

# Señoritas dancing in the Spanish sun

Nineteenth-century artworks as stimulus for tourism



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## Abstract

This thesis is about the role of visual representation in the creation of an image of Spain as a desirable place for foreigners to visit in the nineteenth century. Although nowadays Spain is one of the most popular tourist destinations of Europe, for a long time the country had a negative reputation which made it unattractive to travellers. From the end of the eighteenth century onwards perceptions of Spain started to change; the country acquired 'new' identities and was discovered as a tourist destination. Art played an important part in this re-imaging.

Scholars have studied the role of visual art in the formation of Spain's national identity, both in terms of self-images and hetero-images. Existing studies focus on representations of landscapes and architecture, which are connected to the Islamic history of Spain and thus prone to orientalizing or exoticizing. As a result, on the one hand scholars speak of a 'foreign orientalizing gaze' and Spanish artists trying to resist or even correct this gaze; on the other hand it has been demonstrated that foreign artists did not always exoticize their Spanish subjects and that presupposed Spanish attempts to neutralize these subjects (as opposed to exoticizing them) are debatable.

The main research question of this thesis is: In what ways did nineteenth-century Spanish and foreign artists respectively contribute to the re-imaging of Spain as an exotic, desirable place for foreigners to visit?

In order to critically evaluate and nuance existing views, this thesis takes traditional folkloric dancing scenes – a subject in itself unrelated to Spain's Islamic history – as its topic, and a comparative analysis of representations created by both Spanish and non-Spanish artists is the focus. With imagology as a reading strategy, stereotypes, contra-stereotypes and significant differences in portraying traditions between Spanish and non-Spanish artists have been identified. In conclusion, the analysis shows that both Spanish and non-Spanish artists contributed to the imaging of Spain as an attractive, exotic travel destination, but in the representations of Spanish artists there are more convincing contra-stereotypes which point to a more authentic manner of representation.



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## Chapter 1: Introduction

Today, Spain is one of the most popular tourist destinations within Europe, along with France and Italy.<sup>1</sup> But while France and Italy have a long history in tourism, being key destinations in the Grand Tour since the seventeenth century, foreign tourism to Spain only started much later, after the Grand Tour had reached its peak. The gradual movement of Spain from a largely peripheral position to its current role as one of the leading tourist destinations in Europe, was influenced by changing perceptions of the country.

### 1.1. The rise of foreign tourism to Spain

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are by many regarded as the age of first modern tourism. It was the time when increasing numbers of elite young men, and to a lesser extent women, embarked on the 'Grand Tour' through Europe. Spain, however, was not part of the standard itinerary. According to Michael Barke and John Towner, foreigners were not attracted to visit Spain because of its double-sided negative reputation to outsiders: on the one hand Spain's cultural offer was regarded not as interesting as for instance Italy's, while, on the other hand the country was also considered not easily accessible due to underdeveloped tourist infrastructure.<sup>2</sup>

However, it was not just these pragmatic issues that restrained foreign tourism to Spain. Compared to the rest of Europe, the country was perceived as backward and unworthy altogether. Ana Hontanilla has demonstrated how in eighteenth-century British travel writing Spain was represented even as "uncivilized and barbaric", and "not a member of 'Enlightened Europe'". The cruel Spanish Inquisition, the "tyrannical" government, the Catholic practices which were compared to primitive religious rituals and superstitious habits were considered signs of backwardness in political, social, cultural and intellectual terms.<sup>3</sup> Because of Spain's inability to adapt to the new enlightened notions of heterogeneity and tolerance it was widely regarded a country at an early stage of cultural development, or in other words, barbaric or savage. As such, Spain was thought to be 'un-European', or the European 'Other'.<sup>4</sup>

As a consequence, for a long time Spain remained a country on the fringe of the tourist area, amongst others such as Poland, the Balkans and Scandinavia, dismissed by the majority of foreign

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<sup>1</sup> UNWTO. *Tourism Highlights 2018 Edition*. 2018. Available: [www.e-unwto.org/doi/pdf/10.18111/9789284419876](http://www.e-unwto.org/doi/pdf/10.18111/9789284419876). Accessed 2-12-2018.

<sup>2</sup> M. Barke and J. Towner. *Tourism in Spain: Critical Issues*. CAB International 1996, pp. 4-5.

<sup>3</sup> Ana Hontanilla. "Images of Barbaric Spain in Eighteenth-Century British Travel Writing." *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, vol. 37, no. 1, 2008, p. 120.

<sup>4</sup> Regina Grafe. *Distant Tyranny: Markets, Power, and Backwardness in Spain, 1650-1800*. Princeton University Press 2012, p. x-xi; Hontanilla 2008, p. 120.

tourists.<sup>5</sup> However, the end of the eighteenth century brought change. While Grand Tour tourists had travelled with the main purpose of educating themselves, gradually the focus shifted from educational motives to a curiosity for the visually attractive. With the emergence of 'scenic' tourism, a whole new range of destinations now became of interest for tourists: not just cities with cultural legacy of classical antiquity, but also rural areas with wild landscapes, ancient ruins and other picturesque scenery.<sup>6</sup> In addition, the romantic sensibility that developed in this period also turned folk culture, with its 'picturesque' customs and dress, into a form of attraction for foreign upper classes. These things were all to be found in the "cultural periphery of Europe", which included Spain.<sup>7</sup>

Moreover, the Spanish difference, its 'un-Europeanness', now made it an attractive, 'new' and exotic destination. A place where travellers could experience the sense of a place that felt so remote in style and time, but yet quite close to home, and where the old adventure of travel still could be enjoyed, which had disappeared in most parts of Europe because of the growth and development of tourism.<sup>8</sup> But maybe even most importantly, thanks to its backwardness, Spain represented a place where one could in the simpler, purer lifestyle still find 'truth' and authenticity, which Dean MacCannell argued in 1976 to be a primary motivation for tourism. Spain, considered to be pre-modern, provided a sort of retreat from modern phenomena like industrialization, urbanization and cosmopolitanism and a place where time seemed to have stood still in a rapidly changing world.<sup>9</sup>

## 1.2. Romantic representations

Thus, ironically, Spain's peculiar characteristics that earlier provoked disapproval turned into attractive features from the late eighteenth century on. It is no coincidence that this new Spanish identity got formed in the nineteenth century. This era has come to be recognized as the heyday of national thought and while culture and character used to be seen as by-products of climate or society, they now were regarded "as the primary, informing spiritual principles from which nations derived

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<sup>5</sup> Barke and Towner 1996, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Judith Adler. "Origins of Sightseeing." *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 16, no. 1, 1989, pp. 7-29.

<sup>7</sup> Barke and Towner 1996, p. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Luis Fernández Cifuentes. "Southern exposure: early tourism and Spanish national identity", *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies*, 13:2-3, 2007, pp. 137-139.

<sup>9</sup> Marie-Sofie Lundström. "A Romantic in Spain: The Finnish Nineteenth-Century Painter Albert Edelfelt's Andalusian Dream." *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 27:3, 2006, pp. 331-332, 336.

their presence.”<sup>10</sup> Therefore, it is unsurprising that literature and visual arts played an important part in the dramatic re-imagining of the country. Spain was a great source of inspiration for Romantic writers and artists and became the topic of countless travel accounts, paintings and prints. The demand for these kinds of items was also very high, so the Romantic artistic representations were spread widely.<sup>11</sup> These literary and visual representations captured the imagination of many and thus helped to view Spain in a new light. As Peter Howard describes it, artists in the early nineteenth century were, with their aesthetically trained eyes influenced by the aesthetics of Romanticism, actively seeking to discover attractiveness in things previously unconsidered. Thus, their tastes can be regarded as precursors of widespread preferences of the public, and their work a factor that helped shape such preferences.<sup>12</sup> Besides, it is important to know that in the nineteenth century there was not any official tourism policy yet regarding the promotion of Spain.<sup>13</sup> Few travellers visited Spain and those who did, generally did not travel for leisure.<sup>14</sup> With the absence of an actual tourism industry, there was no urge for tourism policy-making. Thus, without any official presentation of the country offered by the state, cultural travel accounts such as paintings and illustrated books were one of the main sources for foreigners to form their idea of Spanish national identity.<sup>15</sup>

### 1.3. Status quaestionis

The so-called rediscovery of Spain is a multifaceted topic which has been discussed extensively in scholarly literature, with different focuses. In this thesis I will concentrate on the role of visual representation in the creation of an image of Spain as a desirable place for foreigners to visit. This role was, as indicated above, quite significant, and has received scholarly attention from art historical perspective as well as the perspectives of international studies and, to a lesser extent, tourism studies. Art historians have researched the interest in Spanish art and all things Spanish primarily from travelling British, French and American artists, and how this influenced styles and subject

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<sup>10</sup> Joep Leerssen. “The poetics and anthropology of national character (1500-2000).” *Imagology : The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters : A Critical Survey*, edited by Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen, Rodopi, 2007, p. 73.

<sup>11</sup> Diego Saglia. “Imag(in)ing Iberia: *Landscape Annuals* and Multimedia Narratives of the Spanish Journey in British Romanticism.” *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies*, 12:2-3, 2006, pp. 124-125.

<sup>12</sup> Peter Howard. “Change in the landscape perceptions of artists.” *Landscape Research*, 9:3, 1984, pp. 41-44.

<sup>13</sup> Eric Storm. “A More Spanish Spain: The Influence of tourism on the National Image.” *Metaphors of Spain. Representations of Spanish National Identity in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Javier Moreno-Luzón and Xosé M. Núñez Seixas, Berghahn, 2017, pp. 239-261.

<sup>14</sup> Barke and Towner 1996, p. 5.

<sup>15</sup> Storm 2017, pp. 239-261.

matter in those countries as well as in Spanish art.<sup>16</sup> In this regard mainly the British, with the topographical painter David Roberts (1796-1864) as a key figure, have been identified as being responsible for the “mythologizing of Spain as the Romantic land”, through the creation of a tradition of picturesque representations of Spain.<sup>17</sup> This influence can be explained by the very influential theory of the picturesque by William Gilpin (1724-1804), from British origin as well.

A crucial aspect of this artistic rediscovery and its consequences was the creation of Spanish identity. As ‘Spanishness’ came to be highly popular subject matter for artists, and for the art market too, specific aspects considered to be typical for Spain and Spanish culture were depicted and emphasized more and more in artistic representations, eventually leading to stereotyping and the creation of particular Spanish images. Scholars have paid attention to foreign perceptions and the external imposition of a ‘Spanish’ identity through imagery on the one hand as well as the Spanish self-image on the other hand. Diego Saglia has examined the British re-evaluation of Spain through illustrated travel accounts, demonstrating how the exoticism of Spanish difference and clichés of Spanishness were exploited for the creation of wildly popular *Landscape Annuals* (1835-1838). The illustrations in the *Annuals* were based on the sketches by David Roberts, whose services were in great demand with publishers at the time, as a result of his successful intensification of the fictional attributes and picturesque effects of the Spanish scenes. His representations have been characterized as a mixture of theatrical, picturesque, sublime and Gothic medievalist aesthetics, resulting in highly Romantic, attractive imagery.<sup>18</sup>

The article “A Romantic in Spain: The Finnish Nineteenth-Century Painter Albert Edelfelt's Andalusian Dream” (2006) demonstrates how other artists’ views of Spain and their work, in this case the Finnish painter Albert Edelfelt’s (1854-1905), were influenced by this kind of Romantic, stereotypical imagery. The artworks Edelfelt made when he visited Andalusia in 1881 demonstrate the omnipresence of the mythical presentation of Spain at the time, which was produced through differentiation and the exaggeration of (cultural) stereotypes.<sup>19</sup> It is an example of how stereotypical ideas of Spain were confirmed and spread further by reproduction in the arts. These stereotypes

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<sup>16</sup> The bibliography on this is substantial and diverse. Some examples are: Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt et al. *Spain, Espagne, Spanien: Foreign artists discover Spain, 1800-1900*. The Equitable Gallery in association with the Spanish Institute. 1993.; D. Howarth (ed.). *The Discovery of Spain. British Artists and Collectors: Goya to Picasso*. National Galleries of Scotland, 2009.; Claudia Heide. “The Alhambra in Britain. Between Foreignization and Domestication.” *Art in Translation*, 2:2, 2010, pp. 201-221.; Ilse Hempel Lipschutz. *Spanish Painting and the French Romantics*. Harvard University Press, 1972.; Mary Elizabeth Boone, *Vistas de España. American Views of Art and Life in Spain*. Yale University Press, 2007.; Claudia Hopkins. “Beyond Orientalism: The Case of Jenaro Pérez Villaamil”. *Hispanic Research Journal*, 17:5, 2016, pp. 384-408, accessed online: doi.org/10.1080/14682737.2016.1209832. Accessed 21-12-2019.

<sup>17</sup> Sarah Symmons. ““A new people and a limited society’: British art and the Spanish spectator.” *English Accents : Interactions with British Art, c. 1776-1855*, edited by Christiana Payne and William Vaughan, Ashgate, 2004.

<sup>18</sup> Saglia 2006.

<sup>19</sup> Lundström 2006.

have furthermore been examined extensively within the realm of orientalism, since the Spanish difference largely stems from the country's Islamic history and heritage. The orientalizing of Spanish culture by foreigners turned Spain in the European 'oriental' other.

Recently, Claudia Hopkins focused on a so far largely neglected aspect in this regard, as opposed to the extensive studies of the 'discovery' of Spain's Islamic heritage by foreign artists, writers and architects: Spanish responses to the country's own Muslim heritage. Hopkins examined the special situation of Spanish artists as both object and subject of orientalism. From her analysis of the works of the Spanish landscape painter Jenaro Pérez Villaamil (1807-1854) she concludes that the painter had "a desire to resist the foreign orientalizing gaze, and instruct the viewer in the 'character' of the Spanish nation."<sup>20</sup> Hopkins foregrounds an interesting aspect of Pérez Villaamil's paintings: even though his subject matter and visualizations are similar to the stereotypical, Romantic pictorial language from for instance Roberts, Pérez Villaamil subtly emphasized the common ground of the Moors and the Christians.<sup>21</sup> This is remarkable because the fascination with the Islamic heritage is rather grounded in its otherness. An article by Andrew Schulz on Francisco Goya's (1746-1828) depictions of bullfights, points in the same direction: it argues that by integrating Moors into this typical Spanish tradition, Goya's series project the belief that the Moorish past is integral rather than alien to the Spanish national identity.<sup>22</sup>

#### 1.4. Introduction of the research question

Hopkins and Schulz both validate their interpretations of Spanish works by briefly contrasting them with foreign examples which depict the same kind of scenes, but without this emphasis on the commonalities between the Christian, indigenous Spaniards and the Islamic Moors. For instance, Manet painted a bullfighting scene in 1862, undoubtedly based on one of Goya's works, in which he replaced Goya's Moorish picador by a contemporary Spaniard. With this adaptation, in Schulz's view, Manet "erases any allusion to the Muslim contribution to this quintessentially Spanish pastime".<sup>23</sup> Since the representations made by Spanish artists are their topic, Hopkins and Schulz do not elaborate much on these counter examples, but they provide an interesting starting point for further examination of such comparisons. The discussed cases indicate that the Spanish artists tried to 'neutralize' Spain's oriental character by showing the shared identity of the Christians and Muslims

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<sup>20</sup> Hopkins 2016, p. 1.

<sup>21</sup> Hopkins 2016.

<sup>22</sup> Andrew Schulz. "Moors and the Bullfight: History and National Identity in Goya's "Tauromaquia"." *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 90, No. 2, 2008, pp. 195-217.

<sup>23</sup> Schulz 2008, pp. 213-214.

in Spain. The way the authors present their findings implies that this neutralization contrasted with motives and views of foreign artists and that they instead emphasized the otherness of Spain and its people.

Is the difference between Spanish and foreign artistic representations really so clear-cut, or is there more to it? To what extent did foreign artists depict Spain in exoticizing ways and did Spaniards abstain from these exoticized views? What role does otherness play in their representations of apparent non-Muslim, folkloristic Spanish traditions? Can different considerations and iconography be distinguished for depictions by respectively Spanish and foreign artists? From these contemplations, the following main research question can be derived:

*In what ways did nineteenth-century Spanish and foreign artists respectively contribute to the re-imagining of Spain as an exotic, desirable place for foreigners to visit?*

When looking further into these and other relevant studies, the assumption that foreign artists orientalized Spain by focusing on its otherness, while Spanish artists rather tried to neutralize the ‘exotic’, ‘oriental’ features of Spain’s Islamic past in an attempt to integrate Spain into Christian Europe, is quickly called into question. A significant finding is the detection of ‘Westernising’ effects in artistic representations of Spanish Islamic architecture.<sup>24</sup> This has been recognized in, among others, David Roberts’ representations. Diego Saglia has described how Roberts not just transformed buildings and distorted perspectives in order to increase the overall picturesque effect of the scene, but also reinterpreted Oriental architecture through proportional distortions that increased the verticality of the scene, following theories that saw the origins of the Gothic in the Islamic or ‘Saracenic’ style. So by visually referring to Gothic style Roberts both familiarized the Oriental architecture and acknowledged the idea that it was actually close to Gothic architecture rather than substantially different. Saglia calls the visual experience of Spain, as depicted by Roberts, “both hauntingly familiar and disturbingly alien.”<sup>25</sup>

Likewise, Schulz’s interpretation of Goya’s choice to depict Moorish people in his bullfighting scenes should be questioned. Schulz points out that based on these representations, Goya must have considered the Muslims to have played “a crucial part in the development of this quintessentially Spanish pastime”.<sup>26</sup> With that in mind, Schulz sees these representations by Goya as “perhaps the first favorable depictions of the Muslim history of Spain”.<sup>27</sup> However, as Claudia Hopkins remarks, this association is not to be understood as necessarily a positive one, since bullfighting was in fact

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<sup>24</sup> Heide 2010, p. 203.

<sup>25</sup> Saglia 2006, p. 128.

<sup>26</sup> Schulz 2008, p. 213.

<sup>27</sup> Schulz 2008, p. 212.

during that time – as it is still – contested and criticized by many.<sup>28</sup> Thus, Goya's bullfighting scenes can just as well be interpreted as a disparaging comment on Spain's 'barbaric' Muslim heritage and traditions.

The discussed cases demonstrate that foreign artists apparently did not emphasize the exotic, oriental, alien aspect of Spain in every case and that Spanish artists' attempts to integrate Spain's oriental attributes into a Western, Christian Europe, are debatable. But what is the role of the foreign exoticizing gaze in the case of topics that are in itself not related to Spain's Islamic history, such as traditional folkloric dancing? How did foreign and Spanish artists depict a subject like that? What do possible differences in their representations reveal about perceptions of Spain?

## 1.5. Method

To find an answer to these questions, I carried out a visual analysis of selected nineteenth-century paintings and illustrations on the basis of imagology, that is, the critical analysis of cultural stereotypes. In section 2.3 this methodology will be explained further. The selection of images consists of twenty works by both influential Spanish and non-Spanish artists, depicting folkloric dancing scenes. This subject is, unlike the previously discussed landscape paintings featuring Islamic architecture and Muslims, something considered quintessentially Spanish<sup>29</sup>, which brings a new dimension to the study of 'orientalizing' and 'exoticizing' views.

Following the imagological theory, I first discuss recurring motifs, subjects and styles of representation which together constitute stereotypes and certain images of the country. Secondly, I point out deviant elements and ways of depicting within the imagery, which seem to conflict with these prevalent images and can be considered attempts to challenge the stereotypical imagery. In this regard I have paid attention particularly to the iconography of Spanish dancing women, as well as their surroundings in which an image of Spain as a country is constructed. In the analysis questions such as the following are central: In what ways and which contexts are the dancing women depicted by foreign artists vis-à-vis Spanish artists? Are there exoticizing elements or effects, such as references to the Islamic background of Spain, integrated in these 'typically Spanish' scenes? In which ways did artists concentrate on and exaggerate the Spanish difference, or can also a tendency for neutralization or familiarization be identified? What is the role of authenticity; did Spanish artists pursue more truthful manners of representation than foreigners?

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<sup>28</sup> Hopkins 2016, p. 5.

<sup>29</sup> Sandie Eleanor Holguin. *Flamenco Nation : The Construction of Spanish National Identity*. University of Wisconsin Press, 2019, p. 34.

The findings will give insight in the different ways in which Spanish and foreign artists dealt with certain aspects of 'Spanishness', consequently constructing differing Spanish identities. By thus revealing underlying notions that originated in the eighteenth and nineteenth century in contemporary images of Spain, we can get a fuller understanding of the rise of tourism to Spain and how it came to be the popular travel destination that it is nowadays. In a broader sense this research provides not only insight in the effect of re-imaging and stereotyping as a stimulus for tourism, but also into how through visual culture different national identities can be constructed.

## Chapter 2: Outline, context, methodology and theoretical framework

This chapter starts with an outline of the structure of this thesis. The following section discusses the historical and art historical context in which the rediscovery and re-imaging of Spain took place. This includes an overview of artistic movements that are characteristic for the period of time and of importance for the forthcoming analysis. In conclusion, I further explain the methodology and discuss the theoretical concepts that are relevant for this study.

### 2.1. Structure

After having discussed the (art) historical context and key concepts, which will help interpret the findings from the visual analysis, the following chapter focuses on the primary sources: the twenty selected representations of folkloric Spanish dancing. To provide structure and direction for the analysis, I have formulated four sub-questions that encapsulate the various questions raised in the introduction. These sub-questions are in accordance with the imagological approach which is explained in section 2.3.4.

- 1) What stereotypes are constructed in nineteenth-century representations of Spanish folkloric dancing scenes?

From the recurring aspects within the representations, so-called topoi, a number of stereotypes can be derived. I have made a distinction between stereotypes of Spanish people and overarching stereotypes of Spain as a country. Do the stereotypes reflect otherness, an exoticizing gaze and/or tendencies for neutralization? This will become clearer in the next part, when I discuss the background and associations of these stereotypes and consequently what images and ideas of Spain these constitute together:

- 2) Which connotations do these stereotypes carry and what do they taken together reveal about perceptions of Spain?

The stereotypical ideas about Spain will be related to the concepts discussed in the theoretical framework, in order to get a better understanding of the notions from which these ideas have originated. Then, when the constructed images of Spain have been identified, I focus on specific elements within the representations that deviate from or even seem to contradict the general stereotypical views:

3) What elements do not fit the stereotypical images and how can we interpret those?

Besides detecting such interesting deviating aspects, it is essential to outline possible reasons for their occurrence in the representations. With what intentions could artists have decided to incorporate a certain unconventional element in their work, or why did they omit something that (almost) all other artists included? Can such contra-stereotypes be interpreted as attempts to escape or possibly correct the (exoticizing) foreign gaze? The authenticity of the contra-stereotypes is also taken into consideration; deviating aspects could be either 'rectifications' of the stereotyped image, or the result of artists' ignorance. Finally, in relation to the former question, I focus on the portraying traditions of respectively the Spanish and the foreign artists:

4) In what ways do images from Spanish origin differ from images created by foreigners and why?

Comparing depictions from Spanish and non-Spanish origin provides further insight in possible attempts to avoid the foreign exoticizing gaze. For instance, if some contra-stereotypes turn out to have been used exclusively by Spanish artists, does that mean the prevailing image is not just romanticized, but rather incorrect? And that as such, representations of Spain made by Spanish artists can indeed be considered more authentic than the foreign equivalents? Or must it be concluded that Spanish artists in fact contributed just as much to the exoticization of their own country and culture?

Following this last part of the analysis, I will present some conclusions that refer back to the main question of this study. Moreover, the findings are placed in the broader context of different factors and underlying concepts that played a role in the re-imaging of Spain and coinciding rise of foreign tourism. Thus, visual culture, identity-formation and tourism stimulation are connected.

## 2.2. Art in nineteenth-century Europe

In order to read and understand depictions of Spanish folkloric dancing scenes, it is helpful to first get an insight in the artistic context of the time. In the second half of the eighteenth century a renewed interest in classical antiquity had grown, which fuelled the artistic movement known as Neoclassicism. Painters such as Jacques-Louis David (1748-1825) drew inspiration from the harmony and rationality of classical art as well as its patriotic and heroic subjects. Neoclassicism, the principles of which were fully in line with European Enlightenment thinking, was still supreme at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>30</sup> However, the turn of the century gave rise to a shift in emphasis

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<sup>30</sup> Fred S. Kleiner. *Gardner's Art through the Ages : A concise Western history*. Second edition, Wadsworth/Cengage Learning, 2010, pp. 330-331.

from reason to feeling and a desire for freedom. A new artistic movement, focusing on the imagination and subjective emotion, gradually displaced Neoclassicism as the dominant painting style: Romanticism.<sup>31</sup>

### 2.2.1. The Picturesque

Part of the Romantic spirit was a fascination with the aesthetic ideal of the ‘picturesque’, as it had been introduced by the British artist William Gilpin in his writings of the late eighteenth century. The picturesque was directed to the visual qualities of nature and to recognising in one’s surroundings the scenes and aspects that would look well in a picture.<sup>32</sup> As with Romanticism, the enthusiasm for the picturesque can be seen as a reaction against Neo-classicist predilection for proportion, order and exactitude. By contrast, picturesqueness was found in irregularity, decay, variety, asymmetry and interesting textures.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, the picturesque was about ‘normal’ people and life, so it focused on rural and poor people and their towns, traditions, costumes and folklore rather than aristocrats or heroic stories.<sup>34</sup> Thus, a medieval ruin in the midst of a wild landscape was viewed as picturesque, but so were gypsies dancing in their colourful dresses. It is important to note that the word ‘picturesque’ not only applied to these certain quaint and charming subjects, but also implies an idealized view of them.<sup>35</sup>

Various illustrated publications from the first half of the nineteenth century demonstrate the importance of the picturesque aesthetic for tourists’ travel experience in Spain, for example: *Picturesque tour through Spain* (Henry Swinburne, 1806); *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l’Espagne* (Alexandre de Laborde, 1806-1820); *Picturesque sketches in Spain* (David Roberts, 1837). Interestingly, because of this emphasis on the search for the picturesque, British and French artists were accused by some Spanish colleagues of unfaithful portrayal. This particularly concerned foreign representations of Spanish monuments, which were considered “disfigured”.<sup>36</sup> In the article “(Re-)Constructing Spain: Francisco Parcerisa’s Cultural Nationalism in *Recuerdos y bellezas de España* (1839-1872)” Chloe Sharpe highlights Parcerisa’s stated aim “to offer ‘faithful portraits’ taken ‘from life’ of Spain’s existing monuments”<sup>37</sup> as a reaction to these distorted foreign representations.

<sup>31</sup> Kleiner 2010, p. 339.

<sup>32</sup> Mavis Batey. “The Picturesque: An Overview.” *Garden History*, vol. 22, no. 2, 1994, pp. 121-122.

<sup>33</sup> Encyclopaedia Britannica. “Picturesque.” [www.britannica.com/art/picturesque](http://www.britannica.com/art/picturesque). Accessed 9-10-2019.

<sup>34</sup> Jan Hein Furnée. Lecture of the course “Cultural history of tourism”. Radboud University. Nijmegen. 18-09-2018.

<sup>35</sup> Maya Jiménez. “Costumbrismo.” *Khan Academy*. [www.khanacademy.org/humanities/art-americas/latin-america-after-independence/art-of-mexico-in-the-18th-and-19th-centuries/a/costumbrismo](http://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/art-americas/latin-america-after-independence/art-of-mexico-in-the-18th-and-19th-centuries/a/costumbrismo). Accessed 11-10-2019.

<sup>36</sup> Chloe Sharpe. “(Re-)Constructing Spain: Francisco Parcerisa’s Cultural Nationalism in *Recuerdos y Bellezas de España* (1839-1872).” *Esharp*, 23, Spring 2015, p. 2.

<sup>37</sup> Sharpe 2015, p. 2.

Although this concerns explicitly representations of architecture, it can be interpreted as a general motivation for Spanish artists to create more accurate renderings and ‘correct’ the errors made by foreign artists.

### 2.2.2. Exoticism

While the picturesque had British origins and was initially projected onto British scenery, the advancements in the travel industry also encouraged artists to seek the picturesque abroad. Especially oriental architecture and oriental scenery provided perfect subject matter for the Romantic aesthetic, because besides picturesque, it was exotic.<sup>38</sup> Exoticism was characteristic too for the artistic context of the time.

Napoleon Bonaparte’s conquest of Egypt in 1798 increased interest in the Middle East and orientalist subjects. Faraway countries and cultures epitomized a mysterious world full of untrodden paths and as such provided a good opportunity for Romantic artists to project their fantasies.<sup>39</sup> On the one hand there were ‘armchair orientalists’ who never actually visited the countries of their fascination but based their works on (literary) accounts of others and their own imagination.<sup>40</sup> On the other hand, travel became faster, easier, safer and cheaper, making the practice of travel for edification a fashionable pursuit, which resulted in a number of artists visiting the Middle East or the Orient for first-hand experience. At the same time, artists became aware of the fact that a certain type of the exotic could also be found in Spain, which was easier to visit. In particular, cities like Granada and Sevilla in the southern province Andalusia had an exotic appeal because of the unique confluence of European and Eastern cultures to be found there.<sup>41</sup> This kind of scenery and history, in combination with the warm climate, Spain’s position close to Africa and its ‘exotic’-looking inhabitants with their tanned skin and dark hair and eyes, made Spain an ideal exotic destination: unusual and exciting because of coming (or seeming to come) from far away.

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<sup>38</sup> Carl Thompson. “The picturesque at home and abroad.” *British Library*. [www.bl.uk/picturing-places/articles/the-picturesque-at-home-and-abroad](http://www.bl.uk/picturing-places/articles/the-picturesque-at-home-and-abroad). Accessed 9-10-2019; Batey 1994, p. 128.

<sup>39</sup> The Art Story Foundation. “Orientalism.” [www.theartstory.org/movement-orientalism-history-and-concepts.htm#beginnings\\_header](http://www.theartstory.org/movement-orientalism-history-and-concepts.htm#beginnings_header). Accessed 20-2-2019; The Art Story Foundation. “Eugène Delacroix.” [www.theartstory.org/artist-delacroix-eugene.htm](http://www.theartstory.org/artist-delacroix-eugene.htm). Accessed 20-2-2019.

<sup>40</sup> The Art Story Foundation. “Orientalism.”

<sup>41</sup> Stratton-Pruitt 1993, p. 3.

Hence, artists ‘discovered’ Spain as an attractive travel destination, and not only because of its compelling scenery, but also its painting tradition.<sup>42</sup> While the works of the Spanish masters had received little attention outside Spain during the previous centuries, from the nineteenth century onwards artists travelled there to study Spanish painting, as much as the landscape and architecture.<sup>43</sup>

### 2.2.3. France and Great-Britain

The first serious interest in Spanish subjects started in Germany and Great-Britain, as with many Romantic themes in art and literature. It was the French and the British, however, who really capitalized on them and were most influential in the ‘mystification’ of Spain and the creation of stereotypes. For the French, it may have been the shared border, religion, and to some extent, Latin culture, that created the urge to differentiate Spain from themselves<sup>44</sup>, eventually cultivating a general *espagnolisme*.<sup>45</sup> While on the one hand they envied Spain for not yet being affected by the problems of modernity and industry and seeing in it their primitive, traditional and sensual alter-ego, on the other hand due to Spain’s pre-modern state it was perceived as inferior. Themes that fascinated French artists included bandits, Spanish religion, the everyday life and architectural monuments. Around 1850 the French Romantic image of Spain started to change: while earlier works often were dark, medieval impressions of the country, later representations of sunlit spaces with frivolous and colourful scenes of dancing girls and bullfighters became dominant.<sup>46</sup>

The latter kind of images were also common in British art. The British were especially attracted to Spain as a “mysterious land of opportunity”<sup>47</sup> that could satisfy their desire for new, alien experiences and responded to their quest for the picturesque.<sup>48</sup> In their depictions, the British artists focused on the confluence of Catholic and Moorish influences, distinctive forms of entertainment and ritual, or iconic architecture. With vibrant and warm hues they expressed the bright sunlight and heat typical for (the south of) Spain.<sup>49</sup> However, what perhaps attracted them

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Lipschutz 1972, p. vii.

<sup>44</sup> Alisa Luxenberg. “Over the Pyrenees and through the looking-glass: French culture reflected in its imagery of Spain.” *Spain, Espagne, Spanien : Foreign Artists Discover Spain, 1800-1900*, edited by Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt et al, Equitable Gallery in Association with the Spanish Institute, 1993, p. 14.

<sup>45</sup> Lipschutz 1972, p. vii.

<sup>46</sup> Luxenberg 1993, pp. 15-19.

<sup>47</sup> Christopher Baker. “The discovery of Spain: Introduction.” *The Discovery of Spain: British Artists and Collectors : Goya to Picasso*, edited by David Howarth, National Galleries of Scotland, 2009, p. 9.

<sup>48</sup> Claudia Heide. “The Spanish picturesque.” *The Discovery of Spain: British Artists and Collectors : Goya to Picasso*, edited by David Howarth, National Galleries of Scotland, 2009, pp. 47-48.

<sup>49</sup> Baker 2009, p. 11.

most, were the picturesque scenes that Spain offered with its distinctive forms of entertainment, ritual and tradition, and the 'simple' life of the lower classes, including peasants and gypsies.<sup>50</sup> Besides and maybe most importantly, in keeping with the exoticist trend, both the French and the British were especially attracted to Spain because of its exotic appeal (visible in architecture and people), due to its position 'in between' Europe and Africa, 'belonging fully to neither continent'.<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, in both cases Spanish literature and travel accounts written by British and French individuals who undertook trips to Spain in the early nineteenth century influenced the artists significantly. Artists' itineraries were based on these writings, as well as the sights to visit, the subjects for their works and even the way to look at them. As a result, there was a strong consistency in topics, from places to people and customs, and a combination of fact and fiction became instrumental in the construction of a mythology of Spain.<sup>52</sup>

#### 2.2.4. Costumbrismo

As much as French and British artists were influenced by their compatriots' writings, the Spanish artists on their end were strongly influenced by the successful artwork of their foreign colleagues. The British consul William Brackenbury, who was a central figure in the cultural life of Seville, received foreign and local artists (including John Frederick Lewis (1804-1876) and Jenaro Pérez Villaamil) in his house, making it likely that at least some of them met and saw each other's works. Spanish artists such as Pérez Villaamil perceived the foreign excitement about all things Spanish and started to adapt to foreign tastes by appropriating British painting styles and subjects, for they noticed the great commercial potential of Spanish-themed art.<sup>53</sup>

However, there was another motivation for Spanish artists to concentrate on depicting their own country and culture. Foreign influence extended far beyond the visual arts: the Bourbon monarchy brought on administrative reforms as well as major French cultural and intellectual influence, which gave rise to a strong sense of Spanish nationalism amongst the Spanish citizens as a form of resistance.<sup>54</sup> From this sentiment *costumbrismo* painting arose, a new type of genre painting that focused on local customs and individuals<sup>55</sup>, with the aim of capturing the distinct characters of different regions and towns. Typical subject matter included particular 'types' of people

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<sup>50</sup> Xanthe Brooke. "British Artists Encounter Spain: 1820-1900." *Spain, Espagne, Spanien : Foreign Artists Discover Spain, 1800-1900*, edited by Suzanne L. Stratton-Pruitt et al, Equitable Gallery in Association with the Spanish Institute, 1993, pp. 42-46.

<sup>51</sup> Stratton-Pruitt 1993, p. 13.

<sup>52</sup> Stratton-Pruitt 1993, p. 13.

<sup>53</sup> Hopkins 2016, pp. 8-9.

<sup>54</sup> Holguin 2019, pp. 34-38.

<sup>55</sup> Boone 2007, p. 42.

(*tipos*) such as *majos*, bandits and gypsies, besides traditional architecture and (religious) festivities. Andalusia (particularly Seville) and Madrid were the two most important centres of costumbrismo painting. The paintings of the School of Seville were mainly romantic and folkloric, and as such sold well to foreigners, while the Madrilenian costumbrista works portrayed more the life of lower class Madrid, often with a critical undertone, and were popular on the domestic market. Some important figures for the genre are José Domínguez Bécquer (1805-1841), Manuel Rodríguez de Guzmán (1818-1867), Antonio Cabral Bejarano (1798-1861) and Leonardo Alenza (1807-1845).<sup>56</sup> The nationalist vogue and corresponding costumbrismo was not just a whim of Spanish painters; costumbrismo also became an important literary genre<sup>57</sup> and was later even encouraged by the government of Isabel II (1833-1868), who commissioned several costumbrista painters to capture “the customs of all the provinces of Spain in pictures”.<sup>58</sup>

### 2.3. Methodology

In section 1.5 I briefly introduced the method used for this research. The following paragraphs elaborate on the choices made regarding the selection of artworks, the focus of the analysis and imagology as reading strategy.

As I have mentioned in the introduction, the currently existing scholarship results in opaque and inconsistent notions of external versus internal perceptions and representations of Spain: while scholars focusing on the Spanish self-image emphasize Spanish artists’ tendency to ‘correct the foreign orientaling gaze’, it has been pointed out that this presumed tendency is debatable and that this foreign gaze was actually not always as orientaling or exoticizing. By complementing existing insights into the different Spanish images with a comparative analysis of representations of typically Spanish folkloric dancing scenes, of both Spanish and non-Spanish origin, these current findings and assumptions can be critically evaluated and nuanced.

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<sup>56</sup> Antonio Reina Palazón. “El costumbrismo en la pintura Sevillana del siglo XIX.” *Romanticismo 6 : Actas del VI Congreso. El Costumbrismo romántico*, Centor Internacional de Estudios sobre el Romanticismo Hispánico, Bulzoni, 1996, pp. 265-274.

<sup>57</sup> A very interesting example is the important illustrated book *Los españoles pintados por sí mismos* (1843-1844), in which both literary and pictorial costumbrismo are merged.

<sup>58</sup> Esteban Casado. “Manuel Rodríguez de Guzmán.” *Museo Carmen Thyssen Málaga*. [www.carmen Thyssenmalaga.org/en/artista/manuel-rodriguez-de-guzman](http://www.carmen Thyssenmalaga.org/en/artista/manuel-rodriguez-de-guzman). Accessed 10-10-2019.

### 2.3.1. Justification of the selection

In keeping with that objective, this study takes a selection of twenty nineteenth-century paintings and illustrations by both Spanish and non-Spanish artists as subject for visual analysis, to be able to eventually compare and contrast these two groups of works. The significance of the dynamics between hetero-images (which characterize the other) and self-images (which characterize the domestic identity) is, moreover, stressed in the description of imagology as methodology, which is applied to this study. The works have been selected on the basis of certain criteria. The first one is their topic: this study focuses on depictions of Spanish folkloristic dancing scenes, a subject regarded as quintessentially Spanish. As such this topic was extremely popular with both Spanish and foreign artists in the nineteenth century, as well as the art market. These representations are expected to be revealing with regard to artists' perceptions of Spanish identity because folkloric traditions do not relate to the Islamic history and as such generally seem to be associated with 'European Spain' rather than 'oriental Spain'. Thus, it is interesting to look for signs of 'exoticizing' in this kind of imagery. In other words: representations of these subjects can demonstrate whether the maker focused on otherness and exoticism and thus contributed to the re-imaging of Spain as an exotic, attractive tourist destination.

### 2.3.2. Timeframe

All representations included in the selection date from the period of 1800-1860. This period is considered most influential in the formation of an attractive destination image of Spain. The start of the nineteenth century is generally considered to be the starting point for foreign interest in Spain and Spanish art. While this trend lasted throughout the whole nineteenth century, Romanticism flourished during the first half of the century and in this period the 'mystification' of Spain was constructed through imagery full of stereotyping. In France the trend of *espagnolisme* lasted until the 1870s, with the opening of the Musée espagnol in 1838 being an important highlight, but already in the 1850s writers and artists "detected a levelling effect of Spanish culture from constant contact with the rest of Europe"<sup>59</sup>, curtailing its Romantic appeal. Similarly, British artistic interest in Spain was at its highest point between 1820 and 1850; in the 1860s images of Spain were still being produced, but they were already beginning to lose the critics' interest.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Luxenberg 1993, p. 20.

<sup>60</sup> Brooke 1993, p. 46.

The artists that are included in this study are a combination of well-known and well-studied painters such as Jenaro Pérez Villaamil and John Phillip (1817-1867) and less studied contemporaries who also attained notable status and acknowledgement during their lifetime or afterwards. In this study only European artists are included, since they were both the first to ‘discover’ Spain as a destination and subject matter and most influential in spurring foreign tourism to Spain. The focus is on British, French and Spanish artists in particular. France and Britain played important roles in the artistic world of the nineteenth century and as such they functioned as inspirational examples for artists in other countries, in Europe and beyond. The representativeness of the corpus is always fraught with difficulties, but by covering these three prominent painting traditions with at least three different artists of each tradition, there is scope enough to draw some tentative conclusions.

### 2.3.3. Focus

Many scholars have stressed the significant influence of literature on artists’ views and approaches. The production of visual representations coincided with numerous literary texts and travel guides; thus, most artists had already read about Spain before visiting the country which meant their tourist gaze had been already shaped.<sup>61</sup> The Spanish-themed publications were moreover often illustrated with prints, which were often based on the sketches and works by artist-tourists. Understandably, many scholars, such as Diego Saglia and Chloe Sharpe, have based themselves on the relation between the written texts and visual representations to interpret these images.<sup>62</sup> Since the representations have already been examined in this light, in this study the influence of literature is taken into consideration but does not receive special attention; the focus will be on the visual representations in itself. Only in the cases where artists specifically worked for a certain publication, to provide illustrations, the book in question will be looked into further because it is relevant for the artists’ approach and target audience.

### 2.3.4. Imagology

Imagology, as outlined by Joep Leerssen, provides the basis for the visual analysis of the selected artworks. As existing studies on identity-formation in artworks dealing with Spanish subjects have shown, artists created different images of the country.<sup>63</sup> This fits the contemporary common view

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<sup>61</sup> The concept of the tourist gaze is explained further on in paragraph 2.4.3.

<sup>62</sup> Saglia 2006; Sharpe 2015.

<sup>63</sup> ‘existing studies’ refers to the studies previously mentioned in this account: Heide 2010, pp. 201-221; Saglia 2006, pp. 123-146; Hopkins 2016, pp. 384-408; Schulz 2008, pp. 195-217; Lundström 2006, pp. 331-348.

on national identity as it is formulated by Leerssen. In his overview he shows how with the rise of postmodern thought, the former essentialist sense of identity has given way to an understanding of identities as constructs. There is no longer the belief in the existence of a 'real' nationality; instead nationality is considered to be formulated by its perceptions and representations.<sup>64</sup> As such, from byproduct or reflection, representations have come to be understood as an underlying condition. "Images do not reflect identities, but constitute possible identifications."<sup>65</sup>

Imagology, as a "critical study of national characterization", is in essence used on literary representations, but the method can also be applied to images, which function just like texts in the formation of national identities. It is important to note that instead of cultural or national identity, imagology focuses on cultural or national stereotypes. What is stressed further in imagology is that images are generated through intertextuality. This means that an individual text is always linked to other texts,<sup>66</sup> and that an individual instance of a national characterization therefore should be viewed as a reference to an intertext, rather than to empirical reality: "(...) national characters are a matter of commonplace and hearsay rather than empirical observation or statements of objective fact."<sup>67</sup> Intertextuality as such provides a reading strategy, insofar as images can be read: within the artistic representations recurring aspects, or *topoi*, can be identified, and from this the dominant stereotypes and images can be derived.

For each representation, then, the tradition of the established *topos* is examined: what is the background and perception of the *topos*, and how does the use of the *topos* in the representation in question relate to that background tradition? For instance, does the iconography of one female Spanish dancer match or differ from other depictions? Next, the *topos* must be contextualized within the text of its occurrence. What is depicted in the representation? In this regard also the way in which the subjects are depicted and the genre conventions that are at work should be considered. When placing the representation in a larger context, the maker himself and the target public should be taken into consideration.

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<sup>64</sup> In the case of Spain, this is reflected even more clearly in the new reputation that the country gained from the 1950s onwards: that of a cheap destination to enjoy sun, sand and sea. This image may have become predominant, but the traditional picturesque image of Spain as an exotic place with fascinating traditions and history is also still alive. Spanish authorities promote both identities to attract the largest number of foreign visitors.

<sup>65</sup> Joep Leerssen. "Imagology: History and method." *Imagology : The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters : A Critical Survey*, edited by Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen, Rodopi, 2007, p. 27.

<sup>66</sup> Yra van Dijk and Maarten De Pourcq, editors. *Draden in Het Donker : Intertekstualiteit in Theorie En Praktijk*. Vantilt, 2013, p. 17.

<sup>67</sup> Leerssen 2007, p. 26.

## 2.4. Theoretical framework

In order to sharpen the content analysis and to be able to interpret the findings as well-substantiated as possible, I have based myself on certain important key concepts. This section will answer the following sub-question: Which theoretical concepts are relevant to the formation of Spanish national identity through visual representations?

### 2.4.1. Othering

The first concept is the concept of otherness, or differentiation. This is of major importance because the main question is about the presentation of Spain as an *exotic* place, which implies an emphasis on Spain as 'being unusual' and associations with 'the far away'. In the book *Imagology : The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters* Leerssen explains that differences between countries started to become important for national identity from the mid-seventeenth century onwards: "(...) the nations of Europe begin to locate their identities in their mutual differences. Common factors, common vices and manners, cease to be of importance in this taxonomy. Nations will come to see their character, their individuality, in those aspects in which they differ most from others."<sup>68</sup> This view of differentiation and the attraction of the Other further developed in conjunction with the emergence of Romantic thought, in response to the Enlightenment assumption of a single humanity. As a result, in the nineteenth century national identity conventionally came to be defined on the basis of the way in which a nation stands out from humanity at large.<sup>69</sup>

The idea of differentiation as a way to define one's own identity also connects to the concept of mimicry. Initially mimicry seems to be the very opposite of differentiation, since it refers to a kind of imitation. However, Homi Bhabha's concept of mimicry concerns the act of *partial* imitation that occurs within a colonized society: when the colonized 'other' is obliged to adjust to the culture of a colonizer, he will imitate them by taking over their customs, language and even dress. But only partially, because in order for the power relations to be maintained, there should remain a clear distinction between the colonizer and the colonized. Obliging the colonized other to reform is a strategy of the colonizer to appropriate them. However, if the colonial other becomes too much like

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<sup>68</sup> Leerssen 2007, p. 69.

<sup>69</sup> Leerssen 2007, pp. 69-73; Boone 2007, p. 7.

the colonizer, it will only undermine the authority of the latter.<sup>70</sup> Therefore Bhabha describes mimicry as “almost the same, but not quite”.<sup>71</sup>

The notion of differentiation is also significant in the realm of tourism. Dean MacCannell compared tourist attractions to differentiations in the modern world, with which he means the “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.”<sup>72</sup> Attractions represent someone or something ‘other’; sightseeing is defined by MacCannell as the “effort based on desire ethically to connect” to this ‘other’.<sup>73</sup> It is important to note that ‘other’ in this case does not have the negative connotation of ‘lesser’; “Tourists hold ‘the other’, or believe they hold ‘the other’, in a positive embrace.”<sup>74</sup> The ‘other’ has several meanings: first, there is the “cultural other”, which can be found everywhere else in the world, in geographically other places as well as in other times, in history and the future. Then there is the “ultimate other”, which according to MacCannell is the unconscious, which contains every lost object of desire. Where it all comes together is the “other place”, an ultimate destination that symbolically holds every tourist desire.<sup>75</sup> Finding contrasts with the everyday life and experience has been recognized as a key feature of tourism.<sup>76</sup> It is a way of “conquering the spirit of modernity”: in modern society, “reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and other cultures, in purer, simpler lifestyles.”<sup>77</sup> For nineteenth-century travellers and artists Spain offered this sense of otherness in two ways; due to its underdevelopment it was perceived as a world lost to modern society, and its Arab heritage functioned as a sign of remoteness, of the Far East.<sup>78</sup>

## 2.4.2. Orientalism

Closely related to the idea of otherness is orientalism. The term is used with different meanings. Edward Said introduced the term to critique the West’s patronizing attitude towards every non-Western people or place on earth, i.e. the largest form of ‘the other’. Said foregrounded the tendency from the West to attribute negative characteristics to the ‘Oriental’ and to justify the subjugation and

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<sup>70</sup> Andrew Bennett and Nicholas Royle. *An Introduction to Literature, Criticism and Theory*. Fifth edition, Routledge, 2016, p. 248.

<sup>71</sup> Homi Bhabha. “Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse.” *October*, vol. 28, 1984, p. 126.

<sup>72</sup> Dean MacCannell. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. Schocken Books Macmillan Press, 1976, p. 11.

<sup>73</sup> Dean MacCannell. *The Ethics of Sightseeing*. University of California Press, 2011, p. 7.

<sup>74</sup> MacCannell 2011, p. 8.

<sup>75</sup> MacCannell 2011, p. 11.

<sup>76</sup> John Urry and J. Larsen. *The tourist gaze 3.0*. Sage, 2011, p. 10.

<sup>77</sup> MacCannell 1976, p. 3.

<sup>78</sup> Heide 2009, p. 47, 65.

supremacy of the West over this ‘other’ because they were supposedly better off under colonial regimes than under their own despotic regimes. However, there are also more sympathetic notions of orientalism. Before Said published his influential book in 1976, the term ‘orientalists’ was used to describe either scholars with interests in the East or nineteenth-century artists who worked from an oriental inspiration and produced works with mainly Middle Eastern and North African subjects. It represented a rather sincere, admiring interest in the East.<sup>79</sup> This interest was also found in tourism: travellers were attracted to the East as an attraction, as the place where religions and civilization find its origin.<sup>80</sup>

But even though this curiosity has a positive connotation and artists aimed to express their admiration, critics have argued that orientalist representations cannot be viewed as unequivocal glorifications of the Orient.<sup>81</sup> In the chapter “Orientalism in the arts” Alexander Macfie evaluates two different influential views: Linda Nochlin’s and John McKenzie’s.<sup>82</sup> Nochlin’s main argument is that orientalist paintings, such as those by the French Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904), repeatedly reproduced stereotypical images of an East that was subordinate to the West and devised to be dominated. Its inferior ‘otherness’ was visualized with depictions of tyranny, lust, backwardness, cruelty and laziness, showing how the East was unaffected by the West, since the West stood above these things. By contrast, John McKenzie interprets the stereotypical way of portraying the East not as a depiction of superiority, but as a “desire to escape from the constraints and imperfections of European life.”<sup>83</sup> In the differences of the East artists saw a world that they had lost, so they projected their Western fantasies, fears, aspirations and wished-for freedoms onto the East. Moreover, McKenzie claims that “they often sought to portray not the strikingly different, but the oddly familiar.”<sup>84</sup> Following this line of reasoning, Macfie concludes that orientalism in the arts should be considered an “analysis of the ‘self’”, rather than a “comment on the ‘other’”.<sup>85</sup>

Geographically, Spain is part of the Occident, but scholars have adapted the orientalist paradigm for understanding the southern European context as well. Spain has been identified by scholars, including by Said himself in the prologue to the second Spanish edition of *Orientalism*, as an exceptional case. Relations between Spain and Islam are complex, because for Spain the Islam had not been just an external, distant power, but it used to be part of the country’s culture for a long

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<sup>79</sup> John M. McKenzie. *Orientalism : History, Theory and the Arts*. Manchester University Press, 1995, p. 3.

<sup>80</sup> MacCannell 2011, pp. 8-9.

<sup>81</sup> Most notably is Linda Nochlin, who analysed Orientalist paintings in terms of imperial ideology and hegemonic approaches to the East in “The Imaginary Orient.” *Art in America*, May 1983, pp. 118-131.

<sup>82</sup> Alexander L. Macfie. “Orientalism in the arts.” *Orientalism*. Longman, 2002, pp. 59-72.

<sup>83</sup> Macfie 2002, pp. 67-68, 71.

<sup>84</sup> McKenzie 1995, p. 55.

<sup>85</sup> Macfie 2002, p. 71.

time. As such Spain is in a double position: on the one hand Spain, and Andalusia in particular, has been framed by the West as an 'Oriental' space; on the other hand, Spain became 'European' after the Christians finalized the Reconquista in 1492, and it had recognized an 'Oriental periphery' of their own in Muslim Morocco.<sup>86</sup>

Roberto Dainotto's view provides further grip for understanding Spain's position. He extends Said's framework by arguing that Europe did not only define itself against an 'Oriental other', but also on the basis of an internal opposition, that is the north versus the south. Dainotto explains this internal opposition by bringing together two apparent conflicting views: the usual paradigm of European identity-formation – that an anti-thesis, something that is *not* Europe is needed for the formation of 'the concept of Europe' – on the one hand, and modern theories of Eurocentrism on the other hand. The latter entail that "one can explain Europe without making recourse to anything outside of Europe."<sup>87</sup> Thus, modern European identity requires an internalized non-Europe: "the south, indeed, becomes the sufficient and indispensable *internal* Other: Europe, but also the negative part of it."<sup>88</sup> This marginalization of the south of Europe derived from the widespread belief in fundamental differences between the northern and southern countries in Europe: the north was cold, Germanic, Western, modern, progressive and Protestant, while southern Europe was warm, romance, Oriental, 'ancient', primitive, atavistic and Catholic.<sup>89</sup> The different climates were believed to influence the people's character as well: peoples of warm climates would be cowardly, lazy, passive and vulnerable for despotism, while cold climates would yield cooperative, courageous, vigorous and free people.<sup>90</sup> Thus, Spain, as part of southern Europe, was not only directly related to the Orient as opposition of the West, it also was similarly seen as a place that represented the past.<sup>91</sup> Said's notion of the 'objectified' Orient has been transferred to southern Europe as well: according to southern Europeans the South has also been thought of as an object by others, "a premodern relic of the past."<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Roberto M. Dainotto. *Europe (in Theory)*. Duke University Press, 2007, p. 174; Anna McSweeney & Claudia Hopkins. "Editorial: Spain and Orientalism." *Art in Translation*, 9:1, 2017, pp. 2-3.

<sup>87</sup> Dainotto 2007, p. 4.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Dainotto 2007, pp. 98-99, 101, 165.

<sup>90</sup> Dainotto 2007, pp. 58-60.

<sup>91</sup> Dainotto 2007, p. 55.

<sup>92</sup> Dainotto 2007, p. 173.

### 2.4.3. Tourist gaze

Finally, a fundamental concept that is relevant to this case is the concept of the tourist gaze, as outlined by John Urry. The notion of the tourist gaze helps to understand how come artistic representations could be so influential in the creation of a new Spanish identity. The tourist gaze is the term invented for the certain way in which people look and see things when they are in the role of tourist. This way of seeing, the gaze, is socio-culturally framed. The tourist perceives certain things as interesting, beautiful or 'other', because their gaze is "conditioned by personal experiences and memories and framed by rules and styles, as well as by circulating images and texts of this and other places."<sup>93</sup> The tourist gaze therefore explains the influence of the visual representations of Spain; they helped shape the perception of other artists and people in general.

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<sup>93</sup> Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 2.



## Chapter 3: Visual analysis

This chapter focuses on the visual analysis and interpretation of the selected artistic representations.<sup>94</sup> The previously explained method of imagology provides the guideline for the approach.

### 3.1. Identification of topoi

As described in the method the first step is to identify certain topoi, by determining which aspects recur in the representations. The analysed artworks are selected on the basis of their representations of the popular theme of the ‘Spanish dancing woman’. Besides the stereotype of this particular Spanish woman, in these scenes there are also other recurring aspects that can be interpreted as signs of stereotypical ideas about Spain as a country. Therefore, a division is made between topoi recognized in the representation of the dancing women and in their surroundings. The topoi are arranged according to their frequency in the images. Only aspects that recur in more than six representations, are listed below in Table 1.<sup>95</sup>

Table 1. Topoi most frequently found in the 20 representations, sorted by highest frequency to lower frequency

Dancing woman	Setting
Beauty	Guitar music
Frivolous clothing <sup>96</sup>	Audience ( <i>fiesta/juerga</i> situation <sup>97</sup> )
Visible, very small feet	Outdoor (garden/courtyard)
Flower(s) in the hair	Flirting
Fair skin and light eyebrows <sup>98</sup>	Sunlight
One arm up, one arm down	Clapping
Curled hair on the cheek	Flat black hats with pompoms
Gitana features (dark hair and eyebrows, tanned skin)	Tambourine
Dancing alone	Drinking, smoking
Dancing with a man	Hat(s) on the floor
Jewellery	Andalusian (Moorish) architecture
Wrap	Indoor setting
Looking at the viewer	Bandanas (worn by men)
Castanets	Children

<sup>94</sup> A number of representations is included in this chapter; the rest can be found in Appendix A.

<sup>95</sup> A complete overview of the recurring topoi is presented in Appendixes B and C.

<sup>96</sup> Since ‘frivolous’ is a subjective adjective, this is what is meant by it in this context: the opposite of ‘sober’ and ‘simple’. So for instance rather colourful than neutral colours, wide skirts, possibly layered, and fancy looking fabrics with details such as ruffles and lace, et cetera.

<sup>97</sup> *Juerga* is the Spanish term for a binge, festivity, or celebration that usually includes drinking alcohol.

<sup>98</sup> In some of the representations it is difficult to identify the dancing woman as ‘white’ or ‘gitana’, because the facial features are not always clearly visible or seem to be rather in between.

### 3.1.1. Dancing women

To start with, almost all of the depicted dancing women can be described as attractive, i.e. fitting the general standards of beauty with features such as a slim figure, long hair, smooth skin and a well-proportioned face. All without exception have long dark hair, either dark brown or black, often decorated with flowers. The women wear their hair up and many of them wear one lock of hair curled on the cheek. They all wear dresses with a wide skirt, mostly layered dresses, sometimes with lace details or ruffles. Colours differ, as well as accessories such as wraps and jewellery. The majority of the women wears a dress that shows their elegantly small-sized feet, as well as the dance steps. The dancing is also clearly visualized through their arm movements; almost every woman is depicted in the same position, with one arm up above the head, and the other in front of the body at chest height or a bit lower. In some cases the dancing woman holds castanets in her hands.

Regarding their apparent ethnic origin, roughly two types can be distinguished: women with a fair skin, and women with a more coloured skin, often in combination with dark, heavy eyebrows. The latter also commonly have black hair rather than brown. These features are characteristic for the stereotype of the gypsy woman, a type that is often merged with the 'Spanish dancing woman', as the titles of the works show as well (six of twenty explicitly contain 'gypsy' or 'gitano/a'). Finally it is noteworthy that besides an attractive appearance, many of the women are represented even as sensuous. Strikingly, many of them look – seemingly seductively – right at the viewer.

### 3.1.2. Setting

In the settings of the dancing scenes also certain topoi can be identified. To begin with, in all scenes at least one guitar is depicted, making clear that the people are dancing to (Spanish) guitar music. Almost every scene involves an audience or dancing crowd, creating a lively, dynamic kind of atmosphere, what can be considered a *fiesta* or *juerga*. The fact that in most cases at least one of the spectators is drinking wine and/or smoking contributes to the impression of a light, casual atmosphere. The movement and dynamic are enhanced by clapping spectators and tambourine players. The tambourine is, moreover, an attribute that is typically associated with gypsies.<sup>99</sup>

Most of the scenes are situated outdoors, a garden or courtyard making the decor of the scene. Sometimes Andalusian architecture is part of the setting. These outdoor situations are highlighted with the suggestion of sunlight, created through contrasts of light and shadow and an

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<sup>99</sup> Lou Charnon-Deutsch. *The Spanish Gypsy : The History of a European Obsession*. Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004, p. 56, 85.

often warm, bright hue. These features suggest that the activities are taking place during the day. The fiestas situated indoors seem to take place in public places such as inns and taverns. In these indoor scenes there is often a window that provides a view of the Spanish landscape or architecture. Furthermore, it lets in daylight, showing again that the dancing activities happen during daytime.

In the audience are women, men and in several cases also children. The looks of the spectators are largely directed to the dancers, making them the focus of the scene. Male spectators seem to be especially relevant since their looks do not only express joy and admiration, but even lusty approval and flirtation (towards the dancers as well as towards other female bystanders). The men are regularly depicted wearing headgear: a flat, black hat with pompoms is most recurrent and besides, many men are wearing bandanas. Remarkable is that in many of the scenes we also see the mentioned black hats laying on the floor.

### 3.2. Deriving stereotypes

Although there are differences in the details of the depicted dancing women, there are a number of aspects that constitute a general stereotype of the Spanish dancing woman: she is attractive and elegant, dark-haired, cheerful, festively dressed, passionate and sensuous. For the French she embodied a Romantic feminine ideal that was the counterpart of their classical Venus type with her fair skin and delicate features.<sup>100</sup> The flirtatious looks and sensual appearance and movements make these representations sexually loaded, the more so for nineteenth century viewers. Especially for the French, who were accustomed to the graceful French ballet, the relatively short skirts of the Spanish women, revealing female ankles and calves, especially outside the context of a concert hall, gave the whole scene an erotic charge.<sup>101</sup> Amplified with the lusty looks of male observers, these representations do not only convey an idea of Spanish women as sensual and sexually available, but also of Spain as “a paradise of sexual freedom and opportunity for the foreign male traveller.”<sup>102</sup> An article published in 1867, commenting on John Phillip’s Spanish paintings, further demonstrates how Spanish women were seen as mere objects that displayed a distinct kind of picturesqueness and beauty:

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<sup>100</sup> The classical Venus type fitted the notions of Enlightenment and neoclassical style, while many French writers and artists at this time were trying to challenge precisely these principles and ideals; Luxenberg 1993, p. 15.

<sup>101</sup> Stratton-Pruitt 1993, p. 108.

<sup>102</sup> José F. Colmeiro. “Exorcising Exoticism: ‘Carmen’ and the Construction of Oriental Spain.” *Comparative Literature*, vol. 54, no. 2, 2002, p. 137.

Conjointly with his more elaborate representations of Spanish life, Mr. Phillip occasionally exhibits a single figure, probably a portrait of some *señora* whose handsome face, richly-costumed figure, and coquettish action have tempted him to transfer her form and features to his sketchbook; and certainly there are picturesque qualities in these high-born as well as lowly-born daughters of the South to justify any painter in taking artistic "proceedings against them". They seem to exist for his especial purpose, when he looks for peculiar characteristics of beauty and temperament of which they are a permanent and most striking type.<sup>103</sup>

This quotation reveals many interesting assumptions of the ways in which foreigners – the British in this case – looked at Spanish women. To begin with, the choice of the author to write *señora* instead of ‘Spanish woman’ seems to indicate that Spanish women were really considered a kind of their own, so that the Spanish name would fit better. However, in the context of Spanish women as being sexually available, the word choice is odd, since *señora* is used for married women. Unless the author happened to know the marital status of the depicted women, *señorita* would have been a more logical choice. The phrase “certainly there are picturesque qualities in these high-born as well as lowly-born daughters of the South” also provides several interesting features. While the picturesque was mostly directed to landscapes and to finding scenes in nature that looked well in a picture, in this quotation the author applies it to people, suggesting that people can also be viewed as merely ‘aesthetically pleasing’. The fact that the writer links the so-called ‘picturesque qualities’ of the women to their geographical origin also makes it a great example of the search for the picturesque in ‘faraway countries and cultures’, as discussed in the preceding chapter. Moreover, the phrase implies that both high-class and lower-class Spanish women had such qualities, which is notable since the previously discussed sources stressed the preference for the lower classes and their ‘simpler’ lives, as they were supposedly regarded more authentic.<sup>104</sup>

However, perhaps most intriguing about this review is that according to the writer these picturesque qualities “justify any painter in taking artistic “proceedings against them””. What does he mean by using the word “proceedings”? Why does he use an expression that is normally used in the context of legal matters? With this choice of words, in combination with “have tempted him” in the preceding sentence, the author seems to suggest that the women’s appearance is so inviting, irresistible even, that it is in a way criminal or dangerous. Or at least, it suggests that the artist did not have a choice but to capture their “handsome faces”, “richly costumed figures” and “coquettish action” in his drawings and paintings.

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<sup>103</sup> “Selected pictures. The Signal.” *The Art Journal*, vol. VI, 1867, p. 16.

<sup>104</sup> For instance, this was mentioned in: Brooke 1993, pp. 42-46.; MacCannell 1976, p. 3.

In sum, the review demonstrates that Spanish women were perceived as a unique, extraordinary kind, with special qualities unparalleled in the more northerly European countries like Britain. As such, it can be related to Roberto Dainotto's concept of Europe's internal opposition of the north versus the south, which he understands as a means for identity-formation. According to Dainotto the south functions as an "*internal Other: Europe, but also the negative part of it.*"<sup>105</sup> While the view of Spanish women at first may seem just admiring, so positive rather than negative, the review reveals that their intriguing appearance was also considered seductive and as such in a way dangerous.

### 3.2.1. La gitana

Besides the discussed general stereotypical ideas about Spanish women, two different types of Spanish women seem to be represented in the artworks. As has been noted, the iconography of the dancing Spanish woman in many cases overlaps with that of the Spanish gypsy, known as *gitana*.<sup>106</sup> This can be explained by the fact that gypsies were generally understood to be entertainers, with dancing being their trade that was perhaps considered most intriguing; it was regarded an expression of the primitive gypsy culture and their sensual creativity.<sup>107</sup> More specifically, gitanos became strongly associated with flamenco music and dance in the nineteenth century, because they contributed to the development of flamenco dance by interpreting Andalusian folk dances in a gypsy manner.<sup>108</sup> Coincidentally, gypsies, despite their typical nomadic character and presence all over Europe, became particularly associated with Spain, especially Andalusia.<sup>109</sup> Besides the physiognomic racial markers, which have been mentioned before, la gitana is stereotypically depicted with a flower in her hair, wearing a shawl over her shoulders and jewellery, and often a tambourine somewhere present in the scene.

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<sup>105</sup> Dainotto 2007, p. 4.

<sup>106</sup> *Gitana* is the Spanish word for a female gypsy. Male gypsies or Spanish gypsies in general are referred to as *gitanos*. Although I am aware of the derogatory connotations of the terms *gitano* and 'gypsy', and the fact that other terms might be more politically correct, I choose to use these words because they belong to the discourse and are inextricably linked to the construction of Spanish national identity.

<sup>107</sup> Stratton-Pruitt 1993, p. 108.

<sup>108</sup> Lucile Armstrong. "Notes on the Dances of Southern Spain." *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, vol. 4, no. 3, 1942, p. 101; The role of gypsies in the development of flamenco music and dance is disputable, as is explained further in paragraph 3.3.2. on the background of flamenco.

<sup>109</sup> Maria A. Dorofeeva. "'Lombroso Transformed Into Painting': Art, Criminology, and the Re-invention of the Spanish Gypsy." *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 15, no. 3, Autumn 2016, accessed online: [www.19thc-artworldwide.org/autumn16/dorofeeva-on-art-criminology-and-re-invention-of-the-spanish-gypsy#ftn18](http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/autumn16/dorofeeva-on-art-criminology-and-re-invention-of-the-spanish-gypsy#ftn18). Accessed 8-4-2019.

### 3.2.2. Spanish professional dancer

Besides the gitana, there is another stereotype of a sensual, exotic Spanish woman. She is depicted differently: with a lighter skin, more refined facial features and different kind of costume. Most of the scenes featuring this type of dancer do not contain a tambourine, while in some of them the dancer holds castanets. Furthermore, it is remarkable that the titles of some of these works explicitly refer to a specific kind of dance – the Bolero, la Cachucha and Flamenco – while in the representations of dancing gitanas merely descriptions like ‘dance’ and ‘gypsy dance’ are given in the titles, so without assigning a particular Spanish dance to their movements. From this one may infer that the dancing gypsies were perhaps generally viewed as entertaining amateurs, while the fair Spanish dancers were considered more skilled or professional even. This can be supported by the fact that according to experts, considering the difficulty of the bolero for instance, only “few dancers included it in their repertoires and it was practically beyond the abilities of amateurs.”<sup>110</sup> Moreover, most of the dancers that fit this ‘type’ are depicted dancing by themselves and not with a man. This too is typical for professional dancing: while the bolero is traditionally performed by a couple, it has developed greatly and is for stage purposes often danced by a girl on her own.<sup>111</sup>

It is notable that the majority of the selected Spanish painters chose to depict this apparent professional type of dancer, the woman with a fair skin and without gypsy attributes, while in the works by foreign artists there is clearly an emphasis on gypsy dancers. Knowing that gypsies in fact were a minority in Spanish society<sup>112</sup>, it makes sense that there were also numerous non-gypsy dancers. The fact that Spaniards depicted particularly the latter type of dancer, instead of the gypsies that fascinated foreigners so much, gives the impression that Spanish artists cared more about creating realistic representations, while foreign artists chiefly wanted to stress the exoticness of these events, in which case the gitana dancer was the better fit.

### 3.2.3. Sunny fiestas in Andalusia

The representations of the surroundings of the dancing women are revealing in terms of stereotypical ideas of Spain as a country. The popularity of the theme of dancing and making music, whether in a fiesta setting or not, itself highlights the important role of folk culture and tradition, in contrast to progress and modern decadence in France and Britain. In addition, the people dancing,

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<sup>110</sup> Carlos G. Navarro. “A Bolero Dancer.” *Museo Carmen Thyssen Málaga*. [www.carmenthysseomalaga.org/en/obra/una-bolera](http://www.carmenthysseomalaga.org/en/obra/una-bolera). Accessed 23-9-2019; Dr. Sandie Holguín, expert in the field of Modern European Intellectual and Cultural History and Modern Spain, reaffirmed that women who performed the bolero, would probably have been professional dancers.

<sup>111</sup> Armstrong 1942, p. 103.

<sup>112</sup> Colmeiro 2002, p. 130.

making music, clapping, drinking and flirting – all during daytime and with children there as well – construct an image of a country where people are loose, passionate and always ready to enjoy themselves. The emphasis on music, rhythm and the dancing itself further enhances that idea. The smoking men among the bystanders are also part of the stereotypical image of Spain; the cigarette was regarded as an emblem of the Spaniard, although the custom was quickly adopted by the French.<sup>113</sup>

The black hats with pompons that are often depicted in the pictures worn by the male spectators and dancers, or laying on the floor, can be identified as *sombrero calañes* (the flat model) and *catite* (the high pointy version).<sup>114</sup> Since these are both known as traditional Andalusian hats, the omnipresence of this particular headgear creates the impression that the party people are Andalusians. One can only speculate as to why there are in some scenes hats laying on the floor. A possible explanation is that it is a way of inviting spectators to reward the dancers with money for their performance.<sup>115</sup> In addition to the hats that refer to the regionality of the dancing scenes, the presence of Moorish-style architecture in many of the settings cannot go unnoticed. This undoubtedly is meant to place the events in Andalusia, as this southern region has most tangible and visible remainders of Al-Andalus.<sup>116</sup> Altogether the artists create the impression that these dancing parties or juergas predominantly took place in Andalusia, while at the same time reminding the viewer of Spain's exotic history.

The outdoor setting of the sun-drenched garden or courtyard highlights the warm climate and seemingly always sunny weather. Moreover, this way foreign artists might have tried to convey the 'special quality of the Spanish sun', which was assumedly a unique kind of light, incomparable to other sunny countries.<sup>117</sup> This special attention for Spanish sunlight in the paintings was also recognized by contemporaries. In an article on John Phillip's work published in 1873, the author states that Phillip's visits to Spain exposed his eye "to an entirely new set of impressions", including "the outside look of Spanish life, with its colour and sunshine, so different from the grey skies and kirkward bearing of the people of Aberdeen. (...) With much brilliancy, both of tone and colour, and a feeling for surface and detail that he had not shown before, the pictures of this period are

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<sup>113</sup> Luxenberg 1993, p. 21.

<sup>114</sup> Real Academia Española. "Sombrero." *Diccionario de la lengua española*. [dle.rae.es/?w=sombrero&origen=REDLE#LVMbFl7](http://dle.rae.es/?w=sombrero&origen=REDLE#LVMbFl7). Accessed 10-11-2019.

<sup>115</sup> There seems to be no proven knowledge on this phenomenon, but two experts in the field of Spanish cultural history suggested this explanation: Dr. Eric Storm, Leiden University and Dr. Sandie Holguín, University of Oklahoma.

<sup>116</sup> Al-Andalus was the name of the part of the Iberian peninsula that was under Muslim rule from the 8<sup>th</sup> century until 1492, when the Christian Reconquista was finalized.

<sup>117</sup> Luxenberg 1993, p. 19.

distinguished by a certain hardness, which looks like the impression of objects in strong sunshine upon an eye unaccustomed to the flood of light.”<sup>118</sup>

This review does not only confirm that viewers ‘at home’ also noticed the extraordinary brightness of the Spanish sun, it also exemplifies the fascination for otherness, as it was found in Spain. The colourful and sunny Spanish life and Phillip’s hometown Aberdeen with its grey skies and kirkward<sup>119</sup> people are presented here as two different worlds. This is further stressed by mentioning that Phillip’s eyes seemed not used to such a flood of light. It demonstrates how Spain was perceived and represented as significantly ‘different’ from, in this case, Scotland, and that this made it an interesting subject for the tourist-artist as well as for his audience back home. Thus, the previously discussed topoi like the manifold references to Andalusia – Spain’s most ‘different’ region, as well as the exuberance of the people and the emphasis on the warm, sunny climate, can similarly be understood as amplifications of Spain’s otherness.

As such, the reception of John Phillip’s Spanish-themed work provides a strong testimony to one of tourism’s key features: finding contrasts with the everyday life and experience. This review shows that this strong contrast was recognized in Phillip’s works by the people in his home country. This recognition can be viewed as a stimulus for tourism to Spain: people who viewed the paintings, might have felt inspired to experience this contrast in person.

### 3.3. Background of the stereotypes

The next step in the method of imagology is to look into the tradition of the topos: what is the background and perception of these stereotypes? How does their iconography relate to other (similar) depictions?

#### 3.3.1. Spanish gypsies

Even though travellers had, albeit in small numbers, visited Spain before it was ‘discovered’ as an interesting tourist destination, Spanish gypsies had remained unnoticed until the nineteenth century. Interest in the Spanish gypsy culture grew with the transition from Enlightenment to Romanticism, as the elements of the stereotype, as it was presented by writers and artists, fitted the Romantic taste very well.<sup>120</sup> For starters, gypsies were seen as a prehistoric race, that had not evolved

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<sup>118</sup> "PHILLIP'S PICTURES (Book Review)." *The Spectator*, vol. 46, no. 2337, Apr 12, 1873, pp. 475. *ProQuest*. ru.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.ru.idm.oclc.org/docview/1295295251?accountid=11795. Accessed 14-11-2019.

<sup>119</sup> ‘kirkward’ is an outmoded Scottish adverb, meaning ‘towards the church’.

<sup>120</sup> Colmeiro 2002, p. 128.

over time. As such they were viewed as people who were neither integrated in the ‘modern world’, nor into the Spanish national body, because of their reputation as successors to the Moors<sup>121</sup> and thus exoticized, marginalized outcasts. In other words, they were seen as Spain’s internal Other.

It is remarkable that gypsies became so central in Spain’s collective imagery, while in reality they were actually a marginality in society. The foreign (Romantic) fascination for their ‘otherness’ is, however, not the only reason for this. The Spanish themselves also contributed to it. As has been mentioned before, the Bourbon’s efforts to reform Spain by importing French and Italian models stirred Spanish nationalism. Besides costumbrismo painting, this nationalistic resistance against the French cultural hegemony was reflected in the conduct of the working classes and aristocracy in Madrid. They started to identify with and imitate customs of Madrid’s lower classes, which were considered most Spanish and authentic. As such, they would for instance dress like *majos* and *majas*, as well as embrace forms of popular entertainment that were seen as ‘typically Spanish’. Hence, with the intention of preserving Spanish national identity, music, (flamenco) dance and bullfights – originally amusement mostly for the lower classes – now received attention from a much broader public. Since Andalusians, *majos* and *gitanos* prevailed as performers in these forms of popular entertainment, they became identified with the clichés of Spanishness.<sup>122</sup>

The imitation of the lower classes by Spanish aristocrats shows similarities with Bhabha’s concept of mimicry as described earlier. In fact it demonstrates that mimicry, in the sense of an imitation that is ‘almost the same but not quite’, can also occur in opposite direction: from the people with the most power to the less powerful. In this case it is not the subordinated group (as are the colonized in Bhabha’s theory) that imitates the dominant, empowered people (the colonizers), but aristocrats mimicking lower classes by appropriating *majos*’ dressing style and other customs. Of course the aristocracy did not actually want to lower their status, so again the mimicry is not ‘pure’ for the sake of maintaining the difference between the two groups – except, in this case the preservation of that distinction was in the interest of the imitator instead of the imitated. The fact that high class people mimicked the lower class while maintaining their status could be seen as an attempt to escape the tourist gaze: although they looked, and to some extent acted like ‘picturesque subject matter’, they did not really fit in because they still belonged to the aristocracy and as such were not as authentic as the actual low-class *majos*.

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<sup>121</sup> In the early seventeenth century the remaining *moriscos* (former Muslims forced to convert to Christianity) were expelled, leaving vacant social positions that came to be filled in by *gitanos*. See Dorofeeva 2016.

<sup>122</sup> Colmeiro 2002, p. 130.

### 3.3.2. Flamenco

Although Spain has an extensive repertoire of folk dances, the flamenco dance, preferably performed by gypsies, has become most iconic for Spain's identity. Regarding the selected artistic representations that are the subject of this study, it is difficult to tell which exact dance is performed in each representation. However, since flamenco was so popular and defining, it seems justified to discuss it here.

Flamenco dances come in many forms and variations. Typical elements of flamenco dancing are snapping of fingers, the use of castanets, small finger cymbals and tambourines, and rhythmic tapping with shoes (*taconeado*). Altogether these require techniques that need years of practice. Nevertheless, the dance is very inclusive and was performed by the rich as well as the poor, and in any possible location whether it was a court, tavern or in the streets.<sup>123</sup> However, it started rather informal, before it moved to a more public arena such as the last mentioned venues.<sup>124</sup>

Flamenco dance was and still is especially associated with Spanish gypsies. This has got to do with several factors. In the first place, the Spanish guitar, the most indispensable element of flamenco, became associated with the low orders of society because its production was fairly inexpensive and the according playing style was easier to learn than classical guitar. It did not require a formal musical education or the ability to read notes. In addition, although the relation between gypsies and flamenco is in fact very complex, gitanos have been generally perceived to be the 'creators' of this dance as a result of their re-interpretation of Andalusian folk dances in their own manner.<sup>125</sup> Finally, Romantic artists such as Gustave Doré (1832-1883) reinforced the association between flamenco and gitanos because they often chose to depict particularly them as Spanish entertainers.<sup>126</sup>

Flamenco music and dance appealed to both Spanish chauvinists and foreign Romantics. For nineteenth-century people outside of Spain flamenco had both positive and negative connotations. To start with, flamenco music and dancing usually took part in a festive context, what in Spanish would be called 'juerga'. These juergas were perceived as immoral, since they were loud, uncontrollable, associated with lots of drinking and sexual desire. Moreover, during juergas,

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<sup>123</sup> Armstrong 1942, p. 101.

<sup>124</sup> Yuko Aoyama. "The Role of Consumption and Globalization in a Cultural Industry: The Case of Flamenco." *Geoforum*, vol. 38, no. 1, 2007, p. 105.

<sup>125</sup> Armstrong 1942, p. 101; Charnon-Deutsch 2004, p. 203; Charnon-Deutsch explains how there was a reciprocity between the gypsy performers who gathered to produce new dance forms (that eventually formed the basis of professionalized flamenco), and the illustrations of such activities that further popularized these gatherings thanks to their publishing in the costumbrista book *Escenas andaluces* (1847). It needs to be noted, however, that there is no consensus about the origin of flamenco. In short, the *gitanistas* proclaim flamenco's gypsy origin, while the *andalucistas* insist on a more generic Andalusian origin.

<sup>126</sup> Holguin 2019, pp. 30-32.

aristocrats – who were supposed to be moral and intellectual exemplars – mixed unashamedly with the lowest classes. At the same time, flamenco was regarded a proof that Spain as a country had continued to preserve traditions, while other countries had lost theirs.<sup>127</sup>

For Spaniards too, flamenco was viewed as something authentically Spanish in the midst of times when their land was being overrun by foreign ideas. The Bourbon monarchy at that time wanted to reform Spain, not only on an administrative level but also culturally. As Leerssen called the nineteenth century the ‘heyday of national thought’, it is not surprising that these reformations introduced by foreign authorities met with opposition from the Spanish population. The more the French tried to reform and modernize Spain, the more importance the citizens attached to their own values and characteristics of Spanish culture. As earlier mentioned, part of the nationalistic act of resistance was that working class people and aristocrats identified with the lower classes, especially the majos. They adopted the persona and dress of the majo/a, because their style was an exaggeration of traditional Spanish dress and as such strongly contrasted the French styles. Moreover, besides reacting against foreign dress, majos and majas firmly rejected the French and Italian music and dances that were being imported. They chose to dance Andalusian types of dances, which formed the basis of flamenco. As such flamenco, as a part of majo culture, increased in popularity simultaneously with the growing of (cultural) nationalism during the nineteenth century.<sup>128</sup>

Experts have stated that flamenco, as we know it today, cannot be seen separately from tourism. It is and was not ‘just’ a Spanish folkloric tradition tourists found entertaining, but from its first days there has been a continual interaction between tourists and flamenco that has shaped and moulded it. The observer’s (tourist’s) romanticized view of the (gypsy) dancers deeply influenced and shaped flamenco dance and culture.<sup>129</sup> This is the same for the images of Spain that were created through the representations of flamenco: they are as much a result of the tourist gaze and the romantic ideas that (artist) tourists created of Spain in their mind and on the canvas, as of what Spanish culture was actually like at the time. Flamenco shaped the tourist gaze and consequently the destination image of Spain, because people recognized in it otherness, exoticism and pre-modern tradition, but equally the tourist gaze shaped and in a way ‘created’ flamenco and as such reinforced Spain’s romantic and exotic appeal. Flamenco being so influential in foreigners’ perception of Spain also means that it becomes part of tourists’ expectations. By fulfilling these expectations, their idea

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<sup>127</sup> Holguin 2019, pp. 28-29.

<sup>128</sup> Holguin 2019, pp. 34-38.

<sup>129</sup> Yuko Aoyama. “Artists, Tourists, and the State: Cultural Tourism and the Flamenco Industry in Andalusia, Spain.” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 33, 2009, p. 84.

of the country is being confirmed and as such the tourist gaze is also influential in sustaining certain images of a country.<sup>130</sup>

### 3.3.3. Andalusia as stand-in for Spain

Although of course not only in Andalusia there were festive gatherings with (flamenco) dancing, the frequent references to Andalusian landscapes and Moorish architecture reveal the great preference and affinity for this particular southern region. Even Catalanian artists would often choose to situate their (Catalonian) dancer models in an Andalusian setting. Andalusia was the region that fascinated travellers and artists so much because it preserved the most influence of the Arab cultures and reminded of some kind of ‘earthly paradise’ from the past. Besides, it was associated with backwardness, passion and carefree living, as opposed to for instance northern provinces like Catalonia, which had a reputation as centre of industrialization and progress. Taken together, all this resulted in Andalusia being regarded as the region where Spain’s most authentic Spanish culture was to be found. In consequence, almost all attention concerning Spain was focused on Andalusia. The dancing scenes that are repeatedly located in Andalusian settings by their makers are an example of this. As a result, the stereotype of Spanish dancing (gypsy) woman became the iconographic motif of Andalusia – and as Andalusia came to represent Spain, the gitana was soon perceived as a stand-in for Spain, even though she was herself not Spanish but in fact an outsider.<sup>131</sup>

The use of Andalusia as a stand-in for Spain can be easily linked to exoticism and orientalism, two closely related movements within nineteenth-century art. Artists recognized in Spain some kind of ‘European Orient’ and as such focused particularly on these elements and characteristics of the country that enhanced that view. While orientalist art has been associated – especially since the publication of Edward Said’s book *Orientalism* – with othering and negative stereotyping of oriental regions, Alexander Macfie argues that it should rather be considered an analysis of the self, than a (disparaging) comment on the ‘other’. Given that the nineteenth century, “the age of nationalism”<sup>132</sup>, was an important era for national identity formation in Europe, Macfie’s statement seems also applicable to the exoticized representations of Spain. French and British artists’ emphasis on and amplification of Spain’s otherness can likewise be interpreted as a determination of their own countries’ identities. By way of othering, these artists created an opposition between Spain and their

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<sup>130</sup> Storm 2017, pp. 239-261.

<sup>131</sup> Dorofeeva 2016.

<sup>132</sup> Hans Kohn. “Nationalism.” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Oct 14, 2019. [www.britannica.com/topic/nationalism](http://www.britannica.com/topic/nationalism). Accessed 18-11-2019.

homeland, which would have given them insight not only in the individuality of Spain, but also in the character of their own nation.

When looking at the French and British artworks this way, John McKenzie's view on orientalist art can also be extended to these representations. McKenzie interprets the stereotypical way of portraying the east in orientalist art as a "desire to escape from the constraints and imperfections of European life". Although in the case of foreign artists depicting Spain it concerns northern Europe versus the south as contended by Dainotto, instead of the West versus the East, this interpretation seems appropriate. There was a widespread belief in great difference between the northern and the southern countries of Europe. An important aspect in this regard is that the north was modern and progressive, while the south was primitive and 'ancient'. The fast changing modern society in the northern countries fostered nostalgia for the simpler life of the past or of other, less developed cultures. The Spanish dancing scenes provided a great escape from the difficulties of modern society: they symbolized tradition and folk culture, a carefree lifestyle, joy, sexual freedom and passion. By extension, since contrast with one's own culture and daily experiences and finding 'truth' and authenticity in purer lifestyles are important motivations for tourism, it is likely that the dance-paintings encouraged other travellers to visit Spain too.

At the same time, the 'exoticizing' or 'othering' effect can also be recognized in some of the artworks made by Spanish artists. For instance, Antonio Cabral Bejarano depicted the Torro del Oro, a Moorish monument in Seville, in the background of *A Bolero dancer* (1842, Fig. 13 in Appx. A) and the dancers depicted by Joaquín Domínguez Bécquer (1817-1879) in *Baile andaluz* (1834, Fig. 14 in Appx. A) are unmistakably gypsies. This 'self-orientalizing' and focus on gypsies can on the one hand be understood as a commercial choice: Spanish artists realized there was a vogue for Spanish subjects and exotic subjects, so in order to be able to compete on the export market, they painted what potential buyers liked.<sup>133</sup> On the other hand, these paintings can be placed in the costumbrismo movement. This was in fact, in its own way, also about stereotyping (capturing *tipos*) and zooming in on the unique characteristics of regions and places in order to capture the distinct local characters of regions and their inhabitants. However, there were certainly also Spanish painters that did not comply with the exoticizing gaze. This will be discussed in the section on contra-stereotypes of Spain.

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<sup>133</sup> Hopkins 2016, pp. 8-11.

### 3.3.4. The gaze

It has been mentioned before that in many of the representations flirtation is noticeable between men and women, and that these images overall had an erotic charge for nineteenth-century spectators. Gazing plays an important part in this. First, there is the male gaze. All of the selected artworks are made by male artists, which means that all dancing Spanish women are depicted from a masculine perspective. Moreover, the men depicted in the audience gaze at the dancing women, which creates an imbalance of power between the gazer and the gazed: the gazer is empowered while the gazed, the female dancers, are being sexualized and framed by male desire.<sup>134</sup> On top of that, the dancers are captured in paintings and drawings, which reduces them to a two-dimensional object and as such makes them even more mere objects of male desire. This is comparable to the act of photographing, which Urry describes as a way to tame the object of the gaze. To photograph, or in this case to draw or paint something, means to dominate and appropriate it in a way.<sup>135</sup> So the sexual politics in these paintings are present both in the relations between the men and women depicted and the relationship of the painters and their subject.

In addition, the male gaze overlaps with the tourist gaze since the artistic representations were created in part by tourist-artists, and predominantly aimed at a foreign market. Because of the flirtation and gazing depicted in these scenes, (armchair) tourists are stimulated and in a way authorized to watch the Spanish dancers in a similar, sexual way. Naturally, it is of importance here to take into consideration the different backgrounds and gazes of respectively Spanish and foreign artists; this will be discussed further on in paragraphs 3.4.3.-3.4.5. on traditions in painting.

## 3.4. Contra-stereotypes and differences in portraying traditions

Now that the constructed stereotypes and their backgrounds extensively have been discussed, the aspects in the visual representations that do not seem to fit in need to be examined. What elements or artworks do deviate from these general images of Spain and Spanish female dancers? How should we understand them? Consequently, representations of French, British and Spanish artists are compared: in what ways do they differ and why?

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<sup>134</sup> Janice Loreck. "Explainer: what does the 'male gaze' mean, and what about a female gaze?" *The Conversation*. Jan 5, 2016. [theconversation.com/explainer-what-does-the-male-gaze-mean-and-what-about-a-female-gaze-52486](https://theconversation.com/explainer-what-does-the-male-gaze-mean-and-what-about-a-female-gaze-52486). Accessed 16-10-2019.

<sup>135</sup> Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 169.

### 3.4.1. Dancing women

It has been noted before that overall two types of Spanish dancing women can be identified within the selected representations. Some of the women are unmistakably depicted as gitanas, with specific physical features and associated attributes such as a tambourine and wrap, while others are clearly represented as professional dancers, with their lighter skin, more sophisticated appearance and sometimes apparent bolero-movements. However, there are also some artistic representations of which the dancer cannot be easily categorized, such as the two works by John Frederick Lewis: *A Fiesta in the south of Spain, peasants dancing the Bolero* (1836, Fig. 1) and *The Fiesta at Granada* (1835-1836, Fig. 2). Regarding the first one, the title already causes confusion: the bolero was mostly performed by professionals, but ‘peasants’ rather refers to amateurs casually dancing at a spontaneous gathering. Both of the dancing women depicted in these two paintings do not have the particular tanned skin and dark eyebrows that are visible in other ‘gypsy’-paintings, nor do they clearly have the features of the professional lady dancer. Both women do wear flowers in their hair (although this was stereotypical for Spanish women in general), but neither of them seems to be wearing a shawl over their shoulders or any notable jewellery. Their surroundings also tell ambiguous stories: in the first mentioned scene a woman in the audience plays the tambourine, and possibly the dancers play castanets (this is not clearly visible). In the other scene the dancers noticeably play castanets and there is no tambourine present. Although the tambourine and castanets respectively could indicate the background of the dancers, it seems there are too many inconsistent factors to draw an unambiguous conclusion. It is almost as if the painter wanted to leave it open for interpretation – or he simply was not aware of the iconographic traditions.

An even more interesting case is the print *Un bayle de gitanos* (Fig. 3) by Jenaro Pérez Villaamil<sup>136</sup>, taken from the travel book *España artística y monumental* (1842-1850).<sup>137</sup> The lack of colour makes it a bit harder to identify the dancers, but according to the caption they are Spanish gypsies. Judging by her appearance however, a viewer might interpret the dancing woman differently: she does not wear a flower in her hair, and looking at her dance movement and white dress with particular cut and pointed hem, she seems to be a bolero dancer.<sup>138</sup> Does this mean that the two established stereotypes, that of the gitana and the professional dancer, in some cases merged?

<sup>136</sup> To be correct, it must be mentioned that in the book is written ‘*Blequer dibujo*’ (drawn by Blequer) and ‘*G.P. de Villaamil dirigió*’ (directed by G.P. de Villa-amil). However, since nothing is known about an artist named Blequer and Pérez Villaamil as editor had authority over all content, here I refer to him as the creator.

<sup>137</sup> P. Escosura. *España Artística y Monumental: vistas y descripción de los sitios y monumentos más notables de España* (1842-1850). 3 vols, Paris, 1842-1850.

<sup>138</sup> Navarro. *A Bolero Dancer*.



Figure 1. John Frederick Lewis. *A Fiesta in the south of Spain, peasants dancing the Bolero*. 1836, Bristol City Museum, Bristol.



Figure 2. John Frederick Lewis. *The Fiesta at Granada*. 1835-1836, Harris Museum & Art Gallery, Preston.

Then, this could be seen as an attempt of Pérez Villaamil to correct the stereotypical ideas of gitanos as merely entertainers and the occupation of professional dancer only being available to ‘genuinely Spanish’ women. On the other hand, by combining these two things (the gypsy persona and the bolero dance and costume) this picture may have appealed all the more to (foreign) viewers because both were considered characteristic for Spain. The book for which this illustration was created has a Spanish title, but the captions accompanying the images are written in both Spanish and French which reveals that it was also aimed at a foreign readership.<sup>139</sup> However, as the creating writers and artists were Spanish, it may be assumed that they valued authenticity and truthfulness in order to produce a correct (although romanticized) reflection of their own country and culture. Thus, it becomes credible that gitanos in fact could be professionally skilled and were more than just amusing entertainers as the stereotype suggests.



Figure 3. Blequer. *Un bayle de gitanos*. 1842-1850, from *España artística y monumental: vistas y descripción de los sitios y monumentos más notables de España* (1842-1850), by Patricio de la Escosura & Genaro Pérez Villaamil (ed.), unpaginated.

<sup>139</sup> Escosura 1842-1850.

### 3.4.2. Spain

Besides the dancers, there are other interesting aspects that seem to deviate from the general stereotypes. For instance, in five of the representations there is a big jar present somewhere in the setting, either standing on the ground or carried by one of the spectators. These are most likely water jars, probably referring to the motif of the Spanish water carrier or water seller (*aguador/a*). This trade was associated with the lower class, particularly gypsies, who could usually not afford wine. Besides, the custom of offering water as a drink at such a festive gathering, rather than wine, was notable to the French and has been interpreted as a sign of the Spaniards' sober, ascetic lifestyle.<sup>140</sup> This is remarkable as it contrasts strongly with the previously established image of Spaniards as a passionate and loose people, always ready to enjoy themselves, preferably while consuming considerable amounts of alcohol.

However, if artists did indeed include the jars to refer to this different characteristics of Spanish lifestyle, there is one work that does not really fit in. In *A Fiesta in the south of Spain, peasants dancing the Bolero* (1836, Fig. 1) John Frederick Lewis depicted both a woman carrying a water jar and a man eagerly drinking wine. Would Lewis have been unaware of the connotation of the *aguador* motif, or was he ahead of the other painters, because he referred to the mixing of lower and higher class people that was customary at such *juergas*? The fact that Lewis depicted the *aguadora* with the jar carried on the head, quite unconventional since the jars were usually carried on the back, may be another sign that Lewis strayed from iconographic traditions. So perhaps Lewis just incorporated symbols that he had seen in other images of Spain, without taking into account their connotations.

Another interesting matter that derogates from the established stereotypical image of Spain is the number of indoor dancing scenes within the selection. These scenes contrast quite strongly with the majority of the scenes, which are situated in sunny outdoor settings.<sup>141</sup> The indoor locations seem to be public spaces such as inns, taverns and in one case a fair *caseta*, which is a furnished tent, installed for the occasion of a *feria* (fair or festival). The geographic location is much less clear in these indoor settings. As such, these scenes instantly come across as 'less Spanish' than for instance a scene like Alfred Dehodencq's (1822-1882) *A Gypsy dance in the gardens of the Alcazar* (1851, Fig. 4), which is located at the Real Alcazar (Seville). Beloved and stereotypical elements such as Arabic architecture and the bright Spanish sunlight barely get a place in these indoor scenes, which makes

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<sup>140</sup> Stratton-Pruitt 1993, p. 106.

<sup>141</sup> As the topoi overview in Appendix C shows, except for one all foreign representations are situated outdoors, while half of the Spanish artists chose for an indoor setting.

it possible to interpret them as attempts to escape from the exoticizing gaze. Moreover, like the Spanish artists' preference for non-gypsy dancers, this choice for depicting dancers indoors can be considered a sign of more truthful representation. Even though the outdoor sunny scenes may have appealed more to foreign artists and perhaps customers alike, there were also juergas and fiestas taking place in venues like these. Omitting these scenes altogether would result in an unrepresentative view of Spanish culture.



Figure 4. Alfred Dehodencq. *A Gypsy dance in the gardens of the Alcazar, in front of Charles V Pavilion*. 1851, Colección Carmen Thyssen-Bornemisza.

### 3.4.3. Recognizing traditions: gitanas versus professionals

Some remarkable differences between British, French and Spanish artists in their way of representing the Spanish dance theme have already been mentioned. I will now look further into these different portraying traditions and what this reveals about perceptions of Spain. Most remarkable are perhaps the different preferences of foreign and Spanish artists for the 'type' of dancer. The British and French artists favoured the gypsy dancer, including stereotypical accessories and attributes such as the wrap, tambourine and jewellery. Although in some cases their dancers cannot be identified with certainty as gypsies, neither do they clearly look like professional dancers in the way they are depicted by Spanish artists. By contrast, except for two all of the Spanish artists

chose to depict visibly non-gypsy, most probably professional dancers. The difference can also be seen in their company: in the majority of the Spanish representations the women dance by themselves and only a few times a dancing couple is depicted. In the foreign representations it is exactly the other way around. Since a girl dancing on her own was most common for professional performances, this can be seen as a confirmation of the Spaniards' preference to depict professional dancers.

The choice for different types of dancers could be explained by several factors. First, British and French artists were attracted to the gitanos because of their low social status, which was associated with that simpler lifestyle that they admired. Besides, the gypsies' outsider status may have made them even more fascinating to the Romantic artists. Just like northern Europeans were attracted to Spain's 'exotic' status as a land 'in between' Europe and Africa, 'belonging fully to neither continent', they might have had an exoticized, romantic view of gypsies: a nomadic people, free and not bound to any place or country even. In reality however, the gitanos were a marginalized group within Spanish society and as such probably less admired by their compatriots. Moreover, since gypsies were a minority group, it is plausible that in reality the majority of the Spanish dancers were non-gypsy women. Thus, the dancing scenes created by Spanish artists may be a better reflection of the actual situation. However, it must be taken into consideration that this distinction between gitanos and professional dancers perhaps was in fact not as strict as it seems. After all, the print made by Pérez Villaamil shows a gitana professionally performing the bolero.

In any case, by and large in nearly all of the representations, foreign as well as Spanish-made, the overarching stereotype of the Spanish woman can be recognized: beautiful and slim, moving elegantly and sensually, wearing flowers in her dark hair and a dress with a wide skirt that explicitly shows her tiny feet. It is interesting how these delicate small feet were apparently somehow regarded as a special feature, characteristic of Spanish women. The admiration of the women's feet was for instance a recurrent theme in French literature and painting,<sup>142</sup> but the works selected for this study demonstrate that the tiny feet also caught the attention of British and Spanish artists. Nonetheless, it is probable that for some artists – maybe the Spanish in particular – the focus on the feet was not so much about this (partly erotic) admiration of their elegant small size, but rather about the dance steps the women were performing.

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<sup>142</sup> Lipschutz 1972, p. 156.

### 3.4.4. Recognizing traditions: flirting versus voyeurism

Another interesting point is that in the Spanish paintings the dancing women are more often depicted looking toward the viewer, while only two of the foreign artists directed their dancer's look at the viewer. How can we interpret this in relation to the stereotypical image of Spanish women as sensual and seductive? The compositional structure of a woman looking toward the viewer had been used by many artists before, including Murillo and Goya.<sup>143</sup> This way they made the (implied male) viewer a participant in the flirtation.<sup>144</sup> In almost all of the foreign paintings, however, the gazing solely takes places between the characters in the picture. In this case the viewer's gaze is not being returned thus he becomes a voyeur, enjoying the flirtations that are going on without being involved. It ties in with the position of the tourist(-artist), who is an outsider removed from the actual Spanish life.<sup>145</sup>

There is one work, however, that is particularly interesting to discuss in this regard: *Life among the gypsies, Seville* (1853, Fig. 5) by John Phillip. This is the only image within the selection that includes the artist himself. The Scottish painter John Phillip went to Spain for the first time in 1851 and got so fascinated with the Andalusian landscape and people as a subject for his painting, that he returned multiple times afterwards and even was nicknamed 'Spanish Phillip'. Phillip was especially attracted to exotic genre scenes of Spanish rural and street-life and these type of paintings were very well received.<sup>146</sup> In *Life among the gypsies* he painted himself attending an outdoor gypsy fiesta, together with another non-Spanish man, which is probably the Swedish artist Egron Lundgren who was also working in Seville at the time.<sup>147</sup> The gazing in this picture is of a different kind: not only did the artist involve himself in the fiesta by literally depicting himself as one of the spectators, the way the dancing gitana looks at him further emphasizes his presence and turns him into a participant instead of a voyeur. Moreover, because of the gitana's look, as well as glances from some other spectators in the scene, our look automatically is directed to the two foreign men as well. They look clearly different from the Spanish people in the picture, in the way they are dressed and groomed, which is given extra emphasis by directing our view to them.

In short, the integration of the artist himself in the scene seems to have a paradoxical effect: on the one hand it changes him from an outsider to a participant, however, at the same time the

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<sup>143</sup> Francisco de Goya and Bartolomé Murillo are sometimes regarded precursors of costumbrismo painting and significantly influenced the costumbristas.

<sup>144</sup> Mary Elizabeth Boone. "Bullfights and Balconies: Flirtation and Majismo in Mary Cassatt's Spanish Paintings of 1872-73." *American Art*, vol. 9, no. 1, 1995, p. 63.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Queen Victoria loved Phillip's Spanish-themed work and bought and commissioned multiple paintings.

<sup>147</sup> Egron Lundgren mentions John Phillip in his diary of April 1852 and wrote that besides working hard, they sometimes spent some time with the 'rabble' rather than with 'good-natured but dull people'.

gazes highlight the fact that he is so different from the locals. Needless to say, the emphasis on the differences between these people representing respectively the south and the north, again can be seen as a sign of othering. How better to draw attention to the Spanish' and gypsies' exoticness, than to contrast them directly to a tall, blond and sophisticated Scottish man?



Figure 5. John Phillip. *Life among the gypsies, Seville*. 1853, Private collection.

### 3.4.5. Recognising traditions: differences in settings

Besides the people depicted, some other interesting aspects can be detected in the settings. In the foregoing pages, many of the indoor dancing scenes have been interpreted as contra-stereotype, since they form a striking contrast with the many sunlit outdoor scenes. What makes them even more interesting, is that these are all except one works by Spanish artists. More specifically, four out of ten of the Spanish representations are situated indoors, against just one out of ten foreign representations. The suggestion I made earlier, that these scenes can be seen as 'escape' or even 'correction' of the exoticizing gaze, becomes more convincing knowing that they are made by Spanish artists. After all, one may justifiably assume that they looked differently at the traditions and folk events of their own culture than the British and French artists and with a different interest. In line with costumbrista painting, Spanish artists wanted to capture local customs and people, just as they were, in order to create a correct image. They did not need to highlight the sunny weather, as is done

in many of the outdoor scenes, because they were used to the Spanish weather conditions and did not consider it to be special or typical for any certain region. For foreign artists on the other hand, the British in particular, this bright and warm sunshine was perceived as something characteristic of Spain and it was these characteristics that they wanted to convey. It needs to be mentioned, however, that one of the foreign representations is significantly different from the others: David Wilkie's (1785-1841) *Spanish dance* (1827, Fig. 6). This watercolour is more of a sketch than a finished painting and therefore not as detailed. Nevertheless, it is evident that this small dancing scene is located indoors, and there is no sign of sunlight or the bright and warm hues that characterize most other images. On the contrary, Wilkie used rather soft and neutral colours, including for the people's clothing, which gives the scene a remarkably sober look. Moreover, the costume of the dancing woman looks nothing like the outfits of women in other representations – both foreign and Spanish. Not only is it not as colourful, the dress is also very plain without layers or ruffles and the corset and white hood are not part of any of the costumes of the other dancers. In fact, her costume rather reminds us of women that Wilkie depicted in other, typically Scottish scenes, such as *The Penny Wedding* (1818).



Figure 6. David Wilkie. *Spanish Dance*. 1827, William Morris Gallery, London.

Another notable difference within the settings is the presence of fans, an object that became part of stereotypical Spanish dress in the eighteenth century.<sup>148</sup> In just a few of the selected representations a fan is depicted, always held by a woman, but interestingly these are all works by British or French artists. This typical Spanish object is not part of any of the representations made by Spanish artists. This may have to do with the romantic connotations of the Spanish fan (*abanico*), for more than a fashion statement and a means to cool off, fans were used by women to signal their amorous intentions.<sup>149</sup> A substantiated clarification of why some foreign artists did and the Spanish did not depict fans would require an analysis of contemporary Spanish dress and corresponding connotations, which unfortunately is beyond the scope of this study. However, it is likely that British and French artists were aware of the fan's function as courtship instrument and that this was a reason for them to incorporate the object in their scenes. As such, the symbol of the fan ties in with stereotypical ideas of Spain as a 'paradise of sexual freedom and opportunity' and supposed sexual availability of Spanish women.

Finally, the aforementioned water jars provide interesting insight in the discrepancies between hetero-images and self-images. Just like the fans, the water jars are only depicted in the foreign artworks (five out of ten), and none of the Spanish artists included this topos. If we presume that to a certain extent the Spanish artworks are more authentic than the foreign representations, this could be another aspect that demonstrates this. The aguador in itself was a popular type, for both foreigners and Spaniards themselves. It had been the subject of many paintings already in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries<sup>150</sup>, which helped construct the tipo or stereotype. As a result, the aguador featured in nineteenth-century costumbrista accounts such as *Los españoles pintados por sí mismos* (*The Spaniards painted by themselves*, 1843), in which typically Spanish customs, occupations and 'types' of people were collected.<sup>151</sup> This shows that the water seller motif was loved by both Spaniards and foreigners, and was in general perceived as characteristic of Spain. Nonetheless, Spanish artists did not include it in their dancing scenes. On the contrary, in half of the Spanish paintings people are depicted drinking alcohol.

Thus, apparently, in the eyes of locals the water seller did not fit in this context because people rather drank wine at these occasions. That means the topos of the water seller would have

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<sup>148</sup> Zahira Veliz. "Signs of Identity in 'Lady with a Fan' by Diego Velázquez: Costume and Likeness Reconsidered." *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 86, no. 1, 2004, p. 82.

<sup>149</sup> Dale Fuchs. "A modern take on the old Spanish fan." *The New York Times* 21-08-2006. Accessed digitally: [www.nytimes.com/2006/08/21/style/21iht-ffans.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2006/08/21/style/21iht-ffans.html). Accessed 20-11-2019.

<sup>150</sup> Perhaps one of the most famous representations of the aguador, which undoubtedly was known to the nineteenth-century artists, is Velázquez's *The Waterseller of Seville* (1618-1622).

<sup>151</sup> Ignacio Boix (ed.). *Los españoles pintados por sí mismos*. Madrid, 1843-1844. *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica*. [bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000016568&page=1](http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000016568&page=1). Accessed 13-11-2019.

been used incorrectly by the British and French artists, perhaps to add more ‘Spanishness’ to their scenes, or more specific, to emphasize the peculiar habit to drink water during a festivity – even if this was in fact not the case, as the Spanish representations suggest. It is a peculiar observation, that becomes even more odd when considering the fact that in only two foreign representations a person drinking alcohol is depicted. This does not exactly fit the previously established stereotype of Spanish people as ‘always’ partying, dancing and drinking – even during daytime. As such, to refer back to Leerssen’s imagological theory, the use and omission of this topos demonstrates that representations do not reflect one existing nationality, but rather constitute possible different identifications, which can even seem contradictory.

### 3.5. Hetero-images versus self-images

From the traditions as discussed above it can be concluded that, as expected, images that Spanish artists created of their country and culture (the self-images) are different from the hetero-images created by British and French (tourist-)artists. On some levels they do resemble each other, which provides the patterns from which stereotypes and overarching general ideas have grown. However, significant differences reveal that Spanish and non-Spanish artists did certainly have different interests and approaches. Foreign artists for example highlighted the sunlight and bright colours, the role of gypsies as entertainers, the carefree, joyful Spanish lifestyle and Andalusian scenery and dress. While some of these elements also recur in the representations made by Spanish artists, they deal with them differently: weather conditions are clearly less prominent, most of their dancers are non-gypsy and indoor settings make the geographic location of the scene of less importance. Another significant difference is that tourist-artists reinforce their outsider-position by creating a voyeuristic view, while Spanish artists rather involve the viewer into the scene.

In brief, one can say that Spanish artists had a different focus, partly due to the general nationalistic fever in Spain. On the one hand they focused on the unique, outstanding aspects of their country and culture in order to capture and highlight Spain’s individuality, while on the other hand there was an urge to create a rather realistic view. Of course also the commercial benefits of romanticizing and exoticizing the Spanish subjects must have affected their choices. However, the contra-stereotypes found in the representations made by Spanish artists, especially those that recur in multiple representations, suggest that the self-images indeed in some ways are ‘corrective’ or at least more truthful (thus less exoticized) renderings of Spain and Spanish culture. The fact that neither water jars, nor fans appear in any of these works, while they do occur in several of the hetero-images, is a good example of this. Although foreign artists may have associated these objects with

Spain and therefore depicted them, to locals they were apparently not appropriate for these particular scenes, so they left them out.

However, it should also be noted that not all British and French works are equally exoticizing. David Wilkie's sober-looking watercolour best exemplifies this, although it is also an exception in this regard. Moreover, the foreign artists are not consistent in their use of topoi. On the one hand the loose, passionate and carefree Spanish lifestyle is highlighted by focusing on the fact that fiestas took place during the day, with alcohol and public flirtations included and all in the presence of small children. On the other hand, however, the water jars that are part of multiple fiesta settings, refer to a sober and ascetic lifestyle.

## Chapter 4: Conclusions

In the foregoing paragraph the main points have been presented with regard to differences in painting traditions of Spanish and non-Spanish artists, which answers the final sub-question of this thesis: In what ways do representations from Spanish origin differ from representations created by foreigners and why? Before returning to the main research question, it is useful to also briefly recapitulate the most important findings of the literature review and visual analysis. In the first two chapters I have discussed the historical and art historical context in which the re-imagining and rediscovery of Spain took place. Spain's peculiar characteristics that put off early tourists at the time of the Grand Tour turned into attractive features from the late eighteenth century onwards. Romanticism, exoticism and a new curiosity for the picturesque turned 'un-European' into 'exotic', 'backward' into 'traditional' and 'uncivilized and barbaric' into 'pure and authentic'. Artists were among the first foreigners to view and represent Spain in this new light, making their representations influential in this re-imagining process. At the same time Spanish artists were motivated to depict their own country both because of the interest in Spanish-themed art, and because of the nationalistic sense that had risen as a form of resistance against foreign influences.

In order to comprehend the impact of visual representations on the formation of Spanish national identity, I have discussed a number of relevant theoretical concepts. Since the main research question implies that Spain was presented as an exotic place, concepts of major importance are 'othering' and 'orientalism'. Othering is significant for two reasons: in the context of national identity formation, as in the nineteenth century national character conventionally came to be defined based on those aspects in which a nation differs most from others; and at the same time, the 'Other' is also key in tourism, because difference is what attracts and motivates people to travel. The concept of the tourist gaze explains why people view certain things as 'other', or beautiful or interesting: a tourist's way of seeing is socio-culturally framed. This idea also explains how visual representations helped change perceptions of Spain. Although Spain is not part of the Orient, the orientalist paradigm is helpful in understanding Spain's complex position: due to Spain's Islamic history the country – Andalusia in particular – has been framed by the West as an 'Oriental' space; at the same time, Spain is European, but as part of the south it belongs to Europe's (marginalized) 'internal other'.

Drawing upon these concepts, I have identified general stereotypical views of Spain and connotations that these stereotypes carry. This relates to the first two sub-questions of the analysis: What stereotypes are constructed in nineteenth-century representations of Spanish folkloric dancing scenes? and: Which connotations do these stereotypes carry and what does this reveal about perceptions of Spain? The most important stereotypes that were derived from the twenty dance-

themed representations are, in short: the sensuous and uniquely beautiful Spanish woman, the outcast and primitive gitana, flamenco as a symbol of sensuality, tradition and authentic Spanish culture, Spain as a premodern country of tradition, passion and sexual opportunity, and oriental Andalusia, the region of flamenco and Spanish culture in its most authentic form. These stereotypes together indeed created an attractive, exotic view of Spain, as well as an idea of Spain as being unique and significantly different from other European countries, worth visiting. However, in answering the third sub-question, “What elements do not fit the stereotypical images and how can we interpret those?”, I have demonstrated that there are also contra-stereotypes. Most significant are the water jars that refer to a sober, ascetic lifestyle, Pérez Villaamil’s professional gypsy dancer and the (indoor) scenes without sunshine and/or references to Andalusia.

With these findings in mind, I now revisit the main research question: In what ways did nineteenth-century Spanish and foreign artists respectively contribute to the re-imaging of Spain as an exotic, desirable place for foreigners to visit?

The analysis shows that the artworks of Spanish dancers contain many elements that are revealing with regard to image and identity formation of Spain. Yet, as is the case in many (art) historic studies, it is difficult to determine how such historic images were perceived by contemporary viewers. Nevertheless, it is likely that the representations of Spanish dancing women had a share in the formation of a romantic, exotic idea of Spain. For the British and the French, Spain’s exotic appeal, as it was highlighted in, for instance, travel journals, made it feel remote and mysterious. As such, Spain provided a perfect opportunity for foreign Romantic artists on which to project their fantasies. Spanish subjects, such as these dancing scenes, gave them the opportunity to create their own “other place”, which Dean MacCannell described as an ultimate destination symbolically holding every tourist desire. Moreover, the female dancers allowed for the tourist-artists to project their erotic phantasies. It makes sense that many of the scenes are situated by their makers in Andalusia, because this southernmost part of Spain with its many remainders of the Arab cultures was most closely associated with the Orient, and thus felt most different and unknown.

Spanish artists obviously were in a different position. From their perspective, the dancing scenes were not something extraordinary happening in some mysterious country ‘far away’, but events that were part of their own culture, taking place in a context that was familiar to them. Nevertheless, some exoticized topoi and stereotypes, such as the sensuality of Spanish women and flamenco dance, the outcast gitana character and Andalusian Islamic monuments, are also part of their representations. In part this can be ascribed to Spain’s internal sense of other, which came from oppositions between for instance the northern, progressive and industrial region of Catalonia

versus backward and traditional Andalusia, and the ‘legitimate’ Spaniards versus the non-integrated, marginalized gitano community. Additionally, it relates to nationalistic costumbrista painting: in order to capture and highlight Spain’s individuality, Spanish painters focused on those features that made their nation stand out from other nations. At the same time however, an urge to create truthful representations could be identified, in some cases even possible attempts to correct foreign exoticizing views. Jenaro Pérez Villaamil’s gypsy bolero dancer is an example of that, as with this figure the artist seems to show that gitanas could also be professional dancers, and thus the stereotypical distinction between these two dancer types is incorrect. That said, it also needs to be pointed out that not all British and French works are equally exoticizing. This is exemplified by David Wilkie’s sober-looking watercolour and artists’ use of topoi that is in some cases even contradictory. Thus, in line with Joep Leerssen’s statement, these artistic representations demonstrate that there is far from one ‘real’ national identity, but rather different identity-images that exist alongside each other.

In sum: both Spanish and non-Spanish artists contributed to the imaging of Spain as an exotic destination that was attractive for foreigners to visit, but on both ends there are also indications of dissent. The contra-stereotypes are, however, more convincing as such in the representations of Spanish artists, since they had comprehensible motivations to represent their country and culture rather faithfully, while the assumed contra-stereotypes in British and French works seem less deliberate; they could also be ascribed to artists’ unawareness of certain iconography and connotations.

This comparative analysis aims to provide a comprehensive and nuanced view on the role of artistic visual representations in Spain’s image and identity formation, by paying equal attention to both hetero-images and self-images instead of focusing on either one. Analysing how Spanish and foreign artists each dealt with certain aspects of ‘Spanishness’ provides a clearer insight into their respective contributions to the exoticization of Spain and as such to the national identities that Spain acquired in the nineteenth century which are, in large part, still relevant today.

Thus, the first part of the research question, in which ways Spanish and non-Spanish artists created exotic, attractive images of Spain, has been answered. The second part of the question implies that these images turned Spain into a place of interest for foreign tourists and as such contributed to the rise of foreign tourism to the country. Although it is not possible within this study to examine a direct correlation between this artistic imagery and the development of tourism, conclusions can be drawn from the visual analysis in conjunction with the theoretical concepts relating to tourism.

Clearly, the romantic clichés and stereotypes of Spain that have been formulated during the first half of the nineteenth century contributed to its touristic appeal; after all, in large part they still define the country's image for many foreigners. So what makes these images so persistent? As mentioned above, Spanish subjects like flamenco fiestas and dancing gitanas provided a great opportunity for foreign artists to project their fantasies and (unconscious) tourist desires onto. In fact, everything that MacCannell points out as being key features for tourism, can be united in these scenes: a geographical other place, a different time (purportedly at least, because Spain was pre-modern compared to the rest of Europe and architectural monuments reminded of the Islamic past), and another culture, including a purer, simpler lifestyle in which one could still find 'truth' and authenticity. As such, these representations seem to demonstrate a desire to escape from the imperfections and constraints of modern life, in line with John McKenzie's interpretation of orientalist art. Altogether these artworks conveyed a great contrast with foreign viewers' everyday lives. As reviews show that this contrast was indeed recognized by contemporary viewers, it is probable that the representations have stimulated foreigners to visit Spain in order to personally experience this world that was so different from their own.

Nonetheless, the relation between the creation of romanticized, exotic images of Spain and the rise of foreign tourism is not unilateral, but should be viewed as a mutual interaction. As Leerssen states, a national characterization constituted in an individual text (in this case: visual representation) is rather a reference to an intertext, than to empirical observations or objective facts. Therefore, the artworks are a combination of fact and fiction and as such construct a 'mythology' of Spain and Spanish culture. This closely relates to the tourist gaze, the way people look and see things when in the role of tourist, which is socio-culturally framed. The influence of the tourist gaze is apparent in the ways that the selected artworks resemble each other, even though they are made by different artists with different nationalities. Artists' perceptions, their gaze, was structured by what they already knew about Spain and flamenco from travel accounts, stories and other images. As such, they had a biased view of the dance events which influenced their own paintings and drawings.

As a result, ideas of Spain as an exotic, attractive place for travellers were reinforced through this imagery and created corresponding expectations with visitors. When travelling, tourists want their expectations to be fulfilled; hence, in order to satisfy visitors, foreign ideas of the country are reconfirmed on-site. As such, expectations of foreign tourists are very influential in sustaining certain national images and stereotypes.

Since the nineteenth century was an important era for identity formation in Europe, visual representations should also be viewed in the light of this broader context. The emphasis on and

amplification of Spain's difference, both by Spanish and foreign artists, was not only for the sake of creating marketable art, but also, indirectly and perhaps unconsciously, for purposes of identity formation. Just like Macfie argues that orientalist art was much more than a comment on the 'other', these representations of Spanish dancers can likewise be seen as analysis of the self. Therefore, this thesis not only offers insight into artistic visual representations of a country as a stimulation for foreign tourism, it also contributes to our understanding of the impact of visual culture in national identity formation at large.

The imagological approach for the visual analysis has been useful for deriving stereotypes and determining national images. However, its application to visual imagery instead of literary texts has also revealed limitations. Imagology is rather straightforward, and has turned out to be perhaps too black and white for this case of Spanish-themed artworks. Artworks are very complex and to interpret them appropriately, many different factors must be taken into consideration. As such, in fact each artwork requires a thorough examination of its own, while with the imagological approach the focus is rather on the surface in order to find patterns and deviations. Furthermore, this study focused on a selection of twenty artworks, from Spanish, British and French origin only, which of course does not provide a complete, representative view of the worldwide phenomenon or of Europe, even. Thus, this thesis can be viewed as a contribution to the already existing scholarly knowledge, but further study could provide a more complete and/or in-depth view on the subject. Further research could for instance take a larger number of artworks with the same topic from all possible European origins, to arrive at conclusions that are more representative for the whole of Europe. Or, instead, a rather qualitative study of a few specific works could provide new interesting insights. Besides that, a study could be devoted to the contemporary reception of Spanish-themed artworks. In this study two contemporary reviews have been discussed, showing that there is a lot of potential in research of this kind.



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## Appendix A



Figure 7. John Phillip. *Gypsy musicians of Spain (Spanish minstrels)*. 1855, Aberdeen Art Gallery & Museums, Aberdeen. Art UK. [www.artuk.org/discover/artworks/gypsy-musicians-of-spain-spanish-minstrels-107636](http://www.artuk.org/discover/artworks/gypsy-musicians-of-spain-spanish-minstrels-107636). Accessed 2-12-2019.



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Figure 9. Gustave Doré. *Dancing in a patio in Seville*. 1847, from *L'Espagne*, by Baron Charles D'Avillier. *Enemies Within: Cultural Hierarchies and Liberal Political Models in the Hispanic World*, by Sierra, María, Cambridge Scholars Pub., 2015, p. 194.



Figure 10. Rouargue sculp. *Les Gitanos, Faubourg de Triana à Séville*. 1852, from *Voyage pittoresque en Espagne et en Portugal*, by Émile Bégin, p. 416. Biblioteca Virtual Andalucía. [www.bibliotecavirtualdeandalucia.es/catalogo/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=1015101](http://www.bibliotecavirtualdeandalucia.es/catalogo/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=1015101). Accessed 2-12-2019.



Figure 11. *Danca del Bolero a Granada*. 1806-1820, from *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne*, by Alexandre de Laborde, unpaginated. *Biblioteca Valenciana Digital*. [bivaldi.gva.es/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=8356](http://bivaldi.gva.es/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=8356). Accessed 2-12-2019.



Figure 12. Andrés Cortés y Aguilar. *Fiesta Flamenca*. Ca. 1850-1860, Colección Carmen Thyssen-Bornemisza. [coleccioncarmenthyszen.es/work/fiesta-flamenca/](http://coleccioncarmenthyszen.es/work/fiesta-flamenca/). Accessed 2-12-2019.



Figure 13. Antonio Cabral Bejarano. *A Bolero dancer*. 1842, Colección Carmen Thyssen-Bornemisza. Museo Carmen Thyssen Málaga. [www.carmenthysseomalaga.org/en/obra/una-bolera](http://www.carmenthysseomalaga.org/en/obra/una-bolera). Accessed 2-12-2019.



Figure 14. Joaquín Domínguez Bécquer. *Baile andaluz*. 1834, Real Alcázar, Seville. *Almendron*. [www.almendron.com/artehistoria/historia-de-espana/edad-contemporanea/liberalismo-y-romanticismo-en-tiempos-de-isabel-ii/xi-la-sociedad-isabelina-cambios-de-epoca/](http://www.almendron.com/artehistoria/historia-de-espana/edad-contemporanea/liberalismo-y-romanticismo-en-tiempos-de-isabel-ii/xi-la-sociedad-isabelina-cambios-de-epoca/). Accessed 2-12-2019.



Figure 15. Manuel Cabral Bejarano. *Dancing in a fair caseta*. 1855-1865, Museo de Bellas Artes de Sevilla, Seville. *Google Arts & Culture*. [artsandculture.google.com/search?q=dancing%20in%20a%20fair%20caseta](https://artsandculture.google.com/search?q=dancing%20in%20a%20fair%20caseta). Accessed 2-12-2019.



Figure 16. José Domínguez Bécquer. *Bailando la Cachucha*. 1815-1841, Private collection. *Wikimedia Commons*. [commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Jos%C3%A9\\_Dom%C3%ADnguez\\_B%C3%A9cquer](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Jos%C3%A9_Dom%C3%ADnguez_B%C3%A9cquer). Accessed 2-12-2019.



Figure 17. Manuel Cabral Bejarano. *Cheering at the gates of the farm*. 1854, Colección Carmen Thyssen-Bornemisza. Museo Carmen Thyssen Málaga. [www.carmenthysseomalaga.org/en/obra/jaleando-a-la-puerta-del-cortijo](http://www.carmenthysseomalaga.org/en/obra/jaleando-a-la-puerta-del-cortijo). Accessed 2-12-2019.



Figure 18. Manuel Rodríguez de Guzmán. *Dancing in the tavern*. 1854, Museo de Bellas Artes de Sevilla, Seville. Google Arts & Culture. [artsandculture.google.com/asset/dancing-in-the-tavern/gAFJenzeWBa6zg](https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/dancing-in-the-tavern/gAFJenzeWBa6zg). Accessed 2-12-2019



Figure 19. Manuel Rodríguez de Guzmán. *La feria de Santiponce*. 1855, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid. Museo del Prado. [www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/obra-de-arte/la-feria-de-santiponce/d78ca8dd-a430-4992-9266-b44eaa7a2435](https://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/obra-de-arte/la-feria-de-santiponce/d78ca8dd-a430-4992-9266-b44eaa7a2435). Accessed 2-12-2019.



Figure 20. Rafael Benjumea. *Dance at a country inn*. 1850, Colección Carmen Thyssen-Bornemisza. Museo Carmen Thyssen Málaga. [www.carmenthysssenmalaga.org/en/obra/baile-en-una-venta](http://www.carmenthysssenmalaga.org/en/obra/baile-en-una-venta). Accessed 2-12-2019.

## Appendix B

## Topoi dancers

				Dancing women															
Artist's nationality	Artist / publication	Title	Date	Beauty	Frivolous clothing	Jewellery	Dancing alone	Dancing with man	Light skin & eyebrows	Gitana features	Curled hair on the cheek	Shawl	Flower in the hair	Looking at the viewer	Tiny feet	1 arm up, 1 down	2 arms up	Castanets	Peculiarities
British	David Wilkie	<i>Spanish Dance</i>	1827					X	X						X		X		Sober, simple dress
British	John Frederick Lewis	<i>A Fiesta in the south of Spain, peasants dancing the Bolero</i>	1836	X	X			X	?	?			X		X		X		
British	John Phillip	<i>Life among the gypsies</i>	1853	X	X		X			X	X	X	X			X			Painter included himself
British	John Phillip	<i>Gypsy musicians of Spain (Spanish minstrels)</i>	1855	X	X	X				X	X	X	X	X					Portrait of musicians
British	John Frederick Lewis	<i>Fiesta at Granada</i>	1835-36	X	X			X	?	?	X		X		X	X		X	
French	<i>Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne</i>	<i>Danca del Bolero a Granada</i>	1806-20	X	X			X	?	?			X		X		X	X	Bolero, audience pays little attention (no gazing)
French	Gustave Doré	<i>Dancing in a patio in Seville</i>	1847	X	X		X		?	?					X	X			Dancer holds tambourine
French	Alfred Dehodencq	<i>A gypsy dance in the gardens of the Alcazar</i>	1851	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X		X			Flamenco
French	Eugène Giraud	<i>Danse dans une posada de Grenade</i>	1852	X	X			X		X	X	X	X		X	X		X	One spectator with gun
French	<i>Voyage pittoresque en Espagne et en Portugal</i>	<i>Les Gitanos, Faubourg de Triana á Seville</i>	1852	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X		X	X			
Spanish	Joaquín Domínguez Bécquer	<i>Baile andaluz</i>	1834	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X			One dancer wears a hat
Spanish	José Domínguez Bécquer	<i>Bailando la Cachucha</i>	1815-41	X	X			X	X		X				X	X		X	Cachucha
Spanish	Antonio Cabral Bejarano	<i>A bolero dancer</i>	1842	X	X	X	X		X		X		X	X	X	X		X	Bolero, landscape setting, no other people
Spanish	Jenaro Pérez Villaamil	<i>Un bayle de gitanos</i>	1842-50	X				X		X	X	X			X	X			
Spanish	Rafael Benjumea	<i>Dance at a country inn</i>	1850	X	X		X		X		X		X	X	X	X		X	
Spanish	Andrés Cortés y Aguilar	<i>Fiesta Flamenca</i>	1850-60	X	X			X	X						X	X		X	Landscape setting, no sunshine
Spanish	Manuel Cabral Bejarano	<i>Cheering at the gates of the farm</i>	1854	X	X	X	X		X		X	X			X				2 crosses
Spanish	Manuel Rodríguez de Guzman	<i>Dancing in the tavern</i>	1854	X		X	X		X				X	X	X	X			
Spanish	Manuel Rodríguez de Guzman	<i>La feria de Santiponce</i>	1855	X	X	X	X		X				X		X				Festival
Spanish	Manuel Cabral Bejarano	<i>Dancing in a fair caseta</i>	1855-65	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X					1 woman among all men
<b>Total frequency</b>				<b>19</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9-13</b>	<b>7-11</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7</b>	



## Appendix C

## Topoi in the settings

				Setting																			
Artist's nationality	Artist / publication	Title	Date	Indoor	Outdoor	Sunlight	Andalusian architecture	Audience	Guitar	Clapping	Flirting	Drinking	Smoking	Hats on the floor	Flat hats with pompoms	Pointy hats with pompoms	Bandanas	Tambourin	Jar	(Woman with) fan	Children	Dog	
British	David Wilkie	<i>Spanish Dance</i>	1827	X				X	X														
British	John Frederick Lewis	<i>A Fiesta in the south of Spain, peasants dancing the Bolero</i>	1836		X	X		X	X		X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X			
British	John Phillip	<i>Life among the gypsies</i>	1853		X	X		X	X	X	X			X	X		X	X	X	X	X		
British	John Phillip	<i>Gypsy musicians of Spain (Spanish minstrels)</i>	1855		X	X			X									X					
British	John Frederick Lewis	<i>Fiesta at Granada</i>	1835-36		X		X	X	X		X						X		X		X	X	
French	<i>Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne</i>	<i>Danca del Bolero a Granada</i>	1806-20		X	X	X	X	X				X						X	X	X	X	
French	Gustave Doré	<i>Dancing in a patio in Seville</i>	1847		X	X	X	X	X								X	X		X			
French	Alfred Dehodencq	<i>A gypsy dance in the gardens of the Alcazar</i>	1851		X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X					X	X		
French	Eugène Giraud	<i>Danse dans une posada de Grenade</i>	1852		X	X		X	X	X	X		X		X		X	X	X				X
French	<i>Voyage pittoresque en Espagne et en Portugal</i>	<i>Les Gitanos, Faubourg de Triana á Seville</i>	1852		X			X	X	X		X			X	X		X					
Spanish	Joaquín Domínguez Bécquer	<i>Baile andaluz</i>	1834		X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X							X	
Spanish	José Domínguez Bécquer	<i>Bailando la Cachucha</i>	1815-41		X	X		X	X							X							
Spanish	Antonio Cabral Bejarano	<i>A bolero dancer</i>	1842		X		X																
Spanish	Jenaro Pérez Villaamil	<i>Un bayle de gitanos</i>	1842-50	X		X		X	X	X	X					X		X				X	
Spanish	Rafael Benjumea	<i>Dance at a country inn</i>	1850	X				X	X		X	X		X	X		X						X
Spanish	Andrés Cortés y Aguilar	<i>Fiesta Flamenca</i>	1850-60		X			X	X	X	X				X								
Spanish	Manuel Cabral Bejarano	<i>Cheering at the gates of the farm</i>	1854		X			X	X	X			X		X								
Spanish	Manuel Rodríguez de Guzman	<i>Dancing in the tavern</i>	1854	X				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X						
Spanish	Manuel Rodríguez de Guzman	<i>La feria de Santiponce</i>	1855		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X							X	X
Spanish	Manuel Cabral Bejarano	<i>Dancing in a fair caseta</i>	1855-65	X			X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X		X						
<b>Total frequency</b>				<b>5</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	