquez’s few genre paintings, *Old Woman Frying Eggs* (ca. 1618, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh).

92 Since the 1830s, writes Marilyn Brown, “visual artists appropriated an eclectic array of Gypsies and other Bohemian types as subject matter. The images range in scope from representations of the exotic ‘other’ in Romantic paintings to depictions of urban street people in popular prints.” The pluralism of the types depicted suggests that there was no sudden rupture or “avant-garde breakthrough” in the representations of Bohemians. A wide range of different kinds of painters applied this subject, such as the founder of the Orientalist school Alexandre-Gabriel Decamps, whom Gautier also mentioned in the above quotation about the Gypsies in Granada. Decamps’s Bohemian subjects were successfully admitted at the *Salon* of 1831, and the number of such motifs increased steadily during this decade (Brown 1985, pp. 39-41).

93 Brown 1985, pp. 43, 49. Another example is found in a hispanising work by Pierre-Jules Jollivet, a student of Gros, a picture that was praised by the critics for its exotic local colour (Wilkens 1994, p. 42).

94 See illustration number 21 in Brown 1985.

95 Brown 1985, p. 49.

This further supports the connection between the iconography of Old Spanish Master painting and realistic subject matters in nineteenth-century French art – in this case of Bohemians – as discussed earlier in the chapter on Becker and his appreciation of Spanish Baroque.

This line of reasoning is also supported by MacCannell's argumentation when he describes the process by which the figures in a self-portrait, showing a Dutch seventeenth-century painter at work, were transformed into a tourist sight. The visitors at the museum came to see a painting which they, in this case, wrongly believed to have been painted by Pieter de Hoogh. But when the visitors learnt that it was painted by Vermeer instead, the painting became an even



more important piece of art, and “[s]uddenly, the entire surface of the painting is alive with new information”. MacCannell sees the information the viewer has prior to seeing the painting as a signpost for a sight. Then, the sight (i.e., the painting) becomes a new signpost after additional information has become available; new information creates new meaning.⁹⁶ This argument can be extended further to the paintings at Louis Philippe’s *Galerie espagnole*. This collection of “markers” for Spanishness – the figures posing in the old pictures – are transferred into sights for painters visiting Spain.

The popularity of Gypsy paintings at the *Salon* led to a tendency to transform the images of Gypsies into “pure aesthetics”. In Diaz’s paintings, for example, the Gypsies’ factual social world was invisible. Instead, they were portrayed as happy and carefree, which increased their commercial value on the bourgeois market.⁹⁷ Spain’s role in this chain of events was enhanced by the Leleux brothers’ paintings of exotic Spanish and Italian smugglers and Gypsies. Brown sees Adolphe Leleux’s *Songs at the Door of a Posada*,⁹⁸ painted in Spain in 1842, as a typical example of picturesque hispanicism (*Fig. 159*). Here we see a group of Gypsy musicians, gathered together at the steps before a doorway. The critics praised the painting for its “true-to-nature” realism, and Brown stresses the fact that they perceived the *gitanos* as “lower-class subject matter, hence realistic: what is implied is that ‘realistic’ was acceptable only as ethnographic ‘local colour’, that is, at some geographic or picturesque distance”.⁹⁹

158. Frédéric Peyson, *Bohemians in the Midi of France*, 1843. Musée Fabre, Montpellier.

96 MacCannell exemplifies the process by quoting an article that appeared in a newspaper in 1970, which described how the writer felt that the people of today’s Brussels seem to “step out” of Flemish fifteenth- and sixteenth-century paintings. The pictures thus serve, reciprocally, as time machines. The figures in Flemish Old Master paintings are associated with the contemporary population of Brussels, and vice versa. The marker of the original painting has transformed into a new sight that encompasses today’s Flemish people as sights and markers of Flemishness (MacCannell 1976, p. 120).

97 Brown 1985, p. 51.

98 For an illustration, see Brown 1985, p. 18.

99 Brown 1985, p. 47.



159. Adolphe Leleux, *Songs at the Door of a Posada*, Spain 1842. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.

wandering Tartar population in Finland. The word “*tattare*” that Edelfelt used to describe the Gypsies in Sacromonte (“*riktiga tattare, med ett ord*”) reflects this confusion.¹⁰⁴

The biggest difference between Finnish Gypsies and those in other countries is that the Romany population in Finland seldom functioned as public performers, though they practised dancing, singing and music together.¹⁰⁵ Models for paintings of Gypsies singing and dancing had to be sought from other countries; in Edelfelt’s case, he found them in Spain.¹⁰⁶ His picture of the dancing *gitana* cannot thus be judged according to Finnish standards. The Gypsy dance was an exotic subject for Edelfelt, expressing something he could not experience at home (and in Paris only in a diluted variant at the theatres). The replica of *Gitana*

“Geographical and picturesque distance” seems to be exactly what Edelfelt sought in Spain. Of course, Gypsies existed in Finland as well, but as far as I know, he did not use them as models. According to Martti Grönfors, the Romanies arrived in Finland approximately 500 years ago. Because of Finland’s geographical, historical, linguistic and cultural isolation, the Gypsy culture preserved its own identity in Finland for a long time, and the Finnish Romany population formed their own branch within the world-wide Gypsy culture.¹⁰⁰ The Finnish view of the Romanies was unexceptional; they have never been welcomed into Finnish society. According to Grönfors, members of the Romany population were regarded as outsiders, as people who did not fit into the organised society.¹⁰¹ In Finland, as in Paris, the Gypsy myth also generated the organised society’s nostalgic longing for “freedom and adventure”. In 1900, the Gypsy was described as a person who lived only for the present, like a child.¹⁰² The Gypsy myth in Finland reflects, then and still today, a romanticising imagery of a “wild and free” people, as wanderers who disregard the rules of society.¹⁰³ At the same time, the Finnish Gypsies were frequently confused with the

100 According to Donald Kenrick, a census in 1895 recorded 1551 Gypsies in Finland, a figure seen as too low (Kenrick 1998, p. 58).

101 Grönfors 1981, pp. 29-44.

102 Grönfors 1981, p. 36 (“Hän elää yksinomaan nykyhetkeä varten niinkuin lapsi”, quotation from *Komiteamietintö* n:o 3, 1900, p. 120).

103 Grönfors 2002, pp. 76-78.

104 According to Donald Kenrick, “*tattare*” is a pejorative term used to describe Swedish travellers, first introduced because of the confusion with the Tartars, who made excursions into Europe in the Middle Ages (Kenrick 1998, pp. 58-59, 167).

105 Grönfors 2002, p. 78.

106 Finnish painters started to use the Finnish Romanies and other minorities as models as late as around 1900.

Dancing shows that there was also a demand for such an exotic subject in Finland, despite the subject's alien nature. It combined the exotic with conformity to the type of imagery that had established itself among painters in Paris.

The increasing number of exhibited Bohemian (Gypsy) subjects at the Parisian *Salon* during the 1860s is also explained by the influx of eastern European Gypsies and of wandering Italians in Paris.¹⁰⁷ A wide variety of painters, ranging from Daumier and Courbet to *pompier* artists, included Bohemian subjects into their *oeuvre*, thereby bridging the gap between the vanguard and academic painter. Brown presents the *juste milieu* painter Alfred Dehodencq as a major mediator between the two, as seen in his work *Bohemians Returning from an Andalusian Festival*, exhibited at the *Salon* of 1853 (Fig. 160).¹⁰⁸ Dehodencq's picture is an early example of the shift in interest that ultimately took place in the 1860s, when "real" Gypsies replaced the literary ones as models.

6.1.2 Manet's "Spain"

Alfred Dehodencq's *Los novillos de la corrida*, a painting of a Spanish bullfight from 1849, hung in the *Musée du Luxembourg* in Paris until his death in 1883. Alisa Luxenberg suggests that this particular painting, as did the numerous Spanish entertainers who were frequently seen at the theatres in Paris,¹⁰⁹ affected Edouard Manet's view of Spain before he travelled there. Dehodencq, a promising history painter, went to Spain in 1849. The journey caused him to abandon history painting and to present his first genre painting (i.e., the Spanish bullfight) at the *Salon* the next year. This painting earned delighted praise from the critics, painters and public. The painting is of substantial dimensions, which, according to Luxenberg, "indicated Dehodencq's seriousness towards his subject and the growing importance of genre painting".¹¹⁰ The painting was believed to show the "real" Spain, since it contained "essential symbols of Spanish life", which were offered as proof that Dehodencq had worked from life: the bleaching light, dusty terrain and native costumes. Gautier, for instance, admired the painting's "local colour and intimate Spanish flavour", thereby cementing its reputation as "an authentic representation of Spain". But as Luxenberg argues, the composition is indeed constructed according to diagonals that meet in the bull's eye.¹¹¹ This is thus one of the earliest examples of a "staged Spanish authenticity" (or, rather, staged *inauthenticity*),

107 Brown suggests that the more the Gypsies were prohibited legally, the more they were depicted artistically. The artistic world of the 1860s also saw restrictions, which increased the affiliation between the Bohemians and the painters.

108 Brown 1985, p. 57. This may have increased the eagerness of biographers such as Bertel Hintze to later dismiss travel pictures from Edelfelt's *oeuvre* as "mere" travel pictures. They did not hold significance for the more "vanguard" features in Edelfelt's art. As demonstrated by Brown and my argumentation, the Gypsy iconography nevertheless had significance in its own right, which explains the status of Edelfelt's paintings of Gypsies and Andalusian dancers.

109 As Luxenberg points out, Manet was a "connoisseur" of such entertainment (Luxenberg 1993, p. 25).

110 Luxenberg 1993, p. 21.

111 Luxenberg 1993, pp. 21-22.



160. Alfred Dehodencq, *Bohemians Returning from an Andalusian Festival*, 1853. Musée de Chaumont.

called his etched version of the theme *Le Guitarrero* [*sic*]. This last title refers to connoisseurship as regards Spain: “guitarrero” is, of course, the Spanish term for a guitar player. Wilson-Bareau speculates that this last title was an “acknowledgement of the ringing endorsement” that Gautier had given the painting in his review of the 1861 *Salon*:¹¹⁴

Caramba! Here is a *Guitarrero* who has not just stepped off the stage of the Comic Opera and whom one is not likely to see on the cover of some “Spanish” sheet music. But Velásquez [*sic*] would salute him with a friendly wink, and Goya would ask him for a light for his *papelito*. How he bawls ... as he strums away. We feel that we actually hear him. ... This lifesize full-length figure, with its rich surface, bold brushwork, and very lifelike coloration, displays a good deal of talent.¹¹⁵

This painting is an excellent example of staged authenticity: it includes details – such as the guitar, some garlic, an onion, a ceramic jug and a cigarette butt on the floor – that would have been instantly recognisable by Frenchmen as representing Spain at that time. Manet admitted that the left-handed model only pretends to be playing a guitar strung for a right-handed player, and Wilson-Bareau observes that the guitar functioned as a symbol of Spain. But I do not fully agree with Wilson-Bareau’s assertion that the guitar player’s clothes were “an attractive but *inauthentic* hodgepodge of elements from Manet’s costume basket” (my emphasis).¹¹⁶ His clothes were, indeed, perceived as authentic (however in a “staged” setting) in so far as they represented Spanishness as perceived by the French.

112 Léon Rosenthal, “Manet et l’Espagne”, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, septembre-octobre 1925, p. 208 (quoted in Luxenberg 1993).

113 Wilson-Bareau 2003, pp. 217-218.

114 Wilson-Bareau 2003, p. 217.

115 The Gautier passage is translated by Wilson-Bareau. The original reads: “Caramba ! Voilà un *Guitarrero* qui ne vient pas de l’Opéra comique, et qui ferait mauvaise figure sur une lithographie de romance ; mais Velásquez [*sic*] le saluerait d’un petit clignement d’œil maical, et Goya lui demanderait du feu pour allumer son *papelito*. – Comme il braille ... en râclant le jambon ! – Il nous semble l’entendre. ... Il y a beaucoup de talent dans cette figure de grandeur naturelle, peinte en pleine pâte, d’une brosse vaillante et d’une couleur très-vraie” (Théophile Gautier, “Le Salon de 1861”, *Le Monde Universel* (Paris), juillet 3, 1861, p. 1017 (Wilson-Bareau 2003, p. 217 fn 56).

116 Wilson-Bareau 2003, p. 217.

In 1860, Charles Blanc described the first of the *International Exhibitions* in London 1851, specifying each country's displays of its most technically advanced or useful national product. In the Spanish section, Blanc accounts, barrels of tobacco, piles of oranges and crates of merino wool were arranged around a pedestal on which was placed "an object one would never ever dream of ... a guitar!"¹¹⁷ Just as Manet borrowed freely from the Spanish masters he admired, in the *Guitar Player* he creates a collage-like representation of a "true" Spaniard, framed *mis-en-scène* in a "staged authenticity". The only "authentic" aspect in this image is that it reflects the French view of the Spaniards. Manet had not yet experienced "real" Spanish customs and ordinary life, since he did not travel to Spain until 1865.

Before Manet left for Spain, he composed a number of works with Spanish imagery. These artworks show both men and women in a similarly "inauthentic" manner as *The Spanish Singer*; "bullfighters", "*majos*" and "Spanish" dancers fill his canvases during the years 1862–63.¹¹⁸ His brother Gustave, for example, posed for *Young Man in the Costume of a Majo* in 1863 (*Fig. 161*), dressed in a costume assembled from Manet's studio props. Wilson-Bareau notes that Gustave's dress in many ways brings to mind Gautier's description of how a *Majo* dressed.¹¹⁹ Manet can thus be accredited with the desire to make his model appear "authentic" or at least credible.

Wilson-Bareau comments that Manet's later etching *The Dancer Mariano Camprubi* "evokes contemporary theatrical posters and souvenir photographs".¹²⁰ Manet's images were widely distributed through such prints, which he executed to present or reinterpret his own works. One example of how Manet's "lighter" Spanish imagery was cemented through prints can be found in his versions of *Lola de Valence* (*Fig. 162*).¹²¹ Although Manet presented his models in these "Spanish" works as individuals (Victorine Meurent, Gustave Manet, Lola Melea [Lola de Valence] and Mariano Camprubi), they all were different kinds of performers; Victorine was his official model, while the Spanish dancers were all professional entertainers in Paris. Wilson-Bareau concludes that Manet "was both Hispanizing French subjects and addressing real-life Spanish persons and themes" in his specifically Spanish subject matters.¹²² He found his inspiration at the Parisian theatres, for instance at the Hippodrome of Paris, where Spanish dancers from Madrid performed in 1862. Lola de Valence was the star of the show, but Manet also executed fictive compositions of the whole group.¹²³ Manet

117 "un objet qu'on ne devinerait pas en mille ... une guitare!" (quoted and translated in Wilson-Bareau 2003, pp. 217–218 fn 57, from Blanc 1860, p. 93). The bibliography does not provide a title for this entry.

118 *Mlle V... in the Costume of an Espada*, (1862, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); *Young man in the Costume of a Majo* (1863, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); *The Dancer Mariano Camprubi* (1862–63, Private Collection, United States); *The Spanish Ballet* (1862, The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.); *Young Woman Reclining in a Spanish Costume* (1862–63, Yale University Art Gallery, B.A.); *Still Life with Spanish Hat and Guitar* (1862, Musée Calvet, Avignon), and *Lola de Valence* (1862–63, reworked after 1867, Musée d'Orsay, Paris). See Wilson-Bareau 2003, pp. 220–228.

119 Wilson-Bareau 2003, p. 224. See also the discussion on Gautier and the Gypsies in Spain.

120 Wilson-Bareau 2003, p. 226.

121 The print appeared in October 1863, and was based on an oil-painting with the same name (Wilson-Bareau 2003, p. 219).

122 Wilson-Bareau 2003, p. 220.

123 There are two versions of *The Spanish Ballet* (1862, The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.; 1862–63,



161. Édouard Manet, *Young Man in the Costume of a Majo*, 1863. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (H.O. Havemeyer Collection).

visited the performance together with Baudelaire and Zacharie Astruc, all of whom created works celebrating “Lola’s seductive energy”, as Wilson-Bareau puts it.¹²⁴ Astruc wrote a serenade, whose frontispiece was illustrated by a lithograph by Manet based on his *Lola de Valence*, in addition to an etching and aquatint following the full-length figure.¹²⁵ Illustrations were an easy means of promoting one’s artistry, and the Spanish imagery thus reached a wider audience.

6.1.3 *Une Andalouse de Batignolles*

On his return to Paris, Edelfelt continued to employ similar Spanish themes as seen in *Gitana Dancing*. In the spring of 1883, which is almost two years after his Spanish journey, he painted a study for a larger work of a woman in an outfit *à la espagnole* (Fig. 163).¹²⁶ The small panel bears the inscription “Une Andalouse de Batignolles”,¹²⁷ thus referring to the Gypsy community in Paris. This was also the area in which Manet had his studio and from which he drew his pictorial types.¹²⁸

In Edelfelt’s picture, we see a woman seated on a green bench, holding a fan against her knee and dressed in what resembles a Spanish costume, comprising a white dress with a red mantilla over her shoulders. She wears golden bracelets on both her arms. Her black, cylindrical headgear resembles an Andalusian hat.¹²⁹ The same figure is

seen in a small sketch in ink and wash-drawing (Fig. 164). This image is one of two on a sheet of paper, where we also see another girl, posing in the same manner but with her curly

Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest), the erroneously entitled versions of *The Tavern (La Posada)* or *Before the Corrida* (1862–63, etching, S.P. Avery Collections, United States; 1866, Hill-Stead Museum, Farmington, Conn., Alfred Atmore Pope Collection). For illustrations, see Wilson-Bareau 2003, pp. 225–226.

124 Wilson-Bareau 2003, p. 226.

125 *Lola de Valence – Serenade*, 1863, lithograph frontispiece to Zacharie Astruc’s serenade [*Poésie et Musique*] with the same name; *Lola de Valence*, 1963, etching and aquatint (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). For illustrations, see Wilson-Bareau 2003, p. 225.

126 It is conceivable that the painting was executed as early as 1882, because if starkly illuminated, the last figure of the date can be interpreted as a “2”.

127 The painting also held a dedication, “A M:lle Linder. A. Edelfelt Paris 1883”, which was removed when the work was sold in 1941 (Hintze 1953, p. 534, catalogue number 230).

128 For more on Manet’s subject matter, see e.g., Hanson 1979, pp. 51 ff.

129 Such a hat is seen in an illustration in Hertzberg 1889, p. 5, in the section “Landtmän från Andalusien [Peasants from Andalusia]”.

hair falling free. In the upper left corner we read the word “*Gitanas*”.¹³⁰ Unfortunately, establishing exactly when Edelfelt executed these drawings is impossible.

When Edelfelt painted *Une Andalouse de Batignolles*, his studio was situated quite near the infamous Batignolles-district, at Avenue de Villiers. From the title we can suppose that the model is not a “genuine” Andalusian woman, and the first thought that comes to mind is that she is probably a Parisian Gypsy posing for Edelfelt; the *Andalouse* stands here for a characterisation of a Gypsy in general. Edelfelt’s sister Annie, who was visiting in Paris together with their mother Alexandra, apparently posed for the image at some stage.¹³¹ Edelfelt wrote to his mother in March 1883 that he was on his way to a man called Levin in order to bring back the painting of “the small Spanish dancer” for which his sister Annie had posed on her birthday.¹³² The dress presumably belonged to Edelfelt’s studio props; Edelfelt had intended to buy Annie a Spanish dress on the journey, but decided against it since he thought that she would not have any use for it.¹³³ While in Spain, he nevertheless bought two Spanish costumes,¹³⁴ presumably costumes for men, one for himself and another for Sargent. Even so, Edelfelt has managed to create a Spanish atmosphere by accentuating his model’s pose, applying a straight back and neck, and placing her hand against her hip, which brings a Flamenco dancer’s pose to mind.

The figure in *Une Andalouse de Batignolles* reappears in a more elaborate version of the theme, which Hintze names *Andalusisk danserska* (“*Carmen*”), painted in Paris in May 1883.¹³⁵ Minor details differ from the smaller oil-sketch. Since this version’s whereabouts are unknown, I have to rely on a black and white illustration (Fig. 165) and Hintze’s descriptions of the colours. Edelfelt seems to have added yellow hints in the red mantilla and blue ones in the white dress.¹³⁶ The green bench is now described as a table.¹³⁷ On the table to the left, we see a half-full bottle and two small glasses (intended for *manzanilla*). The woman’s pose and the props at the table – the glass and bottle – are also present, for example, in one of Ayola’s photographs (Fig. 165a). This is presumably the painting that Edelfelt called “the Levin Spanish lady” (“*den levinska spanskan*”).¹³⁸ Edelfelt had been invited to exhibit



162. Édouard Manet, *Lola de Valence*, 1862–63 (reworked after 1867). Musée d’Orsay, Paris.

130 Beneath the girl dressed in exactly the same clothing and posing in exactly the same posture as is *Une Andalouse de Batignolles* and its variations, we read “[fti] Edelfelt”, beneath the other, “[?] Dubufe”. These drawings are undated and the paper is rather small (14,5 x 22,5 cm).

131 Hintze 1953, pp. 533–534, catalogue numbers 229, 230.

132 “till Levin för att få den lilla spanska danserskan, som Annie satt för på sin födelsedag” (Edelfelt 1926, p. 15).

133 Edelfelt to Annie Edelfelt, [Paris] 19 May 1881, SLSA.

134 Dessutom har jag ju 2^{as} spanska kostymer, 1 ram och en massa målningar med mig. Jag tror jag skickar allt detta som fraktgodis från Madrid, annars ruinerar jag mig med öfvervigt –” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Toledo 4 May 1881, SLSA).

135 Hintze 1953, p. 533, catalogue number 229.

136 Hintze 1953, p. 533, catalogue number 229. This version was sold to Sweden in 1922, and its present location is unknown. For a black and white illustration, see Hintze 1942–44, III, p. 153.

137 When Hintze describes *Une Andalouse de Batignolles*, he assumes that she sits on a bench (Hintze 1953, p. 534, catalogue number 230).

138 According to Hintze, a Captain J.M. Levin from Sweden, who resided in Paris, still owned it in March 1884 (Hintze 1953, p. 533, catalogue number 229).



163. Albert Edelfelt, *Une Andalouse de Batignolles*, 1882–83. Private Collection.



164. Albert Edelfelt, “Gitanas”, s.a. Private Collection.

works at the *Galerie George Petit* in Paris in April 1883, and considered exposing this painting there.¹³⁹

The power of the image is evident in that it was used as cover picture for the catalogue to the “Opponents”-exhibition in Stockholm 1885 (Fig. 166).¹⁴⁰ The publication *Från Seinens strand* I (From the Shores of the Seine, I) was printed in Paris in 1884 (at least the plates).¹⁴¹ *Från Seinens strand* I was initially a project that, through voluntary contributions, collected funds for the victims of a natural catastrophe in Spain. It was initiated by the Swedish painter Hugo Birger, who resided in Spain at the time of the disaster. Murcia had been ravaged by a flood, and French painters issued an illustrated publication in order to collect money for the devastated area; Birger proposed that his Scandinavian colleagues in Paris do the same. He wrote to Georg Pauli: “We Swedes must also summon all our strength in order to make a contribution to the countrymen of Velasquez, Goya, Ribera and other Great Old Men”, and proposed another illustrated publication with voluntary contributions from painters and writers. This was to be *Från Seinens strand*. The title page was a drawing by the Swede Carl Larsson (1853–1919) showing Birger and his wife Mathilda Gadea from Granada in a Spanish

outfit. In the background, we see the Swedish art critic and journalist Johan Janzon (1853–1910), alias Spada, writing his contribution for the publication. The cover, Pauli wrote in his memoirs in 1926, had “a reproduction of distinction”: Edelfelt’s “*Carmen*”, a wash-drawing in ink, which Pauli regards as being among the best work Edelfelt had achieved.¹⁴²

When Edelfelt was working on the drawing of the subject, he wrote to his mother in an undated letter from 1884:

139 Edelfelt 1926, pp. 12–13.

140 Hintze 1942–44, III, p. 54, catalogue number 229.

141 Sarajas-Korte 1989a, p. 214; Pauli 1926, p. 77.

142 “Även vi svenskar bör uppbjuda våra krafter att bispringa landsmännen till Velasquez, Goya, Ribera och andra storgubbar”; “första sidan har en förnäm reproduktion: ‘Carmen’, tuschlavering av Edelfelt, bland det bästa denne konstnär gjort” (Pauli 1926, p. 76 [quoting a letter from Birger to Pauli], p. 77). Most Swedish painters in Paris (and some in Sweden) contributed to the publication, as did some Norwegian painters, for instance Erik Werenskiöld (1855–1938) and Christian Skredsvig (1854–1924). The publication was successful and the Scandinavians could soon send a sum to the aid committee in Murcia. The title, *Från Seinens strand*, was used for the first Swedish exhibition in Stockholm in March 1885, exhibiting works by the Swedish colony in Paris (Pauli 1926, p. 77).

I have prepared a drawing for the Scandinavian magazine after the Levin dancing girl, and Nilsson[?] necessarily wants to call it Carmen. Since it is not Carmen, I do not know what use it would be, but Nilsson[?] assures that it would be a thousand times better for the sale.¹⁴³

[Nilsson's] eagerness to include the cliché “Carmen” in the title to improve the sales of the catalogue was driven by the fame of Georges Bizet's (1838–1875) *opéra comique* of the same name that was being performed in Paris. The opera's opening performance was in March 1875. In Prosper Mérimée's (1803–1870) novel from 1845, inspired by Borrow's standard works on Gypsies (1841, 1843), and on which the opera's libretto is based, the famous fight in the tobacco factory in Seville is not on the same scale in Bizet's version. Bizet has emphasised the scene, and the notorious Gypsies are seen fighting to a rhythm inspired by Spanish national music. Despite the initial shock and apprehension caused by the opera's “realistic force” (as stated by Du Locle, a contemporary critic), exemplified by Carmen's unconcealed sexuality and the sight of women smoking and fighting on the stage, the opera ultimately became a world success. In 1883, the same year when Edelfelt worked on the image, Parisian theatres reopened their doors for the performance, which quickly spread to many cities all over Europe and beyond. Its success is largely due to the new dimension the Spanish elements added to the traditional French *opéra comique*: an exotic Spanish setting, the tavern, the smugglers hide-out, the atmosphere of the bullring and “the outrageous behaviour of the cigarette girls”.¹⁴⁴

The French composer's presentation of the Spanish Gypsies mirrors its time, and must have attracted the French bourgeois, who were already familiar with “Spanish” dance-performances in Paris.¹⁴⁵ Without doubt, Edelfelt also knew this play, and thus protested that it was not “Carmen” that he had wanted to depict. But the title was changed in order to boost the sales of the Scandinavian publication. As his letter attests, Edelfelt was not excited about changing the title of his image, an act that changed the original painting's content.

The (female) Gypsies, like Carmen, gained notoriety for their smoking and fighting; this became a common theme on the canvases of the era. Georg Pauli also informs us that the



165. Albert Edelfelt, *Andalusian Dancer* (“Carmen”), Paris 1883. Location unknown.

143 “Jag har gjort en teckning till den skandinaviska tidningen efter den levinska danserskan, och Nilsson [?] vill nödvändigt kalla den Carmen. Då det nu inte är Carmen vet jag ej hvad det skulle tjäna till, men Nilsson [?] försäkrar att det vore tusen gånger bättre för försäljningen” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, [undated, 1884], SLSA).

144 Hugh MacDonald: “Carmen”, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music Online*, ed. L. Macy, <http://www.grovedictionary.com>, electronic document accessed and printed 3 September 2003.

145 Wilkens 1994, p. 52.



165a. José García Ayola, *Mujer con pañuelo a la cabeza*, late 19th-century photograph.

general idea of the Spanish woman was that she was fiery, but shallow and solely concerned only with her appearance. Birger's wife was nevertheless proof enough that this was not (always) the case. Pauli informs his readers that a Señor Bacariza, who had stayed in Stockholm to stage the local version of *Carmen*, had told him that "to be sure, we Spaniards are not 'fiery' but encompass a great deal of the same reservation as the Swedes – something that enables your countrymen and mine to understand each other on matters of sentiment".¹⁴⁶

Certain clichés were established early. From the 1850s onwards, Gypsies were presented as earnest Spaniards whose character was rough and coarse.¹⁴⁷ In 1852, Gautier described the hot-blooded and wild temperament of the Andalusian Gypsy woman as someone who "enchants and disquiets like a wild animal that we do not dare to caress".¹⁴⁸ Gypsies as seen on the walls of the *Salon* were presented as "wild physiognomies", as "animals in ambush".¹⁴⁹ Mérimée's and Bizet's *Carmen*, with her involvement in a knife skirmish, is one expression of this kind of imagery. Spanish women, understood by their contemporaries as being the same as Gypsy women, were frequently portrayed with a dagger hidden in their suspenders. The

allusion to the tobacco factory in Seville is present in frequent description of the *gitanas* as "brune comme un puro de la Havanne".¹⁵⁰ Spanish women of the lower classes (*Manolas*) were generally considered to be passionate smokers, a "fact" that tourists, and naturally also those who documented their journey in travelogues, were eager to seek and provide evidence for. And since the girls and women working in the tobacco factory were repeatedly described as "a harem of four thousand women, extremely free in habitus and speech", Manja Wilkens finds it unsurprising that the profession of Mérimée's *Carmen* was a tobacco girl.¹⁵¹

The dancing Gypsy girl is thus a French cliché. Evidence can be found in the second version of Edelfelt's *Une Andalouse de Batignolles* – note that the title does not refer to a dancing girl. Later it is called *Andalusian dancing girl* (at least by Hintze). Edelfelt also refers to

146 "Vi äro visst icke 'eldiga' utan ha ofantligt mycket av svenskens reservation – något som gör att edra landsmän och mina förstå varann i känsloraker" (Pauli 1926, p. 80).

147 Wilkens 1994, p. 44.

148 Théophile Gautier, "Le Salon de 1852", *La Presse*, 26.5.1852 (quoted in Wilkens 1994, p. 165 fn 157).

149 "physionomies farouches", Marius Chaumelin, *L'art contemporain*, Paris 1873, p. 154; Sault [pseudonym for Mme de Charnace], "Ouverture du Salon de 1865", *Le Temps*, 20.06.1865 (quoted in Wilkens 1994, p. 45).

150 Théophile Gautier, "Le Salon de 1853", *La Presse*, 20.07.1853 (quoted in Wilkens 1994, p. 165 fn 156).

151 Wilkens 1994, p. 111.

Captain Levin's version of the theme as an image of a dancing girl ("den levinska danserskan"). The title was adapted to "suit" contemporary tastes and demands – Merimée's "original" Carmen was no dancing girl either. Nonetheless, Nilsson demanded that the cover girl to *Från Seinens Strand* was called "Carmen". The later versions are thus peculiar hybrids as regards their titles, the identities of a tobacco girl and an Andalusian dancer mixing as a collage of typical "Spanish" fragments. But the female type that we see in all Edelfelt's versions is not very typical of a "Gypsy"; no brownish, tobacco-tainted complexion, no typical "African" features that Edelfelt's contemporaries normally connected to the Gypsy or Andalusian type of woman.¹⁵² Edelfelt also commented on the skin tone of the Andalusians while he was in Seville: "Soon we will see '*les andalouses au teint bruni*'", he wrote to his mother.¹⁵³ Instead, the woman posing for *Une Andalouse de Batignolles* could be any of Edelfelt's Parisian models, he may well have used several different ones (I am quite certain that Annie did not pose for the face, only the posture).¹⁵⁴ The composition's original title, which refers to the Batignolles-district, is more to the point than its later, more commercial adaptations.

As Manja Wilkens has shown, at the very beginning of the Spanish trend, pictures of Spanish dances had been scarce.¹⁵⁵ From the 1840s, the number increased steadily; at the same time, the number of Spanish dancing-groups and individual performers in Paris also increased. Initially, such performances were seen in Paris only sporadically. Finally by the 1850s, the imagery that had mainly been present in travel literature and at the *Salon* was now on show at the theatres; Wilkens calls them "*lebende Klischeebild*" – living clichés.¹⁵⁶ Individual dancers such as Dolores Serral, Petra Camara, Lola de Valence and Adela Guerrero became celebrities in Paris, and Guerrero also in America. Now painters introduced them as models, creating portraits that were applauded by the critics with exclamations such as "Unforgettable", "The Pearl from Madrid" or "*Maja* from Sevilla". Wilkens argues that the French public saw these performers as representatives



166. Albert Edelfelt, *Andalusian Dancer* ("Carmen"), frontispiece of *Från Seinens strand*, I, 1884.

152 Georg Pauli, for instance, comments that Birger's wife Mathilda's "southern" features revealed that she came from a country where "the Moorish component always is recalled" (Pauli 1926, p. 80).

153 "Vi få snart se '*les andalouses au teint bruni*'" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Seville 22 April 1881, SLSA).

154 As Marina Catani argues, Edelfelt used professional models for the figure also when painting portraits (Catani 2004, pp. 48, 68).

155 Wilkens postulates only a few examples: Dutailis exhibited a Bolero-dance at the Parisian *Salon* of 1801 and 1802, Dugourg in 1814 (Wilkens 1994, p. 55).

156 Wilkens 1994, p. 54.

of Spanish women in general, since they were seldom portraits of actual performers. Critics also used these living clichés as “proof” when verifying authenticity qualities in similar *Salon*-paintings.¹⁵⁷ Painters applied different approaches in their execution of such themes. Some had aspirations to present an authentic imagery with ethnographical exactitude, while others were not that particular about it. Both these approaches affected one another, cementing this Spanish cliché reciprocally.¹⁵⁸

Wilkens stresses that certain adjectives were connected to the genre of the Spanish dance right from the beginning: “*Feu*” (fire), “*grâce volupteuse*” (voluptuousness) and “*trouble inexplicable*” (indescribable excitement, or, restlessness). The critic Cochinat, for example, wrote in 1855 that the Spanish dancer, when performing her “arabesques”, intoxicates like “*folie amoureuse*” (amorous folly), which draws us into an abyss of passion.¹⁵⁹ Gautier also wrote a poem to Petra Camara (1851), in whom he saw the embodiment of a Spain gone by. As Wilkens points out, it is remarkable that these Spanish dancing women were not seen as a celestial alternative as in Romantic literature, but rather the opposite; Cochinat, quoted above, would gladly have followed the performer into Hell, and Gautier describes in his poem how the dancer launches a dagger into her own heart.¹⁶⁰

From the 1850s, painters began to name their works with the correct term of the dance, such as “*Zapateado*” or “*Vito*”.¹⁶¹ Explaining to the viewer that “*Vito*”, for instance, was a Gypsy-dance in Granada, was important. One example is Gustave Doré’s (1832–1883) *El Vito: Gypsy Dance in Granada* of 1863 (Fig. 167);¹⁶² a title that bears a striking resemblance to Doré’s appears among Edelfelt’s later Spanish works. A small drawing in pencil (and ink), *El Vito: Andalusian dance* (Fig. 168), shows a girl in a similar outfit to that seen in *Une Andalouse de Batignolles* and its variations. The drawing is dated the first of June 1881, which means it was executed within a month of Edelfelt’s return from Spain. The woman is seen in full length, her left arm holding her black hat high in the air as if it were a tambourine. Her head is in half profile, turned towards her right shoulder. Her black hair is gathered in a chignon, the typical curl and flower adorn her coiffure by the side. Her right hand lifts her full-length skirt, revealing a slim foot thrust forward. A sash flows down from her raised arm over her hip, and a mantilla decorated with a flower by her chest is draped over her shoulders. In this single image, a generous number of markers for constructed Spanishness have been gathered: the pose, the coiffure, the flowers, the mantilla and, above all, the title.

157 This is reported by Choler Saint-Agnan in “Théâtre de la porte de St. Martin”, *Revue et gazette des beaux arts et des théâtres*, juin 1855 (Wilkens 1994, p. 52).

158 Wilkens 1994, p. 54.

159 Wilkens 1994, p. 53 (quotation p. 167 fn 183 from V. Cochinat, “Les danseuses espagnoles et des danseuses françaises”, *Le Mousquetaire*, 6 juin 1855).

160 Wilkens 1994, pp. 53-54.

161 This demand for authenticity was frequently seen alongside titles that refer to memories such as Porion’s image of an unnamed Spanish dance that he described as a recollection from Spain. Wilkens provides this work as an example for the increasing number of images of Spanish dances at the *Salon* during the 1840s, but do not discuss the title in detail (Wilkens 1994, p. 55).

162 Wilkens 1994, p. 55.

Edelfelt's alluring use of the title "El Vito: Andalusian dance" seems to be a statement that he was a connoisseur, that he knew Spain better than his public.

The title of Edelfelt's *El Vito* brings to mind the above-mentioned image by Doré with the remarkably similar name. The rather dry execution of Edelfelt's drawing also resembles the graphical outlines as seen in Doré's widespread Spanish images, which focus on dancing Andalusians with their tambourines raised high in the air and skirts billowing. Doré's images were easily available, and Edelfelt certainly knew them. In fact, Edelfelt knew Doré personally. In 1880, he paid a visit by the illustrator's home in Paris.¹⁶³ Throughout the 1870s, the draughtsman, painter and sculptor Doré was frequently seen at the exhibitions, where his original drawings were also shown. At least in 1877, Edelfelt reported that he had seen one of Doré's exhibitions, and wrote about it for *Finsk Tidskrift*.¹⁶⁴ The commentary does not refer to Doré's Spanish topics, save for his illustrations of Don Quixote.¹⁶⁵

Doré loved to travel, and made several trips to Spain. He is perhaps most highly regarded for his illustrations of the Bible (1866) and, as regards Spain, Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (1863). Nevertheless he published many illustrations of literary works on Spain. The most famous is, without doubt, Baron Charles Davillier's travelogue from Spain.¹⁶⁶ Another example is Henry Blackburn's *The Pyrenees*, published in London 1867.¹⁶⁷ These were widely read, thereby boosting the spread of stereotypical views of Spain emerging across France and the rest of Europe at about this time. Doré's illustrations are often ethnographic in their approach, and include topics such as Spanish peasants in Castile or the Gypsies from the caves at the Sacromonte. This imagery was frequently reprinted in later texts on Spain (reprints of older images, of course, eliminates all later changes in technique and style). Rafaël Hertzberg's educational publication "*Geografiska bilder*" (Geographical pictures) from 1889 is a Finnish example; in the volume on Spain, Doré's Spanish pictures are used as illustrations (Fig. 169).¹⁶⁸ Doré's imagery was thus served as a "true" picture of Spain and the Spaniards, using mental pictures of a much earlier period for describing Spain in 1889.

As Marilyn Brown has shown, one remarkable feature is that such topics continued to be employed in a very consistent manner. This occurs despite subtle shifts in "style" and subject matter, from Romanticism to Realism and Naturalism. She concludes:

What is of concern here as regards the visual image of the Bohemian is not so much the shifts in style as the continuity in the process of signification. Artists of similar and divergent "schools" throughout the period of 1830–1871 idealized and/or manipulated the Bohemian types they employed. What emerges from the period is not only a stylistic progression, but also a constancy of mythmaking.¹⁶⁹



167. Gustave Doré, *El Vito*, 1878.

163 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 12 May 1880, SLSA.

164 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 3 May 1875; Paris 29 February 1877; Paris 26 April 1877, SLSA.

165 Edelfelt 1877c, pp. 340-341.

166 Davillier 1878.

167 Henry Blackburn, *The Pyrenees*, with illustrations by Gustave Doré, London: 1867.

168 Hertzberg 1889. Edelfelt was on familiar terms with Rafaël Hertzberg.

169 Brown 1985, p. 55.



168. Albert Edelfelt, *El Vito: Andalusian Dance*, June 1881. Private Collection.

yet another of Edelfelt's images in which the model wears the cylindrical headgear and a similar outfit to those we see in the versions of *Une Andalouse de Batignolles* and "*El vito*", which suggests that this picture was executed in Paris. A preparatory drawing in pencil of the same size as the watercolour contains the same outlines (Fig. 171). The dates of these images are uncertain, but from the style and content, I suggest that at least the watercolour was painted only after Edelfelt's journey to Spain.

The subject might nevertheless have its origin in Madrid. In his last letter from Spain, he wrote to his mother that he had been in Ricardo de Madrazo's atelier, where he had worked on a painting of a flower-market, which he calls a memory of what he had seen. He continues his letter by describing a session in Madrazo's atelier:

I understand this statement to mean that the topics and their meaning remained more or less unchanged, while the painting manner changed according to prevalent fashions. This is consistent with my assumption that the *manière espagnole* acts reciprocally and is concordant with its own time, while Spanish imagery is more or less unaffected. I do not find it strange that painters interested in Spanish things continued to paint dancing *gitanas* resorting to models from the Romantic era. Brown points out that during the 1860, French art had experienced a revived Romanticism, shifting their interest to "real Bohemians" instead of literary ones.¹⁷⁰

A more or less unaffected Spanish imagery is seen also in Edelfelt's *Spanish Woman* (Fig. 170), a watercolour where another Spanish symbol is present; the woman leans casually against a guitar. A red sash hangs from her right shoulder, while a black mantilla, decorated with a pale-red rose, is draped around her shoulders, part of it extending down over her knees. Her ankle-length dress is painted in brownish yellow, in places we see dots in a lighter yellow tone, which brings to mind Andalusian spotted dresses. Her chemise is of an intense lilac, which is also seen in the background shades together with different brownish hues. She appears to be standing by a corner or wall or, if this is a study executed in the studio, in front of a screen.¹⁷¹ This is

170 Brown 1985, p. 55 (referring to Pierre Gerogel, "Le Romantisme...", *Revue de l'art*, 1973 (20), pp. 8-64).

171 The upper right part of the background reveals a diagonally checked pattern, which supports the assumption that she may be standing before a screen in the studio. An elevation is clearly visible in the near front.

169. *Peasants from Andalusia* ["Landtmän från Andalusien"], illustration in Hertzberg 1889, II, p. 5.



He had a model, a girl from Seville who during the breaks sang and played on the guitar the well-known Andalusian songs. It was for the last time, for the time being at least, that I heard them, and it made a strange impression.¹⁷²

Perhaps Edelfelt's watercolour of the girl leaning on the guitar is a "tangible memory" of her song and her music; if so, it would, like *Gitana Dancing*, resume the function of a painted souvenir.

6.1.4 Remembering Spain: Souvenirs and Kitsch

Souvenirs and popular taste bear close connections to tourism and kitsch. The connection between tourism and kitsch can also explain why tourist paintings have not been included within the canon of Fine Arts. According to Tomáš Kulka, who to a large extent argues in line with Jonathan Culler's semiotics of tourism, the tourist, like the consumer of kitsch, is passive in his actions. Travellers make sure that the distinction between "serious" travel and tourism is clear. The traveller has actively done something, got to know people, experienced adventures, and so gained new knowledge. The tourist, on the other hand, is passive, he waits to be shown. A similar juxtaposition also appears in definitions of the kitsch consumer and lovers of the Fine Arts. "The fact that kitsch is addressed to accomplish a passive reac-

172 "På f.m. var jag uppe hos Madrazo i hans atelier och målade litet – Ett minne från en blomstermarknad som jag såg i går. Han hade en modell, en flicka från Sevilla som under hvilostunderna sjöng och spelade på guitarr de kända andalusiska sångerna. Det var för sista gången, för en tid åtminstone, som jag hörde dem, och det gjorde ett egendomligt intryck" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 12 Maj 1881, SLSA).



170. Albert Edelfelt, *Spanish Woman*, s.a. Private Collection.

the Fine Arts. On the surface level, this debate corresponds to Hintze's degrading opinion of some of Edelfelt's Spanish works, such as *Gitana Dancing* and *The Alms* (see Fig. 227). Of *Gitana Dancing*, Hintze wrote: "it hardly raises [...] above the touristical and illustrative."¹⁷⁶ Instead, Hintze praises what he calls Edelfelt's "impressionistically" grasped works as the

tion", Kulka quotes John Morreall and Jessica Loy, "explains why it is so sentimental. Kitsch achieves its effect by creating simple feelings ... in a completely predictable manner" and is thus easily consumed "fast-art" [compare fast food versus gourmet restaurants]. The tourist bureau has already described everything worth looking for at the destination, and the tourist knows what to photograph.¹⁷³ I see no difference between this behaviour and that of the travelling painter in nineteenth-century Spain (or other "exotic" destinations). Instead of the travel agency, the Parisian *Salon*, colleagues and a sea of guidebooks and prints provided the preconceived images; the painter was a "connoisseur-tourist", and knew what to paint.

This argument is also supported by iconographic similarity of the pictures inspired by Spain. MacCannell notes that there seems to be a "miracle of consensus" among moderns in defining the attractions. He discusses "true sights" and notes that "the collective determination" of such sights is "clear cut": "The tourist has no difficulty deciding the sights he ought to see. [...] Moderns somehow know what the important attractions are, even in remote places;" he calls this process "*sight sacralization*".¹⁷⁴ The "pre-determined" experience, which Kulka connects to the "kitsch-experience", is indeed present: his "*cherche du temps perdu was trouvée* before he even started out on his journey", as Kulka puts it.¹⁷⁵

The distinction between tourists as seekers of inauthenticity and the traveller as pursuing a serious enquiry is thus present in the discussion of kitsch in relation to

173 Kulka 1994, p. 88.

174 This is "met with a corresponding ritual attitude on the part of the tourists" (MacCannell 1976, p. 42).

175 "Verrattuna toisenlaiseen, kiinnostavia ja vaikeasti sulatettavia asioita etsivän matkailijaan turisti on ennalta määrätty kitschkokemukseen... Hänen *cherche du temps perdunsa* on *trouvée* jo ennen kuin hän edes lähti matkalle..." (Kulka 1994, p. 88, quoting Ludwig Giesz, *Phänomenologie des Kitsches*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1971).

176 "... höjer sig åter, trots sin ljusa, behagliga färgskala, knappast över det turistaktiga och illustrativa" (Hintze 1942–44, I, p. 135).

main (and permanent) gain from his journey, such as his view *San Telmo Sevilla – recuerdo de la Feria* (see Fig. 210).¹⁷⁷ Hintze contrasted such “impressionistic” works as the *San Telmo* with other paintings that he, unfavourably, considered as being executed in the tradition of *Salon* genre painting and imbued by Fortuny.¹⁷⁸ The reason why Hintze favours the Impressionist works may be that this was one of several schools to survive from the 1870s and 1880s into the twentieth-century canon of Fine Arts; of course, Hintze would also have liked Edelfelt to be part of it. For Hintze, Edelfelt’s Spanish travel- and illustration paintings were dismissed as just that, travel- and illustration paintings. But they still can be considered souvenirs from Spain, hence their present status as more or less “kitsch”.

Kulka maintains that nature in itself never can be inauthentic, it is what it is. In the same manner, nature can never be kitsch either. Only artefacts can be kitsch; through their symbolical function, they create an *effect* of being kitsch. In this context, the act of remembering is essential. The souvenir evokes memories of the faraway country. The word souvenir is nevertheless burdened by several negative connotations, notes Kulka, such as “inauthentic experience”, “substitute”, “reproduction”, “artificiality” or “stereotype”. Their referential function is, nevertheless, essential. The souvenir represents our experience in a concrete way, with the aim of recalling (for ourselves and our acquaintances), that we really have seen something.¹⁷⁹ Of course, we also remember the “real” sight – Edelfelt remembers, for instance, a dancing Gypsy girl – but abstract memories cannot be hung on the wall. Memories have to be translated into a tangible form, hence sacralising the actual experience.

Several of Edelfelt’s paintings from Spain have titles suggesting an act of remembering. The *Gitana Dancing’s* reference to memory is 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 which 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 “Granada –81”. Without the marking, MacCannell observes and provides an example from our own time, “it would be impossible for a layman to distinguish, on the basis of appearance alone, between moon rocks brought back by astronauts and pebbles picked up at the Craters of the Moon National Monument in Idaho”.¹⁸⁰ 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*¹⁸¹ instead of



171. Albert Edelfelt, *Spanish Woman* (preparatory drawing), s.a.. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

177 Hintze 1942–44, I, p. 135.

178 Hintze notes that Edelfelt’s *Alms* “[...] refers directly to the Spanish genre-painting, accomplished in a “salon-like” manner, by which his friend Ricardo de Madrazo has fulfilled the tradition of Fortuny (“ansluter sig direkt till det salongsaktiga spanska genre-måleri, med vilket hans vän Ridardo de Madrazo fullföljt traditionen från Fortuny)” (Hintze 1942–44, I, p. 135). I discuss the *Alms* more closely in Chapter 8.

179 Kulka 1994, p. 91.

180 MacCannell 1976, pp. 41–42.

181 The Spanish word for the Gypsy, *gitano/gitana*, is a nineteenth-century term (by Marilyn R. Brown called a misnomer), which derived from the French *égyptien*, which in turn refers to the Bohemians’ own legend that

“Gypsy” [Swe. “*zigenare*”], enhances the picture’s exotic quality, stressing the otherness of the motif, its “Spanishness” and “Granadianess”, hence authenticating it and increasing its value as a souvenir. Edelfelt’s most clearly visible allusion to the memory function of his Spanish paintings is found in the subtitle to *San Telmo Sevilla – recuerdo de la Feria*. In Spanish, Edelfelt’s text “*recuerdo de la Feria*” provides for a double meaning, “*recuerdo*” standing for “memory” as well as “souvenir”.¹⁸²

About a year after his return from Spain, Edelfelt painted *Remembrance of Spain (Jewish Girl)* (Fig. 172), where the title refers directly to his memories from Spain. The pastel was painted in Helsinki in October 1882. Here we see the profile of a Jewish girl with an olive-coloured complexion, holding a white fan and wearing a white *mantilla* of lace over her dark hair. Her dress is slightly rose-colour in tone, and the light background is shaded in apricot and grey. The practice of using Jewish models for “Spanish” paintings was customary; foreign painters had difficulties getting Spaniards to pose. Therefore, painters used Jewish models instead, because Spaniards and Jews were both regarded as being exotic, marginal people of “ancient” cultures. Helene Schjerfbeck reported on this practice in a letter from 1929:

The first Jewish girl I painted – besides in Becker’s Academy – was Eva Slavatitska, who later became a Christian and a soldier in the Salvation Army. *Edelfelt painted her as a Spanish type, fan and mantilla*. The other was little Rika from Lappviksgatan – that is, we do not know their Jewish names, Eva Sl. confided in us that her name was Haffki. Then it was beautiful Anna Sten, from Broholmen, she sat for Bruno Aspelin also.¹⁸³

Sue Cedercreutz-Suhonen has established that Schjerfbeck’s model for *Tabernacles* (1883, see Fig. 124) was indeed a Jewish girl called Eva Slavatitzkij [*sic*]. Cedercreutz-Suhonen has managed to trace the model’s still living relatives, who confirmed Schjerfbeck’s belief that Eva converted to Christianity and married a man in the Salvation Army.¹⁸⁴ It is also intriguing that *Tabernacles* was finished only a year after Edelfelt painted his *Remembrance of Spain (Jewish Girl)* in Helsinki. Schjerfbeck’s assertion that Edelfelt had painted Eva as a “Spanish type” may be seen as a possible verification that Eva Slavatitzkij/Haffki was the girl who posed for Edelfelt’s Spanish memories as concretised in *Remembrance of Spain*. Edelfelt’s use of a Jewish model for a Spanish theme emphasises the topic’s exotic character.

As we know, Edelfelt used “real” Spanish models during his journey, painting several genre-portraits of small Gypsy girls and young ladies.¹⁸⁵ Marcellina Mateos y Campos was

they originally were expelled Egyptian Christians (Brown 1985, pp. 21-22).

182 *Larousse Spanish-English/English-Spanish Dictionary* 1996, “*recuerdo*”. I discuss Edelfelt’s painting more closely in Chapter 7.

183 “Den första judeflicka jag målat – utom i Beckers akademi – var Eva Slavatitska, som sedan blev kristen och frälsningssoldat. *Edelfelt målade henne som spansk typ, solfjäder och mantilla* [my emphasis]. Den andra var lilla Rika från Lappviksgatan – d.v.s. man vet ej deras judiska namn, Eva Sl. förtrodde oss att hon hette Haffki. Sen var det vackra Anna Sten, från Broholmen, hon satt för Bruno Aspelin med” (Helene Schjerfbeck to Einar Reuter, 2 June 1929, ÅAB/Manuscript Department).

184 Bergström & Cedercreutz-Suhonen 2003, pp. 22-23.

185 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, 30 April 1881, SLSA.



172. Albert Edelfelt, *Remembrance of Spain (Jewish Girl)* [also known as *A Memory from Spain*]. Ostrobothnian Museum, Vaasa (Karl Hedman collection).

a ten-year-old child with a “fine and lively appearance” and large beautiful eyes. She was the daughter of a Spanish bourgeois family, and Edelfelt was allowed to paint her if he let them have a sketch. When Edelfelt arrived for the sessions, Marcellina was dressed up in a white *mantilla* and flowers in her hair.¹⁸⁶ Edelfelt was extremely content with his model whom he called “such a petite sylph” and wished that he could have her as model permanently.¹⁸⁷ The description of the girl brings vividly into mind the Jewish girl in *Remembrance of Spain*, and I would like to think that it is the memory of this fine little Spanish girl that Edelfelt has tried to recall in this pastel.

A little girl is also seen in the Spanish work that Edelfelt himself called “my Spanish painting”, the *Alms*. This work was painted later in Paris using drawings and studies mainly from Toledo and Paris (see Chapter 8). The scene in the *Alms* depicts the interior of the cloister in the monastery *San Juan de los Reyes* in Toledo. A little girl is busy giving alms to a couple of rugged beggars seated on the floor (*Fig. 173*). The accompanying woman is seen in full-length with her back to us, looking over her shoulder at the girl, whom we see to the right in the composition. She is dressed in white, wearing a *mantilla* and flowers in her hair as Edelfelt described the little Marcellina; maybe we see here the “real” Marcellina from Toledo, as Edelfelt remembered her?

The girl’s coiffure also resembles one we see in another of Edelfelt’s Spanish genre-portraits, *Andalusian Dancer* (*Fig. 174*), a watercolour executed in Seville. The figures in *Andalusian Dancer* and in *Remembrance of Spain* are shown in profile. Several iconographical details are in agreement, such as the draping of the *mantilla*, the red flower and the curl of hair; even their lips express a similar determination! Edelfelt defined such a coiffure as peculiar to Andalusia,¹⁸⁸ which turns it into a marker for Spanishness. Spanishness is here expressed through the use of studio props, such as the *mantilla* and the red flower. And we ought to remember that he had resorted to such a repertoire as early as 1878 in *La Señorita* (see *Fig. 1*). The latter painting’s “exotic” qualities are further stressed by the use of a foreign language in the title (a truth-marker), thereby hiding the fact that the model was his Parisian colleague Antonia Bonjean.¹⁸⁹

An obvious parallel to Edelfelt’s use of Spanish props in his paintings around the turn of the decade 1880 is seen in his exploitation of Japanese objects during the same period. In her doctoral thesis, *Albert Edelfeltin fantasmagoria: nainen, “Japani”, tavaratalo* (2002), Anna Kortelainen discusses Edelfelt’s use of such studio props in his pictures of women. *Japonaiserie*, Exoticism and the *biblot* are central concepts in her investigation. For her, the word “*biblot*” creates a similar (negative) association as the words “tourism” and “kitsch” do in my investigation.

186 “fina och livliga utseende” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, 4 May 1881, SLSA).

187 “en sådan liten sylphid” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, 5 May 1881, SLSA).

188 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Granada, [Whit Easter Monday] 1881, SLSA.

189 Lundström 2001c.

Another parallel to my research is seen in the term *Japonaiserie*, which refers to the use of Japanese artefacts as properties in creating imaginative visions of Japan, where the combination of a woman with such “Japonising” props is the most common. *Japonaiserie* and (the twentieth-century term) Japonism are concepts used for describing phenomena concurrent with *espagnolisme*. As Kortelainen has shown, Japonism was often seen as a negative term, suggesting that Japanese iconography was regarded as being shallow because of its interest in picturesque topics and glaring colours; Kortelainen calls it a sort of escapism into “the distant lands of daydreams” (“päiväunelmien kaukomaihin”).¹⁹⁰

In her redefinition of Exoticism, Kortelainen relies on Victor Segalen’s early definition from 1900, where he defines Historicism and Exoticism as concurrent phenomena. Whereas Historicism returns in time, Exoticism moves in space, which, Kortelainen argues, makes the History painter’s interest in exotic objects quite understandable. But from this point onwards our subject matter divides. According to Kortelainen, Segalen regards tourism as being exceptionally destructive for the Exotic as a source for inspiration. Segalen argues that Exoticism should be rehabilitated as an aesthetic of Otherness, a complement to more conventional Exoticism, including tourism. Tourists, according to Segalen, destroy the beauty of the Other by refusing to allow their descriptions or the objects of their feeling fly free. Instead, they are intoxicated by the object and let it mix with themselves.¹⁹¹

Despite Segalen’s deprecatory view of the tourist experience, this is nevertheless actually what occurs in most encounters with Otherness. His view is, in fact, close to the definition of a tourist experience, when differentiation is the main action that produces the feeling of Otherness; the differentiations are the sights, as MacCannell observes. In spite of Segalen’s anti-tourism (as put forward by Kortelainen), I remain confident that tourist experiences also function as worthy sources of inspiration for serious painters. Segalen may not have noticed that “his” kind of “aesthetically improved” Exoticism also includes an unavoidable “touristic” component through the very act of differentiation.

The relevance of tourism theory for a study of Spanish influences, unlike the study of Japonism, is that painters rarely travelled to Japan. Instead, Japanese artefacts became a substitute for travelling, and so merely “transmitting symbols” of the nation’s specific character. Since painters could visit Spain, their need for studio props was reduced by their contact with country and people. Of central importance in this context are actual recordings of the foreign milieu and the production of “touristic” images, since they provide evidence about the visited country and the visitors’ preconceptions. Most importantly, they expose the relationship between hosts and guests, that is, of differentiation.



173. Albert Edelfelt, detail from the *Alms*, Paris 1881. Private Collection.

190 Kortelainen 2002, pp. 23-24.

191 “[...] vaan humaltuvat kohteestaan ja sekoittavat sen itseensä” (Kortelainen 2002, pp. 23-25). The Other always consists of two parts, the Object uniting with the Subject for a moment. The experience of Otherness thus lies in the space between Subject and Object (Kortelainen 2002, p. 25, referring to Victor Segalen, *Essai sur l'exotisme. Une esthétique du divers et Textes sur Gauguin et l'Océanie précédé de Segalen et l'exotisme par Gilles Manceron*. Fata Morgana, Paris 1978, pp. 43, 79).



174. Albert Edelfelt, *Andalusian Dancer*, Seville 1881. Private Collection.

Edelfelt was a diligent user of markers (props).

Edelfelt's use of paraphernalia (props) during and after his Spanish journey thus establishes an interesting connection with souvenirs. As Beverly Gordon argues, following Edmund Leach, souvenirs function as metonymic signs. "In such a metonym", Gordon writes, "the part stands for or is considered an actual piece of the whole".¹⁹³ Extending Gordon's observation, the fragmentary parts (props or studio paraphernalia alike) communicate, in the same way as a modern postcard does, "a fantasy reality, far from ordinary humdrum experience. They are appropriate messengers from an extraordinary sphere."¹⁹⁴ The affiliation with the "phantasmagoria" à la Walter Benjamin that Anna Kortelainen sees in Edelfelt's paintings with Japanese props is thus also present in (some of) Edelfelt's Spanish works.

I have already discussed some of Edelfelt's works, which include a title or inscription that refer to memories. One important part of a souvenir is, indeed, the text attached to it, such as "Souvenir of...". When an ordinary T-shirt, for example, is inscribed with this phrase, it "magically takes on the quality of the place also. The written words, symbols in themselves, transform or sacralize the object, giving it a power it would not have without them."¹⁹⁵ According to MacCannell, these "markers" are souvenirs in themselves: the object itself does not need to be located in a specific place or event, but the words in the inscription locate

Kortelainen's bibelot-concept, on the other hand, suits my argumentation, even though I do not use this term. She defines a bibelot as being the opposite of an *objet d'art*, a vulgar, inauthentic object which degrades High Art, creating only sentimental copies, mere clichés (kitsch?). When a bibelot is brought into a picture, it accentuates its "spectacular" disposition, something that I would like to compare to MacCannell's concept of "staged authenticity". Kortelainen regards the use of bibelots in a studio positively, they are a tool for Exoticism through which imagination and fiction are given a physical form.¹⁹² The "bibelot", when seen as a tool for the imaginary, provides obvious parallels to the use of specific Spanish settings in creating Spanishness. Let us consider how Spanish imagery is created through the use of the "right" kind of props, in recordings of actual places and people but also in more imaginative renderings. In the depiction of foreign cultures (Japan and Spain – Edelfelt never travelled beyond Spain, and Russia was, strictly speaking, not "abroad"),

192 Kortelainen 2002, pp. 26-27.

193 Gordon 1986, p. 139.

194 Gordon 1986, p. 140.

195 Gordon 1986, p. 139.

them in place and time. These inscriptions become “memory-triggers”, filled with associations.¹⁹⁶ As Gordon observes: “Like a magical incantation, the words ‘souvenir of...’ give power where none was before.”¹⁹⁷

The use of “souvenir” or related words in the titles of Spanish tourist paintings was a time-honoured tradition, and Edelfelt’s memory-triggering titles and other inscriptions are a part of this convention. Some works by Edelfelt’s close friend, the Swede Ernst Josephson, provide other examples of such use of titles. When Josephson and Zorn travelled in Spain in 1881, they did not visit Granada, but stayed at approximately the same sites as Edelfelt (Madrid, Toledo, Seville, as well as Cádiz). While in Seville, Josephson started working on a tripartite composition, *Souvenirs d’Espagne*.¹⁹⁸ Within the same frame, three paintings from Seville were assembled, *Spanish Girl*, *Spanish Woman with a Tambourine* and *Smiling Spanish Woman* (Fig. 175). As the third image reveals, Josephson’s technique is imbued by a similar vivacity to that seen in Velázquez’s paintings, as well as the use of “Spanish” colours: white, black, red and subdued earthy tones, in addition to stark contrasts between light and shade. The work holds an overall *manière espagnole* in more senses than the choice of an Andalusian woman as subject. Her sentimental look and shy smile create a soft, slightly erotic expression; her white, low-necked dress exposes her brown-shaded skin and bosom, so as to heighten her southern, warm temperament. In a strange way, it is similar in approach to Edelfelt’s *Gitana Dancing*, despite their technical differences: the bowed head, the alluring look, the smile revealing white teeth, the *coiffure* and jewellery. Without doubt, *this* was the way the Andalusian women were to be seen (and remembered). Parallels between *Gitana Dancing* and other Spanish paintings by Josephson abound.

Josephson began working on the composition of his major Spanish work, *Spanish Dance* (Fig. 176), in Seville around new-year 1882. It shows a woman dancing on a table, surrounded by various Spanish characters. In this image, the dancer’s pose is similar to Edelfelt’s *Gitana Dancing*, she holds out her arms in the fervour of the dance. But here the similarities end. Firstly, Josephson’s dancer is not a definable “Gypsy”. She is dressed in a white, black-spotted, typical Andalusian dress that was reserved for special occasions, unlike Edelfelt’s *gitana* who poses in a more simple dress. Like Edelfelt’s dancer, the pose in Josephson’s image remains surprisingly hackneyed; she is frozen in the middle of a movement. Her right hand points to a trophy of a bull’s head hanging over the door to the left, her arms taking the same position as the bull’s horns. Posters on the wall authenticate the scene; “TORO”, one reads. The guitar player to the right is a figure completely in Manet’s spirit. In the far back, a door opening reveals a blue sky and glaring sunshine. An elderly, austere-looking man in a black hat with a cigarette between his lips, is seen in the door opening. The ladies seated by the table, clapping their hands or playing the tambourine, express the *joie de vivre* of the

196 MacCannell 1976, p. 41.

197 Gordon 1986, p. 142.

198 Brummer 1991, p. 166.



175. Ernst Josephson, *Smiling Spanish Woman*, 1881–82. Göteborg Art Museum, Sweden.

south. Over the back of a chair in the foreground, the Matador, for whom the woman on the table apparently is dancing, has left his red *manton*. Has Josephson supplanted himself, the painter, with the Matador's implicit presence?¹⁹⁹ On the table before him, we see small glasses, a half-emptied bottle of *manzanilla* or some other Spanish beverage, and the remains of his meal.

Josephson's superficial and calculated rendering of the Spanish dance can also be seen as a souvenir, since it collects and records his fragmentary memories of what he actually has seen and experienced in Spain. A fact that stresses the collage-like artificiality of Josephson's *Spanish dance* is that it has also been called *Tobacco Manufacturesses* [*Cigarettmakerskor*], alluding to the Tobacco manufacturing plant in Seville. The title alludes to the widespread belief that the workers in the tobacco factory often were thought to wear dotted skirts. The painting shows a group of people celebrating a famous toreador; the dancing women, supposedly tobacco manufacturesses, are therefore fragmentary parts of a collage-like totality, not a recording of an actual event. A rather trivial poem by Josephson describes the atmosphere in the taverna: "and from the taverna we hear a low-toned song, and 'la gitana' is danced smoothly and riotously / to the sound of castanets, clapping of hands and guitar",²⁰⁰ making the image seem even more like a sentimental memory of Spain.

According to Hans Henrik Brummer, Josephson has here put up "a scene with several attributes that a choosy visitor at the *Salon* could expect" ("en scen innehållande flera av de attribut en kräsen salongs publik kunde förvänta sig"). By this statement, Brummer assumes (as I do) that the image of Spain was, indeed, predetermined, and the exhibition viewers knew what to anticipate according to certain preconceptions. But Josephson's picture differs from Edelfelt's first version of *Gitana Dancing* in one important respect; it is admittedly constructed,²⁰¹ and is thus a prime example of what MacCannell would call "staged authenticity". Edelfelt's *Gitana Dancing I*, on the other hand, was painted "directly after

199 A parallel with Velázquez's *Las Meninas* occurs. The viewer is implicitly present in the painting.

200 "och från tavernan låter sången mustigt, och 'la gitana' dansas mjukt och lustigt / till kastanjetter, handklapp och gitarr", quoted in Brummer 1991, p. 179 number 39.

201 "Jag har nu kommit in i arbetstagen igen och håller på att måla en zigenerska som dansar på et bord, en liten tavla, nedanför skall bliva en del folk som jag ännu ej har riktigt klart för mig". Josephson wrote to his sister Valfrida from Seville. I do not agree with Brummer that the composition would be a quickly seized impressionistic scene ("snabbt uppfattad impressionistisk scen") (Brummer 1991, p. 179, catalogue number 39).



176. Ernst Josephson, *Spanish Dance*, Seville 1882. Göteborg Art Museum, Sweden.

nature”.²⁰² This turns Edelfelt’s picture into a souvenir – a memory of his stay in Granada, a substitute for or a representation of the Spanish Gypsy dance that Edelfelt had experienced in “real life”. “Souvenirs are”, according to Harkin, “exactly as the word denotes, objective memories: signs after the fact”.²⁰³

6.2 HOSTS AND GUESTS: APPROPRIATING THE PICTURESQUE

Théophile Gautier never gave up his hopes of finding the picturesque and the “authentic” Spain, and on many occasions, he regarded himself as a tourist. While in Toledo, he described himself as a “descriptive tourist and literary photographer”.²⁰⁴ Here he also pursued his “enthusiasm for local colour” with the “ferocious ardour of Parisian tourists”, defying the terrible heat.²⁰⁵ His yearning for ethnographical and picturesque detail is also revealed in his view of the genuine character of the Spaniards. “Originality”, Gautier states when describing his disappointment in the palace in Aranjuez, “is only found among the *people*, and the lower orders seem to have retained a licence for poetry”.²⁰⁶ Later on, the landscape around Ocaña (La Mancha) was, according to Gautier, the perfect source for inspiration for painters such as Léopold Robert, who

would turn these scenes of biblical and primitive simplicity to good use. Here, as in Italy he would find no lack of fine, sunburnt heads, sparkling eyes, Madonna-like faces, characteristic costumes, golden light, azure skies and sunshine.²⁰⁷

As Wilkens points out, the Spanish genre was easily transformed into a visual reportage,²⁰⁸ descriptive texts relocated into pictures from Spain. In this sense, Gautier’s “word-pictures” in the *Voyage en Espagne* established a firm base for future painters. His writings not only created a beautiful image of the Spanish landscape, but also of the Spaniards themselves. In this sense, he was also acting as an anthropologist or ethnographer, like the many painters who were to follow in his footsteps.

202 Edelfelt wrote to B.O. Schauman that he was so crazy about the Spanish dances and that he even had the courage to try to paint a dancing *gitana*. As quoted above: “I am totally crazy about 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” (“De spanska danserna är jag alldeles galen i. Jag har försökt göra croquiser och hade till o. m. djerfheten att försöka måla en dansande gitana. (under 3 dagar hade jag modell) men den studie jag kunde göra är blott ett svagt eftersken af hvad jag kände och ville framställa”) (Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Toledo 7 May 1881 [continued in Madrid 10 May 1881], FNG/Archives).

203 Harkin 1995, p. 659.

204 Gautier 1926, p. 127.

205 Gautier 1926, p. 134.

206 Gautier 1926, p. 154 [my emphasis].

207 Gautier 1926, pp. 156-157.

208 Wilkens 1994, p. 41.

“Spanish” topicality was, naturally, achieved by employing a range of specific themes and subjects that were conceived of as “Spanish”. Edelfelt also added fragmentary authenticating details to his second version of *Gitana Dancing* so as to enrich the picture with a Spanish atmosphere (see *Fig. 156*). Both the topic and details demand “ethnographic” correctness, otherwise the credibility of the representation will suffer. I agree with Manja Wilkens that “Spanish” iconography was built up by using traditional themes that were inherited from earlier pictures.²⁰⁹ By imitating earlier pictures that were considered “authentic”, painters tried to achieve an expression of authenticity also in their works of art.

“Authenticity” was thus essential right from the beginning. Painters should document (Spanish) reality for the benefit of future generations. But they should act fast; in 1843, for instance, Gautier commented that it would soon be impossible to discern “the Russian from the Spaniard, the English from the Chinese, the French from the American”.²¹⁰ The typical aspects (from a French point of view) of the Spanish nation should therefore be depicted with utmost accuracy. During the 1860s, the French view of Spain was coloured by uneasiness with all kind of development and resistance to the emergence of French Civilisation in Spain which, it was feared, would destroy the authenticity of Spanish culture.²¹¹

As is apparent in Gautier’s *Voyage en Espagne* and also in Edelfelt’s letters from Madrid, the French fashion had already saturated the Spanish dress code, which at least these writers felt was a great loss for the Spaniards. The painter should, therefore, act like an anthropologist or at least like an ethnographer, documenting reality where it was found. Remote Andalusia was appropriate for this kind of activity, since it was viewed as an antithesis of the modern, hectic life in the French Capital.²¹² When the painter-tourists documented what they saw, the Self and the Other were constructed.²¹³ Unlike the “non-modern” objects that they chose to depict, they implicitly present themselves as modern.

Travel pictures can thus be defined as “explained experiences” of Otherness; I have already pointed out that *Gitana Dancing* also functions like a souvenir: it translates experi-

209 The importance of the motif is stressed also in Ernest Robert Curtius’s theory of *topos* (see Curtius 1990 (1948)). He defines patterns of themes and forms as being inherited by tradition. These patterns consist of, for example, metrical forms and/or a specific motif, like, the “Eternal Rome” or “The Lamentation of the Ruins” (Huhtamo 1983, p. 23 fn 6).

210 Wilkens 1994, p. 37, quoting a text by Gautier from 1843.

211 Wilkens 1994, pp. 37-38. Some critics and writers went so far in their praise of the “undeveloped” Spain that they regretted the expansion of the railway network during the 1860s (which was financially supported mainly by the French). Cénac-Moncaut stressed the new touristic possibilities that this opened up in Spain, but generally the critics felt that the Spaniards had no need for a railway: “What is the need of so fast traffic connections amongst a people who does not know our feverish activity?” wrote Germond de Lavigne in 1858. The French Romantics felt that the railways destroyed the untouched landscape and allowed for an increased influx of ‘negative’ foreign influence in Spain. Wilkens 1994, pp. 36-38 (quotation translated from Wilkens, pp. 38, 163 fn 133: “à quoi bon des voies rapides pour une population qui n’a aucun besoin de notre fiévreuse activité”, as appeared in Leopold Alfred Gabriel Germond de Lavigne, *Les chemins de fer espagnols*, Extrait de la Revue Britannique, Paris: April 1858, p. 4).

212 Elina Anttila points out that the abundance of ethnographic pictures of farmer families, fishermen and people in the villages and countryside of Brittany held a particular topicality because of the concern that these rural cultures would disappear due to progress and urbanisation (Anttila 1998, p. 82).

213 Comp. Galani-Moutafi 2000, p. 213, on the ethnographer’s/anthropologist’s travel experiences.

ences into a tangible form. The truth is that few travellers or tourists come home from a journey without something tangible to show for it. Nelson H.H. Graburn writes:

The type of vacation [or, journey] chosen and the proof that we really did it reflect what we consider “sacred”. The Holy Grail is the myth sought on the journey, and the success of a [journey] is proportionate to the degree that the myth is realized. [...] Souvenirs are tangible evidences of travel that are often shared with family and friends, but what one really brings back home are memories of experiences.²¹⁴

Graburn’s comment supports my earlier statement that tourist paintings are, in addition to memories, physical proof that the painter went to Spain, translated onto the canvas in a way similar to texts in travelogues. And these visual translations of lived experiences (memories) were put on display at exhibitions, and were read and interpreted in a similar way to the textual descriptions. To acquire a souvenir (or, paint it) is to lay claim to a new experience, to assert that one has achieved something or been somewhere of significance; souvenirs are artefacts that one touches, reflects on and *shows others*. But why did Edelfelt need to show that he was able to paint souvenirs? I propose that by painting and exhibiting “souvenirs”, Edelfelt managed to combine the Naturalist demand for authenticity with the implicit obligation that painters should travel in order to enhance their profession.

The habit of sharing one’s experiences by buying souvenirs is analogous to sharing similar experiences in general. For instance, people of the same profession who travel together or individually, but to the same destination, tend to develop an enhanced group identity, at least if we believe Graburn. Together with associates, the like-minded travellers relive their experiences even at a distance.²¹⁵ By exposing Spanish works, painters declared their membership in a group of “Spain-explorers”. To be successful, the iconography of Spain (or the other “exotic” cultures) had to be of the right kind. Otherwise it would not give away the right signs, the right kind of meaning. The stereotypical view of Spain that developed much as the result of the anthropologists’ urge to exaggerate cultural patterns was ultimately encompassed by late-romantic painters.

These “exaggerated cultural patterns”, as Kirsten Hastrup expresses it, are abundantly present in works depicting Spanish people that were seen in Paris from around the mid-century. When Manet painted his *Mademoiselle V. in the Costume of an Espada*, these stereotypes were already more or less fixed. But we should also remember that Manet was making a radically new kind of art, even though he relied on Spanish cultural stereotypes which were not “typical” of tourist art. Manet painted the bulk of his Spanish production *before* he set

214 Graburn continues by quoting Carpenter (1973): “The connection between symbol and things comes from the fact that the symbol – the word or picture (or artefact) – helps give the ‘thing’ its identity, clarity, definition. It helps convert given reality into experienced reality, and is therefore an indispensable part of all experience.” Quotation from E. Carpenter’s *Oh, what a blow that phantom gave me!* New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston 1973, p. 17, in Graburn 1977, p. 28.

215 Graburn 1977, pp. 29-30.

foot in Spain. The transformed Spanish characteristics in his work might be interpreted as a paraphrase of something that he had not experienced first hand. Instead, well-established prototypes were conveniently at hand. Manja Wilkens's investigation shows how (constructed) image of Spanish women, for instance, saturated French culture long before Manet began to show an interest in this type of iconography. This is partly because from the 1840s onwards, while colonialism enhanced the lure of the exotic, the popularity of genre painting increased. As stated by Charles Blanc in 1869:

Ethnography is the great source of genre painters. From this source they can procure two things that are essential for genre painting: the physiognomy of the heads and the picturesqueness of the costumes which the insipid uniformity of European fashion tends to efface, making it soon disappear.²¹⁶

As we know, Gautier presented Spain as a country where the Western civilisation had not yet disturbed the originality and authenticity of its inhabitants. A rather amusing example of this tendency is evident when Gautier laments over the appearance of French fashion (even) among Granadian women. In his angry spotlight is the “jonquil-yellow or poppy-red affair” of a hat that was kept “stowed away in a bandbox which they keep in reserve for occasions of great state” (according to Gautier, such occasions were – “thank God” – very rare...). “May your hats never invade ‘the city of the Caliphs’”, he exclaims, “and may the terrible threat contained in the words *modista francesa*, painted in black at some street corner, never be carried into effect”. He continues:

Serious minds, as they are called, will doubtless think us very frivolous, and laugh at our picturesque grievances, but we are among those who believe that varnished boots and waterproof coats contribute very little towards civilization, and we even consider civilization itself a thing of very little worth. It is a grievous spectacle for the poet, the artist and the philosopher to see form and colour disappearing from the world, to see lines growing blurred and colours confused, and a most disheartening uniformity invading the universe under some vague pretext of progress. By the time everything is exactly alike, travelling will become entirely useless, and, by a happy coincidence, it is precisely then that railways will be at the height of their activity. What use will it be to make a long journey at the rate of twenty-five miles an hour, only to see more Rues de la Paix lighted by gas, and filled with comfortable bourgeois? We believe that such was not God's design, when he moulded each country a different way, gave it its own vegetation, and peopled it with special races, dissimilar in conformation, complexion and language. It is a misinterpretation of the spirit of Creation to desire to impose the same livery upon men of every climate, and this is one of the thousand errors of European civilization; one is quite as uncivilized in a swallow-tailed coat – and much uglier.²¹⁷

216 “L'ethnographie est la grande ressource des peintres de genre. On se procure ainsi deux choses qui sont essentielles à la peinture de genre, le caractère des têtes et le pittoresque des costumes que la plate uniformité des modes européennes tend à effacer, et fera bientôt disparaître” (quoted in Wilkens 1994, p. 164 fn 141, from Charles Blanc, “Salon de 1869”, in *Le Temps*, 4th of June 1869).

217 Gautier 1926, pp. 181-182.

Here Gautier exposes an ethnographer's/anthropologist's personality, a person doing field-work in search of the undisturbed civilisation beyond the boundaries of his own (over-civilised?) world. Why should we bother travelling, if everything were exactly alike, he asks.

The desire to travel and depict places that were about to disappear was a common concern in nineteenth-century France, and does not relate only to French adventures in Spain. The French countryside, above all Brittany, became increasingly popular among the vanguard painters in the late century (from the 1880s onwards). Of course, there are many differences between Brittany and Spain, Spain was, for instance, *not* easily accessible and, at that time, not yet a popular vacation spot like Brittany. Their respective popularity at the same time in history is, nevertheless, significant; it reflects the “growing concern over the differences between town and country, which were perceived from the urban point of view”, as Orton and Pollock put it. This is clearly present in Gautier's lamentation, quoted above. As Orton and Pollock argue (about Brittany):

The differences were posed in terms of relative levels of economic and social development [in Spain's case, also political] for which the standard of judgement was the level and form attained by the town, especially Paris which was the centre of that centralization, the locus of civilization and urbanity. However, these differences also belong on another axis of difference. At one end of this axis was the increasing similarity of life in the towns of which Paris was the paradigm and on the other end was the continuing diversity of the regions, each distinct from each other and from the metropolis.²¹⁸

This concern is due to a perception of the world from an urban point of view, which, in turn, was based on the recognition of change and an awareness of difference and distance (real or imagined). Orton and Pollock point to several levels of differentiation and distance, but conclude that they all are

predicated upon a point, a centre, a given cultural norm, from which something is being seen as removed or distant. Remote means far from civilization. Thus, remoteness in distance metonymically signifies its opposite, the centre of civilization according to the dominant social forces which in nineteenth-century France meant Paris.²¹⁹

The French perception of Spain as an unevenly developed country (i.e., the railway network and other transportation, hotels, roads, and so forth) thus also reveals “the history of the dominance of the town (Paris) and its bourgeois forms and norms”.²²⁰

218 Orton & Pollock 1980, p. 328. As regards the matter of cultures and individual places being explored at the moment of their feared future extinction, Professor Ville Lukkarinen has noticed a similar phenomenon in Finnish landscape painting during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Geographically remote regions, in particular the deep and untamed woodland, were introduced as 'new' topics at the time when voices were being raised to call attention to the destruction of these forests, due to growing forestry industry. Furthermore, the forestry industry needed to expand their work in marshlands, thereby using waterpower and destroying the natural state of the Finnish wilderness. Lukkarinen 2002, p. 19.

219 Orton & Pollock 1980, p. 329.

220 Orton & Pollock 1980, p. 329.

In his *Voyage*, Gautier comments on the terrible state of the roads in Spain, which sometimes turned travelling into a venture. Gautier asserts that

fear adds greatly to the pleasure [of travelling], it keeps you alert and saves you from boredom: you are performing a heroic action, you are exerting superhuman courage; the scared, anxious look of those who are left behind raises you in your own estimation. The commonest [*sic*] thing in the world, a journey by coach, becomes an adventure, an expedition; you start, it is true, but you are not sure you will get there – or come back again. This is always something in a civilization as advanced as that of modern times, in the prosaic and unlucky year 1840.²²¹

The poor state of transport in Spain could provide assurance that the country was not as “civilised” as the travellers’ own world.

Edelfelt, who had appropriated the French way of life, also gives voice to such a derogatory point of view in his letters to his mother. His journey from Madrid to Granada lasted for twenty-six hours (as compared with today’s six hours), which, according to Edelfelt, was remarkable, something he presented as “proof” of how slowly the Spanish railway carried their customers.²²² The trip between Paris and Madrid, which according to Edelfelt lasted twelve hours,²²³ was relatively much faster than interior Spanish journeys. The first thing Edelfelt observed after arriving in Seville from Granada was also the sluggishness of the Spanish railway system – this journey lasted for about eleven hours (as compared with today’s three).²²⁴ He was apparently prepared for this slow mode of travel when he arrived in Toledo (the journey included a half-day long stopover in Cordoba), since he fails to comment on this aspect. He also bewailed the terrible Spanish food, above all because of the abundant use of rancid olive oil, which did not live up to its French variant! He dismissed *gazpacho* something only fit for dogs, although he did *not* dare to taste it.²²⁵ Edelfelt’s remarks may thus be interpreted as comments on Spain’s originality and primitiveness, a common feature of contemporary tourism.

221 Gautier 1926, pp. 116-117.

222 “26 timmars jernvägsresa från Madrid hit – det är dugtigt, och bevisar huru långsamt den spanska jernvägen framforslar resenärer” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Granada 13 April 1881, SLSA).

223 “I morgon kl. 5 e.m. tar jag snälltåget till Paris, är där om lördag kl. 5 på morgonen” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 12 May 1881, SLSA).

224 “Usch, vad jernvägarna i Spanien är tröttande. I går från kl. 5 på morgonen till 6 på aftonen för att fara från Granada till Sevilla” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Sevilla 22 April 1881, SLSA).

225 “– Oljan i maten lider jag nu bättre än först – dock vågar jag mig ej på den samma då den förekommer okokt såsom i salader o.d. – Hade de helst fransk olja som är utmärkt god! men nej denna har alltid en liten härsken bismak. – Det luktar olja öfverallt, på gatorna, i husen – ungefär som på en ångbåt. – Den andra lukten som är omtyckt är saffran. Saffranslukten florerar också, liksom saffran i de mest underbara sammansättningar sås t.ex. med risgryn och fläskbitar med stor smak ätes af spanjorerna. Brödet är kompaktare än det franska och vårt och mycket vitt, liknar engelska cakes. Den äkta spanska rätten ”gaspacho” har jag ej ännu smakat. Det måtte vara riktig hundmat – vatten, olja, ärtika med gurkor, hvitlök salatblad och brödskefvor, salt och peppar, ätes med sked. I allmänhet lefva de ofantligt enkelt här. Vin drickes mycket litet, i synnerhet ej af fruntimerna. Många spanskor af familj finnas som aldrig smakat vin – vatten, ständigt vatten. – Socker är mycket gouteradt. Jag får 7 bitar koppen om morgnarna, och jag har sett spanjorer köra i sig denna sirap. Apelsinerna äro ypperliga men ej så goda här som i Andalusien, der de voro herrliga. Mandlarna äro alltid brynta, hvilket ger dem en mycket fin smak. Matsedeln är ständigt densamma här på hotellet: soppa (dålig) 3 à 4 köträtter; stufning, stek med ärter, artichands, höns med salad, ost, russin och mandel apelsiner. Icke för unders skull får man annat” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, 4 May 1881, SLSA).

Orton and Pollock also discuss the significance of tourism in the process of turning Brittany into a popular resort for “artistic tourists” in the 1880s. Several similarities with the exploration of Spain can be outlined. As in Spain, the visitor in Brittany sought something different. The variety of experiences that awaited the tourist in Brittany included “a whole catalogue of historical threads from picturesque travel to romantic regionalism, consolidated and packaged”, as Orton and Pollock explain. They also note that the visitor “can have but little comprehension of the meanings within the culture he is visiting”. Here Orton and Pollock elaborate on the meaning of local costumes, which they regard as “a spectacle for the visitor to consume according to his or her point of view”. This, they argue, was consciously made available to tourists as an “experience of Brittany”, with the willing aid of the Bretons themselves; MacCannell’s “staged authenticity” is here implicitly present.²²⁶ But instead of understanding the deeper meaning of the local costumes (they indicate, for instance, to which family or village the bearer of the costume belongs), they became a general symbol for the “traditionalness and archaicness of Breton culture”. According to Orton and Pollock, they signified “Bretonnes in general”, and are as such

a site of representation of social and economic change and a site of misinterpretation. In the discourse of non-Bretons, visitors from the town, the signs of dress were appropriated to signify difference, strangeness, otherness.²²⁷

This system of dress signalled to the visitors that those who wore these garments were integrated with Brittany, and not merely tourists:

Tourism structures what is seen, marks it out, and locates it. It also absents and excludes, and preconditions how things are seen. Activities and events, rituals and customs, sites and peoples are rendered intelligible as signs of Bretonness within the discourse and ideological frames of reference of visitors from the town [or, as in the case of visitors in Spain, from urbanised France]. Tourism can be understood therefore at two related levels. It is part of the economy of Brittany and a product of the new social and ideological structures that joined town and country, metropolis and region, from which were produced a range of representations.²²⁸

This definition of tourism in Brittany is highly relevant for Spain as well. As I will show in the subsequent section, building on my previous discussion, certain images from Spain can be applied to Orton and Pollock’s definition. Locals played along in the process of creating a “tourist imagery” of their town, which is aptly demonstrated by the example of Mariano in Granada, whose profession was to pose in local costume for painters, including Edelfelt. The local dresses seen in Spanish ethnographic genre pictures serve a similar function to those from Brittany.

226 Orton & Pollock 1980, p. 326.

227 Orton & Pollock 1980, p. 327.

228 Orton & Pollock 1980, pp. 325-328.

One important aspect must be noted. The axis metropolis versus region is here implicitly present in the opposition France versus Spain; the “developed” and “undeveloped”, the conqueror and the conquered. And as Gautier wrote when he arrived in Spain, he had left *Europe* behind, and was indeed no longer in *Paris!*²²⁹ The French exaggeration of the “undeveloped” features of Spanish culture served political means. By emphasising the inferiority of Spanish economy and social development, the French emphasised their own (cultural and political) dominance over Spain. The ethnographic genre, based on direct observation of native Spaniards, served this interest splendidly. It enabled the painters to focus on only certain (preconceived and thus implicitly recommended) features that were “undeveloped” but simultaneously popular within French nineteenth-century culture. By exposing what Spain “was”, the painters implicitly revealed what they found absent in France (i.e., Paris). Spain was thus presented as the anti-thesis of Parisian urbanisation and modernisation.

6.2.1 “Mariano”, the Epitome of Tourism Iconography

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 Fortunys model and who also has posed for a few of my studies. This figure makes his living mainly from painters who come here.²³⁰

Albert Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Granada 18 April 1881

One appeal of Spain as a desirable place to visit might 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”.²³¹ 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. Caroline B. 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”.²³² 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.²³³

229 Thus Gautier felt that Paris was the epitome of Europe! (Gautier 1926, p. 168).

230 “I morgon skall jag, om vädret är vackert göra skizzer i trädgården på Generalife: Jag har som vägvisare begagnat en zigenare som varit Fortunys modell och som äfven stått för några studier jag gjort. Denne figur lever mest på målare som komma hit” (Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Granada 18 April 1881, FNG/Archives).

231 Pritchard & Morgan 2000, p. 894.

232 Brettell 1983, p. 163.

233 Another male writer described the Spanish peasant women as “remarkable in their vivaciousness and in the attractiveness of their appearance.” Brettell quotes the English traveller Hugh Rose, whose memoirs of his travels on the Iberian peninsula appeared in 1877 (Hugh Rose, *Among the Spanish People*, London 1877), and another work by M. Breton, *L’Espagne et le Portugal ou Moeurs, Usages, et Costumes*, Paris 181 [] (Brettell 1983,

When Edelfelt painted Spanish men, his view was the reverse (comp. Regnault's *A Spaniard*, Fig. 181a). In his choice of a 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.

In a letter from Granada, addressed to his mother, Edelfelt's comments on a man whom he refers to as "Mariano" reveal a strange mixture of concerns about authenticity and his usefulness as a model: "I have bought a complete Spanish Andalusian costume from Mariano – clothes to be used for paintings – the whole lot, hat, embroidered gaiters, belt, shirt etc 25 Francs."²³⁴ He takes care to state that Mariano's outfit is specifically Andalusian and not Spanish, since he has corrected his own mistake by crossing out the word "Spanish". Apparently, he bought the man's clothing as a kind of souvenir to be used in later paintings, and clearly he feels that they signify Spanishness in an authentic way. Gordon writes that identifiable local clothing is among the most popular souvenirs even today. Such items "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."²³⁵ And as I will discuss below, Edelfelt probably depicted these clothes in a later painting.

The real Mariano presumably posed in his own local clothing for Edelfelt. Hintze mentions a painting called "The Gitanos-King from Granada", a study in oil of an old Gypsy, painted in Granada about mid-April 1881.²³⁶ Hintze presumably refers to a broadly painted work in oil that recently appeared on the art market, *Mariano* (Fig. 177). The painting depicts a Spaniard in half-figure, dressed in a traditional costume. Its colours range from an overall brownish black to highlights in white and red. The background and parts of his shirt are illuminated in bright white, which emphasises the man's southern, dark character. The figure leans his hands casually on a walking stick, and his clothing is painted in rough outline. His dark expression is enhanced by the look of his untended beard and whiskers, only his eyes gleaming under a broad-brimmed Andalusian hat.

The intense gaze of Edelfelt's "Mariano" brings a photograph of a Granadian Gypsy called "Chorrojumo" to mind, taken around 1900 by Ayola (Fig. 178). The most obvious similarity is the coiffure of the beard and whiskers, which in Ayola's photograph are stained with grey in contrast to their more brownish appearance in Edelfelt's painting.²³⁷ The similarities extend to details including the bulky shape of the men's nose and thick lips. In both pictures the buttons in the short jacket's sleeves are visible. Only the hat is somewhat dis-

pp. 163, 171-172 [references]). See also Pratt 1981.

234 "– Jag har köpt en fullständig spansk andalusisk kostym af Mariano – paltor som kunna begagnas för måleri – hela slurfven, hatt, broderade damasker, skärp, tröja o.s.v. 25 frs." (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Granada 21 April 1881, SLSA).

235 Gordon 1986, p. 143.

236 Hintze 1942–44, III, p. 41, catalogue number 161.

237 The greyish whiskers in Ayola's photograph account for the time delay between these two images (1881 and 1900).

similar, albeit of the same broad-brimmed type. This man's features are certainly the same as those in Edelfelt's portrayal.

Due to these remarkable similarities in 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.²³⁸ In a letter to B.O. Schauman, Edelfelt observes: Mariano earned his income by posing for visiting painters.²³⁹ Mariano presented himself as a living souvenir, ready to be immortalised in painted keepsakes.

Ortiz de Villajos notes that the death of Chorrojumo signalled the end of an exorbitant period, marked by what he describes as a false and theatrical *costumbrismo*. The Gypsy, whose Christian name presumably was *Manuel Jiménez* and not Mariano, 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*.²⁴⁰

The description of Chorrojumo's outfit brings to mind Gautier's much earlier account of Granada's traditional costumes. Gautier's immediate reaction to the gaudy outfit was to order one for himself. But the tailor Señor Zapata informed Gautier of a most depressing situation: "Alas, sir [he told Gautier], it is only the English who buy Spanish costumes now, [...]"²⁴¹ The Andalusian costume Edelfelt had purchased for later use in paintings was indeed a souvenir, which had already taken on the character of being an attraction in its own



181a. Henri Regnault, *A Spaniard*, ca. 1869. Dahesh Museum of Art.

238 "[...] donde ejercía la industria de vender sus propios retratos a los turistas" (Ortiz de Villajos 1949, p. [113, subtext to illustration]).

239 Albert Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Granada 18 April 1881, FNG/Archives.

240 "[...] el final de aquel ciclo desorbitado y falso, fantasioso y teatral de costumbrismo gitano referido al Sacro-Monte, que tanto gustaba a la extravagancia literaria internacional para extraer consecuencias disparatadas, ofensivas casi siempre al todo español. Al desaparecer Manuel Jiménez, perdiguéño disfrazado con los últimos casticismos del andalucismo perdido que debían deambular por Granada y quizá por el mundo termina una leyenda más, muy aprovechable para los cultivadores de la 'españolada' de aquí y de allá. Leyenda era la supuesta monarquía de la gitanería granadina encarnada en aquel gracioso pícaro, juncal y fachendoso que tenía por oficio vender sus fotografías a los turistas que visitaban la Alhambra: pañizuelo de colorines atado a la cabeza al estilo de los 'bandidos generosos' o los 'contrabandistas valientes', chaquetilla con botones de plata, faja encarnada, chaleco bordado, calzones con caireles, borceguíes recamados. Por corona el catite de ajado terciopelo y por centro una flexible varilla de avellano cortada en la vereda de la fuente que había de inmortalizar la Cofradía de Ganivet" (Ortiz de Villajos 1949, p. 55).

241 When leaving Granada for Malaga on horseback, he put on his purchase: "I joyfully seized the opportunity of dressing up out of carnival, and, leaving off my horrible French garments for a time, put on my *majo's* costume: pointed hat, embroidered jacket, velvet waistcoat with filigree buttons, red silk sash, breeches, and gaiters open at the calf" (Gautier 1926, p. 223).



177. Albert Edelfelt, *Mariano*, 1881. Private Collection.

against a pillar in a sunlit patio, complete with the turban-like, pointed hat, embellished jacket and trousers, leather gaiters and the *vara*. His beard is trimmed in the same manner, and his dark appearance is accentuated by the shadow on his face from the broad-brimmed hat. A dark-haired woman, dressed in red and white, is seated in a doorway to the far left. The sunlit surroundings are painted with dramatic, and presumably rapid, brush-strokes. In the upper part of the painting, in the middle of the lower part of the cloister's railing, we see reminiscences of architectural decoration. In the lower left corner, Edelfelt has inscribed his work "Granada – April 81", informing us that this work is another of his Spanish souvenirs. A remarkable detail as regards this painting is that it is framed by an embellished, pseudo-Baroque frame, presumably purchased while Edelfelt was in Spain (*Fig. 179a*). The dualism of Spanishness is thus united in this artwork: the popular genre of *costumbrista* painting is here encased by the lavish and abundant Spanish Baroque.

Edelfelt probably came into contact with his model through the English honorary consul in Granada, Henry Stanier (active between 1854 and 1886). He lived in the vicinity of the place where Edelfelt painted his dancing *gitana*, and the two men often conversed.²⁴³

²⁴² Gautier 1926, pp. 180-181.

²⁴³ "Engelska konsuln, som också målar, bor alldeles strax intill det ställe der jag målar, och kommer hvarje timme och pratar med mig – han har derjemte ställt sin atelier och sin trädgård (en riktig andalusisk rosengård) till mitt förfogande" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Granada 18 April 1881, SLSA).

right as a reminiscence from the past – a tourist attraction – marked as such by the first Romantic travellers. In his *Voyage en Espagne*, Gautier records:

[F]ortunately the lower classes do not follow the Paris fashions; they have retained the pointed hat with a velvet brim, trimmed with silk tufts, or with a flower-pot crown and broad facings in the style of a turban; the jacket embellished with embroideries and cloth appliqué in all kinds of colours, at the elbows, cuffs and collar, with a vague reminiscence of Turkish coats; the red or yellow sash; the trousers with a front-flap, supported by filigree buttons or South American column-stamped coins welded to a hook; the leather gaiters open up on the side and showing the leg; but it was all more brilliant, more florid, more ornate, more festive, more loaded with tinsel and tawdry trimmings than in other provinces. [...] It is the height of style to carry in the hand a rod (*vara*) or white stick, with a bifurcated tip, four feet high, upon which one leans negligently when one stops for a chat. No self-respecting *majo* would dare to appear in public without his *vara*. Two coloured handkerchiefs, with their ends falling from the jacket pockets, a long *navaja* thrust through the belt, not in front, but in the middle of the back, are the pinnacle of elegance for these lower-class exquisites.²⁴²

This account could as well be describing also the outfit worn by Edelfelt's Gypsy King.

The same costume appears also in another of Edelfelt's paintings (*Fig. 179*), where the man is seen leaning casually

Stanier was also an amateur painter, who specialised in painting archaeological sites and popular *costumbrista* subjects. He was particular about the historical mark of his objects and figures, but also excelled in painting Moorish fabrics and exotic ornaments in poetically tuned, romanticising pictures of the ruins in the Alhambra.²⁴⁴ One of his genre paintings from 1879 shows a family standing outside the doorway to their house, situated near the Alhambra (Fig. 180). The man with an intense gaze and generous whiskers is, without doubt, Chorrojumo, dressed in a short embellished jacket, red girdle around his waist, blue trousers with decorations in the fringe, leather gaiters and a pointed headgear. I have no doubt whatsoever that Chorrojumo had an excellent reputations as a model, and was presumably warmly recommended amongst visiting painters.²⁴⁵ Edelfelt also claimed that “Mariano” had been one of Fortuny’s models.²⁴⁶ Ortiz de Villajos asserts that “*El rey de los gitanos*” posed for Fortuny several times,²⁴⁷ a fact that made his services even more desirable. As a matter of fact, Edelfelt’s *Patio in Granada* resumes Fortuny’s exuberant and glowing *costumbrista* painting in many ways: through its theme and manner of execution, but above all through Edelfelt’s exploitation of the same model. It is executed entirely in the spirit of Fortuny (comp. Fig. 181).

Hintze connects yet another of Edelfelt’s Spanish artworks with *Mariano* and *Patio in Granada*.²⁴⁸ In a rather small but lavishly painted watercolour, the figure, however, lacks the characteristic beard; he seems to be a much younger man (Fig. 182). He is nevertheless dressed in a similar costume, with rather tight blue trousers extending to his knees, the lower part of his legs are apparently covered with the typical leather gaiters. He wears a broad red



178. José García Ayola, *El gitano Chorrojumo*. Late 19th-century photograph.

²⁴⁴ *Imagen romántica del legado andalusí* 1995, p. 156.

²⁴⁵ Mariano probably posed also for Edelfelt’s Danish colleague, P.S. Krøyer. *En spanier* (Granada 1878) exposes the same distinctive features as seen in Ayola’s *Chorrojumo*: the intense look, the bulky nose, the thick lips surrounded by an unkempt beard. The image belongs to a portfolio of Krøyer’s watercolours of Gypsies and Spaniards, and is kept at the Hirschsprung collection in Copenhagen. As testified by the correspondence between Krøyer and the great Danish collector, Abraham Marcus Hirschsprung, the latter frequently asked Krøyer to send him more of the kind as seen in *En spanier* to be included in the portfolio. In the catalogue of the collection, Marianne Saabye points out that, about this time, the appeal of genre-portraits was substantial. She describes them as folkloric portraits depicting the painter’s own or another country by the means of typical physiognomies and costumes. Hirschsprung had a great fondness for such portraits. In addition to Krøyer’s Spanish portfolio, he owned numerous such artworks of which several depicted Italian peasants or fishermen from the Danish fishing-village Hornbæk, also by Krøyer (Saabye 2002, p. 222).

²⁴⁶ Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Granada 18 April 1881, SLSA.

²⁴⁷ Ortiz de Villajos 1949, pp. 43, [113] [Apéndice Gráficos por Torres Molina]. Fortuny’s relation to the Gypsies in Granada is also documented in his letters to friends while he stayed there in the early years of the 1870s, for instance he wrote to Ricardo de Madrazo, claiming that his models were named [Mariano] Fernández, Heredia and Carmen Bastián (Martí Aixelá 1998, p. 152). Fortuny’s Gypsy-images are reminiscent of the “Chorrojumo”-iconography that circulated in Granada.

²⁴⁸ Hintze 1953, p. 522, catalogue number 162.



179a. Albert Edelfelt, *Patio in Granada (Mariano)* [also known as *Court View in Granada*], signed “Grandada – april 1881”. Private Collection.



179. Albert Edelfelt, *Patio in Granada (Mariano)* [also known as *Court View in Granada*], signed “Grandada – april 1881”. Private Collection.

waist girdle, and a brownish mantle covers the whole upper part of his body. Only the broad-brimmed hat, which he wears upon a red scarf joined at the back of his head, is of the same type as in the two other pictures of Mariano. But unlike Hintze, who regards it as a preparatory study for *Patio in Granada*, I propose that it may very well have been executed only after Edelfelt's journey, recalling his memories from Spain.²⁴⁹ And we ought to remember that Edelfelt had bought a costume from Mariano for use in later compositions.²⁵⁰ The fair complexion of the figure in the Finnish National Gallery picture suggests that the man is not a Spaniard at all.

According to Hintze, Edelfelt donated “The Gitanos-King from Granada” to Pietro Krohn before 1884, and it was shown at Edelfelt's exhibitions in Copenhagen and Gothenburg in September–October that same year.²⁵¹ I find it a curious coincidence that Edelfelt would offer such a typical genre-portrait to his friend. As we know, Edelfelt had told Krohn in 1877 that he was happy that he had not executed “original” pictures of *pfifferari* in Italy.²⁵² In any case, Spanish genre painting was more

“fresh” than its Italian equivalent. And maybe the composition's naturalistic execution now distanced it from the “touristic” imagery. Edelfelt's painting manner is, indeed, strikingly different from that seen in his images of Spanish women. Save for the first version of *Gitana Dancing*, he depicted Spanish women mostly in an idealising manner. Edelfelt's *Mariano*, on the other hand, is extraordinarily “true-to-nature”. Its naturalism constitutes a blatant contrast to Edelfelt's *Gitana Dancing I*, although they were both painted in Granada about the same time. Edelfelt did not view his Gypsy King through rose-tinted glasses, but has instead painted the image with energetic brushstrokes, uncharacteristic of tourist art. But its iconography is, nevertheless, touristic, since his model was a professional who posed in

249 The watercolour is unsigned and lacks inscriptions. The man's pose is also strangely warped; his head appears to be out of place, sharply bent to his left, leaving the back of his head visible, while his legs are seen from the side.

250 In one of Edelfelt's small studies in pencil from Toledo as well, we see a Spaniard leaning against a wall, holding his *vara*. This man wears the traditional hat, and covers his body with a *manton*, but his posture recalls the Granadian Mariano in *Patio in Granada*. Seated against the opposite wall we see two groups of women, old and young. An opening in the wall is visible in the middle of the composition, in addition to a shuttered window. The picture is inscribed “Toledo 28 April 81”. One of the beggars, whom Edelfelt included in his “Spanish Painting” *The Alms*, wears a similar outfit.

251 Hintze 1942–44, III, p. 41, catalogue number 161.

252 Edelfelt to Pietro Krohn, Paris 28 June 1877 [according to Bertel Hintze's transcript], FNG/Archives (Hintze).

a traditional costume.²⁵³ 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.

*

Although Edelfelt’s Spanish imagery was fundamentally founded on (Romantic) stereotypes, he was eager to implant real experiences into his pictures. Arranged, or staged authenticity, appears to have been dual in nature. Staged authenticity is found in Edelfelt’s studies of the motif/the models, defined as “realistically staged” paintings; another kind of “staged authenticity” is seen in pictures that, more or less, harmonise pre-conceived viewpoints (attitudes, ideologies) of what was beautiful, real, typical, and so forth. Edelfelt chooses motifs that are in harmony with his pre-conceived Spanish imagery, but he tries to shape (configure) them according to a sincere study of nature.

While Edelfelt was in Granada, he thus went 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. This 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 Gypsies in Granada fit in this programme since they were felt to be in



180. Henry Stanier, *A Family in the Vicinity of the Alhambra*, 1879. Private Collection, Granada.



181. Mariano Fortuny, *Gitano*, ca. 1870–72. Private Collection, Barcelona.

253 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”, <http://www.granadaholidays.com/visits05.html>, electronic document accessed and printed 3 June 2003). 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 gitano*, such as the *bulerías* “Manolo Reyes”: “[...] y Chorrojumo el calé // el más viejo de toda Graná // en cuestiones del querer // le quiso así aconsejar” (“Bulerías: Manolo Reyes”, <http://www.terra.es/personal/microsof/l0126.htm>, electronic document accessed and printed 3 June 2003). Chorrojumo was not only a person but a living legend who still is remembered in Granadian folklore and history.



182. Albert Edelfelt, *Spaniard (Mariano?)*, 1881. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

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 Marshall Berman argues in his *All That is Solid Melts into Air*.²⁵⁴ Modernity needed these “other, simpler lifestyles” to be able to profile as “modern”.

Next, I follow in Edelfelt’s footsteps through Seville, where he stopped for only a few days, not spending much time painting. While Edelfelt stayed in this town, local festivities consumed his time; in Seville, Edelfelt was (even) more of a tourist than in Granada. Edelfelt nevertheless experienced an artistic transformation during this short interlude. The purported change is here scrutinised in the light of his encounter with a strange country and culture, and his role as a traveller. Change is always part of the tourist experience, because recreation demands “re-creation”.

254 Berman 1995, p. 123.

7 CHANGE AND THE TOURIST EXPERIENCE

I cannot express how much I miss Spain and here I repeat to myself every minute – *ce n'est plus cela* [nothing is the same].¹

Albert Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 15 May 1881

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Seville was a city under reconstruction, becoming a modern city (*Fig. 183, 184, 185, 186*). Questions of modernisation and local tourism are central to understanding the ways in which Seville was presented to and seen by foreigners.² Already in the 1840s, Théophile Gautier described Seville as a city very different from Granada and, above all, Cordoba:

No greater contrast with Cordoba could be found. Cordoba is a dead city, with its houses heaped together as in charnel-cave, an open catacomb over which is sifting the ashen dust of neglect ... Seville, on the other hand, has all the stir and impetuosity of life; a wild, diffused murmur floats over it at all hours of the day; it hardly takes time for a siesta. It recks [*sic*] little of yesterday, still less of to-morrow, but lives entirely in the present;³ memory and hope are the pleasures of unhappy races, and Seville is happy; she plays, while her sister Cordoba appears to brood gravely, in solitude and silence [...].⁴

Seville's status as a place living entirely in the present tempted painters during the 1870s and 1880s, when "modern life" became the main focus of attention after the impact of the Impressionists.

Earlier, Sevillian imagery had predominantly involved meticulously painted pictures of the city's monuments, views and customs: the *Alcázar*, the Cathedral with the *Giralda* tower, churches and important secular buildings, the *Torre de Oro*, the Moorish city wall dating from the twelfth century, as well as vast townscapes, religious events such as the *Corpus Christi* or other festivities.⁵ But from the 1870s onwards, this imagery underwent a change; García Felguera identifies a new type of Sevillian subject that responded to a development in contemporary art. Insignificant subjects of unimportant events substituted for historic views and documentary pictures of the city's monuments. Unidentified streets and *plazas*

1 "Jag kan icke säga huru mycket jag saknar Spanien och här upprepar jag hvar minut för mig sjelf – *ce n'est plus cela*" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 15 May 1881, SLSA).

2 Hormigo & Molina 2000, pp. 41-52.

3 The French original text: "Hier l'occupe peu, demain encore moins, elle est toute au présent [...]" (Gautier [1843], p. 144).

4 Gautier 1926, p. 277.

5 *Iconografía de Sevilla 1790–1868* (1991), catalogue.

and scenes from the gardens of the *Alcázar* displayed a city full of colour and light, without the “documentary quality” seen in previous pictures.⁶

The most valued works from Edelfelt’s Spanish journey were those painted in Seville, since these show that he was a painter who wished to follow the ideas of his time, in terms of both content and style. Changes in style and attitude generally occur while painters are abroad, and this is often visible, for example, in a freed painting technique, caused by the encounter with the bright sun or exotic local colours. In many cases, these changes are visible in impressionistic brushwork. Bertel Hintze, for instance, emphasises this particular aspect of Edelfelt’s art in his biography from the 1940s.⁷ He sees Edelfelt’s Spanish watercolours as evidence that the young painter had finally managed to adopt the technique of the Impressionists. In the following, I therefore reconsider Edelfelt’s allegedly “impressionistically grasped” works from Seville, placing them within the larger context of travelling and travel pictures.

“Human exploratory behaviour”, Nelson H.H. Graburn observes, “is behaviour whose principal function is to change the stimulus field and introduce stimulus elements that were not previously accessible. Thus, as art uplifts and makes meaningful the visual environment, so tourism provides an aesthetically appropriate counterpoint to ordinary life.”⁸ These stimuli are the means to achieve renewal. Although travelling and tourism in general have as many variations as there are travellers and tourists, the basic motivation seems to be the human need for recreation.⁹ Recreation (or, vacationing) is, indeed, a re-creation of one’s former self; recreation (vacationing) creates *re-creation*. The assumption that stylistic and other changes often occur during artistic travels finds its explanation in the fundamentals of human behaviour.

Since Edelfelt’s “change” (re-creation) is established mainly in his artworks from Seville, my main focus in the



183. Levy, *City Hall and Plaza de San Francisco*, ca. 1882–1887. Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla.



184. Anonymous, *Alameda de Hércules*, 1891. Archivo Municipal de Sevilla.

6 García Felguera 1993, p. 19.

7 Catani 2000 [unpubl.].

8 Graburn 1978, p. 24.

9 Graburn 1978, p. 31.



185. Levy, *No. 302. Plaza de Toros*, ca. 1882–87. Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla.

text that follows is on the “stimuli” that Edelfelt encountered during his time in the capital of Andalusia. I examine the authenticity of his paintings: whether he painted what he saw, as his “impressionistic” painting manner suggests (an “impressionist” technique suggests “direct observation” of the subject). I examine the connections between his “stylistic” techniques and the subject depicted. Robert L. Herbert’s analysis of Claude Monet’s seascapes of Normandy is encouraging for the following discussion:

[I]t was no accident that [Monet’s] sites along the Channel were tourists’ and vacationers’ spots whose fame preceded their appearance in Parisian showrooms. Equally beautiful pictures of utterly unknown seacliffs would have lacked the essential marketable ingredients: a shared set of associations with the sites, with the literature about them, and with other artists’ renderings of them.¹⁰

The same arguments can be applied to tourist images from Spain. Like Monet’s seascapes, Spanish themes built on previous images. A painter uses a social language, no matter how individually he interprets the scenes, and for this reason art is built upon art, not solely upon an experience of nature, as Herbert phrases it. Herbert remarks that prints of the Normandy beaches, like pictures of Spain, circulated among painters in France and elsewhere in Europe. They were also published in guidebooks, which added to the vision of these sights that tourists and Monet subsequently adopted.¹¹

Herbert also remarks that Monet was a shrewd businessman who actively sought a market for his works. He explains Monet’s popularity by stating that “his art suits the constantly expanding vogue for tourism and vacationing in mythologized ‘nature’”. These associations lead Herbert to conclude that Monet’s pictures “are in an apparent dialogue with vacationing as a displacement of urban life”.¹²

Graburn also emphasises the recreational character of tourism and travel; the human need for recreation is manifest in the act of travelling itself, of being somewhere “else”, away from home and ordinary life. The old adage that “a change is as good as a rest”, is supported by Durkheim’s model, which appeared as early as 1912. Relying on Durkheim’s discussion on “the sacred” (the non-ordinary experience) and “the profane” as the basis for the later tradition within the anthropological sciences, Graburn examines “events and institutions as markers of the passage of natural and social time and as definers of the nature of life itself”.¹³ Mauss’s (1898) analysis of universal rites of sacrifice was the first to note the importance



186. José Jiménez Aranda, *An Incident at the Plaza de Toros*, 1870. Colección Carmen Thyssen Bornemisza, Madrid.

10 Herbert 1994, p. 7.

11 Herbert 1994, p. 6.

12 Herbert 1994, p. 7.

13 Graburn 1978, p. 20.

of the transition between the sacred and the profane, which he described as a progression “which emphasizes the process of leaving the ordinary, i.e., sacralization that elevates participants to the non-ordinary state wherein marvellous things happen, and the converse process of desacralization or return to ordinary life”.¹⁴ Graburn notes that travel is secular societies’ modern equivalent to the annual and lifelong sequences of festivals. According to him, the contrast between the “ordinary/compulsory work state spent ‘at home’ and the nonordinary/voluntary ‘away from home’ state”, is fundamental:

Each meaningful event marks the passage of time and thus life itself. Each secular or sacred period is a micro-life, with a bright beginning, a middle, and an end, and the beginnings and endings of these little “lives” are marked by rituals and thrust us irreversibly down life’s path.¹⁵

Graburn sees the journey as a period of marginality, a “sacred” moment in time which he describes as another life, “which, though extraordinary, is perhaps more ‘real’ than ‘real life’”; it is a period when we really feel alive.¹⁶ Departure is never easy, because we have to leave our “real life” behind, and we can never be sure we will return: “To part is to die a little” as John Donne’s often quoted line goes. Similarly, the re-entry into our old lives is unsettling:

We step back into our former roles ... often with a sense of culture shock. We inherit our past selves like an heir to the estate of a deceased person who has to pick up the threads, for we are *not* ourselves. We are a new person who has gone through re-creation and, and if we do not feel renewed, the whole point of tourism [i.e., travel] has been missed.¹⁷

Re-creation and renewal is thus a fundamental part of travelling.

Edelfelt also wrote from Paris shortly after his arrival that he had learnt much from his Spanish journey, and regarded his previous work as “*underhaltigt*”, below standard. He had difficulties settling down again, since he was not the same person as when he left. He lamented that the Parisians seemed so extremely “bourgeois”, the ladies officious and fussy: “I regard everything here in Paris so old and familiar, at any rate in comparison with what I recently left [behind]. Oh, Spain and these five weeks stand for me as something brilliant, grand, which I here search for in vain.”¹⁸

14 Graburn 1978, p. 20.

15 Graburn 1978, p. 21.

16 Graburn 1978, p. 21.

17 Graburn 1978, pp. 21-23.

18 “Den spanska resan har lärt mig mycket, och jag behöfver blott tänka på några taflor i Madrid för att ödmjukt erkänna att allt hvad jag gjort tills dato varit underhaltigt, och innerligt be Gud om kraft och ihärdighet, det som kanske mest fattas mig. [...] Människorna föreföllo mig alla förfärligt ”bourgeois” fruntimmerna fjäskiga – och här i Paris tycker jag allt är så gammalt och känt, åtminstone i jemförelse med det jag nyss lemnat. Ack, Spanien och dessa 5 veckor stå för mig som något briljant, storartadt som jag fåfängt söker här [...] Ännu har jag ej hunnit sätta mig in i Paris, och jag har sällan känt mig så *dépaysé* här. Boulevarderna med dess bråk, tidningarna med deras käbbel människorna [*sic*] med den affärsmessiga brådska som utmärker dem, förarga mig [...]” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 15 May 1881, SLSA).

When Edelfelt wrote his letter, he had not yet had time to re-acclimatise, and complained that he seldom had felt so “*dépaysé*” – estranged.¹⁹ He still longed for the “brilliant and grand” micro-life he had lived in Spain, the “sacred period” which Graburn describes as, indeed, another life. Edelfelt’s feelings after his Spanish tour are similar to Graburn’s analysis of the journey as a sacred episode. The sacred period may be extraordinary, “perhaps more ‘real’ than ‘real life’”, but it establishes a period when we come out of ourselves; Edelfelt also felt particularly young and full of life in the Alhambra. His journey was, however, sacralised by the contrast of his return to the ordinary and familiar life.

In the following, I examine Edelfelt’s consumption of heritage tourism in Seville by comparing Edelfelt’s letters from Seville with Théophile Gautier’s descriptions. Venny Soldan’s stay in Seville 1890 serves as a valuable point of comparison. I then venture into an analysis of Edelfelt’s preserved artworks from Seville. Two works in particular are the basis for the following discussion: the watercolour *Spanish Interior (The Tobacco Factory in Seville)* and his two versions of the subject that frequently has been named *Shore Road in San Telmo, Seville*.²⁰ In these artworks, his approach is clearly related to the *plein air* painting of the time, which emphasised direct observation of Nature. But “direct observation” also involves translating (the memory of) the view onto the canvas, as in tourist art and ethnographic genre painting; I consider these “Impressionistic” artworks according to the same scheme. They are, after all, part of the painters’ visual travelogues, painted while they were abroad as a statement of what they experienced, regardless of the freed brushwork or other painterly qualities. When interpreting these works, I consequently look beyond their technical virtues and scrutinise their iconography within the greater context; their place in art history is anything but unambiguous.

19 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 15 May 1881, SLSA.

20 *Albert Edelfelt 2004*, p. 80. Hintze has entitled the work and its study “The San Telmo Promenade in Seville during Easter Week” (Hintze 1953, p. 524, catalogue numbers 173-174).

7.1 CULTURAL HERITAGE TOURISM: A QUEST FOR AUTHENTICITY?

– Seville; the Rose of Andalusia – is a large, joyful, neat and trim city. Everything whitewashed [and] finely plastered, but without a particular character.²¹

Albert Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Sevilla 22 April 1881

In Seville, Edelfelt stayed at the *Hôtel de Madrid*, which he described as a first-rate hotel.²² The hotel was included in the 1898 Baedeker guide for Portugal and Spain. It was situated in Calle Mendez Nuñez, at the corner of the Plaza del Pacífico, to the west of the historical centre around the Cathedral, near the Plaza San Fernando. The Baedeker guide informs us that the hotel had a “*dépendance* [annex], a large court with palms, a fine dining-hall in the *Mudéjar* style, and baths; pens. [*sic* from 12½ p. (in spring from 15 p.)”.²³ Edelfelt was comfortably accommodated – Baedeker rated the hotel as first class – which adds to the tourist character of his stay. *Hôtel de Madrid* offered the best that tourists could find in Seville; at least, it was the most expensive, according to Baedeker.²⁴

Edelfelt’s description of Seville – the Rose of Andalusia – as a joyful city, captures his feelings about his short stay in town. Gautier had earlier characterised Seville as “gay, smiling and animated”,²⁵ and Edelfelt seemed determined to appreciate this delightful city during his visit. But he did not work with his art to the degree to which he felt obliged. Instead, he allowed himself some time off. His companion, Edward Darling (Boit), whom Edelfelt characterised as extremely industrious (within two days in the city, Darling had executed four watercolours), while Edelfelt, conversely, complained that he had only managed to accomplish one “unsuccessful” study.²⁶ He excused himself to his mother: “but as the holder

21 “Sevilla; Andalusiens ros – är en stor, glad, prydlig och snygg stad. Allt hvidsmenadt putsadt fint, men utan någon synnerlig karaktär” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Sevilla 22 April 1881, SLSA).

22 “Vi bo på Hôtel Madrid, ett mycket fint och godt hôtel, och ha det i materielt afseende mycket bra” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Sevilla 22 April 1881, SLSA).

23 Baedeker 1898, p. 387.

24 In the Baedeker guide, we read about hotels in Spain: “Hotels with the comfort and international character of the large first-class hotels in the leading European countries do not exist in Spain, with a very few exceptions in such towns as Madrid or Seville, and hence the traveller must not expect too much from the houses advertised as ‘hoteles de primera clase’. In most of the frequented resorts, however, there are now very fair hotels, corresponding to the better second-class houses of France or Italy; their proprietors are often Italians and do all in their power to satisfy the reasonable requirements of foreign guests. [...] The food is generally good and plentiful, especially at dinner, and the bedrooms are clean and well cared for.” As regards other types of lodging in Spain (*Fondas*, *Casas de Huéspedes*, *Posadas* and *Ventas*), Baedeker’s guide is far from complimentary: “the equipment and cleanliness of the bedrooms [in a *Fonda*] are often inadequate for even moderate requirements; the sanitary arrangements are abominable; the servants are frequently lazy, disobliging, and wholly deaf to all requests involving the slightest deviation from the usual national routine.” As regards the *Casa de Huéspedes*, the guidebook notes that they “afford a good insight into the domestic life of Spain, but that and their inexpensiveness are their only advantages. Few of them are fit for foreign ladies.” The *Posadas* and *Ventas* are dismissed out of hand: “[They] are miserable taverns with which the [*sic*] tourists need have nothing to do” (Baedeker 1898, pp. 53-54).

25 Gautier 1926, p. 277.

26 Edelfelt probably refers here to a study that he mentioned earlier in this same letter, an attempt to draw the

of a scholarship and as a figure painter I allow myself this luxury and this indolence. I am so totally occupied by looking around and about.”²⁷

Indeed, Edelfelt was a busy tourist while he was in Seville. He stayed in the city for only four days, yet managed to see all the main attractions.²⁸ *Gitana Dancing* was finished (save for the hands), and after fulfilling his mission as a figure painter he was now on holiday. After all, he held the opinion that there was much less to paint in Seville than in Granada.²⁹ Like a tourist who enjoys strolling about, he spent his time visiting sights and monuments, observing and participating in contemporary Andalusian life.

In this regard, the voyager can be comprehended as a *flâneur*.³⁰ Both the *flâneur* and the tourist view the world as if it were an exhibition. According to Marilyn Brown, the *flâneur* functioned as an artistic alter ego. He was like a tourist, nonexotic, definitively urban; a person who wandered not out of necessity, but unhurriedly, for reasons of his own making. He had no “social duty” to perform, but encompassed a “dandylike attitude of philosophical superiority”.³¹ According to popular literature, Brown informs us, the *flâneur* was a “seemingly aloof bourgeois wandering the crowded streets, parks, arcades, department stores, and passages at his leisure”. He was not merely a gawker, staring or gaping stupidly, but rather, he actively thought about and reflected upon his observations in a highly individual way – all without seeming to do so. Brown concludes that the *flâneur* was thought to be “intrinsically creative under the appearance of passivity”, that is, he was “an artist by instinct and by temperament”.³²

As a painter encompassing the modern temperament, Edelfelt wandered about in Seville like a touring *flâneur*, observing and reflecting upon what he saw while he was out for a leisurely stroll. Venny Soldan also seems to have adopted this method while she was in Seville in 1890: Spain was a country made for leisurely activities, wanderings.³³ The *Oxford*

“El Salon” in Seville: “I have, unsuccessfully, tried to execute a study of the fashionable promenade “El Salon [Jag har försökt göra en skizz af den fashionabla promenaden ”el Salon” men det har ej lyckats]” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Seville 24 April 1881, SLSA). “El Salon” was the epithet of the fashionable promenade, *Alameda de Hércules*, where the bourgeois of Seville met in the evenings. Its name refers to the towering pillars crowned by sculptures of Hercules and Julius Caesar respectively (the historical/antique founders of the city) that are erected by one of its two entrances.

27 “Boit, som är ytterst flitig har redan gjort 4 aquareller här – jag endast 1 misslyckad skizz men som stipendiat och figurmålare tillåter jag mig denna lyx och denna lättja. Jag är så fullt upptagen med att se omkring mig” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Seville 24 April 1881, SLSA).

28 See the following letters by Edelfelt to his mother: Seville 22 April 1881; Seville 24 April 1881; Seville 25 April 1881; Toledo 28 April 1881, SLSA.

29 See e.g., Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Seville 22 April 1881, SLSA.

30 The *flâneur*, or loungeur or saunterer, the idle man about town, is a mid-nineteenth-century concept. The connotations of the word are similar to those of the tourist, bringing to mind a person who happily “waste[s] at least two hours of every sunshiny day [...] with looking at shop-windows”. The quotation appeared in 1854 in *Harper’s Magazine* (August 411/2). Much later, in *Apropos of Dolores* from 1938, H.G. Wells described his pleasant life in London and Paris and an existence where he was a “happy flâneur; I have flâne-d in New York and Washington and most of the great cities of Europe” (*Oxford English Dictionary Online*, “flâneur”, <http://dictionary.oed.com>, electronic document accessed 6 November 2003).

31 Brown 1985, p. 195.

32 Brown 1985, p. 195 fn 71.

33 “Och egentligen är detta landet skapat endast för att promenera sig uti” (Venny Soldan to Eva Topelius, Seville 14 April 1890, HUL).

Dictionary's definition of a tourist, indeed, is applicable to such activities; per definition, a tourist is "one who travels for pleasure or culture, visiting a number of places for their objects of interest, scenery, or the like".³⁴

During Edelfelt's first day in the city (Friday, the 22nd of April), he managed to squeeze in the *Alcázar* and *Casa de Pilatos*, the Cathedral and the Tobacco Factory. The Cathedral and Pedro I's *Alcázar* are situated in close proximity to one another, in the absolute core of the city's historical centre. To reach *Casa de Pilatos*, one has



187. Gustave de Beaucorps: *Seville (The Giralda Tower, Cathedral and Casa de Irueta-Goyena)*, 1858. Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla.

to stroll further to the north, passing through the Jewish quarters. The Tobacco Factory, on the other hand, is to be found in a different part of the city quite close to the Cathedral and *Alcázar*. This means that Edelfelt took in a rather large part of the city in just one day, chomping through all the main sights. He did not paint what he saw, save for an interior of the Tobacco Factory; at least his letters make no reference to such activities, nor are any pictures of these sights preserved and there would not have been time to paint. This may be a reaction to the changed principles as regards the modern painter's choice of subject; modern art and, above all, Impressionism demanded a contemporary, everyday subject, seemingly insignificant and "small" without narrative or anecdotal character. In this context, historical architectural monuments and magnificent views are dismissed out of hand as a suitable theme.

Edelfelt's encounter with the Cathedral of Seville (*Fig. 187*), nevertheless, mirrors Gautier's Romantic description from the 1840s. As an introduction to his chapter on Seville in the *Voyage en Espagne*, Gautier quotes a Spanish proverb: "*Quien no ha visto a Sevilla // No ha visto a maravilla*" (He who has not seen Seville, has missed a marvel),³⁵ which also appears – with grammatical errors – in Edelfelt's correspondence.³⁶

34 *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, "tourist", <http://dictionary.oed.com>, electronic document accessed 6 November 2003.

35 Gautier 1926, p. 277.

36 "Au revoir, next time I'll write from Seville. We'll see if I can make the proverb come true // "*Quien non hay visto*

Gautier's appreciation of the Cathedral is illustrated in the way he expressly connects the Sevillian "marvels" with the Cathedral: "We must confess, in all humility, that this proverb would strike us as more justly applicable to Toledo or Granada than to Seville, in which we find nothing particularly marvellous, unless it is the cathedral."³⁷ Edelfelt also described the cathedral as magnificent and particularly rich [in decoration]:

Objects in silver and gold, velvet, bronze, wrought iron in abundance; yes, I believe that I have never seen anything so sumptuous, not even in the Isaac Church [in St. Petersburg]. But what Theophile Gauthier [*sic*] says about the proportions of the dome, for instance that Notre Dame in Paris would be able to walk upright inside the church is the most impudent lie.³⁸

Gautier called the cathedral "the real wonder of Seville", triumphing over "the wildest and most monstrously prodigious Hindu pagodas". He continues his description noting: "It is a hollow mountain, an inverted valley; Notre Dame de Paris could walk without bending her head down the central nave, which is of terrific height."³⁹ His description of the interiors continues for pages, comprising almost half of the passage of Seville. His embellished language mirrors his impressions.⁴⁰ Edelfelt, on the other hand, does not dwell on the cathedral for more than a few lines in his letters. He mentions that he had visited a mass in the cathedral, and returns to his descriptions of the rich interiors:

The Spanish churches have something mysterious about them by the manner in which the walls surround the nave up to half the height of the pillars. Because there are 90 chapels in the cathedral, one often hears masses without seeing the priest, and sees incense fumes arising far away from behind richly carved wood-enclosures. The royal sepulchre chapel with San Fernando's silver coffin is amongst the most opulent I have seen, and belongs probably amongst the wealthiest that exist in the world. Such abundance of silver and gold exposes what Spain once was, a kingdom on which the sun never descended, Mexico, Peru, Flanders!⁴¹

The specific details that Edelfelt chose to relate to his mother reveal his passion for the past.

a Sevilla // Non hay visto una maravilla [sic] ["Au revoir, nästa gång skrifer jag från Sevilla. Får se om jag kan sanna ordspråket // "*Quien non hay visto a Sevilla // Non hay visto una maravilla*"] (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Granada 21 April 1881, SLSA).

37 Gautier 1926, p. 277.

38 "Katedralen är storartad och isynnerhet rik – silfver och guld-arbete, sammet, brons, smidt järn finnes i öfverflöd; ja jag tror mig aldrig ha sett något så rikt, icke ens i Isakskyrkan. Med hvad Theophile Gauthier [*sic*] säger om dömens proportioner, t.ex. att Notre Dame de Paris kunde spatsera upprätt inne i kyrkan är då den fräckaste lögn" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Seville 22 April 1881, SLSA).

39 Gautier 1926, pp. 284-285.

40 Gautier 1926, pp. 284-290.

41 "I dag på morgonen var jag i högmessan i katedralen. De spanska kyrkorna ha något mysteriöst derigenom att midtelskeppet är inbyggt till halfva pelarens höjd. Som i katedralen finnes 90 kapeller, hör man ofta mesor utan att se presten och ser rökelse ångor uppstiga långt borta bakom de rikt skulpterade trädhägnaderna. Det kungliga grafkapellet der San Fernandos silfverkista står är bland det rikaste jag sett, och troligen bland det rikaste som finnes i verlden ett sådant öfverföd på silfver och guld talar om hvad Spanien fordom varit, ett rike, der solen aldrig gick ned, Mexico, Peru, Flandern!" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Seville 24 April 1881, SLSA).

Edelfelt's sense of the authentic or genuine in Seville was nevertheless ambiguous. Although Edelfelt was apparently overwhelmed by the wealth of Seville's large Cathedral, he complained to his mother that he, as a painter, nevertheless had some misgivings as regards the *Alcázar* (Fig. 188) and the *Casa de Pilatos*.⁴² He described them as being built in a Moorish style (actually they were different examples of the *Mudéjar*, Gothic and Renaissance styles), but he was disappointed by their appearances:

As artists, we have suffered some deceptions as regards "alcazar" [*sic*] and "casa de Pilatos". These two houses, built in a Moorish style, are not capable of anything but fading in comparison with the Alhambra. Moreover, the character is not the same as it originally was, due to the destructive urge of Charles V, who in some places has scrawled away the style by pasting his rather presumptuous device "nec plus ultra" all over.⁴³



188. Courtyard of the Alcázar of Seville, from *Excursions Daguerriennes: Vues et Monuments les plus Remarquables de Globe*, 1842.

While the Alhambra's Nasrid palace was and still is one of the most outstanding examples of (preserved) Arab architecture (dating from the tenth to the late fifteenth centuries), Edelfelt felt that Seville's *Alcázar* had been "scrawled away" by Charles V.⁴⁴ Charles V's urge to promote a purely Christian Renaissance can be comprehended as a conscious demonstration that the Moors, who from his point of view represented a "false" faith, had been expelled from power in 1492. By doing this, he frequently placed his architectural constructions in close proximity to or in the middle of previous Moorish/Arab milieus, as a rhetorical display of his power over the expelled. This statement is apparent in Charles V's Renaissance palace in the Alhambra,⁴⁵ which is imposed within the latter's compound but without destroying any larger parts of the Nasrid palace; instead, it looms in front of the Arab palace like a concrete statement of Christianity's superiority over the Moors. In Seville's *Alcázar* (and elsewhere in the city), this religious-political statement is inflated. In addition to the "plus

42 The *Alcázar* is a royal palace with a long building history, its main parts were erected in the fourteenth-century. It is executed in *Mudéjar*-style (the term stands for the implementation of a Moorish style during Christian rule, after the *Reconquista*). As such, it constitutes the most important example of this style in Spain. The earliest parts are from the twelfth century (built by the *Almohads*), but only fragments are preserved. The palace's general appearance bears strong resemblance to the Alhambra. An abundant use of *spoliosi*-details can be observed: the pillars and capitals are primarily brought from Moorish ruins in Cordoba and Medina Azahara, then incorporated in new constructions in the *Alcázar*. Several additions and changes have occurred well into the nineteenth century. A vast garden complements the palace, exposing stylistically varied formations and buildings (e.g., Moorish, Renaissance and Baroque). The upper parts of the palace are still used by the Spanish royal family when they visit Seville. The *Casa de Pilatos* is a late fifteenth-century and early sixteenth-century palace, which was erected as a copy of a Roman villa by Fadrique de Ribera, who had returned to Seville from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Gothic, Moorish and Renaissance styles meet in the building. Rich stucco- and *azuelo*-decorations particularly characterise the interiors.

43 "Som artister ha vi haft några deceptions hvad "alcazar" [*sic*] och "casa de Pilatos" beträffar. Dessa båda, i mohrisk stil byggda hus kunna ej annat än falna vid jempörelsen med Alhambra. Charles V har dessutom i sin förstörelseifver så klottrat bort stilen på sina ställen och öfverallt klistrat sitt ganska förmättna valspråk "nec plus ultra" att karaktären alls ej är densamma som den ursprungligen varit" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Sevilla 22 April 1881 SLSA).

44 Charles V ruled Spain as Carlos I from 1516–56.

45 This monumental Renaissance palace was constructed in 1526 by Pedro Machuca, a pupil of Michelangelo. A circle inscribed in a rectangle constitutes the plan, which was comprehended as a sign of a "perfect" union of forms. This scheme was also used a few decades later in Philip II's palace San Lorenzo in El Escorial. Charles V's palace in the Alhambra was never completed or inaugurated; its roof is of a late twentieth-century origin.

ultra” device, which also disturbed Edelfelt, tiles with Christian symbols and iconography are frequently imposed in the palace’s interiors as decorative, political statements embedded in the walls and floors.⁴⁶ This mishmash of styles and different eras disconcerted the style-conscious Edelfelt and many of his contemporaries.

Edelfelt’s view of the *Alcázar* echoes that of Gautier. “The *Alcázar*, or former palace of the Moorish kings”, Gautier writes in his *Voyage en Espagne*, “though very fine and worthy of its reputation, has nothing to astonish one when one has already seen the Alhambra at Granada”.⁴⁷ He describes the richly decorated interior, of which the Hall of the Ambassadors “is perhaps even richer and more beautiful than that of Granada”. Nevertheless, Gautier continues by lamenting:

[U]nfortunately somebody has had the idea of utilizing the spaces between the columns supporting the ceiling to house a series of portraits of the kings of Spain from the most ancient days of the monarchy down to the present. Nothing could be more ridiculous. The ancient kings, with their cuirasses and golden crowns, do indeed cut a tolerably good figure, but the later ones produce the most grotesque effect, with their powdered wigs and modern uniforms. [...] As in the Alhambra, Charles the Fifth has left only too many traces of his visits. This mania for building one palace within another is very common and quite fatal, and the historic monuments which it has destroyed, and replaced with insignificant buildings, must for ever [*sic*] be regretted.⁴⁸

When Edelfelt visited the Alhambra, Charles V’s giant renaissance palace did not appear to disturb him, since he does not remark on it in his letters.⁴⁹ When Edelfelt crossed the threshold of the Judgement Gate to the Alhambra, he, like Gautier, paid attention to the “pure” Arabic forms, but in Seville, no such observation was possible. Seville’s past was different from Granada’s, and as a result, the different power relations between Christians and Moors were more overtly exposed. Like Gautier, Edelfelt sought Seville’s Moorish past, although it had come to an end some two hundred years earlier than in Granada (the Spanish *Reconquista* gained victory over western Andalusia, including Seville, in the thirteenth century).⁵⁰ The medieval character that Edelfelt and Gautier had sought, and been able to find in Granada, was not present in Seville. And when Edelfelt did not find what he was looking for, he felt that he had been deceived; the sights did not live up to his preconceptions. Sud-

46 This practice was, however, customary long before Charles V, who merely continued an old legacy of imparting the greatness of the Christian rulers. One example is the Christian iconography as seen on the walls in Pedro I’s *Salon de Embajadores*.

47 Gautier 1926, p. 290.

48 Gautier 1926, pp. 290-291.

49 To B.O. Schauman, Edelfelt mentions the palace only in passing (Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, 18 April 1881, FNG/Archives). To his mother, he wrote about the soaring Alhambra as a fresh and delightful “paradise”, with plants from all over the world, encompassing a poetic and historical interest. He also described that he over and over again had been strolling in Charles V’s alley, where lime-trees, beeches and elm-trees grow, “and where one can believe that one is in France or Germany” [“Hvilket paradis friskt, skönt, högt beläget med vegetation från alla jordens länder är Alhambra, fränsedt det poetiska och historiska intresset, en den herligste ort. Huru ofta har jag ej gått af och an i Carl Vs allé, der lindar, bokar o. almar växa och der man kan tro sig vara i Frankrike eller Tyskland”] (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Granada 18 april 1881, SL5A).

50 Williams 2000, p. 66 ff.

denly, he had nothing (serious) to do: “There is much less to paint here than in Granada”, he claimed to his mother.⁵¹ So he allowed himself to act like a tourist, at least for a few days.

7.1.1 Consuming Popular Culture: The Iconography of the Tourist Experience

Edelfelt’s behaviour in Seville can be seen as an expression of heritage tourism; Chhabra, Healy and Sills point to particular definitions of this type of tourism, which include “local traditions” involving folkloric traditions, arts and crafts, ethnic history, social customs, and cultural celebrations.⁵²

Petra ten-Doesschate Chu observes that during the height of the Romantic movement (i.e., late Restoration and the July Monarchy), an overwhelming interest in the past pervaded French culture on all social levels. In several important ways, Chu asserts, this anticipated the mass culture of the twentieth century, and was, according to her, “symptomatic of the emergence in France of a popular culture”.⁵³ A new kind of history writing, which was designed for the masses, infused historiography with a specific narrative, enlivened with “‘authentic’ anecdotal material and descriptive detail”; Chu asserts that the past was improved and made more colourful and “real”; in this way, historians hoped to reach a new popular audience.⁵⁴

Other researchers emphasise tourists’ motivations to visit a sight, which include the visitors’ attitude and perception of a sight *as* a heritage site or a sight with historical attributes.⁵⁵ As Chhabra, Healy and Sills explain: “[H]eritage tourism is representative of many contemporary visitors’ desire (hereafter, tourists) to directly experience and consume diverse past and present cultural landscapes, performances, foods, handicrafts and participatory activities.”⁵⁶

Perhaps the most important attribute of heritage tourism, which Edelfelt also exercised, is the perception of authenticity. The concept of authenticity is pivotal within the development of this kind of tourism, as Chhabra, Healy and Sills observe. Constructed environments, such as the monuments Edelfelt visited in Seville and Granada (e.g., the *Alcázar*, the Cathedrals, the Alhambra) are perhaps the most obvious manifestations of heritage, but also cultural heritage festivals have their own position within this field of tourism. Edelfelt participated in the local *La Feria de Abril* and attended a bullfight in Seville, which are expressions of cultural heritage events. I would like to stress that festivals, such as a bullfight or *La Feria*, which are performances in which rituals and dress also play their own role, are enacted by local people according to tradition. “In this sense”, Chhabra, Healy and Sills write, “authenticity connotes traditional culture and origin, and a sense of the genuine.

51 “Här är mycket mindre att måla än i Granada” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Seville 22 April 1881, SLSA).

52 Chhabra, Healy & Sills 2003, pp. 702-703.

53 Chu 1994, p. 166.

54 Chu 1994, pp. 166-168.

55 Poria, Butler & Airey 2001, pp. 1047-1048.

56 Chhabra, Healy & Sills 2003, p. 703.

189. Emilio Beauchy, *Café del Burrero, Seville*, ca. 1881.



Within cultural tourism, the production of authenticity is dependent on some act of reproduction.”⁵⁷

Edelfelt’s descriptions of the Spanish national dances reveal that a certain degree of reproduction of the spectacular had permeated the performances; local people enacted the performances according to tradition. This was obvious in his account of his experiences of a tourist performance of the Gypsy dance in Granada, which he utterly despised (see Chapter 6). In Seville his opinion was more favourable, even though the performances were not necessarily any more authentic than the one which he had witnessed in Granada, only that they were performed with more professionalism. The very first thing that he undertook after arriving in Seville seems to have been to visit a *café cantante*.⁵⁸ In these cafés, which Edelfelt claimed were for the amusement of ordinary people, dances were performed every night on a stage while the audience was drinking *manzanilla*. Edelfelt was thrilled by these “oriental” and “wild” dances of controlled passion.⁵⁹

57 Chhabra, Healy & Sills 2003, p. 704.

58 We know from a letter written in Granada that Edelfelt eagerly awaited the marvels of Andalusia: particularly the beautiful women and national dances (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Granada 18 April 1881, SLSA).

59 “I går sågo vi andalusiska nationaldanser i massa – de ha något orientaliskt, vildt, som jag skulle kalla återhållen passion; rörelserna äro ej stora, stegen obetydliga, och inskränka sig blott till rytmiska stampningar, armarnes och höfternas rörelse är hufvudsaken. En ung pojke dansade alldeles makalöst. Så han var växt! Den smäckraste figur jag sett, spenslig – det var ett nöje att se på honom. Musiken är ytterst enformig – även detta orientaliskt – publiken stampar med klappar med händerna i takt med kastagetterna och ropar ”bien” ”ola” ”gracias” vid hvarje lyckad rörelse. – På dessa kaféer mest afsedda för folket dricker man manzanilla, (ett utmärkt godt vin) i långa smala glas, och bjuder åt dansöserna deraf. Dessa ta sitt glas, göra en cirkelformig rörelse, kasta häftigt upp glasets innehåll och ta lyra. Vinet formar en bubbla – det är högst eget och vackert.

The local *café cantante* was, indeed, popular entertainment. One of the most famous places one could visit was Café del Burrero in Calle de las Sierpes (Fig. 189), situated quite close to Edelfelt's hotel. During the Restoration period (1875–1900), unlike Granada, Seville was a city lacking impetus from the Romantic movement. As Hormigo and Molina have shown, the emergent tourism in the city resulted in (foreign) visitors noticing this lack and complaining about the increasing and systematic demolition of significant monuments, such as (parts of) the Roman wall, towers and palaces, that was carried out in the name of progress. This led the local bourgeois to direct tourists' attention towards activities which were clichés of the Andalusian people instead. The imagery of the Sevillian *cigarrera* was revived through the première of Bizet's *Carmen* in Paris in 1875, a situation that the Sevillans now exploited. Hence, the vision of Seville as a place for flamenco and *gitanería* was fortified. The *café cantante* was probably the best place for foreign visitors to witness this myth take physical form. In addition to serving coffee, wine and liquor, the cafés offered concerts of Flamenco song and dance, transformed into an articulate channel for a vigorous Andalusian *costumbrismo*. On the stages of the many *café cantantes* in Seville, the best this genre could offer was put on show.

Thus, the performances at the Sevillian *café cantantes* further cemented the myth of the Spanish *bailaora*. These spectacles were much appreciated by foreign visitors; this led to a cycle whereby the performers' competence grew, thereby increasing their professionalism and the appreciation of the spectacle. The golden age of the *café cantante* lasted approximately between 1881 and 1900. Café de Silverio, for example, was an illustrious café in the Calle Rosario. The owner, Silverio Franconetti, who was an authority on matters related to Flamenco, paid the unheard-of sum of twenty pesetas a day for his lead singer, Antonio Chacón, in 1885. On the stage of Café del Burrero, owned by Manuel Ojeda Rodríguez, one could see famous singers such as El Canario, La Peñaranda and Fosforito, and the gracious dances of Concha la Carbonera, who performed an inimitable *zapateado*.⁶⁰ These cafés – Café del Burrero in particular – left traces in literature, art and photography: one of the most familiar examples is Emilio Beauchy's photograph of the interiors.⁶¹ The *flamenguismo* that these staged performances represented was, according to Hormigo and Molina, generally dismissed as an entertainment distorted for tourists [they do not specify who "dismissed"]. But the phenomenon, as they point out, was affected by recent achievements

– Detta bruk lär vara av grekiskt ursprung således ej gärgammalt" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Seville 22 April 1881, SLSA).

60 The world-wide fame of the Flamenco can be seen from the way in which the Russian impresario at the theatre in Moscow travelled to Seville in 1894 to seek the most illustrious Flamenco singers and dancers (Hormigo & Molina 2000, p. 49).

61 Beauchy was Seville's most famous photographer at that time. This photograph was later included in a publication of his scenes from Seville, which was published in 1895 by the Belgian author Pierre Louÿs. Louÿs was the author who published his famous *La femme et le pantin* in 1894, its plot located in Seville. I discuss Louÿs's book more closely in conjunction with my analysis of Edelfelt's interior from the Tobacco Factory.

within the fields of anthropology and folklore, and as such it was built on cultural differentiation.⁶²

Edelfelt's descriptions of his visits to dance performances in Seville, suggest that he had visited a *café cantante*. He was delighted by the performances, and might have visited one of the leading establishments, such as the Café del Burrero or Silverio. On another night in Seville, he had seen a bolero performed well, and realised that that dance could be considered a fine art. In addition to the bolero, a cachuca was carried out by "one of the best dancers in Seville", characteristically called "Lola".⁶³ Although the national dances performed in the *café cantantes* were transformed into a (genuine) tourist experience, it was highly appreciated by Edelfelt, who enjoyed the performance as if they reflected the essence of Spain. The *café cantante* was also appreciated by the locals, which heightened the sense of authenticity among foreign visitors.

During Edelfelt's stay in Seville, he visited other (spectacular) events as well, such as a catholic mass and a bullfight at the *Maestranza*, the local bullring.⁶⁴ Edelfelt was thrilled and filled with expectation before the bullfight, which he attended on Sunday 24 April. He also bought a costume from the matador Don Antonio Carmona for his friend J.S. Sargent. He described his meeting with the *espada* in a letter to his mother:

Yesterday, I was presented by some kind of a guide here at the hotel to the famous "*espada*" (the matador) don Antonio Cormona [*sic*], also called el Gordito. These toreros, in particular those who have endured their thousands of bloody encounters, earn up to a hundred thousand francs a year; they are as popular as the (female) singers in Russia and the actresses in Paris. No wonder, therefore, that the guide said to me "Vous avez l'honneur de toucher la main du célèbre Antonio Cormona" [You have the honour of touching the hand of the celebrated Antonio Cormona]. – I said in Spanish, as best I could, that I and my friends came directly from Paris to admire "la fuerza heroica de Usted" [Your heroic strength] – Don Antonio likewise uttered some most polite words, and with an elegant gesture he took off his round hat, bowed deeply and left after promising to let me, tomorrow Monday, select a black costume from his old ones that Sargent has asked me to buy.⁶⁵

62 Hormigo & Molina 2000, pp. 47-50.

63 "I går såg jag Boleros dansas så makalöst bra, att jag för första gången insåg att dansen [Bolero] kunnat hänföras till de sköna konsterna. – Mamma minnes huru Bolero är. Kavaljeren komma in insvept i kappa, söker till höger och venster, tills han slutligen ser den sköna, likaledes insvept i mantiller ett helt haf af spetsar, slöjor o.s. slutligen igenkänner hon honom, kastar af sig den ena mantiljen efter den andra, tills hon, i en strålände spansk kostym, bryter ut i en dans, som med kastanjetterna tar sig alldeles utmärkt bra ut. Åskådarnas uppmärksamhet stegras så gradatim, att man, då slutligen slutdansen kommer, och kastanjetterna börja ljuda, är alldeles vimmelkantig. // I går såg jag också en af Sevillas bästa dansöser 'Lola' dansa Cachuca – bestämdt mycket bättre än salig fru Molander. Vad som ger en speciel charme åt danserna här, är att kostymen är den vanliga spanska litet uppiffad, men inga korta klädningar och inga liffärgade trikoter, inga skor utan klackar, inga 45 graders vinklar för benen som på våra baletter. Denna Lola kan högst vara 16 år, hon har något så fint och *comme il faut* i sitt sätt att dansa och beräknar så ypperligt sina effekter att man med den allra största uppmärksamhet följer hvarje steg" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Seville 24 April 1881, SLSA).

64 Later, Edelfelt attended at least one bullfight in Madrid (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 11 May 1881, SLSA). See also Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Toledo 7 May [continued in Madrid 11 May] 1881, FNG/Archives ("Promenader med Madraro i Buen Retiro, theater, tjurfäktningar o.d. har tagit resten [av tiden]").

65 "I går blef jag av en slags guide här på hotellet presenterad för den berömda 'spadan' (matadoren) don Antonio Cormona [*sic*], kallad el Gordito. Dessa toreros, i synnerhet de som med ära stått sina 1000tals blodiga strider, förtjenar ända till 100tusen francs årligen; de äro lika populära här som sångerskorna i Ryssland och aktriserna i Paris. Ej under derföre om guiden sade mig 'Vous avez l'honneur de toucher la main du celebre Antonio Cormona'. – Jag sade på spanska, så godt jag kunde att jag, jemte mina vänner kommit direkt från Paris för att beundra 'la fuerza heroica de Usted' – don Antonio sade likaledes några ytterst artiga ord, och tog



190. Francisco de Goya, "The Morisco Gazul is the First to Fight Bulls with a Lance", *La Tauromaquia*, 1815-16.

Antonio Carmona "el Gordito" (1838–1920) was indeed a celebrated Sevillian torero. His nickname *el Gordito*, which refers to his somewhat stout person, is sustained by a contemporary drawing of the matador.⁶⁶ I have managed to find an old advertisement, where Antonio Carmona EL GORDITO and the much younger Manuel Garcia EL ESPARTERO (1866–1894)⁶⁷ are presented as *espadas* during a bullfight, taking place at the Plaza de Toros in Seville in the evening of Sunday, 13 September 1885.⁶⁸ Edelfelt had managed to meet not only an "authentic" torero, but also one of the most celebrated ones. It is known, for instance, that El Gordito was the chief rival of El Tato, another of the most outstanding bullfighters in Spain at that time, at least until 1869 when the latter was forced to give up bullfighting as a result of being gored.⁶⁹

The historic appeal of bullfights, even in the nineteenth century, was pervasive. The most ancient references to the Festival of the Bullfight (*Corrida de Toros*) date from the thirteenth century, from the time of Alphonso the Wise. Then knights, during the royal functions, made a show of valour by fighting bulls from horseback with a lance, which was called "spearing". Only towards the end of the eighteenth century did the modern *Corrida de Toros* take form, and the bull was fought on foot, with the matador as the central figure. It was also during this period that the festival gained public favour; we also know that Francisco

af sig med en elegant rörelse den runda hatten, gjorde en djup bugning och gick, sedan han lofvat mig att i morgon måndag låta mig välja bland hans gamla kostymer en svart som Sargent bedt mig köpa" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Seville 24 April 1881, SLSA).

66 See *The Bull-Fight* s.a., "Chronology of the most famous bullfighters".

67 This fight was the younger bullfighter's "Alternative", that is, the ceremony by which a *novillero*, an apprentice, is promoted to the rank of *matador*, a real bullfighter (see *The Bull-Fight* s.a.).

68 The advertisement was exhibited at the bullfight-museum at the *Maestranza*-arena in Seville, September 2003.

69 Antonio Sanchez "El Tato" (1831–1895) (see *The Bull-Fight* s.a.).

Goya was an *aficionado* [i.e., a bullfight fan], as can be seen from his graphic series *Tauromaquia* [The Art of Bullfighting], executed in 1816 (Fig. 190).⁷⁰ Edelfelt also seems to have been rather keen on this form of entertainment. His last letter from Seville is almost totally dedicated to the event. He wrote to his mother:

Yesterday, I saw a large bullfight for the first time in my life. It was totally breathtaking and yet my impressions remain confused – it was revolting, barbaric and bloody, but my sense of its beauty, splendour and grandeur remain as clear afterwards. For two full hours, one sits as if on a bed of nails – no drama, no opera could maintain one’s interest so intensely.⁷¹

He described the event in minute detail: the arena, the people in the audience, the music and the whole programme of the bullfight.⁷² He dwelt upon the moment when the *espada*, alone in the arena, armed only with his sword, was confronted by the raging bull, and the moment of the bull’s death as the result of a successful thrust of the sword. All this was, according to Edelfelt, “one of the most splendid spectacles”.⁷³

70 See e.g., Goya 1962 [*Tauromaquia*].

71 “I går såg jag för första gången i mitt lif en stor tjurfäktning. Det är ytterst spännande och intrycket är ofantligt deladt – det otäcka, barbariska, blodiga står lika klart för en efteråt, som det vackra, ståtliga, storartade. Emellertid sitter man under 2 timmar som på nålar – ingen dram, ingen opera kan hålla intresset så spändt” (Edelfelt to His Alexandra Edelfelt, Seville 25 april 1881, SLSA).

72 The letter continues: “The Arena is immense, and the circus, large as Colosseum, holds 15.000 persons, the ladies in eminently fine dresses, pale gloves, white *mantillas* – the people in bright colours. The sight of this ocean of light, these countless spectators, this huge arena with Spain’s blue sky as a roof, and the light replaced by God’s sun are among the most thrilling things one can think of, in particular when the music sounds and the complete assembly of toreros enters. Each costume costs about 2000 (two thousand francs) – the *spada* (the *matador*) walks at the front, then comes a score of toreros then the picadors 8, by horse, then the troop of muleteers with a team of horses (used for dragging the dead horses). After they have completed their tour around the arena, greeted the governor of the province, a horseman dressed in a costume from the time of Philip II enters and asks the governor for the key to the bull-stable. This is thrown down – all the people are silent, a thrust from a trumpet sounds, the moment is dreadful, the doors to the stable are opened, and the bull charges out like an arrow, attacks the first horse, which is killed instantly, a stream of blood spurs from the horse’s rump, the picador is thrown over and I believed he was dead, since the bull gored once more the lifeless horse, and hoisted him like a ball – Such was the beginning – this did not last half a minute. – Each fight lasts about fifteen minutes. The Bull, who finally bleeds from all sides, does not affect me, nor do the men, because they are agile, cunning and brave, and one trusts them. But the horses are in the worst position, twenty of them were killed yesterday {the truth is that only jades sentenced to death are used}. Some of them died instantly, others were split open as one rips up a pea pod and dragged themselves to the barrier” [“Arenan är ofantlig, och hela cirken, stor som colosseum, rymmer 15 tusen personer, fruntimmerna äro i utmärkt fin toileter, ljusa handskar, hvita mantillor – folket i granna färger. Anblicken af detta ljushaf, dessa otaliga åskådare, denna väldiga arena der taket är Spaniens blå himmel och ljusen remplaceras av Guds sol, är bland det mest gripande man kan tänka sig, isynnerhet då musiken ljuder och hela toreros-skan kommer in. Hvarje kostym kostar ungefär 2000 (två tusen francs) – först går *spadan* (*matadoren*) så komma ett tjog toreros så picadoreerna 8, till häst, så hela skaran af mulåsnedrifvare med anspann (för att släpa de döda hästarna). Sedan de gjort sin tur kring arenan, helsat guvernören för provinsen, kommer der en ryttare i Filip II:s kostym som begär af guvernören nyckelen till tjurstallet. Denna kastas ned – alla människor tuga, en trumpetstöt ljuder, ögonblicket är förfärligt, dörrarna till stallet öppnas, och tjuren rusar ut som en pil, anfaller den första hästen, som dödades på fläcken, en ström af blod sprutar ut ur hästens länd, picadoren kastades öfverända och jag trodde han var dödens man, ty tjuren stångade ännu en gång den döda hästen, och lyfte upp honom som en boll – Så var början – detta räckte icke en half minut. – Hvarje strid räcker ungefär 15 minuter. Tjuren som slutligen blöder från alla sidor, gör mig ej ondt, karlarna lika så litet, ty dessa äro viga, listiga och modiga, och man är säker på dem. Men det värsta är med de stackars hästarna, hvaraf 20 dödades igår {sant är att endast till döden dömda kampar begagnas}. Några dog på fläcken, andra fläcktes upp som man sprättar upp en ärtskida och släpade sig sjelfva till barrieren.]}” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Seville 25 april 1881, SLSA).

73 “ett det ståtligaste skådespel” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Seville 25 April 1881, SLSA).

Edelfelt also observed the native spectators at the grandstand, mostly the “better” people with private loges like those at the Opera in St. Petersburg or Paris. According to Edelfelt, their interest in and their reactions to what occurred on the arena were extremely discreet; only when the torero executed a brilliant *tour de force* did they wave a little more vigorously with their fans. By and large, Edelfelt seems to have regarded the spectacle in the same manner as a show at the theatre, a staged and more or less constructed experience.⁷⁴

As Chhabra, Healy and Sills comment, a “staged” cultural experience may be regarded as being as “authentic” as a spontaneous one; all cultures are, in a certain sense, inauthentic, invented, remade and the elements reorganised. New cultural practices, they state, eventually become “embedded as important traditions, their origins forgotten or romanticized”.⁷⁵ Authenticity is negotiable, and a cultural practice may, over the course of time, become generally recognised as authentic. Therefore, “staged authenticity” may not be interpreted as a synonym for “inauthentic” in the exact sense of the word,⁷⁶ but rather as exposing a different or new kind of authenticity which need not be “of undisputed origin or veracity”.⁷⁷ Doubtless Edelfelt felt that the bullfight was indeed “authentic”; it was entertainment first and foremost intended for the natives. And Edelfelt felt enthusiastic, in a manner similar to his experiences of the *café cantante*.

7.1.2 Entering Paradise? Venny Soldan in Seville

As noted above, Romantic art and literature presented Spain as a place where the country’s Moorish heritage was still visible. French Orientalist painters were instrumental in creating the visual imagery of Southern Spain as a place where the remnants of Spain’s historic past were conveniently at hand, primarily at the Alhambra. But, as Mary Cassatt commented in 1872: *Seville* also was a place equivalent with Paradise!⁷⁸

For painters who did not visit Granada, the Moorish heritage in Seville sufficed. A few examples are found in Venny Soldan’s Spanish sketchbook. At least two studies are from the *Alcázar*: *Patio de las Doncellas* (Fig. 191) and *Patio de las Muñecas* (Fig. 192). Her studies reflect



191. Venny Soldan, *Patio de las Doncellas*, Alcázar, Seville, sketchbook 1890. Private Collection.



Venny Soldan (1863–1945), *Patio de las Muñecas*, Alcázar, Seville, sketchbook 1890. Private Collection.

74 For a complete account of Edelfelt’s experiences at the bullfight, see Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Seville 25 April 1881, SLSA.

75 Chhabra, Healy & Sills 2003, p. 705.

76 “Inauthentic” meaning “not authentic, genuine or sincere”, in contrast to ‘authentic’ which stands for “genuine, of undisputed origin or veracity” (see entries for ‘authentic’ and ‘inauthentic’ in *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, Tenth Edition, 1999).

77 Chhabra, Healy & Sills 2003, pp. 705-706. Perhaps the word ‘neo-authentic’ would be useful here?

78 García Felguera 1993, p. 19.



193. Ramon Almela, *Alcázar: Patio de las Doncellas*, ca. 1900. Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla.



194. Venny Soldan, *Water Reservoir (Alcázar, Seville?)*, 1890. Private Collection.

interest in Spain's Moorish heritage. These particular patios are the only parts where daylight pours into the palace's interiors; Soldan chose these naturally illuminated patios where daylight creates a bright contrast to the more shadowy areas, although luxurious decorations and abundant adornments are found in other parts of the palace. Although her choice of the *Alcázar* as motif is traditional, her focus on the natural illumination is symptomatic of a shift in paradigm that occurred with Impressionism. She did document a historical monument, but owing to her formal choices, the play of light dominates the subject (comp. *Fig. 193*). According to Riitta Konttinen, Soldan's style temporarily changed during her Spanish journey. The studies in her sketchbook are light, rather hesitantly drawn and small. Instead of employing a continuous outline, she reduces the edges to several shorter lines, as if everything solid would have melted away by the intensely glaring sun.⁷⁹ A similar feature is present in John Singer Sargent's drawings from Seville in 1879–80. In addition to the freer painting technique that he employed in his works, his drawings frequently lack distinct outlines. Instead, they consist of small lines that constitute the form and “plasticity” of the depicted objects.⁸⁰

The colours in Soldan's small *plein air* exercises were strengthened during her stay in Seville.⁸¹ Her interest in painting out in the open was influenced by the current developments in Paris, but it was the Spanish sun that intensified her colour. In a small oil-painting of a water reservoir (*Fig. 194*), she depicts the reflection of the rich vegetation on the calm water in the basin. In the background, behind the white wall that surrounds the gardens, the crowns of two palm trees are visible to the right. Soldan's “unimportant corner” in a garden could be from any *patio* in Seville, but

79 Konttinen 1996, p. 83.

80 García Felguera 1993, p. 29. For a comparative illustration, see García Felguera 1993, p. 29, Fig. 13 (J.S. Sargent, *Café de Sevilla*, 1879–80, Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum).

81 Soldan wrote about painting *plein air* to her sister Alma. Her interest is also commented on in a letter from her colleague Eva Topelius, written to Soldan when she resided in Seville: “Alma wrote to me that you are well and content and paint *plein air* [Alma skref att du är frisk och nöjd och målar *plein air*]” (Eva Topelius, letter to Venny Soldan [in Seville], Björkudden 23 February 1890, NA).

it is probably from the *Alcázar*. The water reservoir and the adjacent wall with a rail in the upper section are similar to those that we see in an old photograph from the 1880s (Fig. 195).⁸² Soldan's observations of the play of colour on the water surface, the soft, almost blurred handling of colour in the water and the absence of narrative or anecdote, are essential. The painting is purely a study of light and colour but also of water, which was one of her main concerns while she was in Seville.⁸³ The local atmosphere and light made a great impression on Soldan, but she felt they were impossible to imitate and reproduce; the Spanish sun was ruthless for a person from northern countries. She observed the greens of the leaves and the vegetation, which were particularly strong after rain, to the degree that it hurt to look at them.⁸⁴ She also visited Cadiz in order to see "her old friend the sea"; this was "a wonderful experience" which brought on a fit of homesickness.⁸⁵



195. Levy, *Jardines del Alcázar*, ca. 1882-1887. Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla.

In addition to her studies of atmospheric effects, Soldan also observed the locals: a drawing in pencil depicts a Spanish dancer (Fig. 196), and a small oil painting shows a Spanish woman leaning over a wall with flower pots (Fig. 197). Konttinen further includes a drawing in pencil of a boy sleeping out in the street (Fig. 198).⁸⁶

Soldan's response to the ragamuffins was not favourable. She wrote from Seville to her friend and colleague Eva Topelius:

I have painted some works *en plein air* but very much so without success. Here are plenty of motifs and natural beauty, particularly the air is completely wonderful, but everything is definitely impossible to paint. Everything would, without doubt, be much more delightful, and perhaps more attainable, if here were not an unbelievable large number of dreadfully intolerable urchins.⁸⁷



196. Venny Soldan, *Flamenco Dancers*, 1890. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

82 Soldan's view from the *Alcázar* may also be from a part of the palace that is not accessible to tourists. The modern guidebook does not include a similar view. She unquestionably visited the *Alcázar*, and it is therefore possible that this small painting is from the palace's gardens.

83 Gautier wrote about the Spanish atmosphere: "The sky was so consistently blue during my stay in Spain, that I find in my note-book an entry to this effect: 'Saw a white cloud,' as if that where a notable event. We men of the north, whose mist-laden horizon offers an ever-varying pageant of form and colour, in which the wind builds mountains, isles and palaces of cloud, for ever overthrowing them and rebuilding them anew, can have no idea of the profound melancholy inspired by this azure sky which one finds always hanging overhead, as uniform as eternity" (Gautier 1926, pp. 229-230).

84 Soldan wrote to Eva Topelius: "Köld finns ej till, rosor och liljor i full blom, solen obarmhertigt för nordbor och träden för närvarande så gröna att det ej är godt se på dem. Det blefve de i hast efter långt regn och storm" (Venny Soldan to Eva Topelius, Seville 14 April 1890, HUL; see also Konttinen 1996, p. 82).

85 Venny Soldan to Eva Topelius, Seville 14 April 1890, HUL; see also Konttinen 1996, p. 82.

86 Konttinen 1996, p. 82.

87 The translation of the following passage into English requires some modification: "Plein air har jag målat något men dåligt med besked; motif och naturskönhet hvimlar här af och är det isynnerhet luften som är alldeles underbar och säkert oåtkomlig för menskliga händer; vore visst än härligare, och mindre oåtkomlig kanske, om den ej hvimlade af en [sic] otroligt stor mängd, rysligt odrägliga gatpojkar!" (Venny Soldan to Eva Topelius, Seville 14 April 1890, HUL).

197. Venny Soldan, *Spanish Woman at a Terrace*, 1890. Private Collection, Finland.



198. Venny Soldan, *Sleeping Street-Urchin in Seville*, February 1890. Private Collection.

Although Soldan portrayed such a boy, the urchins were a disturbance; they hindered her concentration when she painted *en plein air*. Gautier had described them with similar apprehension some fifty years earlier,⁸⁸ and they still were abundant in Seville. But for Soldan, they were no longer “picturesque” as Gautier had found them.⁸⁹

Catholicism felt particularly strange to Soldan. In a letter to Eva Topelius she related that some of her Spanish friends “necessarily” wanted to save her soul, which meant converting her to Catholicism. But Soldan did not warm to the idea: “Never had I imagined that the human soul could go so astray! The most appalling afflictions are regarded as natural and good among the Spaniards! Is *this* perhaps the true Spaniard, I frequently ask myself!”⁹⁰ Soldan was thus

horrified by the rawness of the Spanish character and the Spaniards’ “appalling afflictions”. This response may also be a reaction to the particularly realistic artworks that can be seen

88 Gautier 1926, p. 284.

89 Gautier paid particular attention to the urchins’ “state of nature”, and that beggars frequently were seen dressed only in a scrap of blanket (Gautier 1926, p. 284). Soldan’s beggar boy’s outfit suggests he was a bit better off.

90 “Aldrig hade jag riktigt kunnat föreställa mig så underliga villovägar som människosjälen i sjäfa verket kan gå! De mest härresande oting anses för naturliga och goda bland spanjorerna! Är detta möjligen den äkta spanjoren, tänker jag ofta i min själ!” (Venny Soldan to Eva Topelius, Seville 14 April 1890, HUL).

in the many churches in Seville, decorated with wooden sculptures of the Passion of Christ or the like, where physical sufferings are depicted with utmost accuracy. One example is found in the *Hospital de la Caridad* in Seville, where Soldan painted her copy after Murillo; the altarpiece by Pedro Roldán depicts scenes from the *Entombment* (Fig. 199, 199a). Roldán's Christ is extremely realistically rendered, his slack, greyish and lifeless body inflicted with the customary marks of the Passion.

Soldan's small oil painting of the woman leaning over the wall is yet another typical late-nineteenth-century image of Spain (see Fig. 197). The woman is dressed all in black and holds a fan of a deep red colour. A line of flowerpots is arranged on the barricade, and everything is painted in a most naturalistic and free vein. The sky is, as in most of Soldan's Spanish *oeuvre*, not deeply azure, but rather shrouded with white clouds. The illumination lacks stark contrasts between light and shade and is rather of an even, almost misty variant. The Spanish lady is also less "picturesque" than most. Soldan was sympathetic towards the animals she saw out in the streets, but was not as impressed by the women, whom she nevertheless regarded as extremely beautiful:

The donkeys are my favourite animals, and I have not yet been able to stop myself from laughing when they roar. There are almost as many of them as street urchins. The cows are tremendously beautiful and large and are hitched to the plough. The calves quarrel with the milkers about the drop of milk that is for sale; this is perhaps the reason for that they are so strong! The women are terribly beautiful, particularly well built, but not at all emancipated like the cows but quite the opposite, idle and stupid, according to what I have heard and seen for myself. A general's daughter asked a Frenchman at a Ball: Is France as large as Madrid? They are nevertheless able to read and write. They powder themselves very well and are neatly dressed, the young ones according to the latest fashion from Paris, the old ones in *mantillas* etc. and [these ladies] are much better looking.⁹¹



199. Church of the Hospital de la Caridad, Seville, interior with Pedro Roldán's *Entombment* as altarpiece sculpture.

91 "Åsnorna äro mina älsklingsdjur och har jag än ej vant mig af från att skratta hvar gång de skola till att ryta. Det finnes nästan lika mycket af dem som af gatpojkar. Korna äro utomordentligt vackra och stora och gå för plogen. Kalfvarna släsa med mjölkkarlarna och om mjölkträren som skall säljas; kanske bli de deraf så starka! Fruntimren och äro rysligt vackra, i synnerhet välväxta, men ej alls emanciperade som korna utan tvärtom, overksamma och dumma efter hvad jag hört, se och kommit åt att sjelf se. Frågade en generalsdoter [sic] på en bal af en fransos: Är Frankrike lika stort som Madrid? Skola dock kunna läsa och skriva. Pudra sig mycket bra och äro snyggt klädda, de unga, nyaste Pariser-mode, de gamla, spanska mantillor etc. och dessa se mycket stiligare ut" (Venny Soldan to Eva Topelius, Seville 14 April 1890, HUL).



199a. Church of the Hospital de la Caridad, Seville, interior with Murillo's *Moses before the Rock of Horeb* (*Moses Striking the Rock*), ca. 1670, to the upper left.

It remains unclear what Soldan means when stating that the cows were “emancipated” – she, on the other hand, was an emancipated woman, and I doubt that she compared herself with the cows in Spain... But her adventurous spirit is evident in the trip itself: she undertook the difficult journey to Spain alone⁹² and on a tight budget at a time when cholera and other diseases threatened the population.⁹³ María de los Santos García Felguera describes other women who visited Seville, mainly American painters: Mary Cassatt (1844–1926) in 1866, Elisabeth (Lizzie) Boot, who travelled in Spain in 1881, and Annie Dixwell, Anna Putman and Lucy Washburn. These women, like Soldan, were drawn to Spain by their interest in the Spanish Old Masters, Mariano Fortuny⁹⁴ and Moorish architecture. Soldan’s friendship with the American painter Eleanor Norcross also connects her to the Americans’ curiosity about Spain; according to Konttinen, Soldan’s urge to go to Spain was inspired by Norcross, who had travelled in Spain in 1888.⁹⁵

But women travelling alone in Spain were generally frowned upon. As Lizzie Boot reported from Spain, her presence and foreign appearance caused some stir among the natives, since she did not wear a Spanish dress and hence became the object of stern glances.⁹⁶ I can only assume that Soldan was regarded in a similar manner. Soldan, however, was used to travelling from an early age and was rather cosmopolitan.⁹⁷

Venny Soldan’s paintings from Seville – which are more concerned with the atmospheric effects after a rainfall than with the starkly blue sky – sustain my view that “insignificance” was a new avenue of approach. The Picturesque did not attract her attention,⁹⁸ and her drawing of the beggar boy is more a description of contemporary Seville than an ethnographic portrayal of a particular type. Unlike Granada, Seville was not a particularly romantic place to visit; it was a large, contemporary city. As we know, during the late nineteenth century, artistic attention shifted from monuments to people. The main line of approach was to paint

92 Soldan’s friend and colleague from Paris, the Swedish painter Hanna Pauli wrote to Soldan in Seville: “I Sevilla? Ja nog är du en flyttfågel som man aldrig vet hvar man har och bordtflugen ur boet tycks du vara på allvar me [*sic*]. [...] Det är modigt av dig att ge dig af ensam till ett obekant land – jag menar ej för den personliga faran men för det långsamma i ensamheten och saknaden af att kunna meddela sig med någon” (Hanna Pauli to Venny Soldan, 23 January 1889 [most likely 1890], NA; see also Konttinen 1996, p. 81). There is a chance, however, that she may have travelled with a friend, since Hanna Pauli asks her (in the same letter, quoted above), whether Soldan’s “former friend”, a singer, had returned home?

93 Venny Soldan to Alma Soldan, [undated 1890], NA. In her letters to Alma, Soldan frequently complained that she was running out of money. Therefore, she executed copies after Spanish Old Masters in the churches and at the museum (see also Venny Soldan to Alma Soldan, Linea 2 August 1890; [undated 1890], NA; Venny Soldan to Eva Topelius, Seville 14 April 1890; Seville 13 July 1890, HUL).

94 In Soldan’s Spanish sketchbook, there are some drawings which are similar to Fortuny’s, but I have been unable to pinpoint their possible origins. They may also be executed during her short visit to Tunisia, where she went after leaving Spain (Venny Soldan’s sketchbook 1889–90, Private Collection).

95 During this journey, Eleanor Norcross had paid particular attention to Velázquez (Konttinen 1996, p. 82). In a postcard to Soldan, Norcross wrote that she had been travelling in Spain with her father (E.N. [Eleanor Norcross] to Venny Soldan, [Paris, postal date 3 July 1888], NA).

96 García Felguera 1993, pp. 25–27.

97 From Spain, she continued to Italy, where one of her friends, Sally Piispanen, resided near Lake Lugano (Konttinen 1996, pp. 84–85).

98 Soldan presumably painted pictures of donkeys (Venny Soldan to Eva Topelius, Seville 14 July 1890, HUL). In a letter to Eva Topelius, Soldan mentions that she will paint a donkey for her friend, on her commission: “Tack för din beställning! Din äsna skall du ha!” (Venny Soldan to Eva Topelius, Seville 13 July 1890, HUL).

supposedly “insignificant scenes”. The concentration was on the light and colour born out of the contrast between shadow and sunlight, the mercilessly bright Southern Sun shining from Seville’s azure sky.⁹⁹

7.2 FÁBRICA DE TABACOS: AN OBJECT OF DESIRE

The line between contemporaneity and Romanticism in travel pictures is extremely hard to draw. As we have seen, Edelfelt painted genre pictures with a Romantic disposition while he was in Granada. He adopts the same mode in Seville, albeit in a freer and less obviously Romantic manner. One of the first places Edelfelt visited after arriving in Seville was the Tobacco Factory.¹⁰⁰ There he painted one of his pictures that has frequently been used to demonstrate that he followed his time: *Spanish Interior (The Tobacco Factory in Seville)* (Fig. 200). In terms of its subject, it blends contemporary trends (depicting working women in a free execution) and Romanticism. In the subsection that follows, a combination of form-analysis and contextualisation of the motif is used as a means of establishing the extent of subordination of form to theme. It appears that the less subordination, the more “modern” the picture, at least if judged by contemporary criticism and later vanguard history of art.

The Tobacco Factory in Seville is an imposing example of late Spanish Baroque. It was erected in the late eighteenth century as a result of the city’s expanding tobacco monopoly. Inside the huge building, mainly women and their children worked making cigarettes and cigars (*trabucos*). In 1840, Gautier estimated that about five to six hundred women were busy working, while Edelfelt, some decades later, put the number at ten times that figure:

The most interesting I have seen from a picturesque point of view is the large Tobacco Factory where 6000 Andalusian women work in endless halls, rolling cigars and cigarettes. The noise and commotion cannot be described. The heat and the smell of tobacco are appalling. The normally colourful Andalusian garment is reduced to the magnificent coiffure, a bright kerchief on top of the linen and then a kirtle and silken shoes. Here one sees every conceivable type of every age, and one can here pass through a scale ranging from sixty-year-old witches, compared to whom Macbeth’s are beauties, to the most blossoming, fine, eighteen-year-old maidens that one can think of. They have remarkably fine features and fine hands, these Spanish women. Amongst this substantial quantity I did not see one rough hand. Those who are married and have children drag their youngsters with them. Therefore naked kids crawl in the midst of the sacks of tobacco whereas others, those who are very young, suck while their mothers roll small *trabucos*. All this takes place in an old building from the seventeenth [*sic*] century, highly picturesque.¹⁰¹

99 García Felguera 1993.

100 Edelfelt’s watercolour *Interior from the Tobacco Factory in Seville* is inscribed in the upper margin: “Lendemain de l’arrival [...]”. This roughly translates into English as: “The day after the arrival [...]”.

101 “Det intressantaste ur rent målerisk synpunkt jag sett här är den stora tobaksfabriken der 6000 andalusiskor arbeta i ändlösa salar, rulla cigarrer och papyrosser. Det är ett stöj och ett lefverne som ej kan beskrivas. Hettan är förfärlig, tobakslukten likaså. Den vanliga andalusiska grannlåten är inskränkt till den ståtliga coiffuren, en grann halsduk ofvanpå lintyget och så kjörteln och sidenskorna. Man ser här alla möjliga typer af alla åldrar, och man kan här genomlöpa skalan från 60 åriga hexor mot hvilka Macbeths äro skönheter till de mest blomstrande, fina 18 åriga tärnor man kan tänka sig. De ha märkvärdigt fina drag och fina händer, dessa spanskor. Bland denna stora mängd såg jag ej en enda grof hand. De som äro gifta och ha barn släpa



200. Albert Edelfelt, *Spanish Interior (The Tobacco Factory in Seville)*, 1881. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

Edelfelt was, of course, not the only traveller interested in the Tobacco Factory. Gautier described an incredible “hurricane of noise” and “uproar” when the women were all “talking, singing and quarrelling at the same time”.¹⁰² This statement is only slightly rephrased by Edelfelt in his comment that “the noise and commotion” was impossible to describe.

Prosper Mérimée’s portrayal of the Sevillian *cigarreira*, Carmen, was the epitome of the women working in the Tobacco Factory. I have already discussed the importance of Bizet’s *Carmen* for the formation of the image of Andalusian women; Bizet emphasised the famous knife fight, which took place in this actual building. The critics condemned the opera as scandalous, because they considered the leading star to be impudent and indecent (see Chapter 6). Edelfelt also described the women working in the factory as wearing a “reduced” outfit, restricted to a bright scarf on top of the linen, a kirtle and silken shoes only.¹⁰³ In 1840, Gautier commented that the “extreme negligence of their dress enabled one to ap-

ungdomarna med sig. Nakna ungar krypa därför omkring bland tobakssäckarna, och andra, de helt små, dia under det modern rullar små trabucos. Allt detta är inhyst i en gammal byggnad från 1600 talet, högst pittoreskt” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Seville 22 April 1881, SLSA).

¹⁰² Gautier 1926, p. 291.

¹⁰³ See Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Seville 22 April 1881, SLSA.

preciate their charms at full liberty”,¹⁰⁴ a wonderfully revealing remark which may be interpreted as meaning that the women worked more or less unclothed.¹⁰⁵

When Pierre Louÿs published his book *La femme et le pantin* in 1898, the imagery of the more or less undressed women had already become standard. The heroes of Louÿs’s novel entered the Tobacco Factory, which he described more as a harem than as a place of work. Due to the terrible heat that Edelfelt also mentioned, the women in the novel were allowed to undress to the point that they worked in their underclothes (or, in some cases, topless), wearing only a simple underskirt of sheer material around their waist or sometimes arranged around the upper thigh. As Edelfelt informed his mother, all ages could be seen working in the factory, a fact repeated in Louÿs’s account. Women old and young, sturdy and slim, ugly and beautiful, worked side by side together with their naked children and adolescent daughters. In his narrative, Louÿs also described how the visitors were escorted by a guard into this huge workspace (which could be compared to visiting a harem) with thousands of women who encompassed “great liberty in dress and speech”. Hence, as García Felguera remarks, the interiors of the *Fábrica de Tabacos* functioned as a copious (tourist) attraction, where the male visitors could easily satisfy their curiosity; the Tobacco Factory was, indeed, “an object of desire”. The guests were shown around the interiors as if they were visiting a cathedral or a museum.¹⁰⁶

Despite its picturesque appeal, the Factory was nevertheless a place of work. In an official photograph from 1880, the women are “properly” dressed and posing for the camera (Fig. 201, 202).¹⁰⁷ They are seated by a table, which is not the case in many paintings where the workers frequently were depicted with the cases of supplies in their laps. García Felguera describes the Belgian sculptor Constantin Meuni-



201. Emilio Beauchy, *Elaboración de cigarros. Fábrica de Tabacos*, ca. 1880. Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla.



202. Unknown, *Cigarrera*, ca. 1895. Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla.

104 Gautier 1926, p. 291.

105 See Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Seville 22 April 1881, SLSA.

106 García Felguera 1993, pp. 36-37 (quotation from Pierre Louÿs, *La femme et le pantin*, Paris 1898).

107 Emilio Beauchy, “167. Elaboración de cigarros. Fábrica de Tabacos”, ca. 1880, Fondo Siglo XIX, Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla (illustration in Hormigo & Molina 2000, p. 34).



203. Gustave Doré, *Cigarreras outside the Tobacco Factory*, illustration in Baron Davillier, *L'Espagne*, Paris, Hachette, 1874.

er's (1831–1905) interior from the Tobacco Factory, which he had visited in 1882. Meunier had travelled to Spain in search of inspiration for his growing interest in depicting the working classes. The picture's content repeats the above descriptions, but Meunier's figures perform their work with concentration, dignity and gravity. García Felguera, therefore, sees Meunier's version of the Tobacco Factory as a homage to the woman working there, the *cigarrera*. As such, it is an exception as regards traditional genre paintings from the *Fábrica de Tabacos*.¹⁰⁸

Paintings from the factory drew chiefly on sensual aspects (comp. *Fig. 204*). In the Sevillian painter Gonzalo Bilbao Martínez's (1860–1938) vision of the interior, *The Cigar-Makers* from 1915 (*Fig. 205*), our main attention is drawn to a woman breast-feeding in the midst of the working women. Bilbao's *oeuvre* is marked by realism, and he frequently depicted everyday life in Seville and the surrounding countryside, the hard work of reapers or, as in this picture (which is regarded as one of his best compositions), cigar-makers. In some pictures his realism verged on social criticism.¹⁰⁹ In this anecdotal interpretation of the *cigarreras*, he was able to study perspective, but, above all, light effects in a manner influenced by Velázquez, which was Bilbao's greatest preoccupation. Ultimately, his technique came close to that of the French Impressionists.¹¹⁰ Despite his concern with the working conditions of his models, he brings forward the sensualism usually connected with the theme.

As Javier Portús points out, several Spanish painters (Sevillian and others) were familiar with the foreign interpretation of the cigar-makers. The topic was strictly literary, and he ascribes much of its popularity to Charles Davillier's travel account *L'Espagne*, which appeared in 1862, illustrated by Gustave Doré's woodcuts (*Fig. 203*).¹¹¹ Davillier and Doré's joint volume functioned as a literary and graphical guide for several subsequent travellers. As Portús remarks, its descriptive as well as ideological imagery was based on the Romantic authors' Spanish travel accounts (he mentions Ford, Borrow, Gautier and Merimée), but here all previous topics were combined within the same covers.¹¹² We have already seen that

108 García Felguera 1993, p. 36.

109 Manja Wilkens as well as Portús point out that the *cigarreras* were not subdued women; they were very concerned about their poor working conditions. Bilbao's empathic paintings worked in favour of their endeavours. The Sevillian *cigarreras'* activities also encouraged their French colleagues to become the first to organise professionally and establish a trade union (Wilkens 1994, p. 111; Portús 1993, p. 88).

110 Izquierdo Moreno 2000, pp. 111-113.

111 Portús 1993, p. 87. See also Charles Davillier's, *L'Espagne ... Illustrée de 309 gravures dessinées sur bois par Gustave Doré*, Paris 1874. The first edition appeared in 1862. A shortened version of their journey was also published in the French journal *Le tour du monde: nouveau journal des voyages*, n. 12, 1865, pp. 353-432, as "Voyage en Espagne".

112 Portús 1993, p. 84.



205. Gonzalo Bilbao Martínez, *The Cigar-Makers*, 1915. Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville.



204. Late 19th-century painting of women working in the Tobacco Factory in Seville.

Edelfelt only slightly rephrased Gautier's description of the interior of the Tobacco Factory, which is yet another verification that Romantic imagery was, indeed, influential.

Portús sees the popularity of the *cigarrera* as a result of the concurrent *flamenquismo*. This was a genre that mainly interested foreign visitors in Seville during the last decades of the nineteenth century. *Flamenquismo* presented different "folkloric" types, which came to stand as symbols of a general vision of Andalusia and Seville in particular. The main folkloric types were the *femmes fatales*, who hid knives in their suspenders, the *bandoleros*, who were sometimes gentle and sometimes not; depraved young men; strange *gitanos*; courageous *toreros* and easy-going *bailadoras* [a *bailaora* is a flamenco dancer, the *bailadora* a dancer in general]. In sum, these were the types that were abundantly present in such works as Davillier's (and hence Romantic literature). Portús notes that the Andalusians' characteristics sometimes bordered on stereotypical caricatures, which did not exist in reality; the tourists did not see the Sevillans according to their own experiences but rather their interpretations tended to be based on information they had received from other persons who were as ignorant as they were. The perception of "Seville" was thus a literary perception, which was based on nostalgia and fantasies. Andalusians were, as the Spanish writer Francisco Villaespesa described it in 1929, presented as flashy people ("*vocingleros guacamayos*") living in a "*tierra de sol y de alegría, de los toros y de las procesiones, de los vinos y de castañuelas, de las mujeres*



206. Anders Zorn, *Adios Maria*, 1884. Zorn Collections, Mora.

posing out on a *patio* together with a young boy (Fig. 206). Zorn's general predilection for emancipated women who could steer their own fate is noteworthy: the *sevillanas* also were perceived as unconventional and uninhibited persons with open minds.¹¹⁵

celosas y de los bandidos apasionadas".¹¹³ Seville was, indeed, imagined as a "cinematographically" picturesque place.

As Portús observes, the term *flamenguismo* immediately brings these stereotypes to mind. "Carmen" offers a more cutting label since it refers to the name of an actual woman. "Carmen" may be regarded as the incarnation of a Romantic Spain. In reality, Merimée's heroine was a *gitana* from the regions north from Navarra, and the Sevillian women seem not to have identified themselves with the particular temperament of this character. According to Portús, the problem is that she was a *cigarrera*, and that the label "Carmen" could be attributed to any one of the thousands of women working in the factory. She thus became a symbol for the rest of her colleagues and, by extension, for a particular type of Andalusian woman. This type of woman is abundantly represented in Davillier's and Doré's graphical and literary descriptions from the Tobacco Factory, which they described as a picturesque universe of female workers, perhaps the largest concentration of women in one place that one could find in all the world. Additionally, the *cigarrera* was a type of woman similar to the *maja*.¹¹⁴ But, with the exception of Bilbao's paintings, the imagery of the *cigarrera* was an entirely foreign fabrication.

Another example of how foreign visitors associated Sevillian women with the cigar-makers can be seen in a painting by Anders Zorn. When the Swede visited the factory during one of his visits to Seville, he deliberately sought a model from the *cigarreras*. According to his own account, he chose the most beautiful and dressed her up as a *maja* and had her

113 "[...] a country of sun and joy, bulls and processions, wine and castanets, jealous women and passionate bandits" (Portús 1993, pp. 86-87).

114 Portús 1993, pp. 87-88 (illustrations pp. 89-90: José García Ramos's *Salida de las cigarreras* and *Celos en la Fábrica de Tabacos*; Francisco Cabral Bejarano's *La muerte del Carmen*. Bilbao was occupied with several similar motifs, in addition to the interior, mentioned in the text). Manja Wilkens also briefly discusses the cliché image of smoking Spanish women, and emphasises the role of Carmen and her colleagues who worked in the Tobacco Factory in Seville (Wilkens 1994, pp. 109-111).

115 García Felguera 1993, pp. 37, 40-41. The "emancipated" women were, nevertheless, more or less liberated to "slavery".

The imagery of the Spanish and, above all, Sevillian women was infused with metaphors of liberated women working in places such as the Tobacco Factory in Seville and who could live an independent life without the restraints of society's decorum.¹¹⁶ As García Felguera observes, the frankness and the secure and free technique with which Zorn painted his Spanish genre-portraits is also apparent in his official portrayals of women, such as *Lady Ashley* from 1898, or of a Parisian woman playing billiards "as a man would" from the same year. Women of the working class were a suitable theme to depict. When Zorn stayed in Madrid in 1884, for instance, he elaborated on this theme in a picture showing a woman working by a window in the Royal Tapestry Factory.¹¹⁷

Edelfelt's approach to his subject was less direct. The lure of the motif's appeal was, of course, the women's state of undress, but he has not elaborated on this particular aspect. In his vigorously painted watercolour, we see two women seated in the front to the right. The walls and vaults in the background are painted in flowing watercolours; the forms are more or less abstract. The flowers in the women's black hair, and their blue and red scarves that leave their arms bare, make up the only colour accents. In the absolute front, two sacks of tobacco leaves are positioned in front of the workers. We should remember that this is an unfinished study, according to the rough outlines of additional women seated further at the back of the scene; we can only imagine what this swiftly painted preliminary study would have turned into if Edelfelt had decided to execute a *Salon*-version of the theme.

As Elina Anttila remarks, the plasticity of Edelfelt's figures and clear outlines diminished in favour of patches of colour and light in some of his watercolours and studies from Spain. She mentions the interior from the Tobacco Factory, a few of his street-scenes from Toledo and another watercolour of a Spaniard, discussed above. By the means of straightforward patches of plain colour, she argues, Edelfelt has here captured only the essential ["expressing the maximum with the minimum"]. According to Anttila, this was a result of Edelfelt's rapid pace of work during his rather mobile life in Spain, which worked together with his curiosity about Velázquez's technique. This approach to painting, she states, was something that he had learned "maybe somewhat superficially" from Bastien-Lepage and other *plein air* painters in Paris. She contends that the Spanish journey took place at a favourable time and that earlier influences were now fortified.¹¹⁸

I have to agree with Anttila that Edelfelt's Spanish watercolours possess a freer execution and favour colour to drawing. But why do such changes frequently occur during a journey, apart from the obvious point that a sightseer has to work fast? In the following subsection, I examine this matter and propose that travel and change are closely interconnected. The

116 Wilkens notes that male visitors from abroad often observed Spanish women executed hard labour normally carried out by men. The smoking Spanish woman also belongs to this category, since smoking initially was an activity for men exclusively. But foreigners generally described the Spanish women as passionate smokers, and while they were in Spain they eagerly sought to find the real equivalent to their fantasies. This woman was, of course, frequently found in the *Fábrica de Tabacos* in Seville (Wilkens 1994, pp. 109-111).

117 García Felguera 1993, p. 40.

118 "[...] ehkä hieman ulkokohtaisesti" (Anttila 2001, pp. 150-151).



208. Thomas Eakins, *A Street Scene in Seville*, 1870. Private Collection.

painter simultaneously had to orient himself within the strange milieu, and thus clung to traditional motifs and milieus. An obvious contradiction occurs, which is apparent in Edelfelt interior from the Tobacco Factory. When it comes to travel pictures of foreign cultures and milieus – however “impressionistically grasped” – the outcome can never be “a direct observation of nature” executed without predilection and tendency.

7.3 TRAVEL PICTURES AND *PLEIN AIR*– “IMPRESSIONISM”

Acknowledging that Seville, by the time of Edelfelt’s short stay in the city, was comprehended as a place where visitors were able to enjoy the pleasures of contemporary life and the southern light and colour, is paramount (*Fig. 208*). This was the way the city was perceived by late nineteenth-century painters, whereas Granada was seen to encompass more picturesque qualities. The lack of picturesqueness in Seville is aptly demonstrated by Gautier’s description of the city’s general appearance and *atmosphere*:

To the great disappointment of travellers and antiquaries, whitewash reigns supreme in Seville; three of four times a year the houses put on a fresh coat of white, which gives them a cleanly and well-cared-for look, but conceals form investigation the remains of the Arab or Gothic sculptures which formerly adorned them. Nothing could be more monotonous than this network of streets, in which the eye can distinguish no more than two colours: the indigo of the sky and the chalk-white of the walls, on which are outlined the azure-tinged shadows of the neighbouring buildings; for shadows in hot countries are blue, not grey, so things look as if they were lighted on one side by moonlight and on the other by the sun; yet the complete absence of all sombre tones produces a general effect of life and gaiety. ... As for the external architecture, it has nothing remarkable about it; the height of the buildings rarely exceeds two or three stories, and it would be hard to count a dozen façades of any artistic interest.¹¹⁹

As we know, painters increasingly supplanted their ethnographic motifs and historical monuments with more personal and intimate subjects from the 1870s onwards; in this context, Seville was particularly well equipped as a source for inspiration. Edelfelt also noted that Seville was a large, joyful, neat and trim city, but without particular character [lacking picturesque motifs].¹²⁰ He did not accomplish much, but kept busy wandering about. (*Fig. 207*)

119 Gautier 1926, pp. 277-278.

120 “Sevilla, Andalusiens ros – är en stor, glad, prydlig och snygg stad. Allt hvidsmenadt putsadt fint, men utan någon synnerlig karaktär” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Seville 22 April 1881, SLSA).

In recent research on French landscape painting from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the emerging tourism industry is mentioned as a possible factor in the development of the Impressionists' *plein air* views. We have already discussed Herbert's analysis of Monet's pictures from the French seaside, where the French artist is presented as "supposedly a naturalist who painted what he saw".¹²¹ But he edited his field of vision carefully in order to match it with preconceived imagery, based on how the site was conceived decades ago. Thus, he excluded more than he included, and left the tourist infrastructure outside his vision.¹²²

Herbert's approach is particularly applicable when analysing Edelfelt's view from San Telmo (*Fig. 209*).¹²³ From Edelfelt's letters we know what he saw, but we also know that not everything was worthy of his brush. A quick glance indicates that an "impressionist" outlook guided his choice of subjects, but a closer inspection nevertheless reveals several hidden, Romantic mythologies.

By establishing the "touristy" character of Monet's impressionistic views, Herbert re-evaluates the notion of the Impressionists' need for "direct observation" of Nature. The most widely accepted definition of the Impressionists' "style" includes their primary interest not in the motif, but in the process of seeing, that is, the picture is created in the eye of the one who sees; it was an "*école des yeux*" (a term coined by Marc de Montifaud).¹²⁴ Seizing the isolated present, which was displayed in a chain of fleeting moments, was important. One of the most common views of Impressionism seems to be their desire to attempt to paint according to a non-cognitive vision. For instance, when we look at a landscape, enfolded in mist or sunlight, we conceive more than we actually see, because we supplement what we see with what we know or what we expect to see. The Impressionists wanted to create a perception of reality through purely optical-technical solutions, choosing only a specific aspect of the phenomenon such as how an image is mechanically dispersed in patches of colour on our retina. Jules Laforgue, who



207. Casiano Alguacil, *Street in Seville* (*Mateos Gago*), ca. 1870–1875.

121 Herbert 1994, p. 1.

122 Herbert 1994, pp. 1-2.

123 Interestingly, Ville Lukkarinen also deploys Herbert's analysis of preconceived vantage points when discussing one of Edelfelt's later landscapes, *Kaukola Ridge at Sunset* (1889–90). Lukkarinen arrives at the conclusion that Edelfelt, like Monet at the Normandy coast, carefully edited his view, excluding all signs of tourism and civilisation, in order to give the viewer of his picture a "true and personal experience of nature". Lukkarinen observes, like I do in my analysis of Edelfelt's *San Telmo*, that such an experience, nevertheless, can never be truly authentic and personal, since it is, indeed, already preconceived on a mental level. The fact that Edelfelt practiced such a revision of his field of vision as early as 1881, gives further support to Lukkarinen's argument. For more on Lukkarinen's discussion of Edelfelt's *Kaukola Ridge at Sunset*, see Lukkarinen & Waenerberg 2004, pp. 118-124.

124 Lund 1993, p. 16.

209. Early 19th-century view of *Palacio de San Telmo*, Sevilla. Private Collection, Sevilla.



was present when the Impressionists discussed their art at the Parisian cafés, testifies that this way of looking at Nature included forgetting or ignoring all previous knowledge of art. Our eyes register only vibrations of light. Hence, following this nineteenth-century theory of the physiology of the human eye, the Impressionist painter sought to register passively a pure impression, the “optical truth of the retina”.¹²⁵

Ruskin’s theory of the “innocence of the eye” was closely connected with Realism, but it also encouraged the development of Impressionist ideas. His theory has been revised, as is testified by Herbert’s re-evaluation of Monet’s Impressionistic works; Monet’s activities on the Normandy coast, however Impressionist the outcome, also included a social component.¹²⁶ Yet Ruskin’s theory of the innocent eye (which means we have to separate what we see from what we know) has significance for the discussion of nineteenth-century tourist painting and its connection with Impressionism. Whereas the traveller was obliged to experience authenticity, Ruskin’s painter had to relate the optical, genuine truth of the eye;¹²⁷ Monet’s “impressionistic” seaside landscapes can be labelled “tourist art”, despite his focus on the “optical, genuine truth of the eye” and exclusion of the tourist infrastructure. The Impressionist approach seems to be an appropriate method for documenting reality and authenticity, and the technique was decidedly relevant for depicting scenes that were “unburdened by tradition”. The approach was also well suited for translating atmospheric

125 Lund 1993, pp. 16-17.

126 Herbert states: “Prior knowledge guided the vacationer and painter, who were therefore not at all independent of society although in search of a unique experience. In fact, each was deliberately recapitulating a social experience in order to savor it alone [...]” (Herbert 1994, p. 2). Instead of examining Monet’s Normandy pictures as “pure” observations of Nature, Herbert finds several other areas of interest: “the dialogue between his ‘motifs’ [...] and the site itself; the dialogue between his pictures and prior representations; and that between his art and Parisian financial and cultural markets” (Herbert 1994, p. 6).

127 Lund 1993, p. 17.

effects onto the canvas: the vibrations of the heat, the burning sun and the colourful shadows, all of which are features that were frequently noticed in travel accounts from Spain. The Impressionist approach to the subject brought colour to the fore; new discoveries revealed its physical qualities in relation to light and shade, and the relation of complementary colours. The small canvases enabled the Impressionists (and *plein air* painters in general) to treat the whole canvas at once, and the outcome was a rather “sketchy” composition whose different brushstrokes were left visible. This technique was, of course, perfectly suited for the mobile and itinerant *plein air* painter, who was obliged to travel with light luggage and without the means of a studio. The impressions were, indeed, to be seized quickly, since the traveller had to move on to the next site.

But however natural a choice the Impressionist technique seems to be, tradition is always present in some way when reality is documented in travel pictures; total innocence cannot be achieved. The painter’s own cultural background also produces differentiation in impressionistic travel-pictures, although the directness of the technique may suggest otherwise.¹²⁸ It seems quite clear that the growing tourism industry (increasing mobility) encouraged painters to use the Impressionist mode of painting, and vice versa, basically because they both demanded authenticity. But, as Herbert argues, visitors from abroad were those who were furthest removed from assimilation with the site, and the ones most likely to treat the resort as “a short-lived performance on a foreign stage”.¹²⁹ The “truth” or “essence” of what was seen was de facto “tainted” by the painters’ previous experiences and feeling.¹³⁰ As I have pointed out earlier, tourist art (regardless of the technique), functions as a memory trigger, evoking emotions associated with the depicted image. The change wrought by Impressionism was that sketchy studies also were considered suitable for display, since they were painted quickly *en plein air* and thus thought of as “proof” of that direct observation had occurred.

7.3.1 *San Telmo Sevilla – recuerdo de la Feria*

Contemporary Spanish life, as seen by foreign painters, necessarily included a differentiating component. The titles, which were frequently also attached to “impressionistically grasped” tourist images, directed the viewer’s attention to certain features in the foreign culture. The motif was thus given a descriptive or anecdotal content. As Viewers, we are told what we ought to see and how to interpret and understand the paintings; there is an implicit message hidden in the image.¹³¹ In the following, Edelfelt’s two versions of *San Telmo Sevilla – re-*

128 We may recall that “the innocent eye”, as Gombrich suggests, is a myth (Gombrich 1959, pp. 251-252).

129 Herbert 1994, p. 2.

130 Impressionism was thus a more expressive form of art than Ruskin’s positivistic emphasis on the vision’s objective qualities (Lund 1993, p 18).

131 I have to disagree with Kermit Champa’s notion that Impressionism’s iconology is “uninteresting, its sociohistorical role unimportant. The greatness and the depth of impressionist painting lies, so to speak on its surface [...] as an object of purely visual interest” (Kermit Champa, *Studies in Early Impressionism*, 1973, quoted in Lund 1993, p. 19).



210. Albert Edelfelt, *San Telmo Sevilla – recuerdo de la Feria* [also known as *Shore Road in San Telmo, Seville*], 1881. Ostrobothnian Museum, Vaasa.

cuerto de la Feria are scrutinised from this perspective; I look beyond their technical virtues and interpret the motif as a souvenir.

Some of Edelfelt's work, in his use of colour as well as their composition and topicality, brings together the contemporary view of modern life in his recognition of immediate experience (in this case, a subjective *tourist* experience). Edelfelt's versions of a scene at the local *Feria* and their acclaimed Impressionism have led them to become, perhaps, his most famous works from Seville. One of the two versions, which I prefer to call the second, is bestowed with the subtitle "San Telmo Sevilla – recuerdo de la Feria" (Fig. 210). I have already discussed Edelfelt's second version of *San Telmo* and its function as a souvenir – "un recuerdo" – of Edelfelt's stay in Seville. Before venturing into a discussion of the work's formal aspects, I would like to elaborate on the inscription's significance for the theme's present title, "The San Telmo promenade in Seville during the Holy Week".¹³² I suggest that these two works – the preliminary study and the second version – should be renamed according

132 Hintze 1953, p. 524, catalogue numbers 173-174.

to the inscription.¹³³ The first, obvious argument against the title in Hintze's catalogue is that Edelfelt did not stay in Seville during either Holy Week or Easter.¹³⁴ This is supported also by the fact that Seville's *Feria* is normally celebrated the second week after Easter, which was the time of Edelfelt's visit; Hintze has apparently named the works without knowledge of the character of the *Feria*.

The *Feria* in Seville was a frequent theme for local as well as foreign painters throughout the nineteenth century. In early pictures, the *Feria's* function as a cattle market is obvious. Its character changed over time as is testified by the later genre paintings.¹³⁵ Edelfelt's study is probably his last painting from Seville. The festivities lasted for several days and started on a Sunday with a *Corrida de Toros* (bullfight), which he also attended.¹³⁶ But since he travelled to Cordoba on Monday the 25th of April, he participated in the *Feria* for one day only: the same day he left Seville.

One reason why Edelfelt left Seville so soon may have been the *Feria* itself. In Baedeker's guide (1898) the event was described as follows:

One of the chief festivals is the *FERIA, founded in 1847 and held from April 18th to April 20th on the Prado de San Sebastian ... which still furnishes a charming picture of popular life, though it has lost some of its most attractive features. The feria [*sic*] is not so much an annual fair as an outing festival which the people, high and low, give themselves. It should be seen early in the morning and the evening. Every rich family has its own tent, where its members may be said for the time being to live the life of their patio in public.¹³⁷

The guide also informs us that during the *Feria*, "charges are doubled [...] accommodation cannot be counted on unless ordered in advance. The hotels are then all over-crowded, and those who dislike noise and confusion should look for a private house."¹³⁸

In Edelfelt's composition, we see a promenade in Seville, lined with people and trees. In the near left front, two ladies walk closely side by side, apparently engaged in conversation. Two girls, placed in the centre of the composition, accompany them; the one to the right looks apprehensively at the other girl, who seems to take refuge by one of the women. A tree trunk frames the composition to the right, transporting our gaze to the background crowds who are strolling on the other side of the empty street. Above their heads, the striped

133 I suggested a change of title at a seminar, arranged in January 2003 at the Finnish National Gallery (Ateneum) prior to the *Albert Edelfelt Jubilee Exhibition* (2004–2005). I was summoned as an expert on Edelfelt's Spanish works. In the exhibition catalogue, the title was altered to *Shore Road in San Telmo, Seville*, which, as I will show, is not entirely accurate (*Edelfelt* 2004, p. 60, catalogue number 60).

134 The heading to one of Edelfelt's letters from Granada has the additional inscription "Easter Monday" ("måndag, annandag påsk"). Edelfelt did not leave Granada until on Thursday, the 21st of April. His letters from Granada also report on Processions and other Easter activities (see the following letters from Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt: Alhambra 13 April 1881; Granada, Easter Monday [18 April] 1881, [Granada] Thursday 21 April 1881, SLSA).

135 *Iconografía de Sevilla 1790–1868* (1991); *Iconografía de Sevilla 1869–1936* (1993).

136 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Seville 24 April 1881; Seville 25 April 1881, SLSA. When Edelfelt visited Seville, the *Feria* probably continued for approximately three days (Baedeker 1989, p. 391).

137 Baedeker 1898, p. 391. The date of the *Feria* was not fixed, but changed according to Easter celebrations.

138 Baedeker 1898, p. 388.



211. Albert Edelfelt, *San Telmo Sevilla – recuerdo de la Feria*, preparatory study, 1881. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

sunshades of stalls constitute a line against the Moorish walls of the *Alcázar* gardens and the Cathedral's *Giralda* tower, which are seen against the light of a blushing, yellowish sky that is partially viewed between the greens of the crowns of the trees. The overall colours are nuances of red, black, white and a light yellow and earthy tones of the ground (highlights in pale blue). There is also reason to assume that this work is unfinished. To the far right, in the empty street, the unclear outlines of an indistinguishable object appear. Edelfelt has not signed the painting with his name, only his inscription.

Save for the two girls in the middle, a preparatory study includes all the main items (*Fig. 211*). About half the size of the other version, it is strikingly similar. Apart from the addition of the two girls in the middle section, the other changes are minor: the ladies look straight ahead and the crowd in the background is less congested. In both versions, the stalls in the middle background are clearly visible; the *casetas* were one of the *Feria's* main features,

and were the place where families and friends gathered in the evenings to dance and enjoy themselves.

Several art historians present the *San Telmos* as testimony that Edelfelt had learned to employ an Impressionist technique. One may ask if this is a “fair” comment on a clearly unfinished work. One example is Hintze’s article from 1955:

In a nude, lying model from 1880, Edelfelt consistently sacrificed everything that was artistically insignificant, such as merely naturalistically rendered details of the surroundings, which for the most part shatter his larger, meticulously executed compositions from this time, and instead concentrates entirely on picturesque effects – on the light in flickering reflexes of the naked body and which thinly disappears towards the background. Edelfelt has solved his problem with succinct certainty and strength, and by the means of purely impressionistically interpreted light painting, he has created a strong, suggestive work. The following year, Edelfelt increased this light effect in a number of paintings from Spanish patios, reaching to an almost dazzling intensity. Using a broad, buoyant brush, without intermediary half-tones or hues, he places the colour planes in undiluted contrast against luminous settings, creating a clear notion of space, however simultaneously retaining the plain character of the canvas – a solution completely in Manet’s spirit. Equally securely, in his studies of the crowds at the San Telmo promenade in Seville (1881), he solves another of the central problems of Impressionism, that is, to express the fleeting impression of movement. In these paintings, through nearly stenographic shorthand, he has managed to capture the movement as well as the light, the colourful swarm of people and the hot, vibrating atmosphere.¹³⁹

In his text, Hintze describes Edelfelt’s art from around 1880 as “purely impressionistically interpreted light painting”, by which he means that the art is clearly inspired by the technical solutions of French Impressionism.

7.3.2 Painted Souvenirs and Photography

I have frequently pointed out that tourist art demands verification from the external reality; the viewer must be convinced that an authentic moment has been documented. Photography was an important source of inspiration for the Impressionists. In a formalist sense, Impressionism worked against photography (they despised “photographically” painted, exact images), but at the same time an “impressionist” image should *function* as a photograph, as a recording of a fleeting moment or movement.¹⁴⁰ I do not completely agree with García Felguera that photography took over the documentary pictures of earlier years, since paint-

139 “[...] i en liggande naken modell från 1880, har Edelfelt konsekvent offrat alla de konstnärligt ovidkommande, enbart naturalistiskt berättande miljödetaljer, som splittra helhetsverkan i hans flesta större, minutöst utarbetade kompositioner från denna tid, och helt koncentrerat sig på det måleriskt väsentliga uttrycket – på ljuset, som i gnistrande reflexer återkastas av den nakna kroppen och genomskinligt förtonar mot bakgrunden. Med summarisk säkerhet och kraft har Edelfelt löst sitt problem och skapat ett starkt suggestivt verk av rent impressionistiskt uppfattat ljusmåleri. I några spanska gårdsinteriorer driver han följande år upp denna ljusverkan till en nästan bländande styrka. Med breda, flytande penseldrag, utan förmedlande mellantoner eller avskuggningar, lägger han sina färgplan i ren kontrastverkan mot en ljus fond, skapande en klar rumsverkan, men bibehållande dukens plana karaktär – en lösning helt i Manets anda. Lika säkert löser han i sina figurrika studier från San Telmopromenaden i Sevilla (1881) ett annat av impressionismens centrala problem, nämligen att uttrycka det ögonblickliga intrycket av rörelsen. Med nästan stenografisk snabbskrift har han i de sistnämnda målningarna fångat både rörelsen och ljuset, det färgstarka myllret av människor och den heta, vibrerande atmosfären” (Hintze 1955, pp. 41-43).

140 Scharf 1974, pp. 165-180.

ers still recorded the external reality. Thus, I define Edelfelt's San Telmo view as a piece documenting Sevillian reality, in much the same way a tourist snapshot would.

The modernity of *San Telmo Sevilla* lies in its minimal degree of anecdote, reduced to only a few people talking together, the historical monuments small and insignificant tableaux in the far background. Since a preliminary study of the *San Telmo* exists and due to the added characters and other changes, I propose that the second version was consciously constructed to create the impression that direct observation had occurred. The general impression is that the painting was executed quickly. Yet we lack evidence that this was the case; it is not even important whether it was painted quickly or not, but that it *looks* that way. It is a recording of the hectic pace of modern life, which was one of the Impressionists' concerns.¹⁴¹ But unlike the photographer, whose pictures were regarded as "frozen moments in time" (or, of movement), the painter enjoyed flexibility, at least with regard to the choice of colour (photography was, of course, black and white at this point in time).

Edelfelt's changes between the two versions are deliberate and carefully considered alterations. A simple analysis of the composition, employing diagonals, verticals and horizontals, shows that Edelfelt placed the heads of the additional girls in the absolute centre of the composition. All lines meet by the tip of the nose of the girl to the right; her chin is in line with the diagonal descending to the right; the ascending diagonal cuts through her chignon. The other girl's eyes are placed on the middle horizontal, whereas the eyes of the ladies to the left are corrected upwards in line with a horizon following the lower edge of the crowd in the background. This crowd is placed higher in the second version. This may be because the height-width ratio in the second version is greater (this version is lower and wider), and Edelfelt has preferred to move the crowd upwards from its previous position. The *Giralda* Tower in the background and the trees are the only permanent features in his two compositions.

Here Edelfelt has applied a traditional composition, but deploys two vanishing points, of which one is situated way outside the borders of the picture, far to the right, in the second version. This is another compositional solution that the Impressionists frequently deployed. It is partly derived from photography, which frequently exposed spontaneously angled and accidental sights. In Paris, these "peculiarities" of photography were repeatedly compared with similar features in Japanese woodcuts, since they both lacked traditional solutions to perspective and frequently employed unorthodox and drastic cutting-offs at the edges. The Impressionists liked to see their views from surprising and oblique angles, with the main elements placed in the edges of the composition.¹⁴² We should also note that the ladies, placed near the edge and with their backs to the picture centre, seem to be walking *out* from the picture in the "wrong" direction towards the left. This increases the impression

141 As we know, in some Impressionist paintings we can *see* the wheels turn. A delightful parallel is found in Velázquez's *Las Hilanderas*, which was admired precisely for this reason.

142 Scharf 1974, pp. 165-180.

that the scene is a fleeting and changing moment in time, functioning like a documentary photograph.

A similar solution is seen in Edelfelt's first *San Telmo*, where the two ladies are placed to the far left, whereas the rest of the foreground is left empty, save for the tree to the far right. As Elina Anttila remarks, Edelfelt's arrangement of the figures *around* the empty space may be seen as an "Impressionist" solution, which she claims he applied for the first time in this composition (she discusses the second version).¹⁴³ But as we have seen, some of the figures are later additions, which makes this aspect less spontaneous than it appears at first. When compared to his first draft, the second version nevertheless still *looks* spontaneous, despite Edelfelt's changes.

The Impressionists were also concerned with the presentation of objects in motion, as seen in Edelfelt's *San Telmo* (the movement lies in the women who seem to progress out of the picture plane, creating the impression that they are passers-by). The year 1858 marks the appearance of the "snapshot".¹⁴⁴ Hereafter, a vast number of instantaneous photographs were distributed for sale, consisting predominantly of city views. These photographs presented "passing objects of the day", and resulted in new pictorial conventions for painting contemporary scenes. As Aaron Scharf demonstrates, the Impressionists frequently employed photography as an aid when composing their cityscapes. These images were cut by the frame in a similar manner to that found in stereoscopic views, which were produced in vast quantities from 1860 onwards. Edgar Degas's compositions from this period, Scharf argues, are particularly influenced by photography, and he occasionally employed photographs directly within his compositions; contemporary writers remarked upon Degas's "photographic eye" and his use of photographic aids. Unsurprisingly, the critics were not unanimous on the virtues of this technique. Some described his art as creating the impression of "a snapshot", while others claimed that Degas knew how to compose his pictures so that "we do not notice it is composed at all", as Scharf remarks. From the 1910s onwards, Degas's "peculiar angle of vision" and decentralised compositions had become so familiar to the critics, through photography, that art historians started to look for other sources of inspiration. It was about this time that these particular features of Degas's art were increasingly compared to similar qualities in Japanese prints, while photography was ignored.¹⁴⁵ This also seems to be the case with the interpretation of Edelfelt's Spanish pictures. Edelfelt's "photographic eye" (his "tourist gaze") was dismissed in favour of his "Impressionistic" touch.

Vast numbers of instantaneous photographs and stereoscopic photographs were published from the 1860s onwards. These *vues instantanées* attest that cutting off figures and decentralising the composition, which frequently occur in Japanese prints, were commonplace in contemporary photography as well. The vogue of *Japonism*, which reached its cli-

143 Anttila 2001, pp. 145, 172 fn 181.

144 Exposures of 1/50th of a second were now possible (Scharf 1974, p. 181).

145 Scharf 1974, pp. 169-177, 181-185.

max in the 1870s, resulted in several painters owning such prints and employing them as models.¹⁴⁶ Scharf emphasises that these influences in, for example, Degas's art, are not mutually exclusive, but mutually reinforcing (this I understand to mean that it was partly due to photography that painters became interested in similar formal qualities in Japanese prints). Edelfelt's "peculiar" and wide angle, the empty space and such truncation as those present in Edelfelt's *San Telmo II*, where the legs of the figures in the absolute foreground are cut off by the frame, are recurrent features amongst the Impressionist paintings. These traits were something that painters had learned from photography. These compositional means contributed to the impression of objects in motion or, as Scharf phrases it, "the cinematic progression" in a two-dimensional space.¹⁴⁷

The two *San Telmos* can thus be comprehended as "painted snapshots", similar to those that tourists capture today. Scharf quotes a critic who declared, in 1917, that one day Degas will "be reproached of having [...] come close to 'the *genre* picture'" in those paintings where he used photographic aids because the viewer had become so familiar with the "unexpected" characteristic of photography.¹⁴⁸

Edelfelt's two views from *San Telmo* and their "Impressionist" quality – that optical rendering of light and colour – the direct documentation of an external reality compares favourably with the tourist desire to document authentic milieus, to capture the pure and the genuine. The use of the camera at this time had bearing on the school of Bastien-Lepage, whose influence on Edelfelt's naturalism is documented and attested to by several scholars.¹⁴⁹ The influence of the camera was pervasive. The very first issue of the *Studio* (June 1893) included an article, "The Camera. Is it a Friend or Foe of Art?", which Scharf sees as evidence that the camera had become a more or less acknowledged equipment for painters.¹⁵⁰ And we do know that Edelfelt bought a large number of photographs during his Spanish journey – pursuant to his habit ("*min vana likmätigt*").¹⁵¹ What remains uncertain is whether the camera affected the way painters viewed nature. Scharf quotes the editor's answer to his own question: "The academic composition of landscape or figure subjects is for the moment set aside in favour of more or less haphazard arrangements that show the apparent careless grouping which a snap-shot from a Kodak presents."¹⁵² From the point of view of semiological tourist research, this would be a new way of "framing the sight".

146 For more on Edelfelt's interest in Japanese woodcuts and objects, see Kortelainen 2002a. Her main interest lies in Edelfelt's use of Japanese *bibelots* in *juste-milieu* compositions and portraits, but she also discusses certain formal aspects that may be regarded as Japanese influences in some of his later landscapes, such as *Kaukola Ridge at Sunset* (1889-90), *Porvoo from Linnanmäki Hill* (1892) and *Porvoo from Näsinmäki Hill* (1898). We also know that Edelfelt owned Japanese prints, as seen, for instance, in a portrait of his wife from 1902-05, where a sequential strip of woodcuts are seen on the back wall (Kortelainen 2002a, particularly pp. 181-187, 402-410, ill. p. 410; Hintze 1942-44, II, p. 51).

147 Scharf 1974, pp. 196-205.

148 Scharf 1974, p. 184.

149 For a summary of Edelfelt's relation to Bastien-Lepage and *plein air* painting, see Anttila 2001, pp. 99-104.

150 Scharf 1974, p. 244.

151 "Min vana likmätigt har jag köpt en massa fotografier" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Toledo 4 May 1881, SLSA).

152 Scharf 1974, pp. 243-244.

The impression of direct observation as it occurs in Edelfelt's second *San Telmo* is thus superficial. Edelfelt's "snap-shot" of the crowds, this seemingly instantaneous picture, must instead be regarded as an example of "staged authenticity", particularly when taking into account its inscription. One cannot gain a direct view to the *Giralda* Tower and the walls of the *Alcázar* from the San Telmo, despite their appearance in Edelfelt's compositions. His view is more likely to have been seized on the Prado del San Sebastian, which Baedeker's guide notes was the place where the *Feria* took place in the nineteenth century. From here it is also possible to view the *Giralda* and the Moorish walls so that they match Edelfelt's painting. Earlier paintings from the *Feria* in Seville provide further support for this assumption (Fig. 213).¹⁵³ Hintze's comment that the Guadalquivir River is seen in the background should thus be disregarded; he seems to have mistaken the blue and white stripes in the stalls' sunshades for the river.¹⁵⁴ Neither is *Palacio San Telmo* visible in Edelfelt's painting (comp. Fig. 212).

How may we interpret Edelfelt's composition and its inscription? In close proximity to the spot where he most likely painted his scene, we find the gardens of the Duke of Montpensier's palace, called the Palacio de San Telmo.¹⁵⁵ This may explain why "San Telmo" was added to Edelfelt's inscription. I have already discussed the inscription's function as a marker and the way in which it turns the image into a souvenir. I am still convinced that this is the primary function of the painting; the text suffices as a souvenir in its own right. Furthermore, the additional characters (the girls in the middle), in combination with the inscription, make it less a "direct observation"; rather it has become a *memory* of an impression, a tangible reminder of what Edelfelt had experienced. As the etymological meaning of the word "souvenir" reveals, its significance is literally "remembrance, memory", which also is the meaning of the Spanish word added in Edelfelt's painting: *recuerdo*.¹⁵⁶



213. Sánchez del Pando, *Feria at the Prado de San Sebastián*, ca. 1910. Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla.



212. Ramón Almela, *Palacio de San Telmo. Fachada principal*, ca. 1900. Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla.

153 *Iconografía de Sevilla 1790–1868* (1991), pp. 296-299; *Iconografía de Sevilla 1869–1936* (1993), pp. 84-86.

154 Hintze 1953, p. 524, catalogue number 174. Earlier, I have claimed that the blue strays in the background are the Guadalquivir River, but when looking at Edelfelt's view, the river is left behind our backs (comp. *Edelfelt i Paris* 2001, p. 162-163 [text by Marie-Sofie Lundström]).

155 Hormigo & Molina 2000, pp. 21-24.

156 "*Recuerdo*" stands for "memory" as well as "souvenir" (*Larousse Dictionario* 1996).

Something is brought back to his mind.¹⁵⁷ Thus, the actual meaning of Edelfelt's *San Telmo Sevilla* lies in its memory-triggering inscription.

Various types of recall, willed and unbidden, learned and innate, reveal diverse aspects of things past, combining to reflect our past as a whole. The need to use and reuse memorial knowledge, and to forget as well as to recall, force us to select, distil, distort, and transform the past, accommodating things remembered to the need of the present.¹⁵⁸

David Lowenthal in *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985)

157 The origin of the word is French (18th century), and derives from the Latin *subvenire*, "to occur to one's mind" (see entry for "souvenir" in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary*, Tenth Edition, Oxford University Press: 1999).

158 Lowenthal 1985, p. 194.

8 THE ROMANTIC CRAZE FOR HISTORY¹⁵⁸

[Spain is] a country where the past means everything, the present very little.¹⁵⁹

Rafaël Hertzberg, *Pyreneiska halfön I-II* (1889)

The following chapter focuses on the history of Spain. The Romantic Movement in England, Germany and, above all, France is particularly important in this context.¹⁶⁰ Moorish history occupied a central role in the creation of a Spanish imagery, providing evidence in the form of palaces and other remnants. Spain offered an alternative to Italy's Roman and Ancient remains. Visitors tended to ignore the Roman remains in Spain and favoured the Moorish sites; nineteenth-century *espagnolisme* was, so to speak, anti-classical in its appeal, although the existence of the Roman heritage in Spain was known both from grand constructions and literary sources. Edelfelt also reported from Toledo that imposing Roman constructions were visible in several places.¹⁶¹ Spain, which had been a Roman province for hundreds of years, was, of course, also filled with remnants from this period, but the nationalistic currents did not encourage the promotion of Spain's Roman heritage.

We should also remember that at this time, archaeological excavations had not yet been conducted to much extent, least of all in Spain. This means that several historically interesting sites in Spain remained (literally) hidden from the eyes of early travellers, such as the important Roman city of Itálica outside Seville. The Spaniards seem to have (deliberately) neglected this period of their past, which I consider to be a consequence of the reigning Romantic and nationalistic concept of history. Instead, the Moors were much more "fantastic" in their appeal than the Romans. Excavations of buildings and monuments from the Roman period thus started relatively late.¹⁶² Over the course of the twentieth century, several archaeological excavations have unearthed evidence of the enormous influence instigated by the Romans' presence in Spain. New discoveries are frequently made: Roman villas, baths

158 The title is inspired by Petra Ten-Doesschate Chu's article, "Pop Culture in the Making: The Romantic Craze for History" (Chu 1994).

159 Hertzberg 1889, I, p. 22.

160 For more on Romanticism in general, see Löwy & Sayre 2001, pp. 1-19.

161 See e.g., Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Toledo 28 April 1881, SLSA.

162 The quest for the Romantic, and thus the relative disinterest in the Romans, was surely a major contributory factor in foreigners' dismissal of, for instance, Mérida, a place where the Roman period was, and still is, particularly dominant and visible through artefacts, such as the aqueducts and other monumental constructions. Instead, the Moorish and medieval periods alluded more to the Romantic fantasy. (I thank professor Åsa Ringbom, Åbo Akademi University, for her contribution to this discussion. Ringbom has participated in archaeological research in Iberia. The Roman Villa of Torre de Palma, Portugal, and Mérida in Spain, have both been included in The International Mortar Dating Project directed by her at Åbo Akademi University.)

and mosaics. One example is the already mentioned city of Itálica, which has not been properly excavated to this day.¹⁶³

Instead, the imagined nineteenth-century Spain was largely based on the Moorish heritage, which was presented in poetic tales in Romantic literature; as Petra Ten-Doesschate Chu argues, these authors possessed a “Romantic craze for history”.¹⁶⁴ Of course, numerous remains from Spain’s “Moorish” past had not been unearthed when Edelfelt visited Andalusia, such as the significant city of Madīnat al-Zahrā’ near Cordoba. This short-lived capital (called also “Córdoba la Vieja”) dates from the 900s, and was founded by Abd al-Rahman III shortly after the proclamation of the Umayyad caliphate in al-Andalus. Construction continued during the reign of his successor al-Hakam II. Situated only a few kilometres to the west of Cordoba, the city represented the very centre of power during the mere sixty-five years it existed. The site is presently being excavated and reconstructed, but it did not attract the average tourist in Edelfelt’s time; when the first excavations began in 1910, only a few visible stones were left. For nine centuries, Madīnat al-Zahrā’ was literally buried beneath a hard dirt cover.¹⁶⁵

Thus, Madīnat al-Zahrā’ had nothing to show for visitors – at least not in Edelfelt’s time – a fact implicitly observed also by Baedeker in his handbook from 1898. The text includes a short notice on the “celebrated Medinât az-Zahrâ”, stating that remains of the “palace” were used to build a convent nearby.¹⁶⁶ Baedeker explains that Abd al-Rahman III here had “constructed a palace for his favourite Az-Zahrâ”, but his description of the site was not (and could not be) based on first-hand observation. Baedeker writes: “According to Al-Makkarî and other Arabic writers, this palace was on the scale of a town rather than a villa, while its wonders of art and luxury were such as to make even those of the Alhambra pale by comparison. Its cost is said to have been more than 50,000,000*l!*”¹⁶⁷ The site was kept alive rather on the imaginary and fairy-tale level, based on legends of Moorish wealth and power.

163 Gautier wrote that the shape of the “ruined amphitheatre” in Itálica in 1840 was still “fairly distinct”. He also described how the dens for the wild animals and the gladiators’ dressing rooms were “perfectly recognisable”, as well as the corridors of the seating tiers. But the state of the site was lamentable, and Gautier came across only a few artefacts of interest: “The stone facings [of the amphitheatre] have probably been torn down and used for some modern buildings, for Itálica has been for a long past the quarry of Seville. A few rooms have been cleared out and serve as a shelter during the fiercest heats for herds of blue pigs, which rush grunting out between the legs of visitors, and now form the sole population of the ancient Roman city. The most complete and interesting relic of all this vanished splendour is a mosaic in large dimensions, enclosed within a wall, with figures of Muses and Nereids. When it is revived with water, the colours are still very bright, though greedy hands have torn out the most precious stones. Among the ruins have also been found a few fragments of statues in a fairly good style, and no doubt carefully planned excavations would lead to important discoveries” (Gautier 1926, pp. 282-283). For the original text, see Gautier [1843], p. 249.

164 Chu 1994.

165 For more on Madīnat al-Zahrā’ and Islamic architecture in Spain, see e.g., Burckhardt 1980, *passim*; Dodds 1995, *passim*; Makariou 2000, pp. 60-63, *passim*; Montgomery 1965, *passim*; Denyse Lamprière, “Madīnat al-Zahra. Dream City”, <http://www.andalucia.com/magazine/english/ed4/madinat.htm>, electronic document accessed and printed 24 October 2006.

166 i.e., the *Convento de San Jerónimo* (“now an insane asylum”) in the Sierra de Córdoba (Baedeker 1898, p. 318).

167 Baedeker 1898, p. 318.

As far as Cordoba is concerned, the importance of the city's Moorish past is obvious; it seems to have been the only reason for tourists to visit. Edelfelt, for instance, wrote to his mother that whilst he was in Cordoba, he intended to see the city and the Mosque and anticipated that he would "immediately enter into the Moorish age of greatness".¹⁶⁸ Madrid's position, on the other hand, was quite different. As the following subsection will show, Madrid was perceived as neither picturesque nor exotic, but as a modern, European capital; we should also be aware of that the city was considered a place without a (proper) history.

8.1 CENTRE AND MARGIN: MADRID IN RELATION TO THE PROVINCES

"One of the odd things about the arrival of the era of the modern nation-state", T. Mitchell wrote in 2001, "was that for a state to prove it was modern, it helped if it could also prove it was ancient. A nation that wanted to show it was up to date and deserved a place among the company of modern states needed, among other things, to produce a past."¹⁶⁹ In this process, tourists were encouraged to support national goals. Whether the sites are public monuments or other kinds of cultural heritage, tourists receive messages sent to them by the creators of the sites they visit. Each encodes a shaping of a common national identity. These sites, presented as aspects of a national heritage, help to construct an imagined community: the nation's (glorious) past is uncovered, restored and displayed to tourists.¹⁷⁰

Heritage sites have thus played an important role in identity formation. As Michael Pretes states, there is an obvious link between tourism and the "imagined community" of nationalism, as Benedict Anderson's famous definition goes, and its aim is to form a single "nation" out of diversity. Simultaneously, nationalism brings with it an attachment to custom and tradition. Nationalism needs three key institutions to achieve its aims: censuses, maps and museums. Here, I consider the museological point of view only. Pretes states:

Museums [give] the nation a history and a sense of common heritage, present the defining characteristics of nationhood and display historical evidence of its existence. They also manifest the foundation myth of the nation, as do archaeological sites and reconstructions [...] 'Tourism, in effect, makes a place into a museum' [Lenoir and Ross, 1996].¹⁷¹

168 Edelfelt made a short stop in Cordoba on his way from Madrid to Granada. He wrote from Madrid: "I morgon bittida är jag i Cordova och skall solo bese staden och mosquéen – jag kommer med ens in i Morenas stormagstid." According to this letter, Edelfelt arrived in Cordoba at 5 a.m., then continued by train to Granada at 12 o'clock (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 11 April 1881, SLSA). Although Edelfelt expected to explore the great mosque during this brief stop, he does not mention doing so in the first letter to his mother after arriving in Granada (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Alhambra 13 April 1881, SLSA). If he visited the Mosque, he certainly would have included a report in his letters.

169 Pretes 2003, p. 139.

170 Pretes 2003, p. 140.

171 Pretes 2003, pp. 125-127, quoting T. Mitchell, "Making the Nation: The Politics of Heritage in Egypt", in *Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage: Global Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of Tourism*, Ed. N. AlSayyad, London: Routledge 2001, pp. 212-239 (212); Lenoir, T. and C. Ross, "The Naturalized History

As I have shown, the past played a significant role in the process of mystifying Spain. The Spanish national heritage – the historical sites that painters and tourists visited during the nineteenth century – is closely connected with the idea of Spain as a unified nation. The past was initially served as “proof” of a national heritage in travel books and the like. These were later illustrated; and still later the sites were displayed and reconstructed in accordance with the “reports” that were initially given by romantically tuned authors. These sights, such as the Alhambra in Granada or the Great Mosque in Cordoba, were ultimately used emblematically as symbolic representations of national identity. This procedure is fairly similar to the process by which an archaeological sight, through its function as a museum, becomes a site for tourist pilgrimage. As Pretes argues, tourist sites project a hegemonic or official discourse of nationalism, which comprises an imagined sense of the country’s characteristics. Tourism and nationalism share a principal foundation: the consumption of nostalgia.¹⁷²

Interest in Spain arose early particularly in England, Germany and France, which were the principal centres of Romanticism.¹⁷³ When English authors started to show a heightened interest in Spain in the late eighteenth century, their most important mission was to establish the origins of their own medieval art.¹⁷⁴ The belief the Arabs brought the Gothic style to Europe resulted in a travel literature that focused on Islamic culture.¹⁷⁵ After 1779, when Henry Swinburne (1743–1803) published what is probably the first scholarly treatise on Islamic art in Spain,¹⁷⁶ several theses were illustrated with engravings and published. These illustrations were mostly from Granada, depicting the Alhambra, Cordoba and Seville. By 1800, interest in the history of the Moors in Spain and their antiquities reached an unprecedented high in Europe. James Cavanagh Murphy (1760–1814) was among the first to publish a fundamental illustrated treatise on the Arab antiquities in Spain in 1813.¹⁷⁷ He was followed by John Frederick Lewis (1805–1876) and David Roberts (1796–1864) in the 1830s.¹⁷⁸ At this time, “ordinary” authors also began travelling in Spain. Two of the best known are Lord Byron and Chateaubriand, both of whom incorporated Spanish characters and Spanish history into their authorship.¹⁷⁹ Soon after, Heinrich Heine (1779–1865)

Museum”, in *The Disunity of Science: Boundaries, Contexts, and Power*, Eds. P. Galison and D. Stump, Stanford CA: Stanford University Press 1996, pp. 370–397 (374).

172 The other two, further major features of nationalism: the idea of progress and the image of a shared nation-bound tradition (Pretes 2003, pp. 127–129).

173 Löwy and Sayre 2001, p. 10.

174 Scholz-Hänsel 1990, pp. 368–369.

175 Paquejo 1986, pp. 555–556.

176 Swinburne’s *Travels through Spain in the Years 1775 and 1776* (1779) was illustrated with drawings by F. Giomignani (*Europa und der Orient 800–1900* (1989), p. 849–850).

177 Scholz-Hänsel 1990, pp. 369–370. Murphy was an architect, archaeologist and painter. In 1802–09 he resided in Spain. He published his *The Arabian Antiquities of Spain* in 1813 and, in 1816, *History of the Mahometan Empire in Spain*.

178 Paquejo 1986, p. 560. The orientalist painter Lewis travelled in Spain in 1827 and 1832–34. In 1845, he published his *Sketches and Drawings of the Alhambra*. Roberts was also an orientalist painter, specialised in depicting architecture. He stayed for longer periods in Spain (i.e., 1826), Morocco and Egypt. In the 1830s, he published a series of lithograph albums, *Picturesque Sketches in Spain during the Years 1832 and 1833*, and illustrated Thomas Roscoe’s (1791–1871) *Tourist in Spain* (illustrations 1835, publication 1835–38).

179 Byron’s most popular Spanish literary works are *Don Juan* (1819–24) and *Childe Harold* (1812–18). The events in Chateaubriand’s *Les Aventures du dernier Abencérage* also take place in Spain.

praised the Islamic architecture of Spain in his *Almansor*,¹⁸⁰ and Gautier's *Voyage en Espagne* (1840s) combines poetry and scholarship, as he was an art critic, journalist and novelist.

Illustrated publications from Spain gained an increased readership, chiefly in France; Giroult de Prongey, Eugène Giraud, Alexandre Dumas (the younger) and Louis Boulanger all travelled to Spain, and their travel memoirs are illustrated with exotic pictures of the Islamic heritage in Southern Spain.¹⁸¹ In this context, Moorish folk tales played their own part. German authors, for example, began to imitate the Moorish narrative when they developed their own folkloristic literature. Both Heinrich Heine and Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749–1832) were inspired by Spanish-Moorish tales.¹⁸² Another example is the French Romantic author Alfred de Musset (1810–1857), whose successful *Contes d'Espagne et d'Italie* (1829) was written without setting foot in Spain.¹⁸³

The most important early nineteenth-century publication inspired by Moorish folk tales is, however, *The Alhambra: a Series of Tales and Sketches of the Moors and Spaniards*,¹⁸⁴ published in 1832 by the American author Washington Irving and written while he resided in the Alhambra. In Chapter 1, I discussed Irving and his significant contribution to Spanish imagery – particularly his interpretation of Spanish women as gentle beings with dark and sensuous eyes, veiled by a lace *mantilla* – frequently repeated in, for instance, the Swedish painter Egron Lundgren's *oeuvre*. Here, conversely, I wish to draw attention to Irving's perception of the past. Irving passed the best part of eight years of his life in Spain, from which he drew the materials for five books, for instance two books about Columbus, both based on careful historical research.¹⁸⁵ *The Alhambra*, on the other hand, is a sort of travelogue, in which Moorish tales have been incorporated; the tales exposes Irving's nostalgia for a “still-existing past” that, by the means of the tales, are conveyed in the present.¹⁸⁶ As presented in the foreword to a modern edition, Irving “consciously confuses history and legend”.¹⁸⁷ Irving was, perhaps, one of the first to write history as entertainment.

In *The Alhambra*, Spain's Moorish past was thus effectively rehabilitated through short stories like “Legend of the Three Beautiful Princesses”, “Legend of the Rose of the Alham-

180 *Tragödien nebst einem lyrischen Intermezzo* (1823): the tragedies were *Almansor* and *William Ratcliff* (“Heinrich Heine”, *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, <http://search.eb.com/eb/article?eu=40677>, electronic document accessed and printed 8 April 2004).

181 Jullian 1977, pp. 115-116.

182 *Europa und der Orient* 1990, p. 837; Jullian 1977, p. 116; Lundström 1996 [unpubl.], pp. 10-11.

183 “Alfred de Musset (1810–1857)”, <http://www.kirjasto.sci.fi/demusset.htm>, electronic document accessed and printed 25 February 2004.

184 Today, Irving's *The Alhambra* is usually known by the title *Tales of the Alhambra*, first employed in 1851 when it was published as an “Author's Revised Edition”.

185 *Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (1828); *Voyages and Discoveries of the Companions Of Columbus* (1831).

186 Early in 1826, Irving accepted the invitation of Alexander H. Everett to attach himself to the American legation in Spain, where he wrote his *Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (1828), followed by *Voyages and Discoveries of the Companions of Columbus* (1831). Meanwhile, Irving had become absorbed in the legends of the Moorish past and wrote *A Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada* (1829) and *The Alhambra* (1832). *Spanish Papers* was published posthumously in 1866. For more on Irving's early writings, see e.g., Williams 1930, p. 185 ff; “Washington Irving”, *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, <http://search.eb.com/eb/article?eu=43787>, electronic document accessed and printed 8 April 2004.

187 Irving 1990 (1832/1851), p. 10 [Introduction by Ricardo Villa-Real].

bra” or “Legend of the Prince Ahmed al Kamel, or the Pilgrim of Love”.¹⁸⁸ Irving perceived the Moorish past with sentimentality, which proved to be a persistent perception engrossed by much later fellow Americans; Irving’s book was still popular when, for instance, Edelfelt’s good friend, John Singer Sargent, exhibited his famous *El Jaleo* in 1882 as the result of many years of preparation.¹⁸⁹ Although I have not found references to Irving in Edelfelt’s correspondence, we have to acknowledge that *The Alhambra* created enduring mental pictures of Spain as a place where time stood still.¹⁹⁰ As Brian T. Allen has observed, by way of differentiation, the book “helped to construct Spain as mysterious, irrational, anti-progress, and pre-modern”. Allen detects an early Anglo American expression of Orientalism in Irving’s work; in so doing, Irving relied heavily on the theme of the ruin to define and implicitly denigrate Spain as part of an Orientalist discourse. In addition to the ruin belonging to the imperialist, colonising Spain (i.e., the culture that posed the greatest threat to imperialists like the Americans), the Moorish ruin had a “subtly aggressive function as a measure of Spain’s lost, ancient, ‘classical’, past, perhaps a better past”.¹⁹¹

It is most appropriate to discuss Edelfelt’s perception of the past in conjunction with his stay in Cordoba and, perhaps even more importantly, in Toledo, contrasting his impressions of these Moorish towns with Spain’s modern and Europeanised capital, Madrid. If travellers went to Cordoba to see the Mosque, they went to Toledo to see the city’s palimpsest of different historical periods. In Toledo, all of Spain’s historical periods were still preserved: Roman, Wisigothic, Jewish and Christian monuments mingled with the Moorish. In his letters, Edelfelt frequently commented on the city’s “medieval” character, and returned to the city’s Jewish origin and recounted several of the local (mostly Moorish) legends.¹⁹²

188 Irving 1990 (1832/1851).

189 Curry 1992, p. 553; Volk 1992, *passim*.

190 Sargent’s nationality creates a potential – yet indirect – link between Edelfelt and Irving. However, save for Edelfelt’s obvious enthusiasm over Sargent’s *El Jaleo*, short comments on the preceding sojourn in Spain and the American’s request that Edelfelt buy him a bullfight costume, I have not been able to establish that the two of them discussed either Spanish culture in detail or Washington Irving. Therefore, analysis of Irving’s texts or perceptions of Spain – as well as Irving’s Spain, much likely reflected in Sargent’s art – are excluded from the present text: proof that Edelfelt acknowledged this potential trait in Sargent’s art, that he read or even knew Irving’s texts is still to be established (whereas Edelfelt apparently read Gautier’s *Voyage en Espagne*). I thus regard those descriptions in Edelfelt’s Spanish letters, which might be associated with Irving, as implicit and a result of the book’s enormous impact in Europe. In fact, many of Gautier’s observations might be traced to his American colleague – both authors are, after all, products of the same Romantic period, and Irving’s book appeared only a few years prior to Gautier’s journey, also in French translation (*Contes de l’Alhambra*). Irving was popular in France, and his writings were translated into French almost as soon as they appeared in English (Williams 1930, p. 185). Irving as well as Gautier remark, for instance, on the country’s “African” stamp, the collision between Christian and Moslem influence, its fairy-tale and “dreamy” character: Gautier closes his book by stating that “The dream was ended” (Gautier 1926, p. 324), whereas Irving concludes: “[...] and thus ended one of the pleasantest dreams of a life which the reader perhaps may think has been but too much made up of dreams” (Irving 1990 (1832/1851), p. 302). The popularity of Irving’s book also in Finland is obvious, evidenced by that a Finnish translation was published as early as 1880. However, in case Edelfelt was familiar with the book, most likely he read a French translation. Furthermore, Edelfelt was not in command of English; his discussions with his American roommate Julian Alden Weir, for instance, were all conducted in French. In 1874, Weir wrote about Edelfelt: “Having spoken French since a child, he is as a Frenchman but with more noble ideas, and fortunately for my improvement in the French language, he knows no English” (Weir to his mother, 8 November 1874, quoted in Young 1960).

191 Allen 1997, [p. 1].

192 “Legender om romare, judar, wisigother, mohrer och spanjorer existera här i mängd och massa” (Edelfelt to

The Moorish period is the one that Edelfelt dwells on at length in his letters, even though remnants of other cultures also were conveniently at hand.¹⁹³ As the following extract from a letter to B.O. Schauman reveals, Edelfelt liked Moorish architecture, an opinion he maintained during his second stay in Madrid:

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.¹⁹⁴

Edelfelt did not feel that he was “abroad” in Madrid. In 1840, Gautier had noticed that “Madrid is not rich in architectural splendour”,¹⁹⁵ which also Edelfelt observed some forty years later; Madrid lacked architectural masterpieces (some in Baroque), but Edelfelt thought the “modern” city was built in a rather “dull” way.¹⁹⁶ Madrid was “trivial”, at least from an architectural (and picturesque?) point of view.¹⁹⁷

In 1889, the Finnish art historian and author Rafael Hertzberg (1845–1896)¹⁹⁸ described Madrid as a young city which “lacked a history”, at least if compared with other places in Spain. Whilst Salamanca, Burgos, Seville and Granada were centres of “Moorish wealth and refinement” (Hertzberg includes, indeed, Salamanca and Burgos in this list), Madrid was merely a fortified suburb of Toledo. Spain’s youngish capital represented a modern, European city. According to Hertzberg, the city had become “considerably enlarged and beautified” in recent years. He mentioned Puerta del Sol (*Fig. 214*) and the magnificent hotels, fountains, cafés and shops, illuminated by gaslight in the evenings. Hertzberg described Paseo del Prado (*Fig. 217*), the long promenade, as follows:

Alexandra Edelfelt, Toledo 30 April 1881, SLSA). Interestingly, Edelfelt does not linger on Toledo’s Jewish heritage. Further enquiries into nineteenth-century views of the expelled Spanish Jews are needed to explain Edelfelt’s (and other painters’) standpoint in this matter. However, interest in the Spanish Jews can be observed in the use of Jewish people as models for paintings with Spanish subjects, as seen in Edelfelt’s *Remembrance from Spain (Jewish Girl)* from 1882. This practice might have connections to the late-nineteenth-century interest in phrenology.

193 See the following letters: Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Toledo 28 April 1881; Toledo 30 April 1881; Toledo 4 May 1881; Toledo 5 May 1881, SLSA; Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Toledo 7 May 1881 [continued in Madrid 11 May 1881], FNG/Archives.

194 “Mohrerna, ja – gud vet om det ej var en lycka att de voro här. Ätminstone ha de lemnat så många vackra spår efter sig, att jag knappast vet om det skulle återstå mycket om man med ens strök ut de 700 åren af arabiskt välde. Utom i de synliga quarlefvorna, arkitekturen och planteringarna, aquedukter o.d. finnes ännu så mycket rent arabiskt i språket, folkpoesin, i typen, i danserna [*sic*], i synnerhet i Andalusien, att man svårigen kan leta rätt på det rent spanska i allt detta” (Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Toledo 7 May 1881 [continued in Madrid 11 May 1881], FNG/Archives).

195 Gautier 1926, p. 95.

196 “Madrid har inga arkitektoniska mästerverk några i barockstil, men staden är i och för sig sjelf modern och temmeligen tråkigt bygd” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 11 April 1881, SLSA).

197 “Madrid saknar monument, och staden företeer, med sina rappade tegelhus en ganska trivial anblick” (Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Toledo 7 May 1881 [continued in Madrid 11 May 1881], FNG/Archives).

198 Raphaël Hertzberg was a poet and author, who also wrote art and theatre criticism. He translated Finnish national songs and tales into Swedish, for instance the Finnish national epic *Kalevala* in 1884.



214. *The Puerta del Sol, Madrid, Spain*, engraving from a photograph, originally in *Illustrirte Zeitung*, reproduced in *Scientific American Supplement*, No. 443, June 28, 1884.

[Paseo del Prado is] the delightful meeting place for everything that the capital of Spain possesses of the elegant and noble. Magnificent carriages move in close lines as on the boulevards of Paris, but if one expects to see something particularly Spanish, one is deluded. Common European trends and manners rule there as omnipotently as in the rest of Europe's capitals. It is in the suburbs and the countryside that the Spanish peculiarities appear most distinctively.¹⁹⁹

Urbanisation and lively building activity during the following decades further contributed to the modernisation of the general aspect of Madrid.

The fact that Edelfelt stayed in Madrid at the small French pension at Calle de la Salud 13 near the Puerta del Sol means that he lived in the midst of the city's pulsating life.²⁰⁰ "Every day at 5 o'clock, all the fine people may be seen in Buen Retiro, and I already know several of them from their appearance", he claimed in a letter to his mother (*Fig. 215*).²⁰¹ Edelfelt did not paint much in Madrid, but enjoyed the sizzle of the large city and its museums together with Ricardo de Madrazo. In addition to repeated visits to the Museo del Prado, he went to the theatre, attended another bullfight, strolled in the gardens and along the *paseos*, admiring the Spanish people. He also made excursions to La Granja and El Escorial.²⁰²



217. *Prado in Madrid. Fountain of the Four Seasons* ["Prado i Madrid. De fyra årstidernas fontän"], illustration in Hertzberg 1889, I, p. 24.

199 "[Paseo del Prado är] den behagliga mötesplatsen för allt, som Spaniens hufvudstad eger elegant och förnämt. I täta rader röra sig der praktfulla åkdon liksom på Paris boulevarder, men om man hoppas att der få se någonting särskildt spansk, bedrager man sig. Allmänna europeiska moder och wanor herska der lika allmäktigt som i Europas öfriga hufvudstäder. Det är i förstäderna och på landsorten, som de spanska egendommigheterna ter sig tydligast" (Hertzberg 1889, I, p. 22).

200 "Mycket lif på Puerta del Sol och Calle de la Alcalá" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 9 April 1881, SLSA).

201 "Hela den fina världen kan man se hvar dag kl. 5 i Buen Retiro och jag känner redan flere till utseendet" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 12 May 1881, SLSA).

202 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 8 May 1881; 12 May 1881, SLSA. Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Toledo



215. *Madrid's Recoletos Gardens*, 19th-century engraving.



216. *Das Escorial*, hand coloured steel engraving, published 1850.

His excursion to the Escorial was not a success (*Fig. 216*). Edelfelt was truly appalled by this huge “mound of rocks”:

Escorial is the most depressing and dreary place that I have seen in all my life, and I feel sorry for the Spanish kings who will be buried there. When one lies beneath this mountain of granite, beneath this immeasurable cairn, one is dead ten times over – ugh! Everything is made of carved granite, without a trace of ornament, bare and cold, gloomy and naked.²⁰³

Edelfelt did not visit the Escorial for pleasure, but rather to fulfil his “duty as a traveller”, he told his mother. He had gained knowledge of the Escorial in advance and knew what to anticipate, but reality exceeded his expectations. This “ugly, enormous mass of granite, half a monastery, half a prison”, he reports, was situated in a terrain that was probably “the most desolate, wild and harsh, rocky place on earth”. This environment, he ponders somewhat ironically, must have been the reason why Philip II needed other “diversions”, such as burning people at the stake; the Spanish kingdom after Charles V must be the most unsympathetic in the world, “bigot, cruel or senseless”, Edelfelt reasoned. He concludes: “Here in Escorial, one is overcome by a feeling of hatred, real hatred up to the point of absolutism and obscurantism [...]. It is fanatical, sinister, stupid Catholicism in all its glory.”²⁰⁴

7 May 1881 [continued in Madrid 11 May 1881], FNG/Archives.

203 “Escorial är det dystreste och tråkigaste jag sett i mitt lif och beklagar de spanska konungarna som skola begrafvas der. Då man ligger under denna granitklippa, under detta omätliga stenkummel, är man 10faldt död – hu! Allt är af huggen granit utan tillstymmelse till ornament, kalt och kallt, dystert och naket” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 12 May 1881, SLSA).

204 “Häromdagen reste jag, mindre af lust än för att uppfylla min resenärsplykt, till Escorial. Det är en hel dag som förloras av detta nöje. Om jag genom allt hvad jag läst gjordt mig ett dystert och tråkigt intryck af Escorial på förhand, så öfverträffades detta ännu af verkligheten. Då man sett Escorial, denna fula enorma, enorma granitmassa, hälften kloster hälften cellfångelse, beläget i den ensligaste, vildaste, kalaste bergstrakt på jorden,

The Protestant Edelfelt did not understand this aspect of Spanish religiosity any more than Venny Soldan.

The sinister character of the Escorial and its associations with the Spanish Inquisition represented a massive contrast to the easygoing way of life in Madrid. “I have said it [before], and I keep to my word, that Madrid is the city of beautiful women”, Edelfelt declares.²⁰⁵ He summarises his impressions by quoting a song:

<i>Para jardines Granada</i>	[Granada is the place for gardens]
<i>Para mujeres Madrid</i>	[Madrid is the place for women]
<i>Y para amores tus ojos</i>	[And your eyes are the place for love]
<i>Cuando miran à mi</i> ²⁰⁶	[Each time when they look at me]

Every other young lady whom Edelfelt met he described as good-looking; they were small, well fit and their hair, eyes and teeth always beautiful. The greatest compliment that one may grant a Spanish lady, he argues, is that she has “salt”, an expression that he describes as something more than “chic”, similar to intriguing (Swe. *pikant*). He also renounced the common view that Spanish women “grow old and fade away” at an early age. Instead, the ladies with adult daughters still looked remarkably good and carried their years excellently; the charming *mantilla* further assured that all women displayed an enjoyable appearance.²⁰⁷

Edelfelt’s observations from Madrid are similar to Hertzberg’s but also to Gautier’s much earlier recordings; Madrid was the capital of the *noble* Spanish woman, while the “true Span-

inser man genast att Filip II var otillräknelig och förlåter honom på grund af detta hans blödsinhet många hans bedrifter. Ej under om han då och då behöfvde sedan små förströelser som kättarbål o.d. Hans rum eller cell står ännu i sitt gamla skick – Gud skall veta att Konungen öfver ’två verldar’ icke bestod sig mycken lyx. Messor, messor, kättarbål det var hans smak, och hvar och en har sin. Jag kom att tänka på här, i Escorial, att bland de många osympathiska kungäländor som finnas, den spanska efter Carl V är den mest osympathiska. Bigotta, grymma eller idiotiska. Här i Escorial får man öfver sig en känsla af hat, riktigt hat till absolutum och obskurantism, ty ingenting af det briljanta som förenar oss t.ex. med Napoleons, Ludvig XIVs och Gustaf IIIs egenmäktighet, är här till finnandes. – [...] Klimatet är hårdt, (för 14 dagar sedan snöade det i Escorial) det blåser förfärligt, icke ett grässtrå växer på bergen rundt omkring. Arkitekten Herrera m.fl. lära ha pinat och bett Filip II att välja en annan plats för sin skapelse – men nej, envis som synden höll han på Escorial, som han allt framgent älskade, ett tycke hvori han troligen står ensam. Hvad nu kuriosas beträffar så finnes här ätskilligt att se bl.a. biblioteket der alla de raraste arabiska manuskripterna bevaras, kungagrafvarna, sakristian der några ypperliga taflo finnes men resten, klostret, kyrkan de kungliga våningarna äro förfärliga. Det är den fanatiska, dystra, dumma katolicismen i all sin prydno” (Albert Edelfelt till Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 12 May 1881, SLSA).

205 “Jag har sagt det och står vid hvad jag sagt att Madrid är de vackra fruntimrens stad” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 12 May 1881, SLSA).

206 “Para jardines Granada. Y para mujeres Madrid // Y para amores tus ojos // Cuando miran à mi’ Står det i visan – (Granada är orten för trädgårdar, Madrid för kvinnor, och dina ögon för kärlek, när du ser på mig) –” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 12 May 1881, SLSA). Free translation from Spanish to English by PhD Kari Kotkavaara and the author.

207 “Hvarannan ung dam som man möter ser bra eller pikant ut. De äro små, spenstiga [*sic*] ha alltid utmärkt vackert hår, vacker hy, vackra ögon och vackra tänder. Den största komplimang man kan göra en spanska, är att hon har “salt” hvilket är mera än chic, att hon är pikant, som vi skulle säga. Att spanskorna så tidigt skulle vissna och åldras är då också en agreabel lögn, ty många damer som gå med fullvuxna döttrar se utmärkt bra ut och bära sina år ypperligt. Den förtjusande *mantillan* gör också att de alla ta sig bra ut. För resten äro de mycket väl klädda, och en spanska lär hellre svälta en vecka än att gå ut utan att vara riktigt fin” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 12 May 1881, SLSA).

ish type” [implicitly un-noble] was found in the countryside.²⁰⁸ When Edelfelt described an evening at the *Comedia Española*, he paid particular attention to the public:

Such females! Theophile Gauthier [*sic*] says that 3 of 4 *madrileñas* are beautiful – and yes, if not four. They are delightful, more beautiful than lovely. I have not yet seen one supposedly Spanish type.²⁰⁹

Edelfelt compared the *madrileñas* with ladies he knew from Finland, and described their complexion as fair, and that they had black or auburn hair, but not of a “pitch-black” colour. These small, finely built women looked directly into one’s eyes, “like the Italian women”, but without impudence. According to Edelfelt, they possessed an ample bosom and small hands, but their “praised” feet, much to Edelfelt’s dismay, could not be seen under their long French dresses.²¹⁰ Edelfelt’s description reminds us of Gautier when he complained that the only part of the Spanish costumes that had been preserved was the *mantilla*: “the rest is in the French style.”²¹¹

“Parisianism” in costume was frequent among the *señores* as well. Gautier advised his French readers to “look at the fashion plates of six months ago, in some tailor’s window or reading-room, and you will have a perfect idea of them. Paris is the thought which occupies their minds.”²¹² Edelfelt described the *señores* as “snobbish” with their large mantles with red lining,²¹³ and somewhat more “noble” than the Italians; they looked like “caballeros” – like real gentlemen – and hence showed less “of the boulderish organ-grinder than the Italians” (Swe. “knoddiskt positivspelare än italienarne”).²¹⁴

It was not the Europeanised *madrileños*, but rather the Andalusian *gitanos* who represented the “Spanish type”, since they were “real” and unspoilt, remaining true to their traditions. This idea was expanded to include also the lower classes in Madrid; but when Gautier visited Madrid, he searched for the “true” *manola* in vain. “The *manola* is an extinct type”, he wrote after his trip, “like the *grisettes* of Paris, or the *trasteverine* of Rome; she still exists, it is true, but shorn of her original character [...] nowadays it is hard to distinguish them

208 Gautier 1926, pp. 85-89.

209 “[...] men publiken – sådana fruntimmer! Theophile Gauthier [*sic*] säger att af 4 *madrileñas* 3 äro vackra – ja tre, om ej fyra. De äro förtjusande, mera vackra är sköna. Jag har ännu ej sett en enda s.k. spansk typ” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 11 April 1881, SLSA).

210 “De likna fröken Grahn, Ellan, men alls ej fröken Nordenstam. Hvit hy, svartar eller chatain [kastanjebrunt hår] men alls ej becksvarta. *Mantillan* klär dem ypperligt. De se en stindt i ansigtet som italienskorna, men utan fräckhet. De äro små, smärta, fint byggda, isynnerhet smala om höfterna, ha fylligt bröst och små händer – fötterna, de beprisade, ser man ej mera, t.f. af de långa franska klädningarne” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 11 April 1881, SLSA).

211 Gautier 1926, p. 85.

212 Gautier 1926, pp. 88-89.

213 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 9 April 1881, SLSA.

214 “Herrarne se ut som caballeros [*sic*], mindre knoddiskt positivspelare än italienarne” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 11 April 1881, SLSA). The same comparison with the Italians is found in a letter to B.O. Schauman: “I do not know the Italians well enough, but I consider the Spaniards more open, manly and more ‘caballeros’ (Jag känner ej italienarne tillräckligt, men tycker dock att spanjorerna äro öppnare, manligare och mera ‘cavalleros’ [*sic*])” (Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Toledo 7 May 1881 [continued in Madrid 11 May 1881], FNG/Archives).

from lower middle class women and shop-keeper's wives".²¹⁵ The Romantic search for the pure and authentic found its reward only in Andalusia.

Edelfelt's paintings from Spain are visual testimonies that the Romantic idea(l)s were hard to ignore. His "Spanish types" were painted forty years after Gautier had visited Spain, but the same (stereotypical) idealisations reigned. In Granada, Seville and, as I will discuss further below, Toledo, one could still find inspiration for picturesque genre paintings, but not in Madrid. This perception is crucial for nineteenth-century *espagnolisme*. Madrid was not "foreign" or even "unfashionable" in the eyes of the foreigners; the city was saturated by "Parisianism". Madrid was thus perceived as a modern, contemporary and present-day city, which lacked the appeal of a mysterious past that was admired in Southern Spain. In the capital, one indulged in high culture: mingled with the noble inhabitants, admired the beautiful *madrileñas* and visited the museums and collections. The words voiced by Edelfelt's escort on the railway station in Paris when Edelfelt was about to set out on his Spanish journey are highly appropriate to quote: "à Madrid il y a deux choses qu'il faut bien regarder : la galerie et les femmes."²¹⁶



218. Albert Edelfelt, *Roman Bridge in Cordoba* (also known as *Bridge in Seville*), 1881. Private Collection.

8.1.1 Edelfelt in Cordoba: Ghosts in a Dead City

Edelfelt left Seville for Toledo on Monday evening, the 25th of April. On his way up north to Toledo, where he intended to stay for a slightly longer period, he made a short stop in Cordoba. An exhibition leaflet for *The Finnish Art Society's* exhibition, which took place in the autumn after Edelfelt's return, includes "pieces from the cities Granada and Cordova", but their locations and more exact descriptions of the subjects are not known.²¹⁷

The only presently identified work with a Cordoban motif is a view of the Roman Bridge (*Fig. 218*). Hintze names this small watercolour *Bridge in Seville*,²¹⁸ but there is no doubt that the painting shows a view from the banks of the River Guadalquivir in Cordoba: the sixteenth-century triumphal arch *Puerta del Puente* is clearly visible to the left.²¹⁹ Edelfelt

215 Gautier 1926, p. 87.

216 "En af mina vänner i Paris sade mig ännu på bangården: "à Madrid il y a deux choses qu'il faut bien regarder: la galerie et les femmes" (Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Granada 18 April 1881, FNG/Archives).

217 *Finska konstföreningens exposition 1881*, Folkbibliothekets nya hus, Helsingfors 1881, p. 4. None of the exhibited Spanish works were for sale.

218 Hintze 1953, p. 524 catalogue number 175.

219 Compare this work with illustration number 30 in Martin Lopez 1990, p. 265. This triumphal arch replaced an original Roman construction, and was built by Philip II in 1572. The bridge is generally believed to have been built by Emperor Augustus, and consists of sixteen arches. Near the Triumphal Arch is a sculpture of St.



219. *Right Bank of the River Guadalquivir in Cordoba; View towards the Roman Bridge, Alameda del Corregidor and the Walls of the Alcázar, late 19th-century photograph.*

220. 21st-century view of Cordoba and the Roman Bridge from the River Guadalquivir.



221. 21st-century view of the Roman Bridge and Puerta del Puente in Cordoba.



also referred to the Roman bridge in a letter to his mother.²²⁰ Old postcards reveal that the bank of the River Guadalquivir, where he apparently stood painting (near to the Arab water wheels), was not as overgrown with vegetation as it is today when it blocks the view from the banks towards the bridge (*Fig. 219, 220, 221*).²²¹

With reference to my earlier discussion on the negligence of Spain's Roman period, the fact that Edelfelt included a Roman construction in one of his paintings from Cordoba,

is worth noting. His choice of subject brings balance against the dominant view that the Moorish period in Andalusia was Spain's most important contribution to posterity. The view of the Roman bridge may thus be a conscious statement against the prevalent Orientalist conception of South-

Raphaël, erected in 1651, however not visible from Edelfelt's viewpoint. The bridge is in the vicinity of the Mosque-Cathedral, in the core of the city's historical centre.

220 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Toledo 28 April 1881, SLSA.

221 Martin Lopez 1990, photographs number 28-30, pp. 263-265.

ern Spain as a primarily Oriental place. He seldom included Moorish monuments in his paintings and, when he did, they were insignificant details.

But as we have learned from Edelfelt's letters, his "official" opinion of Moorish architecture in Spain followed the mainstream. Gautier had no comment on the existence of the Roman bridge in his *Voyage*, but noticed the close-by Renaissance *Puerta del Puente*, which is seen in Edelfelt's picture. When Gautier visited Cordoba, it functioned as the city gate, which was locked at nights:

A fine gate like a triumphal arch, with Ionic columns, and so grand in style that one might have imagined it to be Roman, formed a stately entrance to the city of the Caliphs, *though I should have preferred one of those fine Moorish arches, cut in the shape of a heart* [...].²²²



222. *Street in Cordoba (Calle Cardinal Herrero)* [adjacent to the Mesquita-Cathedral], late 19th-century.

Gautier preferred Spain's Moorish heritage to all other historical periods. But he also notices the city's emptiness, that "[t]he life seems to have ebbed away from this great body, once animated by the active circulation of Moorish blood; nothing remains of it now but a white and calcined skeleton".²²³ Cordoba was a dead city, "an open catacomb over which is sifting the ashen dust of neglect; the few inhabitants whom one meets as one turns a corner look like apparitions which have come at the wrong time".²²⁴ Cordoba appeared as a ghostly city, and the phantoms of the past were still its inhabitants.

Edelfelt's comments from Cordoba are brief. He does not include any description of the Mosque-Cathedral's interior, but suffices to state that the building is "amongst the most remarkable one may see" (*Fig. 222*).²²⁵ This raises the question whether Edelfelt ever entered the building. Had he paid a visit to the edifice – that in most nineteenth-century guidebooks was described as unequalled in size or magnificence – he most probably would have mentioned it. But we do not find comments on, for instance, the Catholic church, described by Gautier as "an enormous heavy mass crammed into the heart of the Arab mosque".²²⁶ Neither does Edelfelt comment on the interior in general, even though the mosque was

222 Gautier 1926, p. 266 [my emphasis].

223 Gautier 1926, pp. 266-267. Later on, Gautier comments: "Under [the Moorish domination], if we are to believe the popular exaggerations gravely retailed by the historians, Cordoba numbered two hundred thousand houses, eighty thousand palaces and nine hundred bath-houses; twelve thousand villages served it as suburbs. Nowadays it has not forty thousand inhabitants and seems almost deserted!" (Gautier 1926, p. 269). The power of Gautier's description of Cordoba is evidenced by its influence on the much later text in Baedeker's guidebook for Spain and Portugal. The last quoted sentence, in the French version "le squelette blanchi et calciné" (Gautier [1843], p. 235) has survived and is included in Baedeker's introduction to Cordoba: "The traveller whose expectation is on tiptoe [*sic*] as he enters the ancient capital of the Moors will probably be disappointed in all but the cathedral, the former mosque, which is still, in spite of all defacement, the most imposing monument of its time. With the exception of a few Moorish doors and Arabic inscriptions, the Christian Spaniard has either marred or destroyed all else that would recall the Mecca of the West, the once celebrated nursery of science and art. The city now presents a mournful picture of departed greatness; it is, as *Théophile Gautier* expresses it, *nothing but 'le squelette blanché [*sic*] et calciné'* [my emphasis] of its former self" (Baedeker 1898, p. 308).

224 Gautier 1926, p. 277.

225 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt. Toledo 28 April 1881, SLSA.

226 Gautier 1926, p. 271.

particularly renowned for its infinite sea of pillars; Gautier, for instance, after “entering this venerable sanctuary of Islam”, described his emotions caused by the architecture by stating that he felt like “walking in a ceiled forest rather than a building”.²²⁷

Instead, Edelfelt laments on the empty and dead city, which he feels is too big for its population:

From Seville we travelled to Córdoba [*sic*] – The Mosque is amongst the most remarkable one may see, but the city is so gloomy, appears so deserted and dead and the landscape with Sierra Moreno possesses something so parched, dead, that I would turn into a hypochondriac if I lived there. Córdoba resembles Palestine, such as I imagine it according to plates and drawings. I wandered about as if in Biblical times, surrounded by Moorish monuments. The houses are small, white, without windows to the street, the city, which once was among the largest in the world, is too large for its inhabitants and the reddish-yellow waves of the Guadalquivir, which here is very broad, rolls languidly beneath a monumental bridge built by the Romans. Jerusalem, Bethlehem has to look this way. It was strange. The heat was immense, and no gust of wind was to be found. I have never been so totally estranged from our time and we appeared totally “out of style” in these surroundings. Because here one should wear a turban and clothes reaching down to one’s feet.²²⁸

This long quotation speaks for itself; Edelfelt’s idea that the city of Cordoba was merely a dead remnant is yet another expression of his Romanticism. But both Gautier and Edelfelt praised the Arab architecture. Gautier, on his part, always greatly regretted that the Moors were no longer the masters of Spain, “which has certainly done nothing but lose by their expulsion”.²²⁹ Edelfelt expressed a similar view in a letter to B.O. Schauman from Madrid. When commenting on the city’s lack of “aesthetic coherence” in architecture, he declares that it still is the Arabs who have the “name of honour”.²³⁰

Journeys to Spain and the pursuit of the pure and authentic, which the travellers frequently practised, and their interest in Spain’s (exotic) past, agree with Romantic aspirations. Petra Ten-Doesschate Chu also asserts that a “sense of history” is commonly cited among the foremost characteristics of the Romantics, who were more interested in the Middle Ages than any other historic period. She also proposes that medievalism played a more significant role in “pre-Romanticism” than in Romanticism proper, since the Romantics were inter-

227 Gautier 1926, p. 270.

228 “Från Sevilla reste vi till Córdoba [*sic*] – Mosquéen är bland det mest märkliga man kan se, men staden är så dystert, ser så öfvergiven och död ut och landskapet med Sierra Moreno har något så solbrändt, dödt i sig, att jag skulle bli hypocondrisk om jag bodde der. Córdoba liknar Palestina sådant jag föreställer mig det efter plancher [*sic*] och teckningar. Jag gick och vandrade som i Gamla testamentets tid med mohriskä minnesmärken omkring mig. Husen äro små, hvita, utan fönster åt gatan, staden, som en gång varit bland de största i världen, är för stor för sin folkmängd och Guadalquivir som här är mycket bred rullar trögt fram sina rödgula böljor under en monumental bro som romarna bygt. Jerusalem, Betlehem måste se så ut. Märkvärdigt var det. Hettan var stor, och ingen vindflägt var till finnandes. Jag har aldrig varit så totalt borta från vår tid, och vi föreföllo oss helt ”ostiliga” i denna omgivning. Ty här borde man bära turban och fotsida kläder” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Toledo 28 April 1881, SLSA).

229 Gautier 1926, p. 269.

230 “Esthetisk enhet saknas totalt i byggnadskonsten – araberna ha ännu hedersnamnet [...]” (Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Toledo 7 May 1881 [continued in Madrid 11 May 1881], FNG/Archives).

ested in all kinds of historical periods besides the Middle Ages.²³¹ A nostalgic escape into the past – the “craze for history” – dominated the Romantic perception of Spain.

8.1.2 A Refuge in Time and Space

Most painters who travelled to Spain in the nineteenth century may be defined as persons with a Romantic worldview, searching for the past in the present. In his Spanish letters, Edelfelt also frequently refers to the overbearing presence of the past. It has been well established in the preceding text that Spain was viewed as a paradise lost to modern society, and that it thus had to be recreated in the here and now on the imaginary level. Löwy and Sayre argue that the tendency to “rediscover paradise in present reality” resulted in the Romantic striving to transform “one’s immediate environment and one’s own life while remaining within the bourgeois society”.²³² This gave rise to a number of trends: dandyism and aestheticism, literary circles, utopian experiments such as the Saint-Simonians or simply falling in love.²³³ To this list, I add “armchair travelling”, which includes the Orientalists’ fantasy paintings and literary works such as de Musset’s *Contes d’Espagne et d’Italie*.

The Romantic perception of Spain as a suitable destination for time travelling is also sustained by Löwy and Sayre’s notion that the Romantics could choose to

flee bourgeois society, leaving cities behind for the country, trading modern countries for exotic ones, abandoning the centres of capitalist development for some “elsewhere” that keeps a more primitive past alive in the present. The approach of Exoticism is a search for a past in the present by a mere displacement in space.²³⁴

The rootless, Romantic yearning, the nostalgia for past periods and the longing for escape from modern society are expressed through authors such as Gautier and his contemporary Charles Baudelaire (1821–1867). Although Edelfelt’s leading star, Gautier, may be defined

231 Chu 1994, p. 166. Michael Löwy and Robert Sayre mention primitive societies, the Hebrew people of the Biblical era, Greek and Roman antiquity, the English Renaissance and the Old Regime in France, all of which “served as vehicles for the Romantic vision” (Löwy & Sayre 2001, p. 22).

232 Löwy & Sayre 2001, p. 23.

233 Löwy & Sayre 2001, p. 23.

234 Löwy & Sayre 2001, p. 23. Only by leaving Europe behind, as the French author Charles Nodier (1780–1844) explained his setting of his novel *Smarra and Trilby* in a wild Scottish [*sic*] landscape, “one can find remnants of humanity’s spring-time, an idyllic period in which the sources of the imagination and sensitivity had not yet dried up”, as rephrased by Löwy and Sayre (Löwy & Sayre 2001, p. 24). Charles Nodier was one of the first authors to immerse his writing in the concerns of dream life and desire. He was more important for the influence he had on the French Romantic movement than for his own writings (“Charles Nodier”, *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, <http://search.eb.com/eb/article?eu=57434>, electronic document accessed and retrieved 13 May 2004.

as an “old-fashioned” art critic and journalist according to contemporary standards, he was rivalled only by the explicit modernity of Baudelaire.²³⁵

Baudelaire nevertheless openly declared his debt to his older colleague by dedicating his *Les fleurs du mal* to his “Maître and Ami” Théophile Gautier.²³⁶ In this book, we find a poem called “Le Voyage”, which contains the following lines:

... But the real voyageurs are those who leave
For the sake of leaving
...
To plunge into the depths of the gulf, Hell or Heaven,
who cares?
In order to find, at the bottom of the unknown,
Something new!²³⁷

As Robert Snell comments, Gautier’s and Baudelaire’s respective art criticism express “the presence of a poet of the *mâl du siècle*” and that “each manifested an imperative yearning for escape”. Snell also states that the overt escapism of another of Baudelaire’s essays, “N’importe où hors du monde”, in fact was Gautier’s desire; in his art criticism, Gautier frequently expressed his wish “to flee into the steppes and abandon civilised life for ever”.²³⁸ As Snell observes, both critics sought excitement “Any where [*sic*] out of the world”, and repeatedly experienced thrills in more surreal ways through opium or other devices.²³⁹ I interpret Baudelaire’s wish to get anywhere out of the “world” as being the same as his desire to flee from Paris. Leaving the metropolis behind for less modern places meant fleeing into the past, away from modernisation and the present.²⁴⁰

235 According to Robert Snell, by the time of Gautier’s death in 1872, his name had come to stand for criticism itself. However, Snell states, for the twentieth-century reader it is Baudelaire rather than Gautier “who towers over the field of nineteenth-century art criticism in France”. He continues: “It is thus inevitably against Baudelaire that Gautier’s value as an art critic must finally be weighed. For if in reading Baudelaire we seem miraculously to become the privileged operators of a two-way link between the nineteenth century and our own, Gautier seems correspondingly distant across time, uncomfortably bogged down or transfixed by his age. In this sense, Baudelaire can be discovered as an essentially modern critic; Gautier, reciprocally, seems to be the culminating representative of an older type. Indeed he can seem in many ways to have more in common with his eighteenth-century precursor Diderot than he has with his younger contemporary Baudelaire. [...] The less Gautier succeeds in striking Baudelaire’s fiercely unmistakable modern chords, the more perhaps does his art-critical journalism appear as a simple continuation of Diderot’s own similarly sweeping, open-handed, subjective, and pragmatic writing on the art of his century” (Snell 1982, p. 206).

236 Baudelaire 1975, p. [3], dedication for *Les fleurs du mal* [1861]: “Au poète impeccable; au parfait magicien ès lettres françaises; à mon très cher et très vénéré maître et ami Théophile Gautier [...]” In the introduction to the English translation of *Voyage en Espagne*, Catherine Alison Phillips includes a very positive quotation about Gautier’s authorship, written by Baudelaire (Gautier 1926, p. viii).

237 Charles Baudelaire’s poem “The Voyage” as translated in Brown 1985, p. 6. For the French version, see Baudelaire 1975, the first two lines, p. 130 lines 17-18 (“Mai les vrais voyageurs sont ceux-là seuls qui partent // Pour partir [...]”), and p. 134, lines 143-144 (“Plonger au fond du gouffre, Enfer ou Ciel qu’importe? // Au fond de l’Inconnu pour trouver du nouveau”). The poem ends with these lines.

238 Snell 1982, pp. 208, 254 fn 7 (quotation from Gautier’s article in *Mon*, 11 June 1859).

239 Snell 1982, pp. 206-209. The text was initially included in *Revue nationale et étrangère* on 28 September 1867 with the English title “Any where [*sic*] out of the world”. The title is a loan from Thomas Hood’s *Bridge of Sighs*, which Baudelaire had translated into French in 1865 (Baudelaire 1975, pp. 356-357, 1348).

240 Comp. Löwy & Sayre 2001, pp. 22-23.

The presence of the past is also strongly felt in Gautier's perception of Cordoba. The displacement in time is enhanced by his description of the city as a distinctly Other to Europe:

Cordoba has a more African appearance than any other [city] in Andalusia; its streets, or rather alleys, have a wildly irregular pavement like a dried-up watercourse, all strewn with the chopped straw dropped from the asses' loads, and nothing about them recalls the manners and customs of Europe. One walks between interminable chalk-coloured walls, meeting nobody but a few evil-looking beggars, pious women muffled in black veils, or *majos*, who ride past like lightning on their brown horses with white harness, striking showers of sparks from the cobble-stones. If the Moors could return, they would not have to make many changes in order to settle here again.²⁴¹

In Gautier's analysis, time stood still in Cordoba, if the "progress of time" is defined as meaning approximately the same as societal and economical progress.

Gautier's interest in the Oriental character of Southern Spain is obvious here; his *Voyage en Espagne* may be labelled as "Orientalistic", since he frequently sought out Spain's Moorish heritage.²⁴² The book thus expresses the Romantic interest in the Middle Ages, a period that he thought he would find particularly well represented in Spain.²⁴³ Gautier's text also supports Chu's assertion that the Romantic's medievalism was more of a late eighteenth-century phenomenon: Guillaumie-Reicher shows that Gautier, for instance, relied heavily on late eighteenth-century Spanish manuscripts on the Arab inheritance in Spain that he frequently translated directly.²⁴⁴ Thus, the knowledge of Spain's historical heritage was partially derived from earlier, Spanish sources.

Gautier described the Oriental aspect in Spanish architecture with utmost precision. Arcadio Pardo notes that Gautier's meticulousness was partly the cause of the impact Gautier's authorship had on later travellers.²⁴⁵ Edelfelt exemplifies how significant this impact was, since his perception of Spanish (or, Moorish) Andalusia was greatly infected by Gautier's preconceptions some forty years earlier. As any modern tourist guide reveals, the image of Cordoba as a relic from the Moorish era is still the foundation for today's tourism in the city. Christina Martin Lopez has shown that the modernisation of the city during the nineteenth century destroyed much of its historic heritage, leaving only the regions around the former Mosque as a site for heritage tourism.²⁴⁶

Old postcards, which also illustrate Martin Lopez's book, offer an insight into how Cordoba appeared at the time Edelfelt and his contemporaries visited the city, a city where the signs of neglect and disregard for its historical past were already visible. The foundations for

241 In the English translation the word "city" is omitted. The original text reads as follows: "Cordue a l'aspect plus africain que tout autre ville d'Andalousie [...]" (Gautier [1843], p. 234).

242 E.g., Guillaumie-Reicher 1936, pp. 146-178.

243 "Any idea which one may have formed in advance of Cordoba, as a city of *Gothic* houses, with *spires like lacework*, is absolutely false [my emphasis]" (Gautier 1926, p. 267).

244 See Guillaume-Reicher 1936, pp. 151-154.

245 Pardo 1989, pp. 269-293.

246 See Martin Lopez 1990.

cultural and heritage tourism in Cordoba were instead laid by foreign Romantic authors and the painters who followed in their footsteps. These visitors paid attention to those monuments they then thought worth seeing, which were primarily the Moorish (and Roman) monuments still preserved in the city's centre.²⁴⁷ Their statements' personal stance did not matter; a new "reality" was created according to subjective tastes.²⁴⁸

Thus, MacCannell's "staged authenticity" seems to be based on the urge to "re-live" the Romantics' "inner feelings" as they stood before the monuments. Löwy and Sayre's notion that Romanticism was not a phenomenon bound in a particular time during the early nineteenth century, but rather a long-lived set of ideas which still exists today, seems more accurate. Tourism includes the same nostalgia and yearning that the Romantics also possessed. As Chhabra, Healy and Sills note: "People are nostalgic about old ways of life, and they want to *re-live* them in the form of tourism, at least temporarily".²⁴⁹ What these authors call "perceived authenticity" is central to the traveller's satisfaction with the sight: "Not every component of the experience need be authentic [...] as long as the *combination* of elements generates the required nostalgic feeling".²⁵⁰

Edelfelt mentions the "remarkable mosque" in Cordoba only fleetingly, while Gautier devoted several pages to the Mosque-Cathedral, paying attention to its uniqueness and unsurpassed architectural innovations, which he saw as proof of the superiority of Arab architecture.²⁵¹ Like Gautier's, Edelfelt's perceptions are nevertheless focused on the city's "African" stamp, and he felt strangely "*dépaycé*" – estranged. His reference to "Biblical times" (Palestine, Jerusalem and Bethlehem) is also an expression of one of Orientalism's most common results; the Biblical countries were among the first to receive attention from the painters within the genre. This connection might be seen as a demonstration of Edelfelt's collusion with Orientalism: comprehending the world as a "fantasy reality" according to a concept which does not have its equivalent in the real world. The Moorish Cordoba was not a "Biblical" city.

247 This included the Roman Bridge with its "strange" sixteenth-century statue of St. Raphaël (the city's guardian), the Puerta del Puente and the Mosque-Cathedral, but not much more, save for walks in the Judería, the old Jewish quarters which today form a major tourist attraction. Neither Edelfelt nor Gautier mentions the nearby Alcázar (the Palace of the Christian Monarchs with its preserved parts from the fourteenth century). This building is a tourist attraction today. However, during the nineteenth century, it functioned as a prison (additionally it had once been the seat of the Inquisition), and was therefore not accessible nor even a desirable place to visit. Baedeker devotes only a few lines to the complex, but recommends its gardens, which could and should be visited "for the sake of the striking picture afforded by its luxuriant vegetation, the crumbling ruins, the springs [...]" and the two towers Torre de Paloma and Torre del Diablo (Baedeker 1898, p. 317).

248 Gautier's energy was focused on his visual experiences to the extent that his "whole rapport with the outside world, his whole attitude to himself and his whole life-style assumed an essentially picturesque character. Such focusing of energy was an archetypally Romantic phenomenon." Critics like Gautier and Baudelaire stressed their personal experiences in their encounters with art and architecture, or, as Snell expresses it: for Gautier (and Baudelaire) "art was experience itself, their own experience which they were inside and which was to be explored from the inside, subjectively, in terms of the feelings it engaged" (Snell 1982, pp. 210-211).

249 Chhabra, Healy & Sills 2003, p. 705.

250 Chhabra, Healy & Sills 2003, p. 705 [my emphasis].

251 See Gautier 1926, pp. 269-274. The Baedeker's guide also dedicates almost all space to the former Mosque in the passage on Cordoba (Baedeker 1898, pp. 309-316).



223. Toledo – A Street, engraving, illustration in Théophile Gautier's *Wanderings in Spain*, 1853.

In conclusion, Edelfelt's short visit in Cordoba reveals that he acted according to Romantic idea(l)s. The history painter Edelfelt, who travelled to Spain with the authorised intention of examining a Baroque painting by Velázquez but who also wished to study “the countryside and the people”, felt as if he were surrounded by living history. Gautier's book, which he had studied carefully in advance of (and during?) his journey, certainly strengthened this inclination.

8.2 EDELFEIT IN TOLEDO: COLLECTING PICTURESQUE VIEWS

So far, I have established that Edelfelt felt a “Romantic craze for history” during his visit in Southern Spain, above all in Granada and Cordoba where the Moorish period of Spanish history is most distinct. His awareness of the past was reinforced during his stay in Toledo; there he found inspiration for what he described as his main Spanish work, the *Alms*.²⁵² Edelfelt took several long walks in Toledo together with his companions. He had become acquainted with a local painter whom he called “the only painter” in town, Matías Moreno (1840–1906),²⁵³ who acted as his guide. Moreno steered their walks into the most “fabulous streets” (Fig. 223). Edelfelt considered these surroundings to be perfect backgrounds for duels and assassinations, “at least in past times”, as he phrased it:

Here one nevertheless may achieve a fairly *genuinely ancient impression*, because in the city there is not one single factory, the railroad is situated far away on the other side of the Tajo, the streets are illuminated by oil-lamps and the fire watchers sing the hours in the night in a melody which is rather similar to the one in Borgå.²⁵⁴

Edelfelt's stay in Toledo formed a sharp contrast with what he had seen so far on his journey. He compared the austere city with the joyful Andalusia, which he already missed, but he was nevertheless impressed by Toledo's historical appeal. Edelfelt wrote to his mother:

252 Elsewhere, I have discussed the *Alms* in the context of French *espagnolisme* in general (see Lundström 2001b).

253 Matías Moreno was a genre painter and former pupil of Federico de Madrazo. When Carolus-Duran was in Toledo in 1867, Moreno painted his portrait, or vice versa. Gary Tinterow observes that either interpretation is conceivable since the two painters resembled one another in the 1860s (*Manet/Velázquez* 2003, p. 468 [text by Gary Tinterow]). Later, Moreno was in charge of the restoration of El Greco's *The Entombment of Count Orgaz* in the Church of Santo Tomé in Toledo.

254 “Moreno förde mig med flit till de mest fantastiska gatorna, liksom enkom gjorda till dekorationer för dueller och lönnmord – fordomdags ty nu äro människorna här mycket fredliga. Man kan ändå få ett temmeligen *genuint forntida intryck* [my emphasis], ty i hela staden finnes ej en enda fabrik, jenrvegen ligger långt borta på andra sidan om Tajo, gatorna äro upplysta med oljelampor och brandvakterna sjunga ut klockslagen om natten på en melodi som är ganska lik den i Borgå brukliga” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Toledo 4 May 1881, SLSA).

For two days I have been in a totally different world from that in Seville. No more palm trees, no playfully happy songs, no *bolero* or *malagueña*, no beautiful ladies with flowers in their hair! It was wonderful that the weather was glorious and so all my memories of Andalusia are especially colourful. – I'm not complaining now either, because Toledo is, in its own way, as interesting as Granada and Seville. We intend to stay here for at least 10 days. The character is totally different. Everything here is stern, imposing, stark, here the Castilian language sounds pure and strong, and thousands of monuments provide information on Romans and Wisigoths, Moors and “los reyes catolicos” and finally, of the Inquisition. I much miss the people in Andalusia, and now I am sad that I did not stay longer in Granada (it is more expensive and harder to work in Seville, which is a large city). But this is good to know for the next time when I return to Granada and Seville, because

Those who have once seen this land
Long for it, long to return.²⁵⁵

Edelfelt's nostalgia for recent experiences in Spain are obvious here – as we know, nostalgia is another word for returning in time and stands for the past in general as well as individual experiences.²⁵⁶ His paintings from Toledo do not, however, include Moorish architectural elements. As becomes apparent when reading his letters from Spain, he did notice this feature, but seems to have dismissed them as merely tourist attractions and thus not suitable subjects to paint. Edelfelt was hence an “Orientalist” only in his writings, while his paintbrush remained faithful to the “historical truth” (“den historiska sanningen”) for which he had argued in his art criticism several years before the journey.²⁵⁷

As Edelfelt's above quotation from his letter to B.O. Schauman shows, the “genuinely ancient” character of Toledo was different from that in Andalusia. Granada was already changing in response to the emergent tourism, and Seville and Madrid were large and modern cities, pulsating with life. Toledo's ancient atmosphere appealed to Edelfelt, and soon after returning to Madrid, he wrote to B.O. Schauman:

With a certain delight I reunited with a modern city filled with elegant carriages, fine *toilettes*, life and movement. Toledo still is, you see, totally “stylish” to the extent that, for instance, there is no street illumination, no coachmen for rent and no shops for modern tastes. The domestic servants wear ancient dresses and are still called *alquazil*,²⁵⁸ by night the fire watchers sing the

255 “Jag är här sedan två dagar i en helt annan värld än sist i Sevilla. Inga palmer mera, ingen glad lekande sång, ingen bolero och malagueña, inga vackra fruntimmer med blommor i håret! Det var roligt att vädret var så vackert och att därför det minne jag har af Andalusien är så utmärkt behagligt. – jag beklagar mig ej nu heller, ty Toledo är, i en annan genre, lika så intressant som Granada och Sevilla. Vi ämna stanna här åtminstone 10 dagar. Karaktären är helt annorlunda. Här är allt allvarligt, storslaget, barskt, här ljuder castillanskan ren och kraftig, och tusen monument tala om romare och Wisigoth, mohrer och ”los reyes catolicos” och sist om inquisitionen. Folket i Andalusien saknar jag mycket, och är nu ledsen öfver att ej ha stannat längre i Granada (i Sevilla såsom en stor stad är det dyrare och svårare att arbeta). Men detta är bra att veta för nästa gång då jag kommer tillbaka till Granada och Sevilla, ty // Hvem det landet engång sett // Han längtar dit, längtar dit igen” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Toledo 30 April 1881, SLSA).

256 *Oxford English Dictionary Online* gives the following definitions for the noun “nostalgia”: 2a. “Sentimental longing or regretful memory of a period of the past [...]”, “sentimental imagining or evocation of a period of the past”; 2b. “Something which causes nostalgia for the past; freq. as a collective term for things which evoke a former (remembered) era.” The last definition also connects the “nostalgia” with the word “memorabilia”: “Objects kept or collected because of their historical interest or the memories they evoke of events, people, places, etc., with which they have been associated; souvenirs, mementos” (*Oxford English Dictionary Online*, <http://dictionary.com>, electronic document accessed and printed 23 February 2004).

257 See e.g., Edelfelt 1877b, pp. 77-89 (p. 88).

258 Edelfelt probably refers to the Spanish word *alquiladizo* / -za, which refers to a hiring.

strokes and the priestly servants are dressed as they were in the 17th century. I quote these details to give you a faint picture of the curiously ancient stance that characterises the old capital of Castille. From an architectural point of view, probably only few cities in the world exist that appears as archaic and awe-inspiring [as Toledo].²⁵⁹

In addition to the *Alms*, which I discuss at length below, Edelfelt's Toledan artworks mainly depict the city's narrow lanes and streets, either in the form of townscapes or small studies of ordinary Spaniards gathered together in the city's contracted alleys (Fig. 224).²⁶⁰ It pained him to have to select a single view: "Indeed, here it is extremely difficult to decide what to paint, because all street-corners are picturesque."²⁶¹

To B.O. Schauman he nevertheless redefined his use of the word "picturesque": "yet picturesque is not the right word, because the colour is always the same: A blue sky without a cloud and all the rest, mountains, streets, houses, churches, roofs a yellowish grey and extremely monotonous. But the *lines* are excellently beautiful and one is tempted to sit down and draw by every step."²⁶²

Perhaps Toledo's "architectural stance" was one of the reasons why painters frequently found inspiration for images that could be described as having a "structural design". In Edelfelt's painting of a *patio* (Fig. 225), we see a space empty of people; it is probably a study intended as a background scene for a later painting that apparently was never executed. Edelfelt remarked to his mother that his travel companion, the American Edward Darling (Boït), worked extremely hard while they were in Toledo; he claims that Boït painted about fifty watercolours while he was in Spain:



224. Albert Edelfelt, *Spanish Beggars in an Alley in Toledo* [also known as *From Toledo I*], signed "28 april – 81". Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

259 "Det var med ett visst välbehag jag återsåg en modern stad med eleganta ekipager, fina toiletter, lif och rörelse. Toledo är näml. så fullkomligt 'stilfullt' ännu, att t.ex. gatubelysning ej finnes, inga hyrkuskar finnes och inga butiker i den moderna smaken. Husbetjenterna gå i forntida drägter och kallas ännu *alquaziler*, brandvakterna sjunga ut klockslagen om natten och kyrkobetjeningen är klädd som på 1600 talet. Dessa detaljer citerar jag för att ge en svag bild af den egendomligt forntida prägel som utmärker Castiliens gamla hufvudstad. I arkitektoniskt hänseende finnes det troligen högst få städer i världen som se så uråldriga och vördnadsinjudande ut" (Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Toledo 7 May 1881 [continued in Madrid 11 May 1881], FNG/Archives).

260 Examples of his smaller studies (executed in varying techniques) are: *Spanska tiggare utanför en husvägg i Toledo*, inscribed "28 april 1881" (FNG/A II 1310); *Gatuscen från Toledo*, inscribed "28 april 1881" (FNG/A II 1519:41); *Zigenerska*, inscribed "Toledo" and with several notions of the colours which should be used in a possible larger composition (FNG/A II 1517:41).

261 "Man är verkligen i hvalet och qualet då det gäller att måla här, ty alla gathörn är pittoreska" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Toledo 30 April 1881, SLSA).

262 "[...] dock, pittoreskt är ej rätta ordet, ty färgen är ständigt den samma: En blå himmel utan moln och allt det öfriga, berg, gator, hus, kyrkor, tak gulgrått och enförmig i högsta grad. Men linierna äro utmärkt vackra och man vore frestad att sätta sig ned att teckna vid hvarje steg" (Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Toledo 7 May 1881, [continued in Madrid 11 May 1881], SLSA).



225. Albert Edelfelt, *Patio in Toledo*, 1881 Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

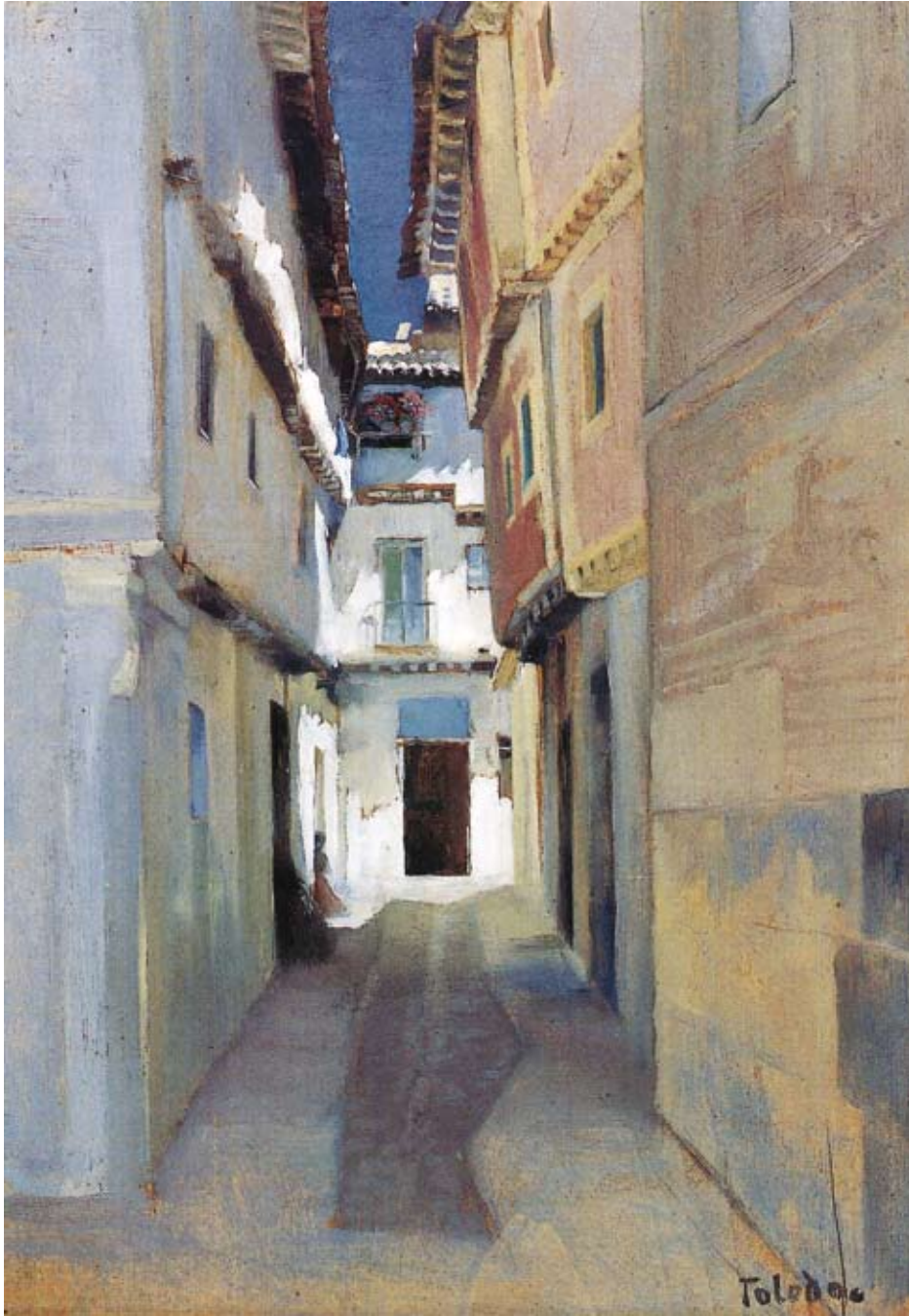
[...] and instantly, when he has exhausted one city's supply of architectural views, he departs. Toledo is the richest in this vein, and therefore he has pushed on absolutely unmercifully. And since we did not want to part from him, we, his obliging children, have tagged along.²⁶³

According to Edelfelt, Boit's journey to Spain was conducted for the sole purpose of painting architecture and picturesque sites, for which he became renowned and sold extensively in America.²⁶⁴

One of Edelfelt's more successful paintings from his Spanish journey is from Toledo. The vividly painted small panel *Street in Toledo* (Fig. 226) is inscribed "Toledo." in the lower right corner, and depicts a narrow alley beneath an intensely blue sky. The walls of the houses to

263 "Denna resa till Spanien är uteslutande företagen för att göra aquareller, och så snart en stads förråd på arkitektoniska vuer är uttömdt reser han sin väg. Toledo är det rikaste i den vägen, och därför har han drivvit på aldeles obarmhertigt. Som vi ej ville skiljas från honom, ha vi beskedliga barn följt med" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Toledo 30 April 1881, SLSA).

264 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Toledo 30 April 1881, SLSA.



226. Albert Edelfelt, *Street in Toledo*, 1881. Private Collection.

the left possess shades of pale bluish grey nuances, while the partition to the right is of a more reddish brown with hues of yellow. Edelfelt wrote to his mother:

Toledo is amongst the most magnificent one may see – highly picturesque – I enjoy every minute thoroughly, and I have already begun working. I wish to complete one study tomorrow. Mother try to imagine a lofty mountain, at three slopes flanked by the Tajo, which is a powerful river, on the mountain a city with cramped alleys, high towers and on top of all this a bright-blue sky.²⁶⁵

As Gautier noticed, such cramped networks of streets and alleys also exposed an extremely monotonous appearance in Seville. As noted in my discussion of Gautier’s stay in the Andalusian capital, Gautier picked out two colours: the indigo of the sky and the chalk-white of the walls with azure-tinged shadows.²⁶⁶ This description is remarkably applicable to Edelfelt’s *Toledan* townscape as well: the blue “moonlight-shadows” cover the entire white wall to the left (the shady side), while the other, brownish wall is seen illuminated by sunlight. The alley’s pavement is tinged with the same bluish shadows, which also extend to some parts of the opposite building. A sharp contrast is created by the brightly-lit partition in the far back, where the white and sun-drenched wall generates the illusion of depth. It is a study of light and colour, an artwork that exposes the general ideas of how the relationship between light conditions and colour was experienced in southern countries.²⁶⁷ The townscape thus epitomises the Northern perception of the Southern Sun, and is a fine example of *plein-air* painting, illustrated by his employment of light, the small format, blue shades and a vivid brush.

Furthermore, the inscription “Toledo” is an important part of the motif – most paintings that I analyse are supplied with a text of some sort, tuning them into souvenirs. A quick inventory of Edelfelt’s Finnish ethnographical portrayals and landscapes from domestic journeys implies that such inscriptions are excluded.²⁶⁸ Such extra information would

265 “Toledo är bland det mäktigaste man kan se – pittoreskt i högsta grad – jag ordentligt njuter af hvarje minut, och har redan börjat arbeta. I morgon har jag en studie att göra färdig. Mamma tänke sig ett högt berg, på tre sidor omsluter af Tajo som är en dugtig flod, på berget en stad med trånga gator, höga torn, väldiga murar och öfver allt detta en klarblå himmel” (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Toledo 28 April 1881, SLSA).

266 Gautier 1926, p. 278.

267 Maria de los Santos García Felguera pays particular attention to how painters involved with Sevillian topics after ca. 1870 mainly paid attention to the relationship between sunlight and shade, and the overall play of light and colour, while abandoning the city’s historical monuments and anecdotal renditions (García Felguera 1993).

268 I cannot provide a comprehensive overview of such inscriptions, since I have not been in the position to examine this phenomenon thoroughly. Then again, Edelfelt’s landscapes, like those from southern France, generally have an inscription, while only a few of his other French paintings do (i.e., *Tyttö ja kissa*, 1881, Serlachius Art Museum, Mänttä; Hintze 1953, catalogue number 156, and a number of genre portraits from Edelfelt’s early career). Edelfelt’s view from his Parisian atelier at 147, Avenue de Villiers, *Paris in Snow* (Finnish National Gallery, Helsinki; Hintze 1953, catalogue number 400) is inscribed with the text “Paris 1887”. This is the case also of another, later view from the same atelier, *View from the Artist’s Atelier in Paris* (1895, private collection; Hintze 1953, catalogue number 741). In these paintings, the inscription confines the view in time and place, and hence the images gain the same function as a *memento*. A *memento* is a tangible memory of a place or an event which have (had) a particular meaning for its owner, e.g., a shell picked at the beach by the summer dwelling, a photograph from a wedding or a dried flower from a bridal-bouquet (comp. Gordon 1986).

have provided the picture with an unnecessary message. Both the painter and the beholder dealt with familiar history: the Finnish cultural heritage. Edelfelt's landscapes from Finland and artworks such as *Women outside the Church at Ruokolahti* (1887, Finnish National Gallery) are not souvenirs in the exact meaning of the word. They may nevertheless be interpreted as another expression of the concurrent pursuit of originality and authenticity, an escape from modernism, which thus connect them with tourism on an ideological level.²⁶⁹

When dealing with other cultures a more obvious sign of the motif's exoticism was needed. As seen in, for example, *San Telmo Sevilla – recuerdo de la Feria*, one of the most important parts of a souvenir is the text attached to the object (or, as in this case, the painting). When an object is labelled "Souvenir from ..." – or the Spanish variant "*Recuerdo de ...*" – it immediately and automatically gains certain characteristics and qualities of the place to which it refers. The written words, symbols in themselves, change or sacralise the object, thereby conferring meaning and power that it would otherwise lack.²⁷⁰ According to MacCannell, the phrase "Souvenir from ..." may, as such, be defined as a souvenir, because the object does not necessarily need to have a direct correlation to a particular place or event. Instead, it is the inscription that locates the object in time and place, such as the word "Toledo" in Edelfelt's sun-drenched view; the wording triggers memories and creates associations with (extraordinary) experiences in foreign lands.²⁷¹ It is important that the beholder of the painting really believe that it depicts Toledo, which is achieved by the addition of a single (magical) word.



227. Albert Edelfelt, *Alms*, Paris 1881. Private Collection.

8.2.1 The *Alms*

Edelfelt's major Spanish work, the *Alms* (Fig. 227), is a composition which has been variously interpreted. While his small panel from Toledo is a demonstration of painting *en plein air*, the *Alms* is a demonstration of the opposite. From the 1850s onwards, it had become common to compose "Spanish" genre-pictures based on studies and other material also *after* the return, as the Orientalists did. According to contemporary standards, the final painting was constructed in order to appear like a snapshot, a seized moment or impression, even when the composition was painted in the studio.²⁷² Edelfelt's the *Alms* is a fine example of such a composition with a Spanish theme; he made extensive use of studies from Toledo, and the work was completed when he had returned to Paris, in June 1881. The *Alms* is a fine exam-

269 Lukkarinen connects a similar nostalgia for authenticity and primitiveness with Finnish landscape painting from the last decades of the nineteenth century (Lukkarinen 2002, p. 19). See also Lukkarinen & Waenerberg 2004.

270 Gordon 1986, s. 139-142.

271 MacCannell 1976, p. 41.

272 Luxenberg 1991, pp. 21-22.

ple of Parisian Hispanicism, since it combines a Spanish painting mode with a Spanish topic, and at the same time the image is infused with an air of Parisian *juste milieu* painting.

The background-scene in the *Alms* is the cloister in the late Gothic monastery *San Juan de los Reyes* in Toledo. Beneath the vaults of the cloister, a young girl and her mother are seen giving alms to two beggars seated on the floor. The elegantly dressed mother looks over her shoulder, while the girl places some coins in the hand of one of the beggars. The beggars are wrapped in typical, vaguely striped *mantos*, wear sombreros and well-worn shoes. The tattered characters are painted in dark colours, while the figures of the girl and her mother are strikingly light and pale; their whitish dresses form a stark contrast to the murky figures of the beggars. The light filtering through the arcades enhances this impression, leaving the beggars in the shade and brightly illuminating the lady and the girl. The monastery's brownish interior intensifies the effect. Edelfelt's use of such sharp contrasts between light and shade brings to mind the tenebrism of Spanish Baroque painting and its typical colouring: black, brown, white and red. The red sash around the girl's lowered waist is the only bright accent in the composition and, as such, a skilful eye-catching device.

The exterior of the cloister is sparingly decorated, a blend of late Gothic and Renaissance, while the interior is elaborate and sumptuous, with sculptures and ornamentation in pale stone. According to Baedeker, the monastery and its church were restored "somewhat scantily" in the 1840s.²⁷³ When Edelfelt visited the monastery, it already had the status of a museum and was one of the main attractions in Toledo. In 1898, Baedeker described the building as a monument where "the whole breathes a most liberal spirit of artistic life and beauty".²⁷⁴ Edelfelt also referred to the place as "intensely beautiful" in a letter to his mother.²⁷⁵

When Baedeker described the interior and the text on the wall, together with "all kinds of heads" which protrude from the capitals of the pillars, he connected their form with the arabesques of the Alhambra, here "translated into the plastic forms of Christianity".²⁷⁶ The notion of an Arab stance in Spanish Christian Gothic architecture underlines the importance of the (French) Orientalists' interest in such architecture in Spain; one example is Henri Regnault's (1843–1871) *Summary Execution under the Moorish Kings of Granada*. Edelfelt, on the other hand, ignored the Arab features.

In the *Alms*, which he called his "Spanish picture", Edelfelt did not choose the Alhambra as the background. Instead, we see a late-Gothic interior from a Christian monastery in Toledo, the capital of Ferdinand and Isabella. Edelfelt replaced the past with a contemporary theme, but the background nevertheless refers to history: *San Juan de los Reyes* is a medieval building, a period which had attracted Edelfelt in several history paintings during the past few years. In *Queen Blanche* from 1877, for instance, we see the medieval interiors of the Cluny-museum in

273 Baedeker 1898, p. 145.

274 Baedeker 1898, pp. 145-146.

275 "makalöst vacker" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Toledo 30 April 1881, SL5A).

276 Baedeker 1898, p. 146.

Paris,²⁷⁷ while the incident in *Duke Karl Insulting the Corpse of Klas Fleming* (1878) takes place in the medieval Castle of Turku.²⁷⁸ As a matter of curiosity, Edelfelt noted that the exterior of Toledo's *Alcázar* (albeit damaged during the French invasion and mostly rebuilt) appeared similar to the Castle of Turku.²⁷⁹

In Toledo, Edelfelt wrote to his mother that he intended to set at least one of his Spanish paintings in *San Juan de los Reyes*, although he had not yet decided on its theme. He hoped to obtain an adequate number of studies, which would enable him to finish the composition in Paris.²⁸⁰ He had also purchased numerous photographs during his journey, some of which were probably of the interiors in the monastery, because of Edelfelt's precise reproduction of the text and other details on the walls; the painting's text was probably added later.²⁸¹

Edelfelt's studies for the *Alms* consist of the monastery's interior and its gardens.²⁸² One of these includes the beggars and the arches of the cloister, and a figure resembling the woman in the final version (*Fig. 228*).²⁸³ Edelfelt used local models for the beggars, whom he was able to employ through his acquaintance with Moreno. These two old men posed for Edelfelt every day between eight and twelve. He described them as "animated fellows, 75 and 80 years, one of them blind the other deaf".²⁸⁴ Edelfelt did not idealise the beggar-trade; the models were "authentic" in terms of their "realistic" and unpolished appearances. Hintze also mentions a study of an old beggar, described as an old man. This work was exhibited at the *Finnish Art Society's* exhibition in Helsinki, organised in the autumn after Edelfelt's journey.²⁸⁵ An additional preparatory drawing in black crayon shows the head of a Spaniard (*Fig. 229*). The drawing was probably displayed at the *Finnish Art Society's* exhibition in 1881.²⁸⁶ The old man's hat and features closely resemble those of the beggar seated to the right in the *Alms*; his sharply



228. Albert Edelfelt, *Preparatory Study for the Alms*, 1881. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.



229. Albert Edelfelt, *Head of a Spaniard*, 1881. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

277 Edelfelt's interest in the Middle Ages is particularly visible in the construction of his first *Salon* painting, *Queen Blanche* from 1877. He made extensive studies of (more or less) medieval artefacts, such as paintings, texts, textiles and other objects that he wished to include in the final painting, in order to achieve a "true" picture of the historical period depicted. He also studied recently published texts on medieval art and history. For Edelfelt's construction of *Queen Blanche*, see Catani 2000 [unpubl.]. Catani also presented her analysis of *Queen Blanche* at a seminar, arranged by *Historiska föreningen [The (Swedish) History Association]*, in Helsinki 13 October 2004.

278 When Edelfelt painted *Duke Karl*, he nevertheless replaced Turku Castle with interiors from the medieval Cathedral of Turku.

279 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 8 May 1881, SLSA.

280 "[...] jag har tänkt att anlägga åtminstone en tavla i det makalöst vackra klostret *San Juan de los Reyes*, vad ämnet blir vet jag ännu ej. Om jag kan skaffa mig så mycket studier att jag kan fullborda tavlan i Paris, så vore jag nöjd" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Toledo 30 April 1881, SLSA). One week later he concluded his preparatory work (Edelfelt till Alexandra Edelfelt, Toledo 5 May, in Edelfelt 1921, p. 89). Hintze mentions a study in oil (Hintze 1953, p. 525 catalogue number 184). A small, fragmentary drawing in pencil with a reverse composition is found in the collections of the Finnish National Gallery (FNG/A II 1517:41).

281 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Toledo 4 May 1881, SLSA.

282 Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Toledo 28 April 1881, SLSA; Hintze 1953, p. 525 catalogue numbers 181, 184; *Finska konstföreningens exposition 1881*, Folkbibliothekets nya hus, Helsingfors 1881 [exhibition booklet], p. 4 ("ur klostret San Juan di los Reyes [*sic*] och dess trädgård i Toledo").

283 *Church Interior [Kyrkointeriör]*, 1881, 15 x 23 cm, drawing in ink in sketchbook (FNG/A II 1517:41).

284 "De äro livade laxar på 75 och 80 år, den ena blind, den andra döv" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Toledo 4 May 1881, SLSA).

285 Hintze 1953, p. 525 catalogue number 183; *Finska konstföreningens exposition 1881*, Folkbibliothekets nya hus, Helsingfors 1881 [exhibition booklet], p. 4. The study's location is unknown.

286 *Finska konstföreningens exposition 1881*, Folkbibliothekets nya hus, Helsingfors 1881 [exhibition booklet], p. 4.

arched nose and the stern expression connect this drawing with the later composition. As in the final version, he wears a *manto* wrapped around his shoulders. Edelfelt's rendering of the beggars was thus more or less "authentic" and "genuine", according to prevailing ideals. The pursuit of authenticity, which is so important in tourism, is obvious here.

The circumstances of the lady and the girl are very different, even though Edelfelt probably based his figures on studies (and ideas) from his Spanish journey. While he was in Toledo, he painted at least two studies of the ten-year-old Marcellina Mateos y Campos.²⁸⁷ Edelfelt wrote to his mother of his work with the portrait of Marcellina:

In the afternoons, I have painted a little 10-year-old girl, who astonished me with her fine and lively appearance. She was the daughter of a bourgeois family who agreed that I could paint her portrait if I gave them a study – I was incredibly lucky because, in the same house where the little one lives with her family, the tenor, contralto and the *costumier* from a visiting *Opéra comique* group reside. This company has shown great interest in the painting, and the fat actress, the contralto, dresses my little model in a white *mantilla*, flowers in the hair etc. for every session. – I somewhat regret embarking on this work, which is time-consuming, but little "Marcellina" is such a *genuine type* and has such funny grimaces and such a vitality in her big beautiful eyes that I initially felt very inspired.²⁸⁸

When the portrait of Marcellina was exhibited, together with Edelfelt's other Spanish pictures, in Finland in the autumn of 1881, the anonymous reviewer in *Helsingfors Dagblad* was extremely pleased with the outcome:

The little "Marcellina" is a most lovely [study of a] head, "Spanish" in every tiny detail; she seems as if made for the sole purpose of illustrating an epigrammatic folk poem from Spain, which reads in translation:

A girl said: mother,
I have been thinking to ask you,
What is love, which incessantly
Is said to torment the hearts.
– God forbid,
She answered, that I should
Explain it to you!²⁸⁹

287 As Edelfelt's letter indicates, he probably gave a study to the girl's parents (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Toledo 4 May 1881, SL5A). Another study of Marcellina Mateos y Campos was included among Edelfelt's Spanish pictures at the *Finnish Art Society's* exhibition in 1881 (*Finska konstföreningens exposition 1881*, Folkbibliothekets nya hus, Helsingfors 1881 [exhibition booklet], number 21).

288 "På eftermiddagarna har jag målat en liten 10 års flicka som frapperade mig genom sitt fina och liffiga utseende. Hon var dotter till en borgarfamilj, som gick in på att låta mig måla henne om jag gafve [*sic*] dem en skizz – nu råkade det så väl att i samma hus der den lilla bor med de sina, finnas inlogerade tenoren, contraalton och kostymiören vid härv. Opéra-comique trupp. Hela detta sällskap har liffigt intresserat sig för målningen, och den tjocka aktrisen, contraalton, klär min lilla modell för hvarje gång i hvit mantilj, blommor i håret o.s.v. – Jag ångrar liter att jag gaf mig in på detta arbete, såsom varande tidsödande, men lilla "Marcellina" är en *så äkta typ* [my emphasis] och har så roliga miner och ett sådant lif i sina stora vackra ögon att jag först kände mig mycket inspirerad" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Toledo 4 May 1881, SL5A).

289 "Den lilla 'Marcellina' är ett verkligen förtjusande hufvud, 'spanskt' i hvarje minsta drag; hon förefaller såsom en inkom illustration till en epigrammatiskt folkdikt från Spanien, hvilken lyder i öfversättning: // En flicka sade: moder, // Jag tänkt dig fråga, // Hvad kärlek är, som ständigt // Sägs hjertan plåga. // – Må Gud bevara, // Hon svarte, att jag skulle // Dig det förklara!" ("Konstföreningens årsexposition. I." *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 18 October 1881).

The Spanish people, the reviewer concludes, had passed on something of their own lives to the artist's brush and drawing-pencil.²⁹⁰

I would like to think that Edelfelt thought of little Marcellina, or perhaps used the study from Toledo, when he painted his final version of the *Alms*; the girls are of approximately the same age. His interpretation of the girl in the *Alms* is nevertheless so "cliché" that any reference to a prototype is pointless; related versions appear in several of his Spanish artworks.²⁹¹ In the pastel painting *Remembrance of Spain* (1882), for example, we see a girl dressed in a white *mantilla* similar to the girl in the *Alms*. Edelfelt may well have used also a watercolour of a Spanish lady in profile, inscribed "Seville avril -81" (see *Fig. 174*), as guidance, at least with regard to the white *mantilla* and the flower. The Sevillian *señora* also wears a white lace *mantilla*, draped around her head and shoulders, and a red flower at her chest. Red flowers and a comb also adorn her dark hair, styled in the standard curl against her cheek; Edelfelt described such a *coiffure* as "peculiar" to Andalusia.²⁹² Both the girl in the *Alms* and the Sevillian lady wear their *mantillas* in such a manner, including the red flower and the hairlock.

Edelfelt probably used a Parisian model when painting the girl in the *Alms*, but it is by means of studio props that he ultimately succeeds in converting the red-haired girl into a Spaniard.²⁹³ Her dress is not that "peculiar" to Spain, but rather of Parisian design; this was, of course, also the way Spanish bourgeoisie liked to dress. As discussed earlier, the Spanish middle-class wore Parisian fashion and preserved only the *mantilla*. Anna Kortelainen connects Edelfelt's use of stylish dresses in the *Alms* with fashion pictures in periodicals. She interprets the subject as being influenced by the way in which Parisian *confection* was presented in fashion magazines. Fashion models were frequently set within fictional surroundings, and certain themes soon became distinguishable. The most common of these, Kortelainen claims, were ladies on a promenade, visiting the theatre, the *Salon* or a friend, or going out shopping; all these activities were performed in typically female milieus.²⁹⁴ In the *Alms*, Edelfelt extends the list to visiting a museum. Here another "feminine activity" takes place: giving alms to the poor. Women were generally considered to be more pious than men.

We know that Edelfelt thought that the interior of the cloister of *San Juan de los Reyes* (*Fig. 232*) was "remarkably beautiful"; in this astonishing milieu, he places the likewise beautiful and glamorous mother and her daughter. He depicts the mother as a rather arrogant lady, who glances over her shoulder at her charitable daughter by the ragged beggars. She



232. *San Juan de los Reyes*, exterior. 21st-century view.

290 "Konstföreningens årsexposition. I." *Helsingfors Dagblad*, 18 October 1881.

291 Compare this argument with Wilkens, who discusses the clichéd imagery of Spanish women in France during the Second Empire (Wilkens 1994).

292 Edelfelt uses the Swedish word "egendomlig", which here should not be interpreted as "strange". Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Granada [Whit Easter Monday] 1881, SLSA

293 Edelfelt commented that several ladies with red hair could be seen in Madrid (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, [Madrid] 9 April 1881, SLSA).

294 Kortelainen 2002a, p. 265 ff.



230. Albert Edelfelt, Detail of the text in the *Alms*, Paris 1881. Private Collection.

lifts the hem of her dress coquettishly, revealing a white shoe. The white and pale red colours in their dresses are repeated in the arcades where the light seeps through and the decorative ornaments are clearly visible. The girl and mother were illuminated and “elevated” above the ordinary man, symbolised by the beggars in the gloom.

The text above the door on the back wall is only a fraction of a lengthy inscription (*Fig. 230*); Baedeker informs us of texts in Latin and Spanish that “refer to the glories of the royal founders”.²⁹⁵ The text visible in the section that Edelfelt chose as background – there are four doors to choose from, and this is the one with the least adorned frame – apparently refers to these glories. Edelfelt has replicated the text but has not managed to squeeze everything in, and the last word of the phrase is missing; “y de su gloriosa madre y de los”, we read. Compared to the text on the actual wall there is still another fragment of a word (“bien---”) incorporated, before the passage continues on the other side of the capital to the right (*Fig. 231*).²⁹⁶

In my opinion, Edelfelt chose this particular door as background for the scene intentionally, since the content of the text suggests that there is a connection between the passage above the door and the depicted motif. The words visible above the head of the lady in Edelfelt’s painting read “the glory of the mother”, which, of course, refers to the Virgin, but may also be an intentional reference to the mother and her child who give alms to the poor.

The scene in Edelfelt’s picture thus relates to one of the main concerns of Catholicism and the Counter-Reformation: the idea of salvation through deeds, and not through faith as in the Protestant religion. Giving alms to the poor was, during the Counter-Reformation, one of the main actions by which salvation could be achieved. Old Spanish Master religious paintings frequently depicted poor beggars and other misfortunate persons with the specific intention of invoking charity in the viewer. Jusepe de Ribera’s (1591–1652) *Clubfooted Boy* from 1642 at the Musée du Louvre, Paris, for instance, which at first glance may appear to be a genre painting, is imbued by such religious symbolic meaning (*Fig. 233*).²⁹⁷ In his hand, he holds a piece of paper, inscribed with the words “Give me alms for the love of the poor”. In accordance with concurrent, seventeenth-century doctrines, the poor boy awaits our charity with a happy smile, despite his deformed extremities or other calamities; laughter was seen as the most efficacious way of overcoming the misfortunes of life. The view that alms should be received contentedly was deeply rooted within Spanish Catholicism. By their act, the beg-



231. *San Juan de Los Reyes*, Toledo, interior of the Cloister, background scene for Edelfelt’s *Alms*, 1881.

²⁹⁵ Baedeker 1898, p. 146.

²⁹⁶ The text in this part of the lower cloister reads as follows: “[...] Esta cláustra alta y baja, iglesia, y todo este monesterio fué edificado por mandado de los Católicos y muy escelentes [*sic*] Reyes D. Fernando y Doña Isabel, Reyes de Castilla, Aragon y Jerusalem, desde los primeros fundamentos, á honra y gloria del Rey del cielo, y de su gloriosa Madre, y de los bienaventurados Sant Juan Evangelista y del sacratísimo Sant Francisco sus devotos intercesores [...]” The text is quoted in, e.g., Sixto Ramón Parro, “Toledo en la mano”, Toledo, Imprenta y librería de Severiano López Fando, 1857, II, p. 40 ff.

²⁹⁷ Unlike Ribera’s *Clubfooted Boy*, Murillo’s well-known paintings of street urchins should not be interpreted in this way. Instead, as Peter Cherry has shown, they are to be seen as “appropriate to the state of childhood, but also in terms of traditional pious idealizations of the poor as the children of God [...] There is no evidence from the pictures themselves that these ragged but contented children are the recipients of charity” (Cherry 2001, p. 41).

gars functioned as vehicles for the almsgivers' salvation and the transmission of a Christian message. An urchin such as Ribera's *Clubfooted Boy* may thus be understood as an emblem of transcending the miserable realities of everyday life.²⁹⁸

Similarly, the beggars in Edelfelt's picture are depicted in their tattered clothes, receiving alms from the middle-class lady and her daughter. As Edelfelt remarked, the beggars were "animated fellows" ("livliga laxar") who seemed content with their fate. Does the *Alms*, consequently, hold a religious message? The light conditions in Edelfelt's composition reinforce a possible religious message, derived from Old Spanish Master painting; the harsh tenebrism – the sharp contrast between shadow and light – generally symbolises a divine light, the enlightenment of God that illuminates the darkness of the disbeliever.²⁹⁹ Similarly, in Edelfelt's painting the light illuminates the ladies (the Glorious Mother and her Child). By giving alms to the poor, their "light" is extended to the beggars, sitting in the shadow. If interpreted this way, Edelfelt's possible play with such religious symbolism indicates a profound knowledge of Spanish seventeenth-century religious (Catholic) painting. His choices of iconography and the way in which he manages the light conditions in the *Alms* reflect his familiarity with the style and iconography of the Old Masters.

I nevertheless doubt that the Protestant Edelfelt would have included a Catholic message in the picture; it is rather a critical statement *against* Catholicism (compare his statements on Catholicism when he visited Escorial). As Kortelainen has pointed out, Edelfelt regarded religion as an aspect of modern life that was suitable to describe from the outside; he was anticlerical and disliked Catholicism.³⁰⁰ Nevertheless, it is intriguing that such symbolism could be intertextualised in the painting he called his "Spanish painting", since religion pervades every aspect of Spanish culture. If the *Alms* is interpreted as a picture holding an ethical/religious content, the painting would be an analysis of the religious zeal of the Spaniards. But the bourgeois lady turns her back to the beggars, because she has bought



233. Jusepe de Ribera, *The Clubfooted Boy (The Beggar)*, 1642. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

298 Pérez Sánchez & Spinosa 1992, pp. 146-147.

299 Moffitt discusses the "spiritual chiaroscuro" of Spanish Baroque painting, which had long since been a standard component in Spanish mystical texts. He points to its obvious iconographical significance, quoting the Spanish mystic St. John of the Cross: "Faith, because the night is dark, gives light to the soul lying in darkness" (Moffitt 1999, p. 131). See also Stoichita 1995.

300 Kortelainen 2004b, p. 91.

her absolution and is now free from sin. The beggars have performed their duty, and are now left where they were found.

Interest in religious ecstasy (a supplement for the disenchanting and “secularised” modern world) is another of the most important traits of the Romantics. As Löwy and Sayre observe, the Romantics passionately sought to restore the religions of the past, in particular medieval Catholicism. The content of Edelfelt’s painting, as it refers to the pious act of giving alms to the poor in a Spanish (Catholic), late-medieval monastery, binds Edelfelt to the Romantic movement. As in Romantic literature, we here see a religiosity permeated with nostalgia, which in spite of its content is different from the institutionalised dogmas of the Catholic Church.³⁰¹

One particularly strong trend that expressed religious nostalgia was the Gothic Revival, a term used for describing buildings erected in the style of the Middle Ages. This architectural movement is commonly associated with Romanticism, but was later expanded to embrace the entire Neo-Gothic movement. It is a self-conscious imitation of Gothic architecture for reasons of nostalgia. Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812–1852), in England, was the first to codify the principles of the Gothic Revival. Other influential exponents include John Ruskin and Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc in France. Pugin’s *Contrasts*, published in 1836, is an eminent example of how supporters of the Gothic Revival thought: the society of the Middle Ages was good and therefore Gothic architecture was good. Pugin was a Roman Catholic convert, and in his book the intention was to show that Gothic architecture was an expression of the Catholic spirit and thus the only form of architecture properly suited to its ritual. Architecture, he proposed, reflects the state of the society by which it is built.³⁰² In this sense, Edelfelt’s choice of a medieval (but not Moorish) background for a “religious” act is highly appropriate.

The glamorous Parisian dresses in the *Alms* sharply contrast with the medieval architecture and the rugged beggars, accentuating the superficiality of the scene. By placing the scene within the constraints of a tourist attraction, Edelfelt created a setting suitable for a Parisian genre (or, *juste milieu*) painting. Edelfelt has here staged the tourist attraction (complete with the old beggars) with the beautiful woman and her daughter, who stroll beneath the arcades unconcernedly. Edelfelt does, indeed, look at his subject from the outside. Thus an alternative interpretation of the *Alms* could be that it illustrates MacCannell’s “staged authenticity”; the beggars and the milieu are more or less authentic, but the depicted scene is not. The beautiful mother is furnished with typical attributes: a red flower and a fan, a dress of Parisian fashion.³⁰³ But we should also observe that her *mantilla* is black; the black

301 Löwy & Sayre 2001, pp. 29-30.

302 “History of Western Architecture”, *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, <http://search.eb.com/eb/article?eu=119571>, electronic document accessed and printed 7 May 2004; “Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin”, *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, <http://search.eb.com/eb/article?eu=63427>, electronic document accessed and printed 7 May 2004.

303 In design and type, the dress resembles the pale-red dress that we see in Edelfelt’s two versions of *Parisienne Reading* (1880). See also Hintze 1953, catalogue numbers 134, 135.

lace *mantilla* was worn principally during Holy Week; on other occasions, the *mantilla* was generally of a different colour. Remembering that Easter is the Christian holiday when Christ died for mankind's sins (closely connected to the Catholic idea of absolution by the means of alms); by these colours, Edelfelt may have signalled that the mother was a "sinner", while the girl, wearing a white *mantilla*, is "pure". The Romantics believed that children represented the unspoiled and pre-civilised, embracing innocence before losing it to adulthood.

According to Hintze, the *Alms* was "photographically grasped and inflexible in execution [hård i utförandet]". He points to the legacy of Mariano Fortuny, with which Edelfelt had become familiar through Ricardo de Madrazo.³⁰⁴ But these painters' manner of painting was not particularly photographic or "inflexible in execution"; Fortuny's style was frequently admired for its colourism and free execution. Matías Moreno also praised one of Edelfelt's preparatory studies from *San Juan de los Reyes*, calling his northern colleague "*un gran colorista*",³⁰⁵ but since I have not been in the position to examine this work I cannot judge the truthfulness of this assertion. But, as becomes apparent in the lacework of the arcades in the *Alms*, Edelfelt abandoned the academically precise painting manner à la Gérôme, and instead employed a more airy technique in the manner of Velázquez.

Whether the *Alms* is interpreted as a staged Spanishness (the lady and her daughter's hypocritical Spanish Catholicism), a comment on Old Spanish Master painting (in its iconography, colour and light), or both, it still is an eminent example of contemporary French Hispanicism. The painting mode and choice of iconography are examples of a *manière espagnole*, where form and content unify into a single signifier of Spanishness. Indeed, Edelfelt called it "my Spanish painting", which was a decidedly appropriate description.³⁰⁶

304 "[...] den slutliga tavlan är fotografiskt uppfattad och hård i utförandet [...]" (Hintze 1942–44, I, p. 135).

305 "Jag har så godt som slutat min studie i San Juan de los Reyes, och Moreno hittar ej på uttryck nog starka för att uttrycka sin beundran. Han har förklarat mig vara 'un gran colorista' – måtte så ske. Amen" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Toledo 5 May 1881, SLSA).

306 Edelfelt wrote from Paris in late June 1881: "I have almost finished my Spanish canvas, but it is this 'coup de la fin' that is so elastic [Min spanska tavla är snart färdig, men det är denna 'coup de la fin' som är så elastisk]" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, [Paris] 20 June 1881, SLSA).

9 SPAIN REMEMBERED: TRAVELLING IN A PALIMPSEST

In the following, I consider Spain as a palimpsest country with multiple (historical) surfaces. As I will show, interest in Spain was also associated in Finland with the fear of modernity, plainly articulated through nostalgia and a hunger for authenticity. In their search for an imagined past in the present, nineteenth-century travellers in Spain (and Finland) were, metaphorically speaking, travelling in a palimpsest, crossing the invisible borders of time; the past is at all times seen and interpreted in relation to the present.

9.1 LIVING IN A PALIMPSEST

One of my main points has been to show that nineteenth-century Spanish imagery was repeatedly “reinscribed” with arbitrary and randomly accumulated meanings, with a focus on the country’s past rather than the present; hence my metaphorical use of the word “palimpsest”. But what did Paris-born *espagnolisme* mean to the Spaniards themselves? The intellectual elite wanted, of course, to promote and acclaim their nation and their own cultural heritage, and to attain a similar level of civilisation as the rest of Europe. I would therefore like to point out certain traits within Spanish Romanticism (and Nationalism) that support the results of the present study.

Romanticism in Spain took two forms: a progressive and a regressive form. Even the progressive thinkers based their claim to legitimacy on concepts of national tradition and character, but regressive Romanticism dominated the scene. The latter was also favoured by the Catholic Church.¹ Thus, Susan Kirkpatrick argues, the concept of nation lay at the very core of ideological representations of the political struggles of the Romantic period in Spain, imposing a definition of what constituted the Spanish nation:

In such a context, the Romantic exaltation of elements related to nationalism – local custom and landscape, folk traditions, episodes from national history, the high passion of patriotism – had strong appeal for both conservative and progressive intellectuals.²

1 Kirkpatrick 1988, pp. 268-269.

2 Kirkpatrick 1988, p. 269.

One expression of “regressive” Spanish Romanticism was that several collections of traditional ballads, *romanceros*, were compiled and published. At the same time, the cult of the medieval past flourished, glorifying “a mythical Spain of heroic knights and virginal ladies”.³ Many Romantic writers in Spain looked back to remote episodes in national history, and the Spanish nation was frequently identified with the medieval tradition, thus labelling all modernisation as “foreign”. The Church’s disagreement with progressive Romanticism also hampered the country’s economic growth. Thus those already included in the liberal programme for change also represented this branch of Spanish Romanticism as they expressed their conservative nostalgia.⁴ Romantic writers provided foreigners (primarily French, British and Germans) with “legitimised” material for *their* Romantic texts with Spanish topics. The perception of Spain’s “backwardness” seems to be rooted in an ideology promoted by *Spanish* nationalism and the role the past played in this context.

It is important to acknowledge that the Spaniards were very conscious of how their past was mythologised by outsiders. Kirkpatrick remarks that the Spaniards’ preoccupation with national self-definition was connected with their consciousness that Spain was perceived as an exotically Other setting for the Romantic fantasy of the rest of Europe. A nationalistic desire to see Spain described and defined by itself instead of by foreigners prompted a genre that gained outstanding popularity in the 1830s, the *cuadro de costumbres*, which consisted of sketches of manners and types. As one of the first exponents of this genre, Ramón de Mesonero Romanos (1803–1882),⁵ complained in 1835:

The French, the English, the Germans and other foreigners have attempted to describe Spanish customs and psychology; but they have either created an idealised country of romanticism and quixotism, or, ignoring the passage of time, have described her, not as she is, but as she was in the time of King Philip.⁶

Instead, Mesonero attempted to portray contemporary Spain “as she really is”, and describe “Spain” as represented and epitomised by Madrid. Spanish identity was to be concretised. Mesonero’s aim was to depict “the true colouring of the country” – “nature [...] dressed in Spanish forms”. One particular social group, according to Mesonero and his contemporaries, which expressed this “Spanishness” best, was the bourgeois middle-class: authentic Spanish nationality was identified as holding middle-class values.⁷

3 Kirkpatrick 1988, p. 269.

4 Kirkpatrick 1988, pp. 269-270, 276.

5 In his writing, Mesonero shows his great love for Madrid and nostalgia for the traditional: these traits he observed in bourgeois society. Using the pseudonym “El curioso parlante”, he wrote two series of *cuadros de costumbres*: *Escenas matritenses* (1832–1842). Later, he published *Tipos y caracteres* (1843–1862) and *Memoorias de un setentón* (1880). For the most part, his *oeuvre* coincides with that of the *costumbristas*, offering a “typified” vision in which individual reality is reduced to “pure diagrams” (“Ramón de Mesonero Romanos”, http://www.librosparadescargar.com/autor_clasico-1-155.html, electronic document accessed and printed 24 May 2005).

6 Kirkpatrick 1988, p. 270 (quotation from, ed. Carlos Seco Serrano, vol. 1, Madrid 1969, pp. 38-39).

7 Kirkpatrick 1988, pp. 270-272.

The Spanish middle-class also resisted the stereotypical foreign view of their country's backwardness and underdevelopment (the "peculiarities" in the provinces). Instead, focus shifted to the modern and bourgeois Spain or, as Mesonero put it: "Madrid is the focal point in which those distant provinces are reflected".⁸ It is unsurprising that Edelfelt, for instance, did not feel particularly "abroad" when he visited Madrid. In spite of the Spaniards' struggle to "modernise" the foreign opinion of their country, contemporary Spain failed to impress visitors from abroad; the "authentic" Spain was still perceived to be her provinces.

9.2 A FINNISH ÉMIGRÉ IN PARIS IN PURSUIT OF THE EXOTIC

He is then, this Spanish peasant, a child of nature, but a very noble child.⁹

Hugh Rose, *Among the Spanish People* (1877)

As regards nationalistic efforts and the inclination to return to one's roots in order to seek confirmation of a nation's existence, the situation in Spain and Finland was quite different. But the efforts and purposes in both countries were founded on a similar ideological premise: nationalistic Romanticism. Since Finland was intellectually dependent on Sweden in the first part of the nineteenth century, we should note that Finnish Romanticism and its historical awareness was in accord with its Swedish counterpart.¹⁰ Romanticism brought the past into daily life in a hitherto unprecedented manner. This was manifested in nationalism, and the rise of the national state.¹¹

The standard explanation of Finnish history writing is that Finland was first acknowledged in 1809, when the Swedish era was followed by a period under the Russian emperor as the Grand Duchy of Finland, an autonomous part of the Russian Empire. This is, of course, a result of the work of the top leading political and intellectual (Hegelian) elite in Helsinki who consciously constructed arbitrary nationalistic ideas in order to create a unified "Finland" out of a geographical area. Until 1863, a bureaucracy chosen by the Russian Emperor presided over the Finnish administration, but the leading politicians in Finland became increasingly annoyed at being controlled by officials from another nation. Moreover, the purely agrarian structure covering vast areas made the spread of liberal and nationalistic ideas difficult during the first part of the nineteenth century. Finally, a large-scale reform programme started in Russia under the rule of Alexander II; in this context, the Grand

8 Kirkpatrick 1988, p. 270 (quotation from *Obras de don Ramón de Mesonero Romano*, ed. Carlos Seco Serrano, vol. 1, Madrid 1969, pp. 38-39).

9 Hugh Rose, *Among the Spanish People*, London 1877, quoted in Brettell 1983, p. 161.

10 Eric Gustaf Geijer's (1783–1847) notions of history's "inner intentions" support this claim. The defeat that Sweden suffered in 1809 through the loss of Finland to Russia led Geijer to become an extreme nationalist.

11 Anderson 1991.

Duchy of Finland was also granted constitutional rights. This occurred at approximately the same time as the liberation of the serfs in Russia during the 1860s. Finland attained its own monetary system in 1865, and a law on conscription that resulted in the foundations of the Finnish Army was issued in 1878. At the same time, the advocates of a Finnish-speaking Finland, the Fennomans, recorded folksongs and tales, thereby developing a Finnish literature. The first purely Finnish-speaking grammar school was established in 1858, and Finnish was also declared equal to the Swedish language in the administration and in the law courts. It was not until 1902, however, that Swedish and Finnish were granted equal status as official languages. The development of nationalistic ideas in Finland was closely connected with the search for the country's roots, which were mainly located among the Finnish-speaking population and their culture.¹²

Edelfelt took up the subject of the Finnish peasantry, albeit not as uncompromisingly as, for instance, Akseli Gallen-Kallela (1865–1931).¹³ The Swedish-speaking (but Parisianised) Edelfelt's paintings were of a more moderate kind, as can be seen in his paintings of the Finnish peasantry, inspired by peasants and fishermen living in the coastal, Swedish-speaking regions of Finland.¹⁴ His early nationalistically attuned history paintings were also generally concerned with the Swedish period of Finnish history. Although Edelfelt later abandoned his career as a history painter, he occasionally returned to this period in later history paintings, such as in the *Inauguration of the Academy at Åbo 1640* and in his illustrations of Johan Ludvig Runeberg's (1804–1877) *Fänrik Ståls sägner*.¹⁵

As I have demonstrated, Romanticism and the Past form an unbreakable union. Due to the plethora of travel accounts and illustrations, Spain had also become a “historical” place, a mental construction of past times that painters paradoxically (and often in vain) sought to find during their travels. Since modernity was felt to be alienating, a new kind of attention focused on places that were, at least not yet, “destroyed” by modernity; Romantics also feared that specific national qualities soon would be diluted. Löwy and Sayre explain that industrialisation and economic growth as well as increasing urbanisation have, since the Romantic era, contributed to the feeling that man has lost touch with nature. As we have seen, since the first half of the nineteenth century, Spain was regarded as a place where one still could experience this desirable, pre-modern age. According to Löwy and Sayre, this desire demanded “abandoning the centres of capitalist development for some ‘elsewhere’ that *keeps*

12 Anderson 1991, p. 74 (see also Chapter 5. “Old Languages, New Models”, pp. 67–82). For more on Finnish history during the nineteenth century, see Klinge 1996.

13 Sarajas-Korte 1989, pp. 236–240, 252–53. For background information and an analysis of Finnish Carelianism during the nineteenth century, see Sihvo 2003.

14 Kortelainen 2004b, pp. 78–114.

15 Runeberg's *Fänrik Ståls sägner* [*Tales of Ensign Stål*] were published in two series, in 1848 and 1860 (national edition 1900). They are a collection of epic and patriotic poems with motifs from the 1808–09 war, describing the Swedes (including soldiers from their Finnish provinces) fighting the Russians. Although these tales were initially poems, posterity has regarded them as historical documents, which, in both Finland and Sweden, conjure up a glowing, albeit unrealistic and pitiable patriotism. The first poem, “Vårt land” [“Our Country”], became the Finnish national anthem. Runeberg is generally considered to be the national poet of Finland. For more on Edelfelt's illustrations to *Fänrik Ståls sägner*, see Lukkarinen 1996.

*a more primitive past alive in the present.*¹⁶ “The past is a foreign country”, Lowenthal quotes L.P. Hartley from 1953, because “they do things differently there”.¹⁷

Journeys to Spain have thus to be seen in the light of nineteenth-century *mâl du siècle*. The flight into the past is an expression of modern man’s desire to flee his own time, and much of what we do as tourists today was founded during the Romantic era. Modern nineteenth-century man needed the “real and authentic” milieus, but through their participation in touristic activities, the moderns simultaneously became part of that which they tried to escape, namely modernity.

Edelfelt’s hunger for purer and simpler lifestyles (the tourist desire) is evident in his comments on the Spanish peasantry. In a letter from Granada to B.O. Schauman, he wrote:

Something that gives me real delight, with all this Oriental beauty before my eyes, is that I still feel concerned with Finnish topics and Finnish types. Occasionally, when I let my thoughts fly from the Generalife Gardens with roses, palm trees, cypresses and aloe to the firs at the Haiko Bay, to my satisfaction I notice that the one impression does not lessen the other.¹⁸

As this comment suggests, Edelfelt’s paintings within the field of Finnish national Romanticism seem to gain new strength after his Spanish journey. In a letter from Madrid to his mother, he wrote:

The women in Northern Spain wear their clothes *exactly as our old peasant women*, the headcloth, apron and scarf tied in the same manner, but the colours are red and black. I thought that I saw Antte’s wife, Elias’s wife and Lovisa Gröndahl!¹⁹

It is worth noticing here, that when Edelfelt makes mention of the peasant women living in his *own* world, the Haiko area in Finland, he mentions the husbands, not the wives by name. In a way, thus, he denies these peasant women an identity of their own and turns them into anonymous ethnographic material (objects), ready to be used in nationalistically tuned pictures, serving “higher” purposes.²⁰

Edelfelt’s *espagnolisme* and all that was connected with it (above all the Romantic concern with the “living past”) evidently strengthened his longing for the familiar, increasing

16 Löwy & Sayre 2001, pp. 23-24 [my emphasis].

17 Lowenthal 1985, p. xvi.

18 “Hvad som gör mig verklig glädje är att jag med all denna orientaliska skönhet för ögonen ändå känner mig lika lifvad som förr för finska ämnen [?] och finska typer. Då jag någongång låter tanken flyga från trädgården i Generalife med rosor, palmer, cypresser och aloe till furorna vid Haikofjärden, då märker jag till min tillfredsställelse att det ena intrycket icke förringar det andra” (Albert Edelfelt to B.O. Schauman, Granada 18 April 1881, FNG/Archives).

19 “Quinnorna gå klädda i Norra Spanien precis som våra bondgummor [my emphasis], duken bunden på samma sätt förkläde och halsduk, men färgerna äro rödt och svart. Jag tyckte mig se Anteskan, Eliaskan och Lovisa Gröndahl!” (Albert Edelfelt, letter to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 9 April 1881, SLSA).

20 The anonymous peasant women were thus seen as the wives of the Finnish patriarchate (FD Kari Kotkavaara, private consultation). See also Kortelainen 2001b (*passim*), where she discusses the objectification and commodification of women in late-nineteenth-century French *Salon*-painting.

his nationalism. Through cultural differentiation, Edelfelt became more conscious of the peculiarities of the peasantry at home.

Edelfelt's interest in peasant culture is visible in some of his studies from Toledo, and they are strikingly less exotic than his pictures from Andalusia. One study is a portrait of a fifteen-year-old girl from Toledo, presumably called "Dolores" (Fig. 234).²¹ According to Edelfelt, she and her sisters wore costumes similar to those worn by the maids at Haiko (we see a similar comparison here as with the women in northern Spain).²² Edelfelt wrote to his mother: "Yesterday, I painted a small study of a fifteen-year-old girl, and this study is one of the finest that I bring with me."²³ *Girl from Toledo (Dolores)* is a straightforward study, showing the torso of an adolescent girl. It is marked by naturalism, a complete absence of anecdote. She wears a black shawl wrapped around her shoulders, and the only apparent ethnographic detail is her earrings in the shape of two rather large silver plates attached to one another. Her oval, olive-coloured face is slightly bent downwards, as her gaze. Her full lips are painted in a bright red nuance, and her auburn hair has accents in a greyish blue hue; in their exhibition review from 1881, Scylla and Charybdis nevertheless described her as a "Moorish type".²⁴ The girl is seated in a corner, the background is painted with a light brush in different shades of white and a greyish blue. The painting expresses a rather direct way of looking at the motif, and its portrait-like appearance contrasts sharply with Edelfelt's exotic and stereotypical *Gitana Dancing*. Unlike the Romantic appeal seen in his other paintings of Spanish women, the naturalism of this study is close to some of Ernst Josephson's Spanish images, like his *Smiling Spanish Woman* (see Fig. 175).

Curiosity about peasant culture and costume was a constant preoccupation of historians, politicians, painters and authors throughout the nineteenth century. Some regarded the European peasantry as *savages*, while others contrasted the "primitive" life of the peasants with the "artificial" life of the modern world. The latter kind of peasant was seen as a representative of Rousseau's *noble savage*; the country folk of Europe was seen as "honest and industrious people who represented all that was good and should therefore be preserved in a constantly changing environment", as Brettell concludes. She also mentions a third group



234. Albert Edelfelt, *Spanish Girl (Dolores)*, Toledo 1881. Private Collection.

21 Hintze describes "Dolores" as a study in oil, painted in Toledo 29 April 1881. He speculates that this work may be the same as a "Girl from Toledo" ("Toledolaistyttö") which was exhibited at Edelfelt's memorial exhibition in 1910 (number 24), at that time in the possession of G. Westerlund (Hintze 1953, p. 524 catalogue number 178). Dolores was exhibited at the *Finnish Art Society's* exhibition in 1881 (then called "a Spanish lady, Dolores, from Toledo", see *Finska konstföreningens exposition* 1881, Folkbibliothekets nya hus, Helsingfors 1881, p. 4 number 21) and on the *Russian Art Association's* exhibition in St. Petersburg in 1882 (*Finlands Allmänna Tidning* 17 April 1882; 28 April 1882).

22 "Hon och hennes systrar voro klädda ungefär som våra pigor hemma [...]" (Albert Edelfelt, letter to Alexandra Edelfelt, Toledo 4 May 1881, SLSA).

23 "I går målade jag en liten 15 årig flicka och denna studie är bland det bästa jag för med mig [...]" (Albert Edelfelt, letter to Alexandra Edelfelt, Toledo 30 April 1881, SLSA).

24 "[...] the soulful and dark Moorish girl Dolores, in whose maidenly features we find a touch akin of the Old Masters' Madonnas [den själfulla mörka moriskan Dolores, i hvars jungfruliga drag vi finna något, som man ser hos de gamla mästarsnes madonnor]" (Scylla & Charybdis 1881, p. 412).

who regarded the peasants as folk heroes, and for whom peasant culture was “real” culture. Her statement that the “customs and traditions of the rural folk were to be the building blocks for a new nationalism” matches my view of later National Romanticism.²⁵ As Löwy and Sayre point out, Romantics were concerned with the question of a total human community, of “participation in the organic whole of a people (*Volk*) and its collective imaginary”, expressed in mythology and folklore.²⁶

The ethnographic fascination with colourful local costume thus cannot be distinguished from the growth of folklore throughout northern Europe.²⁷ As Brettell observes, the folkloristic and ethnographic sciences were rooted in nineteenth-century evolutionary theory, and peasants were perceived as the “primitive people” of European society, whose culture and customs were seen as survivals or relics from an earlier stage of social evolution. With all the preconceptions of Romanticism and ideas of a *Völkgeist*, folklorists believed that by recording the customs of the rural peoples of Europe, they were recording their own past. This stimulated interest in regional cultures and popular traditions throughout western and eastern Europe.²⁸

Travellers in Spain frequently found the rural folk quite picturesque. Brettell quotes a traveller in Spain from 1895 (Edmondo de Amicis), who remarked that “the peasants whom one sees in the furrows and those who run to see the train pass are dressed in the *costumes of forty years ago as they are represented in painting*”.²⁹ I consider de Amicis’s statement to be symptomatic of how Spain was regarded as a country where time stood still, and of the pervasiveness of popular Spanish imagery. The painters’ vision of Spain did not change, since the peasantry’s customs and way of life did not change; at least this was the common nineteenth-century perception. Furthermore, the importance of illustrated albums of peasant “types” in all their regional finery cannot be underestimated.³⁰ One example of such an illustrated album is William Bradford’s *Sketches of Country, Character and Costume in Portugal and Spain*, which appeared as early as 1812. This book contains numerous plates of peasant “types” from different regions, dressed in various costumes, and some plates include garments that are worn to this day.³¹

25 Brettell 1983, p. 159.

26 Löwy & Sayre 2001, pp. 26-27.

27 Comp. Brettell 1983, p. 159.

28 Brettell 1983, pp. 164-165. The Finnish national epic *Kalevala*, for instance, was compiled from old Finnish ballads, lyrical songs, and incantations that were a part of Finnish oral tradition. The *Kalevala* was published by Elias Lönnrot in two editions (1835 and 1849). Finnish artists frequently found their inspiration from these tales, above all during the latter part of the nineteenth century when the Russian government imposed restrictive laws and actions in the Grand Duchy of Finland (Russification). For an analysis of Finnishness in Finnish National Romanticism, see Kontinen 2001.

29 Brettell 1983, pp. 164-165 [my emphasis], quotation from Edmondo de Amicis, *Spain and the Spaniards*, Philadelphia 1895, 2:106, as appeared in Brettell 1983, p. 165.

30 Brettell 1983, p. 165.

31 Another example is the *History of Costume* by Braun & Schneider, which appeared ca. 1861-1880. This includes Spanish national dresses from the nineteenth century. Extracts from this book are published on the Internet at http://www.siue.edu/COSTUMES/COSTUME16_INDEX.HTML, electronic document accessed 2 March 2004.

Brettell also pays attention to the perceived Spanish “backwardness”, a perception that was frequently reiterated by northern European nineteenth-century writers.³² She speculates that the reason why Spain and Portugal were visited less frequently than Italy, was northern Europeans’ uncertainty “of finding in these distant backwaters the comforts of home and the artistic treasures, of which they were assured in Italy”.³³ However, by facing hardships, the experience became more “authentic”. Early guides recommended that travellers “get off the beaten track”, unlike the *Grand Tour* travellers in Italy, who sauntered along well trodden paths, primarily taking in the great monuments and famous sights. Rural culture was considered an appropriate subject to study, and travel accounts and guidebooks frequently recorded observations on the customs and manners of the “natives”. Hugh Rose, who had travelled in Spain and published his *Among the Spanish People* in 1877, called upon his readers “not to be like other tourists,” but to “go and visit the peasant in Spain” for themselves.³⁴ Edelfelt’s actions in Spain are examples of this practice. This is evident in his account of the Gypsies in Granada; he visited their caves at the Sacromonte and reported on their living conditions.

Edelfelt continued this practice in Toledo, where he visited a family, experiencing music, song and dance. His letter to his mother about the event speaks for itself:

Yesterday, I spent the whole evening with a family – a carpenter. For I had discussed Spanish national melodies and so forth with Moreno during the evening, and he then proposed that I accompany him to the mentioned carpenter, who with his 3 sons would be a virtuoso on guitar, and who furthermore had a daughter thought to be a true Spanish type. At 8 o’clock, we walked in a group through a great many narrow, winding alleys, up hill and down dale, and finally ended up at an old house near the Tajo, and pounded at the door three times with the doorknocker. “*Quien es?*” it was heard and we answered the customary “*Gente de paz*” (peaceful people) whereupon the gate was opened. – Before I knew it, I was introduced and the cause of our visit explained, – the guitars were retrieved from the wall and this strange, monotonous, dreamlike music began, occasionally interrupted by song performed by either the daughters or by the 3 present carpenter journeymen. – And now some words on the Spanish type. Pedra was her name, and she was, indeed, in many respects similar in style to Goya’s “*Maja*” in the Academy in Madrid. *Fraiche* and flourishing, petite and finely built, hands and feet small, with the most beautiful eyes and teeth. She and her sisters were dressed about the same way as our maids at home – but they carried their clothes differently, and how they conversed and moved – unconstrainedly and pleasantly! I assure you that several of our young ladies of class would improve having these girls’ manners. I was completely surprised that the Spanish language went so well. It was all incredibly characteristic. The listening bunch gathered together around a flickering oil lamp and then this strange humming play almost always in the minor key. Pedra sang a *petenera* and a *jaleo* but one of the journeymen sang better. All Spaniards sing from deep down the throat but often shift from forte to piano while keeping the rhythm, which is extremely hard in these half-Arabian songs. I have tried to learn a *petenera* and have bought the music, but I never manage to keep the pace. – The whole evening remains in my memory as a page from an old book – Don Quijote’s hostels could not have more character. When we left, at 11 o’clock, we slapped hands with the whole family, and the father said to me with great dignity the benign formula “Regard this house as yours” and after having removed ourselves into the alley, we saw the beautiful Pedra in the gateway with the lamp for a long time, and heard her “*Vaya con Dios!*” – It was Sarah Bernhardt in Hernani, but better, more truthful and with a great deal more character, because there was no set-pieces that constituted the decorations

32 Brettell 1983, p. 166.

33 Brettell 1983, p. 160.

34 Brettell 1983, p. 160.



235. Albert Edelfelt, *Gypsy*, Toledo 1881. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

but Toledo's yellow-grey walls, and the scene was not illuminated by gas but by the new moon and thousands upon thousands of stars.³⁵

Edelfelt's small drawings from Toledo are also expressions of his interest in ethnographic detail (see *Fig. 238*). His pastel drawing *Gypsy* (*Fig. 235*) records the costume and characteristics of his model, together with an additional list of the garment's colours. As Brettell explains, studies in "local colour" expressed the nineteenth century interest in men rather than monuments.³⁶ This path must have appeared appropriate for Edelfelt, who had abandoned his career as a national history painter. Truthful renditions of common people (i.e., the peasantry) were felt to be less artificial than the *grand machines* at the *Salon*, more "true to nature", something frequently voiced also by the "Naturalist" Edelfelt.

Brettell concludes that, for many travellers [I assume that she refers mainly to travellers from Central Europe and England], the south of Europe, like "the South" in general, reflected their own past.³⁷ I interpret this as meaning the past was "present", made visible, through the escapes into rural cultures (in southern Europe). As recommended by an early tourist guide, *Conseils aux Touristes de 1793 (Advice for Tourists in 1793)* by Hans Reichard, the traveller should "be as informed about the state of the inhabitants of the countryside of his own as his own family".³⁸ This, in turn, improved the modern man's understanding of his present times.

Edelfelt would further develop his interest in the peasantry.³⁹ One of his most successful pictures from this period is *Divine Service in Uusimaa Archipelago* (*Fig. 236*), painted

35 "I går tillbragte jag aftonen i familj – hos en snickare. Jag hade näml. under aftonen talt med Moreno om spanska national melodier o.d., och han proponerade mig då att följa med till nyssnämnda snickare, som jemte sina 3 söner skulle vara en virtuos på gitarr, och som dessutom hade en dotter som skulle vara en äkta spansk typ. – Vi gingo kl. 8 vid lag genom en massa trånga krokiga gränder, backe upp och backe ned, och hamnade slutligen vid ett gammalt hus nära Tajo, och bultade på de tre slagen med portklappen. "Quien es?" ljöd det och vi svarade det vanliga "Gente de paz" (fredligt folk) hvarpå porten gick gick upp. – Ett tu tre var jag presenterad och ändamålet med vårt besök tydliggjort, – guitarrerna togos ned från väggen och detta egendomligt entoniga, drömmande musiserande begynte, då och då afbrutet af sång vare sig af döttrar eller af de 3 närvarande snickargesällerna. – Och nu några ord om den spanska typen. Pedra hette hon, och var verkligen i mycket samma stil som Goyas "Maja" i akademien i Madrid. Fraiche och frodig, liten fint byggd händer och fötter små, med de allra vackraste ögon och tänder. Hon och hennes systrar voro klädda ungefär som våra pigor hemma – men de buro kläderna annorlunda, och huru de konverserade och förde sig – otvunget och behagligt! Jag försäkrar att många af våra unga damer af stånd skulle vinna på att ha dessa flickors fasoner. Jag var helt förvånad öfver att spanskan gick så bra. Ytterst karakteristiskt var det hela. Hela den lysnande skaran församlad kring en flämtande oljelampa och så detta egendomliga surrande spel nästan alltid i moll. Pedra sjöng en petenera och en jalero men en af snickarsvennerna sjöng bättre. Alla spanjorer sjunga ur strupen men gå mycket öfver från forte till piano och hålla takten hvilken är förfärligt svår i dessa halft arabiska sånger. Jag har försökt lära mig en petenera och har köpt musiken, men kan aldrig få den att gå i takt. – Hela denna afton står i mitt minne som en sida ur en gammal bok – Don Quijotes herbergen kunde ej ha mera karaktär. Då vi gingo, kl. 11, smälde vi hand med hela familjen, och fadern sade mig med mycken värdighet den vänliga formeln "Betrakta detta hus som Edert" och då vi sedan aflägsnade oss i den mörka gränden sågo vi ännu länge den vackra Pedra i porten med lampan och hörde hennes "Vaya con Dios! – Det var Sarah Bernhardt i Hernani, men bättre, sannare med betydligt mera karaktär, ty det var inga kulisser som bildade dekorationen utan Toledos höga gulgrå husväggar och ingen gas som belyste scenen utan nymänen och tusen sinom tusen stjärnor" (Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Toledo 4 May 1881. SLSA).

36 Brettell 1983, p 160-161.

37 Comp. Brettell 1983, p. 169. See also Löwy & Sayre 2001, pp. 22-23.

38 Brettell 1983, p. 169.

39 The first *Salon* painting in which Edelfelt used local peasants as models was *Conveying the Child's Coffin* from 1879, which should be regarded together with *Going to the Christening* from the following year which repeats



238. Albert Edelfelt, *Street Scene from Toledo* [also known as *From Toledo II*], signed "Toledo 28 avril – 81". Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

shortly after his return from Spain. For this picture, Edelfelt used local natives, mostly fishermen and their families, as models; we see them here attending an outdoor service on the seashore in the archipelago near Haiko, where Edelfelt spent his summers. In France, this painting won a medal of honour and was incorporated into the collection of the French State.⁴⁰ The topic of this painting captures the true nature of man, at least if seen from Löwy

the composition (but changes the subject). For more on this composition, see e.g., Catani & Kilpinen 2004. During the 1880s, he would execute several paintings, for which he found inspiration among the Finnish peasantry (see e.g., Anttila 2001b).

40 Musée d'Orsay, Paris, dep. Colmar, Préfecture (Huusko & Knapas 2004, p. 305).



236. Albert Edelfelt, *Divine Service in Uusimaa Archipelago*, 1881. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

and Sayre's standpoint of the Romantic worldview. Eva-Lena Bengtsson calls this kind of iconography "patriotic exoticism": nineteenth-century genre painting was an instrument for nostalgia, since it evoked dreams of patriotic traditions seen in peasants.⁴¹

Kortelainen also pays attention to the "archaic devoutness" of the parishioners in the *Divine Service in Uusimaa Archipelago*: the virtuous, authentic and unspoiled (Protestant) lower class.⁴² As Elina Anttila has shown, Edelfelt went to considerable trouble to achieve this effect of authenticity and the painting was executed "directly after nature" with respect

to its composition as well as its execution. In its final stage, the figures have become almost stereotypical in their description of the essential, original Finnish "type".⁴³ Clearly, this picture was meant to express all that the nineteenth century perceived as authentic and pure: the ordinary man's proximity to nature as seen through the peasants' unspoiled customs and manners, that is, literally one's roots. If the *Alms*, painted during the same summer of 1881, is interpreted as a critical statement on "hypocritical" Catholicism, the *Divine Service* is the *Alms'* opposite, serving to celebrate "unspoiled" and "pure" Protestant piousness.

As Catani and Kilpinen have shown, the *aspect de vérité* engaged Edelfelt from 1879 onwards. In that year, he worked on *Conveying the Child's Coffin* (Fig. 237), using local peasants and fishermen as models. Only a direct and accurate study of nature, Edelfelt wrote to Pietro Krohn, would bestow the finished artwork with authenticity and *originalité*, an objective truth. Therefore Edelfelt promised his friend that he, from now on, would "follow nature", not only in technique but also in choice of subject.⁴⁴ Edelfelt accomplished this: in their reviews of the 1880 *Salon*, the French critics praised Edelfelt's painting as imbued with a "*sentiment vrai*", a true and genuine feeling.⁴⁵ As John P. Taylor argues, this kind of "authenticity" needs "the traditional" to achieve the desired effect: "objective truth" may thus be regarded as a form of staged authenticity.⁴⁶ *Divine Service in Uusimaa Archipelago*

41 Additionally, it also functioned as a vehicle for statements on contemporary, modern society. See Eva-Lena Bengtsson's doctoral thesis on Swedish genre pictures from 1825–1880 (Bengtsson 2000).

42 Kortelainen 2004b, p. 91.

43 Anttila 2001a, pp. 144–146.

44 Catani & Kilpinen 2004, p. 35, referring to Edelfelt's letter to Pietro Krohn, Paris 29 May 1879 (Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen). Edelfelt wished to depict "real Finnish life", and planned to send a painting of sailors and the coastal population [*Conveying the Child's Coffin*] to the next *Salon* (Catani & Kilpinen 2004, referring to Edelfelt's letter to Alexandra Edelfelt, Paris 15 June 1879, SLSA). See also Anttila 2001a, pp. 135–140.

45 Anttila 2001a, p. 139, referring to Philippe Burty's "Le Salon de 1880. 6. Les étrangers." in *L'Art 1880* (Tome II, Tome XXI de la collection, sixième année): "Le convoi d'un enfant en Finlande" est au point de vue du sentiment vrai, de l'observation des êtres, de la composition et de la technique, une des oeuvres tout à fait hors ligne de se salon de 1880" (quotation from Anttila 2001a, p. 169 fn 132). *Conveying the Child's Coffin* was the first Finnish painting at the Parisian *Salon* to be awarded a medal (third class) (Catani 2001, p. 7).

46 Taylor 2001, pp. 8–9.



237. Albert Edelfelt, *Conveying the Child's Coffin*, 1879. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.

can consequently be interpreted in terms of being a staged and constructed representation of something that was perceived as being “authentic”.

In 1881, *Divine Service in Uusimaa Archipelago* was on display at the *Finnish Art Society's* exhibition together with Edelfelt's studies from the Spanish journey.⁴⁷ At this exhibition, three cultures met. It is striking that the *Divine Service* as well as the Spanish pictures were born of the same, initially Romantic, worldview: the (French) adoration of the “authentic”, as manifested in “truer, simpler lifestyles”.⁴⁸ Edelfelt was, indeed, looking upon Spain as well as Finland with the eyes of the French. When one of Edelfelt's Finnish colleagues criticised the characters in the *Service* for not being “real” Finnish peasant types, Edelfelt was annoyed: he could not look upon the Finnish people in a more “Finnish way”, only see them as he saw them, he told his mother. As Anttila observes, Paris had become an integral part of Edelfelt's personality as an artist.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, when *Conveying the Child's Coffin* was displayed one year earlier at the *Salon*, the French critics had appreciated it partly because of

47 *Finska konstföreningens exposition 1881*, number 19; 21 (seventeen studies from Spain, including *Dancing Gitana*; its replica was yet to be painted). Exhibited was also *Dear Friends I (Berta and Capi)* and etchings of some of Edelfelt's earlier works (e.g., *Conveying the Child's Coffin*, 1879).

48 Anttila remarks that in French art theory during the 1870s and 1880s, the “objective truth” of the “real world” was understood as an increasingly subjective experience of the world around us, based on a personal view of what it was that was “the truth”. Accordingly, the word “*vérité*” included ideas of a universal principle, materiality as well as unfeigned experience(s) of nature (Anttila 2001a, pp. 41-42).

49 Anttila 2001b, pp. 84-85, quoting Edelfelt's letter to his mother, dated 15 April 1882, SLSA: “Jag tror att jag ger dem tusan, en gång för alla dessa finska bönder. – Jag kan ju ej skapa om mig sjelf, och kan ej se dem anorlunda än jag ser dem.”

Edelfelt's *Finnish* nationality: Edelfelt was in the possession of a brutal, unspoilt sincerity,⁵⁰ they decided. Finland, as part of Europe's periphery, was an exotic country in the eyes of the French but, more importantly in this context, Finnish culture was regarded as representing innocence, sincerity and *naïveté*. The *Finnish* Edelfelt belonged to a young, strong "race", a French critic wrote, a race that was not yet desecrated by a too violent civilisation.⁵¹ In a sense, Edelfelt sat on two chairs; on the one hand, he managed to look upon the Finnish peasantry with the eyes of an outsider (the tourist gaze), but on the other, his artworks were, when exhibited in Paris, interpreted as painted by an insider. In this respect, he was always an outsider, in Paris as well as in Finland, but above all (of course) when he travelled in Spain. Maybe this is the reason why he learned to look at his motifs, in Paris, Spain as well as Finland, with the tourist gaze.⁵²

It has been a pleasure to go through Mr. E:s sketches and studies from Spain which he visited this spring. They all reveal the same kind of skill in grasping and depicting nature as his large canvas [*Divine Service in Uusimaa Archipelago*]. Eventually, I am sure, they will develop into many charming pictures. The preliminary study of a dancing Gypsy girl from Granada is my favourite, for it displays such a glowing Southern temperament.⁵³

Eliel Aspelin on *The Finnish Art Society's* exhibition, 1881

9.3 "ALL HISTORY WAS A PALIMPSEST"⁵⁴

In conclusion, the impact of nostalgia and melancholy was significant during the nineteenth century, and it has affected the modes of travelling and the birth of modern painting. My claim that modern tourism has its roots in Romantic ideology can favourably be compared to John P. Taylor's analysis of contemporary perceptions of "Maori-authenticity". He regards

50 John P. Taylor defines "sincerity" (*sincerité*) as being "a philosophical cousin of authenticity". For instance in "sincere" cultural experiences, Taylor argues, tourists and "actors" are encouraged to "meet half way" (Taylor 2001, pp. 8-9). This naturally requires a more direct contact with the viewed object.

51 Anttila 2001b, p. 79, referring to *L'art contemporain. Peintres et sculpteurs. Ateliers de reproductions artistiques* [s.d.], number 40-80.

52 For an account on Edelfelt's "touristic" landscape-paintings, see Lukkarinen 2004b, pp. 68-81. Discussing Nature as entertainment and commodity ("Luonto viihteenä ja hyödykkeenä"), Lukkarinen deploys many of the same themes discussed also in my doctoral thesis, but consigns them to Finnish landscape painting (p. 74 ff in particular). Interestingly, he applies also much of the same theoretical framework as I do, including, for instance, Dean MacCannell, Griselda Pollock, Robert L. Herbert and John Urry. Lukkarinen observes that Finnish painters were as urbanised as their French colleagues (pp. 75-76), which gains further support from the example of Edelfelt's Spanish journey. He was "Parisianised", or, urbanised, to the extent that he was much the same as any French painter in this regard.

53 "Hauskaa on ollut katsella hra E:n alkupiirteitä ja harjoituskuvia Espanjasta, jossa hän tänä keväänä on käynyt. Kaikki osoittavat samaa etevää kykyä luontoa käsittää ja kuvata, kuin ilmestyy maalarin suuressa maalauksessa [Jumalanpalvelus Uudenmaan saaristossa]. Niistä vielä kasvaneen moni viehättävä taulu. Harjoituskuvista se, joka esittää tanssivaa mustalaistyttöä Granadasta, oli kenties miellyttävien hehkuvan etelämaisen luonteensa kautta" (Aspelin 1881, p. 491).

54 "1949 G. Orwell *Nineteen Eighty-Four* I. IV. 42", *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, <http://dictionary.oed.com>, electronic document accessed 21 September 2004.

the perception of a “timeless and spiritually pure primitive” Maori culture as a “parallel story of alienation from nature, fragmentation, and loss”. He continues:

Of course, authenticity is valuable only where there is perceived inauthenticity. Such is the “plastic” world of the consumer. Enamoured by the distance of authenticity, the modern consciousness is instilled with a simultaneous feeling of lack and desire erupting from a sense of loss felt within “our” world of mass culture and industrialization, and giving rise to possibilities of redemption through contact with the naturally, spiritually, and culturally “unspoilt”. Enter the business of tourism: a few hours of cushion-seated flying will bridge the span of “modern” nostalgia: it will even take you “back in time”. It would seem that in the “natural wonderland” that is New Zealand, the fallen technocrat may purchase the lifestyle of the primitive. Here, if much of the advertising is to be believed, tourists may expect to confront an authenticity of experience that may enable them to (re)discover a lost authentic and primitive self.⁵⁵

Taylor’s description of tourist nostalgia and escapism is an exact parallel to Löwy and Sayre’s definition of Romanticism. Romantics, nineteenth-century painters in Spain and contemporary tourists in New Zealand, all share the same goal: to enter into a dreamt reality: the timeless, pre-modern past. Löwy and Sayre’s observation, that Romanticism as an ideology has not ceased to exist, receives further support.

The connection between Romantic ideology and (modern) tourism is thus obvious. Nineteenth-century travellers, particularly writers and artists who were able to reach a broader audience with their impressions, were an important part in staging the “authentic”.⁵⁶ One of the goals of tourism and travel is thus to travel back in time, in an attempt to escape the perceived deprivation of the modern era. Nineteenth-century Historicism, if defined as an “excessive regard for the institutions and values of the past”,⁵⁷ further nurtured the travellers’ quest for authenticity.

But what is missing, as Taylor remarks, is nevertheless “the context of ‘origin’, an ideologically-constructed space situated in a past which is always unattainable, and hence, always absent”. Taylor observes also that this “imagined space of authenticity” – which can be compared to nineteenth-century ideas of what it was that represented Spanish authenticity – was always accompanied by a sense of lack and melancholy.⁵⁸ The desire for the traditional and authentic “remade” Spain, inscribed her with additional meanings. But the reuse of the (historical) past was arbitrary, eclectic and designed to serve the particular needs of individuals – painters, authors, politicians, intellectuals and the like – who originated from a wide spectra of different contexts.

55 Taylor 2001, p. 10.

56 Catani and Kilpinen also observe that in *Conveying a Child’s Coffin* (1879) Edelfelt strove hard to create the (false) impression that the image was “captured in the blink of the eye” (“silmänräpäyskuva”). The allegedly “naturalistic” picture is, they argue, nevertheless an extremely complex and symbolically loaded artwork (Catani & Kilpinen 2004, p. 48).

57 “Historicity, pt. 4”, *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, <http://dictionary.oed.com>, electronic document accessed 5 October 2004.

58 Taylor 2001, p. 15.

As this study has shown, the leading common denominator for the European perception of Spain during the nineteenth century was the experience of and search for the past; the present time was erased and instead nineteenth-century Spain was equipped with a “timeless essence” of Spanishness. This is also common in most forms of (modern) culture tourism.⁵⁹ The paradox of modernity is present in most of the Spanish travel pictures and travelogues that have been analysed in this investigation. Modern Spain was invisible: instead, its ancient history, culture, art and architecture were the foci of attention (this imagery did not delight the Spanish intellectual elite, whose efforts were focused on promoting Spain’s modernity). Nineteenth-century painters also reused the forms and colours of the Spanish Baroque, superimposing theoretical ideas of their own time on paintings from the past; in so doing, they staged the “traditional” Spain, bringing the past into the present also in this respect. Spain was, metaphorically, turned into a palimpsest, a country whose history and culture were conveniently used and visually “remade” to suit the needs of foreign travellers. Spain’s historical past was thus given a new context outside the country’s borders. As George Orwell declared in 1949 in his famous novel *1984*: “All history was a palimpsest, scraped clean and re-inscribed exactly as often as was necessary.”⁶⁰

59 See also Taylor 2001, p. 19, where he comments on the timelessness and erasure of the present in modern tourist settings of Maori culture in New Zealand.

60 “1949 G. Orwell *Nineteen Eighty-Four* I. IV. 42”, *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, <http://dictionary.oed.com>, electronic document accessed 21 September 2004.

*Sannerligen, jag är ej skapad till turist,
ty det är med verklig ledsnad jag lemnar Spanien.*

*

*Indeed, I was not born a tourist,
because it is with real sorrow that I leave Spain.*

Albert Edelfelt to Alexandra Edelfelt, Madrid 15 May 1881

A: SOURCES

Abbreviations

ÅAB/Manuscript Department – Archives of the Åbo Akademi University Library, Turku
FNG – Finnish National Gallery (Collections), Helsinki
FNG/Archives – Archives of the Finnish National Gallery, Helsinki
HUL/Archives – Archives of the Helsinki University Library
NA – National Archives of Finland, Helsinki
NBA – Archives of the National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki
SLSA – The Historical Archives of the Swedish Literature Society in Finland, Helsinki

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3. INTERNET RESOURCES

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Bibliothèques Municipales de Grenoble, http://www.arkhenum.fr/cgi-bin/bm_grenoble/
Cambridge History of English and American Literature, <http://www.bartleby.com/cambridge/>
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The Catholic Encyclopedia, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/index.html>
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Grove Dictionary of Art Online, <http://www.groveart.com>
New Catholic Dictionary, <http://www.catholic-forum.com/saints/indexncd.htm>
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"1789–1932: L'histoire par l'image", http://www.histoireimage.org/site/oeuvre/analyse.php?liste_analyse=476

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26. Adolf von Becker (1831–1909), copy of Titian's (ca. 1490–1576), *Feast of Bacchus* 1520–21, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid), Madrid 1863, oil on cardboard, 23 x 31 cm. Private collection.
27. B.E. Murillo (1617–1682), *Mater Dolorosa*, ca. 1668–70, oil on canvas, 52 x 41 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.
28. Adolf von Becker (1831–1909), copy of B.E. Murillo's (1617–1682) *Immaculate Conception of Escorial* (ca. 1656–60, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid), Madrid 1863, oil on canvas, 153 x 102 cm. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.
29. Jusepe de Ribera (1591–1652), *Dream of Jacob*, 1639, oil on canvas, 179 x 233 cm). Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.
30. Adolf von Becker (1831–1909) in his studio, 1890s, black-and-white photograph. The National Board of Antiquities (Archives), Helsinki.
31. Jusepe de Ribera (1591–1652), *The Penitent Saint Jerome*, 1652, oil on canvas, 77 x 71 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.
32. Léon Bonnat (1833–1922), *Job*, 1880, oil on canvas, 161 x 129 cm. Musée Bonnat, Bayonne.
33. Diego Velázquez y Silva (1599–1660), *Las Meniñas*, 1656, oil on canvas, 318 x 276 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.

34. Edgar Degas (1834–1917), *Variation on Velázquez's "Las Meninas"*, 1857–58, oil on canvas, 31,2 x 25,1 cm. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich.
35. Diego Velázquez y Silva (1599–1660), *Coronation of the Virgin*, ca. 1635, oil on canvas, 178,5 x 134,5 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.
36. Adolf von Becker (1831–1909), copy of Velázquez's *Equestrian Portrait of Philip IV* (1634–35, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid), Madrid 1863, oil on canvas attached to cardboard, 22 x 25 cm. Private Collection.
37. Diego Velázquez y Silva (1599–1660), *Portrait of Juan Martínez Montañez (1568–1649)*, 1635, oil on canvas, 109 x 89 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.
38. Diego Velázquez y Silva (1599–1660), *The Feast of Bacchus ("Los Borrachos")*, 1629, oil on canvas, 165,5 x 227,5 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.
39. Adolf von Becker (1831–1909) in his studio, 1890s, black-and-white photograph. The National Board of Antiquities (Archives), Helsinki.
40. Adolf von Becker (1831–1909), *Head*, (detail of Velázquez's *The Feast of Bacchus*, 1629, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid), Madrid 1863, oil on canvas, 33 x 23,5 cm. Private Collection.
41. Adolf von Becker (1831–1909), *Bacchus* (detail of Velázquez's *The Feast of Bacchus*, 1629, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid), Madrid 1863, oil on canvas, 30 x 23 cm. Private Collection.
42. Édouard Manet (1832–1883), *The Water Drinker (The "Régalade")*, 1861–62 (*The Gypsies*); canvas cut, fragment, reworked ca. 1868–72), oil on canvas, 61,8 x 54,3 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago, Bequest of Katherine Dexter McCormick.
43. Édouard Manet (1832–1883), *The Gypsies*, 1862, etching; second state, 31,9 x 23,8 cm. S.P. Avery Collection, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints, and Photographs, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundation.
44. Diego Velázquez y Silva (1599–1660), *The Surrender of Breda ("Las Lanzas")*, 1634–35, oil on canvas, 307,5 x 370,5 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.
45. Adolf von Becker (1831–1909), *Up to Mischief*, 1864, oil on canvas, 48 x 60,5 cm. Cygnaei Gallery, Helsinki.
46. Adolf von Becker (1831–1909), *Maternal Happiness (Mother and Son)*, 1868, oil on canvas, 53 x 68 cm. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.
47. Adolf von Becker (1831–1909), *Girl Feeding a Pigeon*, 1875, oil on canvas, 55,5 x 46 cm. Private Collection.
48. François Bonvin (1817–1887), *The Little Chimney-Sweep*, 1845, oil on canvas, 21 x 27 cm. Château-Musée, Boulogne-sur-Mer.
49. Adolf von Becker (1831–1909), *Plaza de Oriente, Madrid*, memorandum, signed 18 March 1873, pencil, ca. 10 x 15 cm. Private Collection.
50. Alfred Dehodencq (1822–1882), *Los novillos de la corrida*, 1850. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Pau.
51. Adolf von Becker (1831–1909), *Un Banderillero*, memorandum, signed 1879, ink, 17,7 x 12,2 cm. Cygnaei Gallery, Helsinki.
52. Gustave Doré (1832–1883), *A Banderillero in Danger*. Illustration in Davillier 1878, p. 51.
53. Adolf von Becker (1831–1909), *Spanish Woman*, ca. 1873, oil on canvas, 45 x 36 cm. Private Collection.
54. Adolf von Becker (1831–1909), *Parisian Woman*, 1874/1882?, oil on canvas, 54 x 45 cm. Lauri and Lasse Reitz Foundation, Finland.
55. Edgar Degas (1834–1917), *Thérèse De Gas [sic]*, ca. 1862–63, oil on canvas, 89 x 67 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

4. The Dichotomy of Hispanicism: Old Masters and Popular Themes

56. J.S. Sargent (1856–1925), *El Jaleo*, 1882, oil on canvas, 232 x 348 cm. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.
57. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *The Inauguration of the Academy at Åbo 1640* (also known as *Inauguration of the Academy in Turku 1640*), first sketch; entry for the competition, 1890–91, oil on canvas, 39 x 105 cm. Turku Art Museum (Inv. 108).
58. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *From the Directory Period*, 1881, oil on canvas, 70 x 64 cm. Private Collection.
59. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Self-Portrait in 17th-Century Costume*, 1889, oil on canvas, 64,5 x 70,5 cm. Ateneum Art Museum (A II 1501).
60. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), study of Velázquez's *Surrender of Breda* ("Las Lanzas"), 1890–91, wash drawing in sketchbook. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.
61. Diego Velázquez y Silva (1599–1660), *Cardinal Infante Ferdinand as a Hunter*, 1632–36, oil on canvas, 191 x 107 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.
62. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), detail of Velázquez's *Cardinal Infante Ferdinand as a Hunter* (1632–36, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid), with study in sketchbook, 1890–91, wash drawing. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.
63. Peder Severin Krøyer (1851–1909), *Self-Portrait*, 1879, oil on canvas, 24 x 18 cm. Skagens Museum, Denmark.
64. Diego Velázquez y Silva (1599–1660), *Juan de Pareja*, 1650, oil on canvas, 81,3 x 69,9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
65. Jean-Jacques Henner (1829–1905), *Henriette Germain*, 1874, oil on canvas, 40 x 32 cm. Musée National J.J. Henner, Paris.
66. Diego Velázquez y Silva (1599–1660), *Infanta Margarita*, ca. 1653, oil on canvas, 70 x 57 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.
67. Helene Schjerfbeck (1862–1946), copy of Velázquez's *Innocentius X* (The Hermitage, St. Petersburg), 1892, oil on canvas, 48 x 40 cm. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.
68. Diego Velázquez y Silva (1599–1660), *Infanta Maria Theresa*, ca. 1652, oil on canvas, 128 x 99,5 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
69. Helene Schjerfbeck (1862–1946), copy of Velázquez's *Infanta Maria Theresia* (ca. 1652, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), 1894, oil on canvas, 128 x 100 cm. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki (A I 571).
70. Carolus-Duran (1838–1917), *Woman with a Glove*, 1869, oil on canvas, 22,8 x 16,4 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
71. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *In the Nursery*, 1885, oil on canvas, 73 x 109 cm. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (GE 9775).
72. J.S. Sargent (1856–1925), *The Daughters of Edward Darley Boit*, 1882, oil on canvas, 221,9 x 222,6 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
73. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Lieutenant Alexandre Weissgerber de Sragéwicz as a Child*, 1887, oil on canvas, 115 x 73 cm. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki (A III 1850).
74. J.S. Sargent (1856–1925), *Madame X (Madame Pierre Gautreau)*, 1883–84, oil on canvas, 208,6 x 109,9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Arthur Hoppock Hearn Fund).
75. Diego Velázquez y Silva (1599–1660), *The Jester Pablo de Valladolid*, ca. 1632–35, oil on canvas, 213,5 x 125 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.

76. James McNeill Whistler 1834–1903), *Brown and Gold: Self-Portrait*, ca. 1896, oil on canvas, 95,8 x 51,5 cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow.
77. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Portrait of the Artist's Wife Ellan Edelfelt* [signed: "Beauty is a joy for ever"], 1896, oil on canvas, 100 x 60 cm. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki (A II 1508).
78. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Portrait of the Opera Singer Aino Ackté*, 1901, oil on canvas, 200,5 x 90 cm. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki (Antell Collections, A I 1739).
79. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Study for Portrait of the Opera Singer Aino Ackté* (1901); *Menippus* (ca. 1638, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid); [drawing after Velázquez's Philip IV partly visible to the right], 1890–91, ink, crayon and wash drawing in sketchbook. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki. Photo: Marie-Sofie Lundström.
80. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Virginie*, 1882, oil on canvas, 40,5 x 32,5 cm. Private Collection.
81. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), detail of Velázquez's *Las Meniñas I*, (ca. 1656, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid), study in sketchbook, 1890–91, pencil. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.
82. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), detail of Velázquez's *Las Meniñas II*, (ca. 1656, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid), study in sketchbook, 1890–91, wash drawing. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki.
83. Helene Schjerfbeck (1862–1946), *Boy Feeding his Little Sister*, Brittany 1881, oil on canvas, 115 x 94,5 cm. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki (A I 222).
84. Helene Schjerfbeck (1862–1946), *The Rich Man and Lazarus*, preliminary study, ca. 1879, ink on paper, 22 x 18,3 cm. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki (A IV 3453).
85. Léon Bonnat (1833–1922), *St. Vincent-de-Paul prenant la place d'un galérien*, 1865, oil on canvas, 320 x 245 cm. St. Nicholas-des-Champs, Paris.
86. Helene Schjerfbeck (1862–1946), *A Child of Destitution (Girl by the Stove)*, 1883, oil on canvas. Destroyed in 1944 (illustration in Konttinen 1991, p. 171, no. 76).
87. Hanna Frosterus-Segerstråle (1867–1946), *Sunday-School Children by the Cooking Stove*, 1888. Private Collection.
88. B.E. Murillo (1617–1682), *Invitation to the Game of Pelota* (alt. *Argolla*), ca. 1670, oil on canvas, 164,9 x 110,5 cm. Trustees of Dulwich Picture Gallery, London.
89. Hanna Frosterus-Segerstråle (1867–1946), *The Little Newspaper-Boy*, 1887. Private Collection.
90. Helena Westermarck (1857–1938), *Toreador*, 1880–81, oil on canvas, 63 x 44 cm. Private Collection.
91. Helene Schjerfbeck (1862–1946), *Spaniard*, 1880, oil on canvas, 41,5 x 30,5 cm. Ateneum Art Museum (Ester and Jalo Sihtola Collection), Helsinki.
92. Édouard Manet (1832–1883), *A Matador (The Saluting Torero)*, 1866–67, oil on canvas, 171,1 x 113 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
93. B.E. Murillo (1617–1682), *Moses before the Rock of Horeb (Moses Striking the Rock)*, ca. 1670, oil on canvas, 335 x 550 cm. Church of the Hospital de la Caridad, Seville.
94. Venny Soldan (1863–1945), *Moses before the Rock of Horeb (Moses Striking the Rock)*, copy of B.E. Murillo's (1617–1682) original in the Church of the Hospital de la Caridad, Seville, Seville 1890, black crayon on paper, size unknown. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki (A I 492).
95. Venny Soldan (1863–1945), drawing after Murillo's *Virgin and Child ("Our Lady of the Napkin")*, 1665–66, oil on canvas, 67 x 72 cm. Museo de las Bellas Artes, Seville (formerly in the Convento de Capuchinos, Seville). Photocopy of original drawing.
96. B.E. Murillo (1617–1682), *Virgin and Child ("Our Lady of the Napkin")*, 1665–66. Museo de las Bellas Artes, Seville.

- 96a. Reproduction of a drawing of B.E. Murillo's (1617–1682) *Virgin and Child* ("Our Lady of the Napkin"), 1665–66. Location of original unknown.
97. Venny Soldan (1863–1945), *Self-Portrait*, 1891, oil on canvas, 100 x 50 cm. Private Collection.
98. Peder Severin Krøyer (1851–1909), *Italian Village Hatters*, 1879–80, oil on canvas, 135,5 x 107 cm. The Hirschsprung Collection, Copenhagen.
99. Diego Velázquez y Silva (1599–1660), *The Forge of Vulcan*, 1630, oil on canvas, 223 x 290 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.
100. Gustaf Cederström (1845–1933), *Epilogue*, 1874, oil on canvas, 139 x 194 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (NM 1296). Photo: Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.
101. Édouard Manet (1832–1883), *Dead Toreador*, 1864, oil on canvas, 75,9 x 153,3 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.A. (Widener Collection).
102. Ernst Josephson (1851–1906), *Spanish Blacksmiths I*, Seville 1881, oil on canvas, 124 x 103 cm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (NM 2398).
103. Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824–1904), *Leaving the Mosque*, s.a., oil on canvas, 54,5 x 78,7 cm. Private Collection.
104. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Albert Edelfelt and Julian Alden Weir in their Studio (5, rue du Pont Lodi, Paris)*, 1874, sepia and watercolour, 12 x 18,5 cm. Ateneum Art Museum,
105. Diego Velázquez y Silva (1599–1660), *Philip IV*, 1624, oil on canvas, 201 x 102 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.
106. Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (1746–1828), *The Milkmaid of Bordeaux*, 1825–27, oil on canvas, 74 x 68 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.
107. Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (1746–1828), detail of *The Miracle of Saint Anthony of Padua*, 1798, fresco, Ø 6 metres. Church of San Antonio de la Florida, Madrid.
108. Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (1746–1828), detail of *Fresco of the Angelitas*, 1798, fresco. Church of San Antonio de la Florida, Madrid.
109. Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (1746–1828), *The Clothed Maja (Maja Vestida)*, around 1800, oil on canvas, 95 x 190 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (until 1901 in the San Fernando Academy of Fine Arts, Madrid).
110. Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (1746–1828), *The Forge*, ca. 1813–18, oil on canvas, 191 x 121 cm. The Frick Collection, New York.
111. Mariano Fortuny y Marsal (1838–1874), *The Vicarage*, 1870, oil on canvas, 60 x 93,5 cm. Museu Nacional d'Art Catalunya, Barcelona.
112. Mariano Fortuny y Marsal (1838–1874), *Landscape from Granada*, 1870–72, oil on canvas. Museu Nacional d'Art Catalunya, Barcelona.
113. Mariano Fortuny y Marsal (1838–1874), *The Choice of a Model*, 1866–74, oil on panel. The Corcoran Art Gallery, Washington DC.
114. Mariano Fortuny y Marsal (1838–1874), *The Snake Charmer* (1869), reproduced in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1875 (p. 378/379).
115. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Man in Rococo Costume*, copy of Mariano Fortuny y Marsal (1838–1874), reproduction in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1875 (p. 358/359), 1874–75, pencil. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki (sketchbook 1517:23 p. 61).
116. Mariano Fortuny y Marsal (1838–1874), [*Man in Rococo Costume*], reproduction in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1875 (p. 358/359).

117. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), study of Mariano Fortuny y Marsal's (1838–1874) *Arabe veillant le corps de son ami*, reproduction in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1875 (p. 362/363), 1874–75, wash drawing. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki (sketchbook 1517:23 p. 39).
- 117a. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), study of Mariano Fortuny y Marsal's (1838–1874) *Arabe veillant le corps de son ami*, reproduction in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1875 (p. 362/363), [reproduction]. Location of original unknown.
118. Mariano Fortuny y Marsal (1838–1874), *Arabe veillant le corps de son ami*, reproduction in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1875 (p. 362/363).
119. Helene Schjerfbeck (1862–1946), study of Mariano Fortuny y Marsal's (1838–1874) [*Man in Rococo Costume*], reproduction in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1875 (p. 358/359), s.a., pencil. Private Collection. Photocopy of original drawing.
120. Helene Schjerfbeck (1862–1946), study of Mariano Fortuny y Marsal's (1838–1874) *Un bibliophile (Tableau de Fortuny)*, reproduction in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1875 (p. 380), s.a. Private Collection. Photocopy of original drawing.
121. Helene Schjerfbeck (1862–1946), detail of Mariano Fortuny y Marsal's (1838–1874) *Kabyle Mort*, reproduction in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1875 (p. 361), s.a. Private Collection. Photocopy of original drawing.
122. Helene Schjerfbeck (1862–1946), *Idyll*, drawing after an engraving by Mariano Fortuny y Marsal (1838–1874), reproduction in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1875 (p. 365), s.a., pencil. Private Collection. Photocopy of original drawing.
123. Mariano Fortuny y Marsal (1838–1874), *Idyll*, 1868, watercolour on paper, 31 x 22 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado (El Casón), Madrid.
124. Helene Schjerfbeck (1862–1946), *Tabernacles*, 1883, oil on canvas, 115 x 172 cm. Villa Gyllenberg, Helsinki.
125. Mariano Fortuny y Marsal (1838–1874), *The Artist's Children in the Japanese Salon*, 1874, oil on canvas, 44 x 93 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado (El Casón), Madrid.
126. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Rococo Lady (Le Billet doux)*, Paris 1874, oil on canvas, 115 x 88,5 cm. Private Collection.
127. Raimundo de Madrazo y Garreta (1841–1920), *Lady by a Clavier*, s.a., oil on canvas.
128. Raimundo de Madrazo y Garreta (1841–1920), *Pierrette*, reproduction in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1878, p. 478/479).
129. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Virginie*, Paris 1883, oil on canvas, 73,5 x 92,5 cm. Joensuu Art Museum (Arla Cederbergs Collection, JTM 71).
130. Raimundo de Madrazo y Garreta (1841–1920), *The Model Aline Masson with a White Mantilla*, s.a., oil on canvas, 65 x 52 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (El Casón).
131. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Portrait of the Painter P.-A.-J. Dagnan-Bouveret* [Signed: A SON AMI DAGNAN], 1881, oil on canvas, 98 x 80 cm. Musée Georges Garret, Vesoul, France.
132. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Chez l'Artiste*, 1881, oil on canvas, 96 x 76 cm. Private Collection.
133. J.S. Sargent (1856–1925), *Lady with the Rose (Charlotte Louise Burckhardt)*, 1882, oil on canvas, 213,4 x 113,7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

5. Edelfelt's Imagined Spain

134. Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824–1904), *The Grief of the Pasha*, 1882, oil on canvas, 92,7 x 73,6 cm. Joslyn Art Museum (Francis T.B. Martin Collection), Omaha, Nebraska.
135. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Egyptian Queen*, study, ca. 1880, oil on canvas, 68 x 53,5 cm. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki (A III 2033).

136. Mariano Fortuny y Marsal (1838–1874), *Arcos de Alhambra (Study of the Architecture in the Alhambra)*, 1870–72, watercolour, 34 x 24 cm. Private Collection.
137. Henri Regnault (1843–1871), *Summary Execution under the Moorish Kings in Granada*, 1870–71, oil on canvas, 302 x 146 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
138. Mariano Fortuny y Marsal (1838–1874), *Tribunal de la Alhambra*, 1871, oil on canvas, 75 x 59 cm. Museo Dalí, Figueras, Spain [once part of the Stewart Collection, Paris].
139. Gunnar Berndtson (1854–1895), *Almée (Egyptian Dancer)*, 1883, oil on wood, 45 x 37,5 cm. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki (Antell Collections).
140. *Picturesque Europe*, title page of Bayard Taylor's book with the same name, published 1875–79. Illustration in Buzard 1993 (Plate 7).
141. José García Ayola (1863–1900), *Vista general de la Alhambra*, 19th-century photograph.
142. Owen Jones (1809–1874), *Court of the Lions*, plate in Jules Goury and Owen Jones. *Plans, elevations, sections, and details of the Alhambra: from drawings taken on the spot in 1834 [...]. With a complete translation of the Arabic inscriptions, and an historical notice of the kings of Grandada [...]*. London 1842–45.
143. *Fonda de los Siete Suelos* [Alhambra, Granada], letter heading, 1880s. [Hugo Birger to Georg Pauli, 29 December 1884, The National Museum of Art (Nationalmuseum) / Letter Archives, Stockholm].
144. José García Ayola (1863–1900), *Hotels of the Alhambra* [with Fonda de los Siete Suelos to the left], ca. 1890, gelatine bromide paper negative, 210 x 270 mm. Archives of the Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife.
- 144a. Léon and Levy: *Torre de la Justicia*, Granada, 1888, gelatin bromide / albumen paper, 221 x 277 mm. Archives of the Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife.
145. Unknown, [*Disguised Family Group, Posing at the Lion's Fountain*], ca. 1900, albumen paper, 205 x 260 mm. Private Collection, Granada.
146. Owen Jones (1809–1874), “The actual state of the colours”, plate in Jules Goury and Owen Jones, *Plans, elevations, sections, and détails of the Alhambra: from drawings taken on the spot in 1834 [...]. With a complete translation of the Arabic inscriptions, and an historical notice of the kings of Grandada [...]*, London 1842–45.
- 146a. R. Seánán y González: *Granada. Alhambra. Lion's Patio. Façade of the Two Sisters' Room*, ca. 1880, albumen paper, 470 x 590 mm. Private Collection, Granada.
147. Gustave de Beaucorps: [*Oriental Temple of the Lion's Patio during Restoration Works*], ca. 1858, calotype, 287 x 392 mm. Ortiz Echagüe Legacy, University of Navarre, Spain.
148. Mariano Fortuny y Marsal (1838–1874), *Patio in the Alhambra* (also known as *Farmhouse, Courtyard at Alhambra*), ca. 1870–72, oil on canvas, 111 x 89 cm. Fogg Art Museum (Harvard University).
149. J.A. Lorent: [*Lindaraja's Verandah*], 1858, calotype. Société Française de Photographie, Paris.
150. Anders Zorn (1860–1920), *Alhambra*, 1887, watercolour, 45,5 x 28,7 cm. Zorn Collections, Mora.

6. The Romantic Lure of the Souvenir

151. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Gitana Dancing I*, 1881, oil on canvas, 65 x 54 cm. Gösta Serlachius Fine Arts Foundation, Mänttä (Inv. 1179).
152. José García Ayola (1863–1900), *Albaicín, Cuesta de San Cristobál*, late 19th century photograph.
153. Raimundo de Madrazo y Garreta (1841–1920), *A Gypsy, s.a.*, oil on canvas, 65 x 49 cm. Museo Nacional del Prado (El Casón), Madrid.
154. José García Ayola (1863–1900), *Albaicín. Subida a la Rauda*, late 19th-century photograph.

155. José García Ayola (1863–1900), *Cuevas de Gitanos, Granada*, late 19th-century photograph.
156. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Gitana Dancing II*, 1881, oil on canvas, 70 x 55 cm. Private Collection.
157. Édouard Manet (1832–1883), *Mademoiselle V. in the Costume of an Espada*, 1862, oil on canvas, 165,1 x 127,6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
158. Frédéric Peyson (1807–1877), *Bohemians in the Midi of France*, 1843. Musée Fabre, Montpellier (photo: Claude O'Sughrue). Illustration in Brown M. 1985, plate 21.
159. Adolphe Leleux (1812–1891), *Songs at the Door of a Posada*, Spain 1842, print of the painting 1843, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes. Illustration in Brown M. 1985, plate 18.
160. Alfred Dehodencq (1822–1882), *Bohemians Returning from an Andalusian Festival*, 1853. Musée de Chaumont. Illustration in Brown M. 1985, plate 28.
161. Édouard Manet (1832–1883), *Young Man in the Costume of a Majo*, 1863, oil on canvas, 188 x 124,8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (H.O. Havemeyer Collection).
162. Édouard Manet (1832–1883), *Lola de Valence*, 1862–63 (reworked after 1867), oil on canvas, 123 x 92 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.
163. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Une Andalouse de Batignolles*, 1882–83, oil on wood, 21 x 16 cm. Private Collection.
164. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), "Gitanas", s.a., ink/wash drawing. Private Collection.
165. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Andalusian Dancer ("Carmen")*, Paris 1883, oil on canvas, 45 x 37 cm. Illustration in Hintze 1953, p. 153 (cat. no 229).
- 165a. José García Ayola (1863–1900), *Mujer con pañuelo a la cabeza*, late 19th-century photograph.
166. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Andalusian Dancer ("Carmen")*, frontispiece of *Från Seinens strand*, I, 1884.
167. Gustave Doré (1832–1883), *El Vito*, illustration in Davillier 1878, p. 285.
168. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *El Vito: Andalusian Dance*, June 1881, drawing in pencil. Private Collection.
169. *Peasants from Andalusia* ["Landmän från Andalusien"], illustration in Hertzberg 1889, II, p. 5.
170. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Spanish Woman*, s.a., watercolour. Private Collection.
171. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Spanish Woman (preparatory drawing)*, s.a., ink and pencil on paper, 46,5 x 30,5 cm. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki (A II 1519:41).
172. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Remembrance of Spain (Jewish Girl)* [also known as *A Memory from Spain*], pastel on paper, 60 x 45 cm. Ostrobothnian Museum, Vaasa (Karl Hedman collection 1339).
173. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), detail from the *Alms*, Paris 1881, oil on canvas (orig. size 80 x 59 cm). Private Collection.
174. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Andalusian Dancer*, Seville 1881, watercolour, 28,7 x 21 cm. Private Collection.
175. Ernst Josephson (1851–1906), *Smiling Spanish Woman*, 1881–82, oil on panel, 41 x 27 cm. Göteborg Art Museum, Sweden (F 47b).
176. Ernst Josephson (1851–1906), *Spanish Dance*, Seville 1882, oil on panel, 61 x 49,5 cm. Göteborg Art Museum, Sweden (F 48).
177. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Mariano*, 1881, oil on canvas, 37 x 27 cm.
178. José García Ayola (1863–1900), *El gitano Chorrojumo*. Late 19th-century photograph.

179. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Patio in Granada (Mariano)* [also known as *Court View in Granada*], signed “Grandada – april 1881”, oil on canvas, 41 x 33 cm. Private Collection.
- 179a. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Patio in Granada (Mariano)* [also known as *Court View in Granada*], signed “Grandada – april 1881”, oil on canvas, 41 x 33 cm (without frames). Private Collection.
180. Henry Stanier (active between 1854 and 1886), *A Family in the Vicinity of the Alhambra*, 1879, watercolour, 74 x 52 cm. Private Collection, Granada.
181. Mariano Fortuny y Marsal (1838–1874), *Gitano*, ca. 1870–72, oil on cardboard, 16,5 x 9 cm. Private Collection, Barcelona.
- 181a. Henri Regnault (1843–1871), *A Spaniard*, ca. 1869, oil on canvas, 51 x 31 cm. Dahesh Museum of Art (2002.18).
182. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Spaniard (Mariano?)* [also known as *Spaniard Leaning on a Wall*], study, 1881, watercolour on paper, 29,5 x 23 cm. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki (Bequest of Annie and Berta Edelfelt, 1935).

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183. Levy: *City Hall and Plaza de San Francisco*, ca. 1882–1887, photograph. Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla.
184. Anonymous, *Alameda de Hércules*, 1891, phototype Hauser and Menet. Archivo Municipal de Sevilla.
185. Levy: *No. 302. Plaza de Toros*, ca. 1882–87, photograph. Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla.
186. José Jiménez Aranda (1837–1903), *An Incident at the Plaza de Toros*, 1870, oil on canvas. Colección Carmen Thyssen Bornemisza, Madrid.
187. Gustave de Beaucorps: *Seville (The Giralda Tower, Cathedral and Casa de Irueta-Goyena)*, 1858, photograph. Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla.
188. Courtyard of the Alcázar of Seville, from *Excursions Daguerriennes: Vues et Monuments les plus Remarkable de Globe*, 1842.
189. Emilio Beauchy (1847–1928), *Café del Burrero, Seville*, ca. 1881, photograph.
190. Francisco de Goya y Lucientes (1746–1828), “The Morisco Gazul is the First to Fight Bulls with a Lance”, *La Tauromaquia*, 1815–16, etching and aquatint, 250 x 350 mm.
191. Venny Soldan (1863–1945), *Patio de las Doncellas*, Alcázar, Seville, drawing in sketchbook 1890. Private Collection.
192. Venny Soldan (1863–1945), *Patio de las Muñecas*, Alcázar, Seville, drawing in sketchbook 1890. Private Collection.
193. Ramon Almela, *Alcázar: Patio de las Doncellas*, ca. 1900. Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla (Fondo Siglo XIX).
194. Venny Soldan (1863–1945), *Water Reservoir (Alcázar, Seville?)*, oil on cardboard, 1890. Private Collection.
195. Levy, *Jardines del Alcázar*, ca. 1882–1887, photograph. Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla.
196. Venny Soldan (1863–1945), *Flamenco Dancers*, 1890, pencil, 27 x 19 cm. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki (A V 4919:26).
197. Venny Soldan (1863–1945), *Spanish Woman at a Terrace*, 1890, oil on cardboard, size unknown (small). Private Collection, Finland.
198. Venny Soldan (1863–1945), *Sleeping Street-Urchin in Seville*, February 1890, pencil drawing in sketchbook, 13,5 x 12,5 cm. Private Collection. Photocopy of original drawing.

199. *Church of the Hospital de la Caridad*, Seville, interior with Pedro Roldán's (1624–1699) *Entombment* as altarpiece sculpture.
- 199a. *Church of the Hospital de la Caridad*, Seville, interior with B.E. Murillo's (1617–1682) *Moses before the Rock of Horeb (Moses Striking the Rock)*, ca. 1670, to the upper left
200. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Spanish Interior (The Tobacco Factory in Seville)*, 1881, watercolour on paper, 23 x 29,5 cm. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki (A II 1311).
201. Emilio Beauchy (1847–1928), *Elaboración de cigarros. Fábrica de Tabacos*, photograph, ca. 1880. Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla.
202. Unknown, *Cigarrena*, ca. 1895, photograph. Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla (Colección Boele von Hensbroek).
203. Gustave Doré (1832–1883), *Cigarrenas outside the Tobacco Factory*, illustration in Baron Davillier, *L'Espagne*, Paris, Hachette, 1874.
204. Late 19th-century painting of women working in the Tobacco Factory in Seville.
205. Gonzalo Bilbao Martínez (1860–1938), *The Cigar-Makers*, 1915, oil on canvas. Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville.
206. Anders Zorn (1860–1920), *Adios Maria*, 1884, watercolour, 18,5 x 120,7 cm. Zorn Collections, Mora.
207. Casiano Alguacil (1831–1914), *Street in Seville (Mateos Gago)*, ca. 1870–1875, photograph.
208. Thomas Eakins (1814–1916), *A Street Scene in Seville*, 1870. Private Collection.
209. Early 19th-century view of *Palacio de San Telmo*, Sevilla. Private Collection, Sevilla.
210. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *San Telmo Sevilla – recuerdo de la Feria* [also known as *Shore Road in San Telmo, Seville*], 1881, signed: “San Telmo Sevilla – recuerdo de la feria”. Ostrobothnian Museum, Vaasa (Inv. The City of Vaasa 18).
211. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *San Telmo Sevilla – recuerdo de la Feria*, preparatory study, 1881, oil on cardboard, 27 x 32,5 cm. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki (Beatrice Granberg Collection, Bequest to the State of Finland 2002, A-2002-580).
212. Ramón Almela, *Palacio de San Telmo. Fachada principal*, photograph ca. 1900. Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla (Colección Isabel Tejera).
213. Sánchez del Pando, *Féria at the Prado de San Sebastián*, photograph ca. 1910. Fototeca Municipal de Sevilla

8. The Romantic Craze for History

214. *The Puerta del Sol, Madrid, Spain*, engraving from a photograph, originally in *Illustrirte Zeitung*, reproduced in *Scientific American Supplement*, No. 443, June 28, 1884.
215. *Madrid's Recoletos Gardens*, 19th-century engraving.
216. *Das Escorial*, hand coloured steel engraving, publ. 1850.
217. *Prado in Madrid. Fountain of the Four Seasons* [“Prado i Madrid. De fyra årstidernas fontän”], illustration in Hertzberg 1889, I, p. 24.
218. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Roman Bridge in Cordoba* (also known as *Bridge in Seville*), 1881, watercolour, 22,2 x 28,7 cm. Private Collection.
219. *Right Bank of the River Guadalquivir in Cordoba: View towards the Roman Bridge, Alameda del Corregidor and the Walls of the Alcázar*, late 19th-century photograph.
220. 21st-century view of Cordoba and the Roman Bridge from the River Guadalquivir.

221. 21st-century view of the Roman Bridge and Puerta del Puente in Cordoba.
222. Unknown, *Street in Cordoba (Calle Cardenal Herrero)* [adjacent to the Mesquita-Cathedral], late 19th-century photograph.
223. *Toledo – A Street*, engraving, illustration in Théophile Gautier's *Wanderings in Spain*, publ. by Ingram, Cooke & Co., London 1853.
224. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Spanish Beggars in an Alley in Toledo* [also known as *From Toledo I*], signed “28 avril –81”, indian ink on paper, 28 x 39 cm. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki (A II 1310).
225. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Patio in Toledo*, 1881, oil on canvas, 32 x 41,5 cm. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki (A II 1514).
226. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Street in Toledo*, 1881, oil on wood panel, 34 x 23,5 cm. Private Collection.
227. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Alms*, Paris 1881, oil on canvas, 80 x 59 cm. Private Collection.
228. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Preparatory Study for the Alms*, 1881, pencil drawing in sketchbook, 15 x 23 cm. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki (A II 1517:41).
229. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Head of a Spaniard*, 1881, crayon drawing in sketchbook, 15 x 23 cm. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki (A II 1517:41).
230. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Detail of the Text in the Alms*, Paris 1881, oil on canvas (orig. size 80 x 59 cm). Private Collection.
231. *San Juan de Los Reyes*, Toledo, interior of the Cloister [background scene for Edelfelt's *Alms*, 1881].
232. *San Juan de los Reyes*, exterior. 21st-century view.
233. Jusepe de Ribera (1591–1652), *The Clubfooted Boy (The Beggar)*, 1642, oil on canvas, 164 x 93,5 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

9. Spain Remembered: Travelling in a Palimpsest

234. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Spanish Girl (Dolores)*, Toledo 1881, oil on cardboard, attached to carton, 30 x 25 cm. Private Collection.
235. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Gypsy*, pastel drawing on paper in sketchbook, Toledo 1881, 15 x 23 cm. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki (A II 1517:41).
236. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Divine Service in Uusimaa Archipelago*, 1881. Musée d'Orsay, Paris (dep. Colmar, Préfecture).
237. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Conveying the Child's Coffin*, 1879, oil on canvas, 120 x 204 cm. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki (Antell Collections).
238. Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), *Street Scene from Toledo* [also known as *From Toledo II*], signed “Toledo 28 avril –81”, wash drawing in ink, 39,1 x 28,2 cm. Ateneum Art Museum, Helsinki (A II 1328).

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