

A controversial legacy from the Romantic period. Al-Andalus echoes in films featuring tourists (1905-1975)

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ABSTRACT: The central theme of the article is the role of the image of Al-Andalus in shaping the archetypes of Spain and Andalusia, and more specifically in the tourist image of the latter. Thus, the main objective of this article is to show the historical process through which the idea of and the features associated with Al-Andalus have become one of the components of the tourist image of Spain and, fundamentally, of Andalusia throughout most of the 20th century. Furthermore, the secondary objectives are to analyse the intense debate, running since the beginning of the 19th century, about the image of Al-Andalus among Spanish intellectuals; and analyse the (re) production of “phantom image” linked to Al-Andalus in films with tourists, using a qualitative method of film image analysis that can be considered novel (Grounded Theory built through visual analysis with NVivo software).

KEYWORDS: Al-Andalus; Spanish archetypes; cinema; 20th century; qualitative image analysis; orientalism.

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Título traducido: Un legado controvertido del periodo romántico. Ecos de Al-Ándalus en las películas con turistas (1905-1975).

RESUMEN: La temática central del artículo es la participación de la imagen de Al-Ándalus en la conformación de los arquetipos sobre España y Andalucía, y más concretamente en la imagen turística de ésta. Así, el objetivo principal consiste en mostrar el proceso histórico a través del cual la idea y los rasgos asociados a Al-Ándalus han pasado a formar parte de la imagen turística de España a lo largo de gran parte del siglo XX. Asimismo, como objetivos secundarios se plantea analizar el intenso debate mantenido desde inicios del siglo XIX sobre la imagen de Al-Ándalus entre los intelectuales españoles; y analizar la (re)producción de los arquetipos vinculados a Al-Ándalus en los films con turistas, usando un método cualitativo de análisis de imágenes cinematográficas que puede considerarse novedoso (configuración de Teoría Fundamentada a través del análisis visual con el software NVivo).

PALABRAS CLAVE: Al-Ándalus; arquetipos españoles; cine; siglo XX, análisis cualitativo de la imagen; orientalismo.

INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES

This article comes within a process, the shaping of the clichéd image of Spain and Andalusia viewed both from within and without, which already has a long tradition in scientific literature (Decléty, 2009; Hempel Lipschutz, 1988; Méndez Rodríguez and Plaza Orellana, 2015). In this case, the analysis focuses on a specific issue of particular significance, due to its widespread treatment and topicality, namely the presence of Al-Andalus (or the medieval Islamic period in the Iberian Peninsula) as a component element of this image, especially with regard to the specific case of Andalusia.

To this end, the question is approached from the perspective of the creation and consolidation of the tourist image of an area. This is generated through processes, understood and studied within the Humanities and Social Sciences, which involve the reduction of the image of a country or tourist destination to a few simple features, which are familiar to large segments of the market (Baloglu and McCleary, 1999; Cohen, 1988; Echtner and Prasad, 2003; Navalón García, 2015; Selwyn, 1996), and which are then reproduced until they become part of the collective image of those societies (Graburn and Gravari-Barbas, 2011; Salazar, 2011).

The various manifestations of tourist activity are one of the examples of how the past of Al-Andalus, or the vision that has been given of it, resurfaces repeatedly in Andalusia as a “phantom image” (Didi-Huberman, 2002), not a reality but “its double, its *replica* in a new type of mirror” (Metz, 1975, p. 32). This image-*replica*, although clear precedents can be found in the 18th century and even in the 16th century (López Ontiveros, 2001; Rodríguez Mediano, 2006), is forged in its essential elements through the vision transmitted by Romantic travellers in the 19th century (Colmeiro, 2002; González Troyano, 2018; Hernández-Ramírez, 2015; Méndez Rodríguez, Plaza Orellana and Zoido Naranjo, 2010). In keeping with the general lines of the Romantic movement (exoticism, orientalism, historicism, decaying grandeur, etc.), they found in Andalusia a geographical and cultural space clearly differentiated from a Europe already immersed in the Industrial Revolution. They attributed these differentiating features to its Islamic past and perceived them as the main appeal to travellers.

In this way, these authors (Gautier, Borrow, Irving, Merimée, Ford...), in line with their vision, seek, and find, in the Al-Andalus period the fundamental explanatory factor of the reality they perceive, undervaluing the contributions of other historical periods. And this extends to all aspects of this reality, both in its physical components (landscapes, irrigation, urban geography, vernacular architecture...) and its human or socio-cultural components (music, clothing, festivities, gastronomy, norms of social behaviour...). They go so far as to seek in this past the roots of the psychological or spiritual profile which conform to the “archetype of the Andalusian soul,” generally described in pejorative terms (indolence, extroversion, obsessive defence of honour reaching ferocity when

it is questioned, cruelty to animals, predominance of passion as opposed to cold western rationality, etc.). In this respect, and just as a brief example, suffice it to recall Ford’s contemptuous expressions, stating that “[i]f the people [in Andalusia] are sometimes cruel and ferocious when they gather in large numbers; let us remember that through their veins runs the blood of Africa; their fathers were sons of the Arab [...]” (quoted in Marchena y Fernández-Tabales, 2002, p. 259).

With all of this, in their folk genre stories and travel books, often considered proto-tourist guides, they comprise the structuring elements of the image of Andalusia which has been perpetuated in the places that constitute the main sources of Spain’s tourist market (Great Britain, Germany, France, the United States...). This image has been reinforced by the intensive recovery of its most clichéd elements by tourist promotion in the first three-quarters of the 20th century (Hijano del Río, and Martín Zúñiga, 2007), in which a great number of the promotional campaigns, mostly by the central government, have resorted to these features, regardless of the veracity of the image transmitted, even extrapolating them to the whole of Spain (Ortega Cantero, 1999; Poutet, 1995; Storm, 2013), under the Spanish “difference” slogan (Afinoguénova, 2007; Crumbaugh, 2007; Fuentes Vega, 2015; Pack, 2006).

The main objective of this article is to show the process through which the idea of and the features associated with Al-Andalus have been one of the components of the tourist image of Spain and, fundamentally, of Andalusia throughout most of the 20th century. The secondary objectives are, on the one hand, to gain a deeper understanding of the context in which the image of Al-Andalus was created by analysing the intense debate about this image among Spanish intellectuals since the early 19th century; and, on the other hand, to study how this “phantom image” linked to Al-Andalus has been (re)produced in films featuring tourists using a qualitative method of analysis of cinematographic images which can be considered innovative.

SOURCES AND METHODS

After thoroughly reviewing the different intellectual positions on the legacy of Al-Andalus, a sample of 104 “tourist poster” films was analysed. These films are those that exhibit national symbols and archetypes with a certain promotional intent, and do so, moreover, by juxtaposing them with the portrayal of the tourist throughout their plot (Mestre, Del Rey, and Stanishevsky, 2008; see in Annexes Tables 1, 2, 3 and 4 with the complete list of films). To that effect, it is worth noting that 45.71% of the films in the sample are international, while 54.29% are Spanish, so that domestic and foreign depictions are balanced. The presence of a recurrent “phantom image,” as a form of anachronistic “surviving image” (Didi-Huberman, 2002), a *replica* from a bygone era (Metz, 1975)

can be traced both in national and international cinema during the period under study.

The films were viewed and categorised using NVivo software. This software belongs to the CAQDAS (Computer-assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software) group of tools which, using a computerised coding system based on the analysis of visual content (Rose, 2001) and the constant comparison of data, make it possible to design Grounded Theory research on the object of study (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Fig. 1). To carry out this work, the category of analysis “Al-Andalus heritage” was created, in which scenes, segments of photographs and texts were filtered and quantified, reflecting how this aspect, in relation to the development of tourism during the period 1905-1975 in Andalusia, was depicted. The materials analysed belong to the personal archives of the authors or have been obtained during research carried out at the Cinémathèque Française, as well as in the databases of the Filmoteca Española and the Filmoteca de Andalucía.

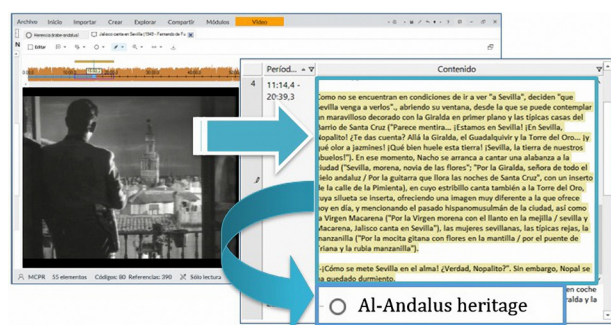


FIGURE 1. Procedure for analysing films through segments of footage and content. Example of coding in the “Al-Andalus heritage” node. Author’s own work.

The category “Al-Andalus heritage” refers to the legacy of Islam in Andalusia and its treatment (or *replica*) in “tourist poster” films over those 75 years. Our analysis reveals attributes observed by López Ontiveros in the image of Andalusia disseminated by romantic travellers. This “phantom-image,” impregnated with maurophilia and historicism that preferentially chooses the Hispano-Muslim past as the determining factor of Andalusian attributes, “[...] implies interpreting the entire Andalusian human landscape in terms of Muslim splendour and its subsequent decadence and collapse” (López Ontiveros, 2001, p. 36), and reveals a prominent presence in official tourist advertising throughout the first three-quarters of the 20th century. As indicated in the Introduction, many authors situate the origin of the universal image with which Spain is identified abroad in Romanticism (Hernández-Ramírez, 2008; Poutet, 1995). To this effect, Hernández-Ramírez highlights the predominance of Andalusian historical heritage over other types of heritage in official tourist promotion from 1928-1950 and 1951-1977 (56.2% and 48%, respectively), used by the tourist authorities to transmit timelessness and exoticism.

Through this analysis, we delve deeper into the depiction of the “Al-Andalus heritage” in a more complex format (the cinematographic); a mass medium (Lus Arana, 2020) which, although not intended to induce tourism as we know it today (Ramón Gabriel, 2022), became the most effective tool for the circulation of images and national symbols during the 20th century (García Carrión, 2013; Del Rey, 2007; Gauthier, 2004; Hake, 2002; Hayward, 1995; Higson, 1995; Lindholm and Hall, 2000). This is why the study of “tourist poster” films not only includes references to Al-Andalus’s Historical and Artistic Heritage but also the portrayal of human types, attitudes, legends, etc., associated with seven centuries of Islamic heritage. In short, this category is concerned with the following aspects highlighted by López Ontiveros:

- A “predominantly Arab monumentalism,” which focuses on the Granada-Seville-Cordoba triangle and is characterised by the Alhambra, the Alcázar in Seville, and the Mosque in Cordoba (López Ontiveros, 2001, pp. 42-43) but also by the historicist recreations of the early 20th century (neo-Mudejarism as a return to Hispanic-Arabic architectural influence).
- A built environment reflecting the labyrinthine network of its historic city streets, full of white houses with window grilles and, above all, typically Al-Andalus gardens, orchards, and courtyards; “all of which perfectly and inextricably blend to create a unified image in the eye of the visitor” (López Ontiveros, 2001, p. 43).
- A portrayal of the region as an “earthly paradise,” based on exoticism, as well as on decadence, tradition, and climate; elements which the tourist industry continues to sell today and which favour a leisurely life as opposed to the hustle and bustle of contemporary life (López Ontiveros, 2001, p. 45).
- The human landscape of Andalusia, determined by its climate, which considers Andalusia as the “gateway to Africa,” puts sentiment before reason and considers the Andalusian man as “braggart, liar, lazy, buffoon” and the Andalusian woman, “repeatedly [...] as light-hearted” (López Ontiveros, 2001, p. 46).

To understand the evolution in the representation of “Al-Andalus heritage” in “tourist poster” films, four stages (“Cinema as a Document,” 1905-1922; “Cinema as Propaganda,” 1923-1939; “The Lead Years,” 1940-1959, and “Tourism is a Great Invention,” 1960-1975) have been delimited. They correspond to political periods which were fundamental for tourist activity in Spain during the first three-quarters of the 20th century (Puche-Ruiz, 2021, 2022), differentiating the films according to whether they are domestic or international productions. The analysis ends in 1975, since from then onwards it is no longer possible to speak of direct dirigisme on the part of the public authorities in relation to tourism, while the appearance of tourists as film characters and the representation of the Andalusian region on the cinema screen diminishes to a large extent.

The method employed has made it possible to obtain quality research results, which provide both quantitative support to sustain the research hypotheses, and qualitative support, which enables the detailed analysis of the textual references (Faulkner, 2006; García-Fernández, 2021) to establish trends and behaviours through the study of the scenes. This in itself gives the study a level of detail and precision that would be impossible to achieve in an exclusively statistical work. The application of NVivo tool to the analysis of cinematographic materials and, more specifically, to those that show the adventure of the tourist in their plot, is a novelty within the field of Visual Studies.

THE PERCEPTION OF AL-ANDALUS IN THE SPANISH INTELLECTUAL CONTEXT (19TH-20TH CENTURIES)

To know and better understand the origin of the view of Al-Andalus in “tourist poster” films, it is of interest to first delve into the perceptions of the Al-Andalus period that have been developed since the 19th century among the Spanish cultural elites. These perceptions have been the breeding ground for subsequent interpretations and artistic productions.

In general terms, the attitude of Spanish intellectuals towards Al-Andalus can be divided into two main trends, although it should be noted that the approaches have not always been dichotomous but that the positions have often moved in the middle ground, with a greater or lesser swing towards one of the extremes depending on the historical phase and the authors’ own personal evolution. These tendencies are:

- On the one hand, those who consider that the Al-Andalus period represents a parenthesis in the true history of Spain. A period that was fundamentally exogenous and anti-Western in nature, insofar as it was not Christian, and which after its fortunate extirpation has left no greater trace than some archaeological evidence and certain toponymic vestiges. This negative view identifies Al-Andalus with many of the stereotypes that modernity has come to associate with the Arab world (barbarism, religious fundamentalism, and, in short, as Edward Said [1978] denounced in past decades, the incompatibility between Modernity and Islam).
- On the other hand, those who perceive and transmit a positive image of Al-Andalus, associated with cultural, scientific, and economic splendour. This perception includes an appreciation of its aesthetic refinement and its role in transmitting to the West the cultural advances of the medieval Arab world and, through it, the classical Greco-Latin heritage, largely lost in medieval Christian Europe. Consequently, this tendency rejects the amputation of the Andalusian heritage from the history of Spain (or of “the Spains”), and revindicates the period as part of it, with a rich cultural legacy that continues to the present day.

The first, or negative, view prevailed until the beginning of the 19th century, as could not be otherwise in an Ancien Régime society structured around the Catholic religion, the ideology that underpinned the social order and regulated everyday life. However, this monolithic image began to break down in the early 19th century with the figure of José Antonio Conde and his work *Historia de la dominación de los árabes en España, sacada de varios manuscritos y memorias arábigas* (1820), in which he favoured Al-Andalus and even Islam, denouncing its previous unanimously negative image.

The following decades saw the aforementioned (see the Introduction section) proliferation of literary and pictorial images created by Romantic artists, which enveloped Al-Andalus in all the elements of Orientalist evocation (Gaete, 2022), undeniably favourable and attractive even if only in aesthetic and superficial terms (refinement, mystery, passion...; W. L. B., 1925). In this respect, Washington Irving must be mentioned, the true architect of the myth of the Alhambra as a fundamental Al-Andalus icon abroad (González Alcantud, 2007), and whose work has left clearly identifiable echoes in all subsequent tourist promotion and in cinematographic works that will be analysed in the following section. Along the same lines, the use of *Tales of the Alhambra* (1832) in films such as *Los claveles de la Virgen* (Florián Rey, 1929) or *Todo es posible en Granada* (José Luis Sáenz de Heredia, 1954) are noteworthy examples.

Within this context, it is worth mentioning the lesser-known work of some Andalusian Romantic writers, mostly from Granada, who express sympathy towards the people of Al-Andalus and more specifically towards the Moors expelled from their land, in a clear parallel with the exile they themselves suffered for their liberal ideas (Torrecilla, 2019). Prominent among them were Pedro Antonio de Alarcón and Francisco Martínez de la Rosa, who according to González Alcantud (2014a) achieved notable popularity in the Paris Commune with his play *Aben Humeya o la rebelión de los moriscos* (1830), received in French revolutionary circles as a general hymn to the freedom of the oppressed. This popularisation of the Moorish theme, from an appreciative perspective of the Moor as a tragic character, heir to a world in decline and expelled from his own country, was brought to life in Spain by the Sevillian Manuel Fernández y González, albeit in popular genres of limited literary value, such as the historical novelette or the serialised novel (Fernández y González, 1859).

Along the same positive lines but with historiographical and philological rigour, it is worth mentioning the Sevillian Pascual de Gayangos in the mid-19th century, who is considered the instigator of Spanish Arabism. Through his translations to English from the original Arabic during his long periods of residence as a professor at English universities, he disseminated a better-founded image of Al-Andalus in the Anglo-Saxon sphere than the one known through romantic narratives. In this respect, and according to Rice (1999), the well-known geographer and explorer Richard Francis Burton, famous

for being the first Westerner to enter the holy places of Mecca, considered him to be his true master of Arabic language and culture.

In the second half of the 19th century, there was a fierce reaction to the image disseminated by Gayangos and the European Romantics. This negative reaction was led by the professor of Arabic Francisco Javier Simonet, who, despite his area of specialisation, expressed a clear antipathy towards the period of Muslim Spain, considering that the attempts to vindicate its achievements were nothing more than unpatriotic attacks against the essence of Spain and a denigration of its true history. Simonet can be considered the contemporary initiator of the intellectual current against Al-Andalus, which from his opposition to Gayangos originated a history of polarity of opposing figures which, as we shall see, reaches the present day (González Ferrín, 2006).

This polarity began to take shape at the end of the 19th century, with the devaluation of Al-Andalus by the renowned Generation of '98, which, in its search for the essence of Spain after the crisis resulting from the loss of the last remnants of the colonial empire, found in Castile and its values an essence that was intrinsically Christian. In the same way, the rejection of all traces of the past of Al-Andalus by authors such as Unamuno and Pío Baroja (who went so far as to describe the Alhambra as an "orientalist kiosk") is noteworthy. By contrast, the figure of Ángel Ganivet emerged as a fervent Spanish nationalist but who did not share the "Castilianism" of his contemporaries. Ganivet (1904), above all in his very popular work *Granada la Bella*, made a vindication of Al-Andalus, linking it to an appreciation of the cultural uniqueness of the Andalusia of his own days. Consequently, he was considered a forerunner by the first contemporary Andalusian nationalists, such as Blas Infante, Isidro de las Cagigas, and Rodolfo Gil Benumeya, who even changed his second surname to claim his Al-Andalus origins (González Alcantud, 2014; Ruiz Lagos, 1985).

The turn of the century saw the true consolidation, both in Spain and in the rest of Europe, of the image of Andalusia that has survived to the present day (Puche-Ruiz and Fernández-Tabales, 2019), used intensively in tourism promotion and in which reminiscences of Al-Andalus are a basic component (Cardwell, 2002). This consolidation features two fundamental milestones, coinciding with two international exhibitions. On the one hand, the attraction "L'Andalousie au temps des maures," at the Universal Exhibition in Paris in 1900 (Fig. 2). This exhibition represents the culmination of the whole clichéd image of Al-Andalus that had been in the making since Romanticism and the paradox is that it was programmed on the initiative of the Paris organisers themselves, out with and against the wishes of the official Spanish representation. This fact is particularly illustrative of the polarity described above: the official Spanish authorities rejected the clichéd image of the Islamic and southward-looking past that was being offered, seeking to project the message of a modern

European nation; but the organisers themselves, seeking to boost the attendance of the French public, felt they could not forego the orientalist appeal of Al-Andalus in a showcase of the great cultures of the world (Box Varela, 2015; Moreno Garrido and Villaverde, 2019; Sazatornil, 2019). It should also be noted that this view from abroad is an excellent example of the enduring "phantom image" (Didi-Huberman, 2002) that would be transposed into the French cinematographic *replica* (Metz, 1975) of Andalusia during the first stage examined here ("Cinema as a Document," 1905-1922).



FIGURE 2. Poster for the attraction "L'Andalousie au temps des maures," Paris 1900. Author: Ulpiano Checa y Sanz. BNF.

The second milestone, this time a Spanish initiative, was the Ibero-American Exhibition in Seville in 1929, which definitively consolidated the image of Andalusia that has survived to the present day (Graciani, 2019), despite the opposition of some Andalusian intellectuals (Fernández-Tabales, 2019). This local "phantom image," made official by the state apparatus with a clear tourist focus, includes among its components neo-Mudejar architecture, which, by incorporating formal elements from the Al-Andalus period, has become one of the Andalusian archetypes to this day. It is even possible to affirm that the rejection of Al-Andalus legacy in some intellectual circles has been exacerbated by its clichéd use in tourist promotion since then, mutually reinforcing the anti-Al-Andalus and anti-tourist backlash, due to the reiteration and vulgarisation in the use of its features reduced to stereotypes. On the other hand, the historicist vision of the Ibero-American Exhibition corresponds stylistically with the attempt to politically create a national cinema without clichés, based on vernacular stereotypes and *replicas*, as discussed in the second cinematographic period analysed ("Cinema as Propaganda," 1923-1939).

In any case, and in line with this positioning of the culture and image of Andalusia at the centre of the debate, whether for or against this recurrent "phantom image," the first decades of the 20th century witnessed a popularisation, generally of a positive nature, of the Al-Andalus or Moorish past as a recurring theme (Anderson, 2021). This is particularly noticeable in the literary sphere, with examples such as those of Fernando Villalón ("¡Islas del Guadalquivir! / Donde se fueron los moros / que no se quisieron ir!"); Manuel Machado in his poem "Adelfos," dedicated to Miguel de Unamuno:

Yo soy como las gentes que a mi tierra vinieron
soy de la raza mora, vieja amiga del Sol
que todo lo ganaron y todo lo perdieron.
Tengo el alma de nardo del árabe español.¹

Or Federico García Lorca: "I believe that being from Granada inclines me to a sympathetic understanding of the persecuted. Of the gypsy, the black, the Jew..., of the Moorish that we all carry within us" (Plaza Chillón, 2009, p. 2).

This trend, which places Al-Andalus as an essential part of the current "Andalusian spirit," culminates, from the point of view of political thought, in the work of Blas Infante, the initiator of contemporary Andalusian nationalism. He claims the history of Al-Andalus as the culmination of European Mediterranean cultures and finds in the Castilian conquest of Andalusia the origin of the social and economic problems of later centuries ("Spain is the prison in which Germanic and feudal Europe placed Andalusia"; Infante, 1931).

After the Civil War, and in the context of the debate among exiles on the historical origins of Spain's problems, another of the polarisations referred to above can be found (Boase, 1989; Monroe, 1970), concerning the "surviving image" of Al-Andalus (Didi-Huberman, 2002). It should be noted that this exacerbation coincides with the height of the Francoist defence of Spanish national "difference" in tourism, reflected by Rafael Calleja (1943) in his *Apología turística de España*, which links the peculiarities of the Spanish "race" to the exotic Hispano-Arabic characteristic ("The Leaden Years," 1940-1959). On the one hand, the Granada-born philologist Américo Castro (Bodian, 2017), who, based on the presence of Semitic borrowings in Spanish literature, conceives the medieval origins of Spanish culture as a mixture of Hebrew, Arab and Western Christian elements; so that the expulsion of the Semitic component (Jews and Moors in the early Modern Age) can be interpreted as a national loss to be considered among the factors causing Spain's subsequent problems in progressing to modernity.

In contrast, the Avila historian Claudio Sánchez Albornoz reacted virulently to the former, becoming the most prominent representative of the historical tendency referred to here as the negative view of Al-Andalus. Specifically, Sánchez Albornoz affirms, on the basis of legal texts, that Spain was shaped, territorially, politically, and socially, in the confrontation with Al-Andalus, which it defeated and whose remains it eliminated, so that it is illusory to claim to find significant features of its heritage in later Spain. In this sense, statements such as the following are revealing, both in content and tone:

Spain is not, therefore, a people with an original defect, with a hereditary flaw, the inept offspring of a corrupt father, nor is it an Africanised country, sick with the orien-

tal virus, lacking in creative impetus, a reject of Islam. It is [...] Europe's shield against incompetent and barbaric Africa [...]; a Western people only occasionally cut off from the routes of its European brothers by its own millenary eagerness to reject the contagion of neighbouring Africa (Sánchez Albornoz, 1985, p. 39).

These two major opposing currents were to continue in the second half of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, through the academic disciples of Castro and Albornoz, just at the moment when the features of "Al-Andalus heritage" were showing signs of exhaustion in films featuring tourists after the transfer of national cinematography to the Costa del Sol ("Tourism is a Great Invention," 1960-1975) and its reworking in a post-Fordist and experiential key after Franco's dictatorship. Among Castro's disciples, Sevillian Francisco Márquez Villanueva, a professor at Harvard University, stands out. He finds in Mudejarism and in the cultural policy of Alfonso X the Wise the embers of the cultural splendour of Al-Andalus, which, through the enormous translating work of the Castilian king, were introduced into the European cultural tradition, enriching the Renaissance (Márquez Villanueva, 2004). This current was reinforced within Spanish borders by the important work of Emilio García Gómez, considered the father of current Spanish Arabism, who disseminated essential works of Al-Andalus literature through his translations. Finally, the tendency to understand Al-Andalus as a fundamental contribution to Spanish and even European culture continues in the 21st century with authors such as Emilio González Ferrín (2018) from the University of Seville and José Antonio González Alcantud (2014a) from the University of Granada.

By contrast, the negative view of Al-Andalus was carried forward through the followers of Albornoz's Castilianist line, the most noteworthy of whom in the last decades of the 20th century was the Valladolid medievalist Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada. This line has even become more radical in recent years, leading to the appearance of works such as that of Serafín Fanjul (2000), whose best-known book, which was praised in its foreword by Ladero Quesada, bears the significant and definitive title of "Al-Andalus contra España" ("Al-Andalus against Spain").

In conclusion, the dual existence of a "positive myth" and a "negative myth" of Al-Andalus can be discerned. Considering the concept of myth in the sense given by the anthropologist J. A. González Alcantud (2014), following Lévi-Strauss, as narratives, not necessarily false, that lead to actions in today's world (p. 25); myths, on the other hand, "that constitute the magma on which a society is based, its collective ethos" (p. 19). This issue will be addressed again in the Conclusions section.

Lastly, although this section is devoted to visions and approaches in Spanish intellectual spheres, it should be noted that there are many contributions to the debate from an international perspective. Among the most recent are studies that analyse the vision of Al-Andalus from today's Arab world (Calderwood, 2015; Civantos, 2018);

1 "I am like the people who to my land came / I am of the Moorish race, old friend of the Sun / who won everything and lost it all. / I have the tuberose soul of the Spanish Arab."

the role of Al-Andalus in the general vision of Orientalism from the Western world (González Alcantud, 2021); or some works in the line of post-colonial studies that analyse the use of a common past by Spanish colonialism in Morocco (Calderwood, 2018). Also worth mentioning is the work of Charles Hirschkind (2021), on the transmission, and even continuity, of Andalusian culture in later Spain, in which he reaches more ambitious conclusions than the usual ones in Spanish historiography on the survival of this culture.

RESULTS. AL-ANDALUS HERITAGE IN “TOURIST POSTER” FILMS (1905-1975)

It is worth noting that the sample of films shows a balanced distribution of references to the “Al-Andalus heritage” between domestic and international films. Thus, 47.28% of the references correspond to the former, while the remaining 52.72% are observed in international productions. However, as can be seen in Figure 3, a total of 239 references are unevenly distributed throughout the four periods under study.

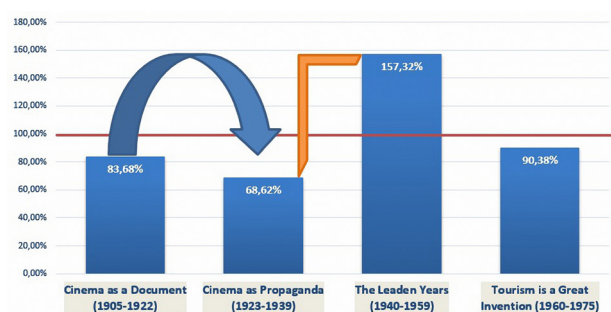


FIGURE 3. Graph showing the evolution of the “Al-Andalus heritage” during the four periods studied. Authors’ own work.

Therefore, the period from 1905 to 1922 (“Cinema as a Document”), with 50 references, is 16.32% below the average.² In this period, the references mainly allude to the concept of “Andalusian paradise” (López Ontiveros, 2001) and the vision of Andalusia is that disseminated by the nineteenth-century universal exhibitions (Moreno Garrido, and Villaverde, 2019). The last stage (“Tourism is a Great Invention,” 1960-1975), on the other hand, with 54 references, was 9.62% below the average, and its capacity to disseminate the features concerning “Al-Andalus heritage” declined, as the epicentre of tourist ac-

tivity shifted from the heritage cities to the coast (Afino-guénova, 2007; Crumbaugh, 2007; Fuentes Vega, 2015).

It is in the middle stages where the greatest changes can be seen, from a decrease of 15.06% concerning the previous stage (period “Cinema as Propaganda,” 1923-1939; 41 references) to an increase of 88.70% (“The Leaden Years,” early Francoism, 1940-1959; 94 references). It is worth remembering that Francoism shaped its own national identity for tourism, combining the concept of Spain as an exotic destination for Europeans with a longing to recover its imperial and colonial past (Martín Márquez, 2008); simplifying the theoretical polarity of the myth of Al-Andalus and its “phantom image” to emphasise Spanish exceptionalism by putting the focus on Andalusia, together with Castile, as a showcase of cultural wealth (Ramón Gabriel and García Álvarez, 2016). The sudden increase during “The Leaden Years” may be due to the promotion of the Spanish “difference” theory advocated by Rafael Calleja (1943) in his *Apología turística de España*, a “difference” stressed through the tourist “liquid border” between the region of Andalusia and the Moroccan Protectorate (González Alcantud, 2014b); and also, to a lesser extent, to the softening of the official negative image of the “Moor” after the use of Maghrebi troops as a shock force for Franco’s side in the Civil War (Bolorinos Alard, 2016; Velasco de Castro, 2014), an example of what is the documentary film “Romancero marroquí” (Elena, 1996).

Gradually, the national “difference” was diluted with the promotion of the “typical Spanish,” so that references or *replicas* of the Al-Andalus legacy in cinema with tourists took a slight downturn during the democratic period, just at the moment of greatest vindication of Al-Andalus, reaching a resounding low point after the Universal Exhibition in Seville (1992). A paradox whose causes will have to be the subject of another study.

“Cinema as a Document” period (1905-1922)

The first stage is determined by the creation of the National Tourism Commission (1905) and the Royal Commission for Tourism (1911) during the reign of Alfonso XIII. As has been indicated, this period was dominated by references linked to the French image-*replica* of Spain; visions that were still linked to the promotion of a Hispano-Muslim “phantom image” rooted in the universal exhibitions of the 19th century (Moreno Garrido, and Villaverde, 2019). Thus, 88% of the references concerning the aforementioned features of “Al-Andalus heritage” are concentrated in international films, which at the beginning of the twentieth century were responsible for disseminating these images of exotic otherness. Thus, beyond the Edenic compositions of the Alcázar of Seville and the Alhambra of Granada in Blasco Ibáñez’s own version of *Sangre y arena* (1916; Fig. 4), the French productions *Les fiancés de Séville* (Louis Feuillade, 1914), *Chichinette et Cie* (Henri Desfontaines, 1921), *El Dorado* (Marcel L’Herbier, 1921), *Soleil et Ombre* (Jeanne

² Given the unequal number of films in each stage (8, 13, 45, and 38), it was decided to obtain a theoretical average value of films and references, and to plot the results according to their deviation from this average, showing their growth or decline concerning the previous stage. The theoretical average number of references for the “Al-Andalus heritage” node stands at 59.75.

Roques, 1922) and, to a lesser extent, *La Fête Espagnole* (Germaine Dulac, 1919), as well as the first American version of Blasco Ibáñez's novel (*Blood and Sand*, Fred Niblo, 1922).



FIGURE 4. Doña Elvira visits the Patio de las Doncellas in the Alcázar of Seville in *Sangre y Arena* (Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, 1916). BNF.

In *Les fiancés de Séville* (known in Spain as *Amoríos sevillanos*), the Alcázar of Seville and its gardens take on particular prominence as an orientalised setting (López Ontiveros, 2001), so that, from the images that have come down to us, it could be said that the plot is merely a vehicle for Louis Feuillade to introduce the French public to a dream-like space, a setting through which his characters wander (Fig. 5), and in which the tragedy of jealousy is unleashed due to the attention that a French painter pays to the young protagonist.



FIGURE 5. Orientalised scene in *Les fiancés de Séville* (Louis Feuillade, 1914). Authors' personal collection.

It is not surprising, then, that one of the abiding themes which Romantic travellers associated with the South of Spain and its Arab heritage now emerges in this film:

the “predominance of sentiment over reason” (López Ontiveros, 2001). So, Currito, a budding bullfighter, is driven to attempt to murder the harmless painter. Significantly, this vengeful passion is also linked to the quintessence of Al-Andalus architectural heritage, the Alhambra, in another French production that is the epitome of this trend: *El Dorado* (1921), shot by the expressionist Marcel L’Herbier on location in Granada and Seville.

In this film, the Alhambra plays an essential role and even becomes another character. The Nasrid palaces become the obsession of a Swedish painter whose mission is to capture their romantic mythification on canvas. Once in the city, the young artist hires the services of a flamenco dancer, Sibilla, who serves as both guide and model amid the fabulous Al-Andalus gardens and for whom he feels both attraction and aversion (Fig. 6).



FIGURE 6. Rejection of backwardness and ignorance in *El Dorado* (Marcel L’Herbier, 1921). CF.

The Alhambra thus becomes the workplace of a woman of tragic existence (Sibilla, the dancer) and the painter, who takes advantage of the gardens to have furtive encounters with his sweetheart. One night, Sibilla, overcome by jealousy and a desire for revenge, locks the two young lovers in the *Sala de los Abencerrajes*, forcing them to succumb to the terror of the ghosts that supposedly inhabit the Alhambra. In this way, the Nasrid palaces are transformed into a space of expressionist terror, under Sibilla’s bloodshot gaze.

L’Herbier employs geographic substitution to achieve a fabulous backdrop; thus, he does not hesitate to place the Giralda tower in Granada, making a clear Andalusian synecdoche of Spain, and he recreates in the labyrinthine Albaicín. Another film that uses this supplanting is *Soleil et Ombre*, the first film directed by the French Jeanne Roques “Musidora” (1922), in which the Mudéjar buildings of Toledo are used to create an Andalusian *replica* of Spain, where love and death once again go hand in hand. Here also, the Spanish protagonist will fall prey to jealousy in a setting of Hispano-Muslim influences, elevating sentiment over reason (López Ontiveros, 2001), and murdering the American

tourist who has stolen the affection of her bullfighter sweetheart.

In *La Fête Espagnole*, the Hispano-Arab reminiscences are provided both by the protagonist's garden and by the Flamenco-style and neo-Mudejar sets of the "modern" city described in the script ("perhaps Seville"), as the background to a story that once again vindicates the tragic character of the Spaniard (the protagonist's suitors do not hesitate to fight a duel to the death; Fig. 7). In this respect, it is worth highlighting the influence that the orientalist settings (the physical environment) have on the cliché of the exaltation of sentiment over reason (behaviour), which fosters the display of "anti-western" attitudes (both by the indigenous people and by tourists visiting the region), and which could be considered more typical of a people from a country that is not yet fully civilised rather than of a European country well into the 20th century.



FIGURE 7. The suitors' duel to the death in *La Fête Espagnole* (Germaine Dulac, 1919). Pierre Henry. CF.

In this early period, we also find two films of diametrically opposed genres that nevertheless offer a similar vision of Hispano-Muslim Andalusia: on the one hand, Henri Desfontaines' French comedy *Chichinette et Cie*, in which the male protagonist, Philippe, travels to Spain and falls in love with a Flamenco performer; on the other hand, the first Hollywood version of *Blood and Sand*. Interestingly, both films conceive of the Spanish woman as a pleasure-loving houri, disguising her vices and passions among cushions and Moorish pouffes. In the same vein, it is worth noting the characterisation of the roles of La Carmela and Doña Sol herself (Fig. 8). Thus, while the former reclines among sumptuous fabrics and is the victim of her own jealousy, the latter, as soon as she sets foot on Andalusian soil, is attended by servants in Moorish costumes and dresses like the favourite of a prince from *Tales of the Alhambra*.



FIGURE 8. Doña Sol as a modern odalisque in *Blood and Sand* (Fred Niblo, 1922). WCFTR-69689.

"Cinema as Propaganda" period (1923-1939)

This second period witnessed the fragile continuance of the Royal Commission for Tourism (until 1928) and the birth of the National Tourist Board, as well as the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (1923-1930) and the advent of the Second Republic (1931). Surprisingly, this period is the one with the lowest number of references to "Al-Andalus heritage," particularly when, as mentioned above, it is a period of promotion of neo-Mudejar architecture and propaganda in preparation for the Ibero-American Exhibition of 1929. This, however, may be because a large part of the period corresponds to the Second Republic (1931-1939) and the Civil War (1936-1939). Whatever the reason may be, there is an increase in references to the aforementioned features of "Al-Andalus heritage" in Spanish films (58.54% of the total), with two contemporaneous films standing out (one French, the other Spanish), which both depict locations from the great Ibero-American event but which are diametrically opposed in their message and their interpretation of the "phantom image" of Andalusia: *La Femme et le Pantin* (Jacques de Baroncelli, 1929) and *La Copla Andaluza* (Ernesto González, 1929).

Thus, while *La Femme et le Pantin*, a French production, used the orientalist Mudejar Pavilion to stage the protagonist's palace, in the Spanish production *La Copla Andaluza*, the vision was turned 180 degrees to show the audience the Neo plateresque Pavilion (now the Archaeological Museum), both located in the *Plaza de América*, a key focal point of the Ibero-American Exhibition. Similarly, the spirit of the two films diverges: while the former continues to correspond to the romantic vision of French travellers about Andalusia, the latter attempts to create a national cinema without clichés, dignifying the folklore of the region, by the wishes of the new National Tourist Board (1928).

Likewise, while the Hispano-Muslim interior elements of *La Femme et le Pantin* were built on sets in Joinville-le-Pont (Fig. 9), in *La Copla Andaluza*, paradoxically, the Paris episodes were filmed in a neo-Mudejar palace. The former was described in the film press as the epitome of Hispano-Arabic architecture:

I barely take two steps into the immense building of the Joinville studio, when I come upon a wrought-iron grille with intricate arabesques. Behind this grille is a delightful garden, full of green plants and dwarf trees. A few steps lead up to the entrance of a Spanish house, whose Moorish décor, in ochre and pink, blazes under the rays of an artificial sun. A gentle fountain of water rises heaven-wards and falls back into a white basin.³



FIGURE 9. Conchita's Spanish-Muslim palace in *La Femme et le Pantin* (Jacques de Baroncelli, 1929). CF.

Another French production (*La Terre des Taureaux*, also directed by Jeanne Roques, “Musidora”) affords one of the first visions of labyrinthine, Spanish-Muslim Cordoba in 1923, while in *La Malchanceuse* (E. B. Donatien, 1923) the Cordovan is depicted as “one of those heirs of that adventurous and dreamy race who loved the idleness of the harem and the tragic smell of gunpowder in their forays through the lands of Christians” (Ediciones Bistagne, 1923, p. 28); two features in accordance with the aspects identified by López Ontiveros (2001).

3 Cinémathèque Française [CF], Baroncelli 46-B15.

At any rate, it was Spanish productions before 1929 that reflected this Hispano-Arabic *replica* in the run-up to the Exhibition, showing the aforementioned features. Thus, apart from the so-called “Spanish film without Spanish clichés” par excellence, *Currito de la Cruz* (Alejandro Pérez Lugín, 1925), the spectator witnessed the glorification of the region's Al-Andalus locations in *El Patio de los Naranjos* (Guillermo Hernández Mir, 1926), the first version of *La Hermana San Sulpicio* (Florián Rey, 1927) and *Los claveles de la Virgen* (Florián Rey, 1929; Fig. 10).



FIGURE 10. Vision of the legend of Boabdil in *Los claveles de la Virgen* (Florián Rey, 1929). Authors' private collection.

Along the same lines, *El Patio de los Naranjos* is a Spanish production that epitomises Andalusia in Seville (in particular, in its Edenic vision of the Giralda and the Al-Andalus courtyard that gives the film its name) and provides a clichéd Spanish image of the city that provoked no little unease among critics, while *La hermana San Sulpicio* revels in the set-piece visions of the Barrio de Santa Cruz. In the case of *Los claveles de la Virgen*, the plot takes place in Granada (Alhambra, *Balneario de Lanjarón*) and, as well as the idyllic images of the Nasrid palaces and the protagonist's orchard, offers the spectator a dream-like tale of Prince Boabdil, whose fateful destiny will lead the protagonist, an American tourist, to return to the city to win back Imperio Argentina.

After the Ibero-American Exhibition, the new versions of *La hermana San Sulpicio* (Florián Rey, 1934), *Currito de la Cruz* (Fernando Delgado, 1936) and *La Reina Mora* (Eusebio Fernández Ardavin, 1936), as well as the canonical production *María de la O* (Francisco Elías, 1936), were the films that contained significant references to the subject in question. Thus, the second version of the novel by Armando Palacio Valdés characterises the Sevillian woman “with a slender figure, like a Tanagra figurine or an odalisque” (Ediciones Bistagne, 1934, p. 48) and the man from Malaga “with that musical instinct of the Andalusians, who have preserved it through the centuries from their ancestors, the Arabs,”

so that his “music, with a distinctly Spanish rhythm, had those Moorish cadences that gave it a certain melancholy amidst the vibrant joy of the notes” (Ediciones Bistagne, 1934, p. 22).

The talkie version of *Currito de la Cruz* once again resorts to the orientalist vision of the gardens of the Alcázar in Seville, as well as to lock the ladies indoors on bullfighting days (the bullfighter Carmona has “Moorish traces” in his temperament; Ediciones Bistagne, 1936, p. 27). As for *La Reina Mora*, it tells the story of a young Triana girl, Coral, who decides to lock herself behind the bars of a house in the Barrio de Santa Cruz while her fiancé, Esteban, is serving a prison sentence for having assaulted a rival. The beauty of the girl, only glimpsed by the neighbours through the lattice windows, as well as the mystery surrounding the house, lead to her being christened *La Reina Mora* (The Moorish Queen) by the film’s tourists (Fig. 11). The plot of *María de la O*, on the other hand, takes place between Granada and Seville. At the beginning of the film, Francisco Elías does not hesitate to present the spectator with the tragedy that is about to unfold, having the protagonist walk, unsuspecting, amid an ominous atmosphere through the heart of the Albaicín quarter (García-Defez, 2022).



FIGURE 11. Coral is stalked by Juan “el Peleón” through the alleys of the old Jewish quarter (then already called Barrio de Santa Cruz). Authors’ private collection.

“The Leaden Years” period (1940-1959)

The third stage is marked by the creation of the General Directorate of Tourism after the Civil War and the Ministry of Information and Tourism during the first years of the Franco regime (1951). As already mentioned, this period contains the most references of the four periods under study (94), 57.45% of which are in domestic productions. Thus, of the 46 films coded through NVivo, 33 contain some reference to the “phantom image” of Al-Andalus.

The main trend that can be perceived is the exaltation of Seville as the capital of the south, a “warm” and “different place,” an “earthly paradise” with which the whole of Spain is associated (Ortega Cantero, 1999; Poutet, 1995; Storm, 2013). Because, as the child singer “Joselito” states, “[i]n Spain the Moors left [...] six babouches, the Torre del Oro and the aptitude of not working” (*Sae-ta del ruiseñor*; Antonio del Amo, 1959). Moreover, the tourists in the films are aware that “[o]n these fabulous shores, a harmonious and original race set up camp there in times gone by” and “Seville still imparts this even after thousands of years” of decline and progress (*El frente de los suspiros*, Juan de Orduña, 1942).

In the same way, Al-Andalus *replica* will continue to be linked to built heritage (López Ontiveros, 2001): the surroundings of the Mosque of Cordoba, with the *Calleja de las Flores* adorned by Mayor Cruz Conde in *El Cristo de los Faroles* (Gonzalo Delgrás, 1958), the *Patio de los Naranjos* in *Honeymoon* (Michael Powell, 1959) and *Tenemos 18 años* (Jesús Franco, 1959). The Alhambra, for its part, will be the ideal setting in productions such as *El seductor de Granada* (Lucas Demare, 1953), *Nuits Andalouses* (Maurice Cloche/Ricardo Blasco, 1954), *Todo es posible en Granada* (José Luis Sáenz de Heredia, 1954), *Taxi, roulotte et corrida* (André Hunebelle, 1958) or *It Started with a Kiss* (George Marshall, 1959).



FIGURE 12. Pedro de Córdoba pays homage to the Giralda in the spectacular ballet in *Good-bye Sevilla* (Ignacio F. Iquino, 1955). Authors’ private collection.

But Seville with its Giralda, the Reales Alcázares, and the Torre del Oro, as well as the display of historicist monuments created for the Ibero-American Exhibition of 1929, was the city in which settings linked to the Hispano-Arabic or Mudejar past acquired absolute prominence: *Olé torero* (Benito Perojo, 1948), *Jalisco canta en Sevilla* (Fernando de Fuentes, 1949), *La cruz de mayo* (Florián Rey, 1955), *Good-bye Sevilla* (Ignacio F. Iquino, 1955; Fig. 12), *Suspiros de Triana* (Ramón Torrado, 1955), *El hincha* (José María Elorrieta, 1958) and *Pane, Amore e Andalusia* (Javier Setó, 1958).

During the early years of the Franco regime, adaptations of the traditionalist Álvarez Quintero brothers' works proliferated, combining clichéd visions of the Alcázar with the standards established by the Ibero-American Exhibition (*Tierra y cielo*, Eusebio Fernández Ardavín, 1941), the glorification of the Al-Andalus courtyard (*La boda de Quinita Flores*, Gonzalo Delgás, 1943; *Puebla de las mujeres*, Antonio del Amo, 1953) and the direct appeal to the region's Arab past (*La Reina Mora*, Raúl Alfonso, 1955); aspects which, once again, refer to the features mentioned by López Ontiveros (2001).

Thus, the protagonists of *Tierra y cielo* contemplate the clichéd postcard image of the gardens of the Alcázar, and then go up to the terrace on the city wall, from where they again discover the panoramic view of the Giralda surrounded by vegetation and palm trees; an image that is repeated in *La Femme et le Pantin* (Julien Duvivier, 1959). Furthermore, in *Puebla de las mujeres*, the tendency continues to show Andalusian courtyards, full of Hispano-Muslim reminiscences, as examples both of the region's miniature, domesticated "Edenic nature" and of the exoticism linked to its "Al-Andalus heritage." Thus, it is not surprising that a cluster of young women sing and dance in a typical Andalusian courtyard when the tourist from Madrid makes his appearance in the film.

Significantly, the urban courtyard with Al-Andalus reminiscences (Fig. 13) is represented at this stage as an indispensable element of any good Andalusian family's house, quite apart from the fantasies of French sets (*La Belle de Cadix*, Raymond Bernard/Eusebio Fernández Ardavín, 1953). It can be seen, therefore, that the cinema took on the presence of Andalusian courtyards as an almost mandatory resource to highlight the Arabic, exotic, and typical note of the Spanish "earthly paradise" during the early years of the Franco regime. This formula of the Andalusian courtyard as a standardised consumer product or cinematic *replica* was repeated during the 1940s and 1950s in national productions such as *El frente de los suspiros*, *Currito de la Cruz* (Luis Lucia, 1949) or *Sucedió en Sevilla* (José Gutiérrez Maesso, 1954), as well as in international productions such as *Blood and Sand* (Rouben Mamoulian, 1941) or *La Femme et le Pantin*, in which the guide of a tourist bus gives a complete description of the protagonist's house, which is none other than the famous Mudejar courtyard of the Palacio de Dueñas (Fig. 14).



FIGURE 13. A typical Sevillian courtyard. Authors' private collection.



FIGURE 14. The Mudejar Patio del Palacio de Dueñas (Seville). Authors' private collection.

In *La Reina Mora* we perceive an eagerness to give maestro Serrano's music a flamenco intensity, as well as to emphasise the features connected with "Al-Andalus heritage," fusing both tendencies from a comic or parodic angle (Fig. 15). Thus, while in the first sound version the principal performers were zarzuela singers Pedro Terol, María Arias and Raquel Rodrigo, in the 1955 version Antoñita Moreno and Pepe Marchena, the copla stars, shine. As in other versions of the 1950s (*La Hermana San Sulpicio* and *Morena Clara*, directed by Luis Lucia in 1952 and 1954, respectively), the magical or celestial element is introduced by the mythical performer Miguel Ligeró, who brings to life the famous "Duende moro" (Moorish spirit) of the house which Coral inhabits in the Barrio de Santa Cruz (in the lower right corner of the poster in Figure 15). We can thus see how the cinema moves from showing the romantic reverie of previous decades to depicting the Hispanic-Arab as a grotesque archetype for mass consumption, with a slight exotic though parodic tinge.



FIGURE 15. Parodic elements from the Arab past (el duende Pepe, played by Miguel Ligeró) are accompanied by the irruption of flamenco in *La Reina Mora* (Raúl Alfonso, 1955). Authors' private collection.

In the same vein, it is worth mentioning the film *Todo es posible en Granada*, presented in competition at Cannes 1954. The film begins with the narration of the legend of the Moor's legacy from *Tales of the Alhambra*, in which the water carrier Peregil el Gallego inherits the parchment that reveals the location of King Boabdil's treasure. A century later, the American Margaret Faulson arrives in Granada, ready to buy the estate where Peregil's descendant thinks the treasure of the last Nasrid king is still to be found. The tourist can only surrender to the miraculous truth of Granada when she comprehends the meaning of the word "enchantment" in relation to the Alhambra (Fig. 16). The film also contains a bizarre ballet (along the lines of *El duende de Jerez*, Daniel Manzanera, 1953), which reinterprets the legend to the rhythm of jazz and twist, and in which Antonio "the dancer" manages to open the cave where the treasure lies with his dance.



FIGURE 16. The enchantment of the Alhambra envisaged by the American tourist in *Todo es posible en Granada* (José Luis Sáenz de Heredia, 1954). FNC.

"Tourism is a Great Invention" period (1960-1975)

The final period analysed is characterised by the strengthening of the Ministry of Information and Tourism with the creation of the Undersecretariat of Tourism (1962), as well as by the change to a General Directorate of Tourism Planning during the late Francoist period

(1973). During this stage, the “Al-Andalus heritage” is only replicated in 13 of the 38 films analysed and is evenly distributed between domestic (53.7%) and foreign productions (46.3%). The decline of this “phantom image” may be due, as indicated above, to the shift of tourist activity towards the coast during those years and, consequently, the displacement of the tourist areas that serve as archetypal references for the image of Andalusia.

At any rate, two tendencies from the previous period did survive: the idealised vision of an Al-Andalus Seville (with its skyline dominated by the Giralda and the Torre del Oro) and the visit to the Alhambra and Cordoba, as the centres of “predominant Arab monumentalism” (López Ontiveros, 2001). As in the first period, there is also an abundance of decontextualised ornamental elements in the Al-Andalus style, such as the Bil Bil Castle in *Cuidado con las señoras* (Julio Buchs, 1968) and *El coleccionista de cadáveres* (Santos Alcocer, 1970) or the hotel in Marbella in *Professione: reporter* (Michelangelo Antonioni, 1975), as well as the visions of the Alcazaba in Málaga in *Scent of Mystery* (Jack Cardiff, 1960), *Operación Cabaretera* (Mariano Ozores, 1967) and *En Andalucía nació el amor* (Enrique López Eguiluz, 1966); of the Alcazaba in Almería in *Me has hecho perder el juicio*, Juan de Orduña, 1973, or even references to the Christian reconquest of the eminently tourist resort of Mijas (*Hard Contract*, S. Lee Pogostin, 1969).

Also worth mentioning are the visits to Granada (Alhambra, Albaicín and Sacromonte) in *Granada addio* (Marino Girolami, 1967), *La novicia rebelde* (Luis Lucia, 1972) and the aforementioned *En Andalucía nació el amor* or *Cuidado con las señoras*. Andalusian Cordoba will also be visited by the French tourists in *Los duendes de Andalucía* (Ana Mariscal, 1966) and, of course, by the Nordic tourist and the official guide in *En Andalucía nació el amor*.

It is particularly striking that no “sun and beach” film of the period (except *Hard Contract* and the aforementioned excursion to Mijas by the protagonists) makes any express reference to the “Al-Andalus heritage” of the region. In this respect, while in the first stage (1905-22) the “maurophilic” vision of the romantic travellers predominated, in the “Tourism is a Great Invention” stage (1960-75) it seems that the Spanish “difference,” with its Arab connotations of the autarchy period, was replaced by the friendlier cliché of the “typical Spanish” for mass consumption (Afinoguénova, 2007; Crumbaugh, 2007; Fuentes Vega, 2015; Pack, 2006). Only the Moorish reverie of the credits of *Me has hecho perder el juicio* survives, in which the singer Manolo Escobar, as a tourism figurehead of late Francoism, dedicates a song to the “Moorish Ali Baba,” who goes to Seville and takes all the Andalusian women on the street with him. One more example of the “difference” of the Iberian male for tourism.

CONCLUSIONS

Throughout the text, we have seen how the features linked to “Al-Andalus heritage” have become an important part of the image of Spain, and more specifically of Andalusia, as it is in Andalusia where the monumental, urban and cultural elements most identifiable with this period are to be found (López Ontiveros, 2001). This identification began with the visions of the 19th century and has been consolidated up to the present day.

It is also worth noting that the “phantom image” of the Al-Andalus past and its subsequent validity has been accompanied by a component that can be described as mythical, in the sense that it creates a narrative that leads to actions in today’s world, without necessarily implying that this mythical character is based on false facts or erroneous ideas. At the same time, it can be confirmed that this myth of Al-Andalus has manifested itself in both directions, through positive and negative exaltation, becoming a symbol of attitudes and values that go beyond it: on the one hand, religious tolerance, refinement, cultural and scientific splendour, prosperity of the South against the North; on the other, manipulation of history against the Spanish essence, intrinsic aggressiveness of Islam, manifested in the holy war or Jihad, or oriental despotism in the political structure.

By way of a partial conclusion, it can be said that there has been a prolonged confrontation between two visions, both based on mythical images (not necessarily false), which run through the intellectual history of contemporary Spain. On the one hand, a positive vision, the positive myth of Al-Andalus, which González Alcántud (2014a) characterises with the following features:

- Good governance, conducive to economic and cultural prosperity.
- Harmony, or at least peaceful coexistence for much of the period, between the believers of three religions. As well as liberal customs, marked by sensuality and the “art of living.”
- Cradle of European rationalism, through the work of Ibn Rushd (Averroes) and the Averroist philosophers, deriving from classical sources.
- To these a fourth feature, born in the last decades of the 20th century and with a degree of popularity in present-day Andalusia, can be added:
- The contrast between the prosperity of the Andalusian territory in the Al-Andalus period as opposed to the painful awareness of its current underdevelopment.

On the other hand, there is a negative myth of Al-Andalus, which not only survives but seems to have intensified in recent years in some areas of Spanish nationalism, as some of the expressions of the aforementioned Serafin Fanjul reveal:

The Muslims of Al-Andalus [were] not Spanish [...]. Al-Andalus was a juxtaposition of communities much more akin to South African apartheid than to an idea of tolerance [...] the Moors in the 16th century felt a permanent hatred towards the society around them. They did not feel Spanish.⁴

Or, to sum up: “The Al-Andalus period was terrifying.”⁵

Consequently, this article has shown the existing polarity concerning the “phantom image” of Al-Andalus in Spanish cultural spheres. This polarity runs through practically the whole of the Contemporary Age, and it is significant that it has been sustained and even intensified in recent years, in parallel with the sharpening of debates on nationalism in Spain, Spanish national identity, and revisionist tendencies regarding its history.

Regardless of these debates in academic and intellectual circles, it is undeniable that the tourist image of Andalusia, both projected (by official bodies or non-institutional agents) and perceived (the one that finally becomes established in the minds of the clients), has incorporated the features of “Al-Andalus heritage” as an important part of the destination’s attraction, especially to highlight what differentiates Andalusia from external competitors. This is reflected in aspects such as the representation of this “phantom image” in cinematographic works related to the tourist phenomenon during the first three-quarters of the 20th century (where the association is clear given the appearance of tourists in the plot). According to the analysis carried out, the essential features of these cinematographic *replicas* are as follows:

- The continuity of the typical features of earlier literary formats, beginning with Romanticism, and now expressed in images. This continuity, which to a great extent tends to orientalise, is particularly clear in the early stages, as seen in the perspectives of the Tourism Commission and the Royal Commission for Tourism, still very much rooted in 19th century images of Spain and Andalusia (Moreno Garrido, and Villaverde, 2019).
- The marked presence of features from the Spanish-Muslim period in the early years of Francoism. Possibly due to the interest in consolidating a differential in Spain’s character by strengthening its folkloric and unique features in contrast to European standards (Calleja, 1943). And also, although to a lesser extent, due to the improvement in the traditional image of the “Moor,” after the massive use of Maghrebi troops by Franco’s side in the still recent Civil War (Bolorinos Alard, 2016; Velasco de Castro, 2014).

- The sharp decline in these features from the 1960s onwards, coinciding with the period known as the tourist boom. This is due to the move of the most important tourist centres from the historic cities (Seville, Granada, Cordoba, Ronda) to the coastal areas, where mass “sun and beach” tourism (with no reminiscences of the Al-Andalus past) became the dominant model (Afinoguénova, 2007; Crumbaugh, 2007; Fuentes Vega, 2015, Pack, 2006).

- In any event, the survival in films of Al-Andalus, Mudejar, or neo-Mudejar settings as a recurring backdrop for the plots. A resource that was considered to be infallible in giving them local colour or characteristics that were immediately recognisable by spectators, both at home and abroad.

- Finally, the constant presence in the plots of references to the Arab-Muslim past as an explanation for the behaviour and personality traits of the characters, whether tending towards mystery and refined sensuality, or towards passion that could lead to extreme blind violence (López Ontiveros, 2001).

As mentioned above, the representation of features concerning “Al-Andalus heritage” in films with tourists seems to reach a dramatic low point during the democratic period, in what appears to be a tendency to merely display the architectural heritage (*Ich bin schön?*, Doris Dörrie, 1998; *Alice et Martin*, André Téchiné, 1998; *Appelsinpiken*, Eva Dahr, 2009) but will need to be verified in future works. Spanish cinema, from centralism that still ignores regional identities at the beginning of the 1980s, mocks the Andalusian past in a poor version of the 1954 film *Todo es posible en Granada* (Rafael Romero Marchent, 1982), while Anglo-Saxon directors are committed to experiential tourism at the beginning of the 21st century but are still unable to rid themselves of Hispano-Arab clichés (*The Trip to Spain*, Michael Winterbottom, 2017).

A noteworthy aspect -related to experiential tourism- to be considered is how the tourist attitude toward Al-Andalus continues today. The most significant example is the project known as “The Al-Andalus Legacy.” This initiative was born in 1996 and took the form of an extensive network of itineraries throughout Andalusia and North Africa, linking significant points of Al-Andalus tradition, with the dual aim of retrieving its cultural heritage and at the same time turning it into an instrument for economic development through tourism. At present, it exists as a Public Foundation of the Junta de Andalucía (government of the Autonomous Community of Andalusia) and, given the practical impossibility of developing the ambitious original proposal, the project now (apart from publishing books, holding events, publishing magazines, etc.) promotes the “Routes of the Al-Andalus Legacy,” conceived as cultural tourism itineraries. These include “The Route of the Caliphate” (Cordoba-Granada), “The Route of Washington Irving” (Seville-Granada), “The Route of the Nasrids” (Navas de Tolosa-Granada), and

4 Fanjul, S., “Los musulmanes de Al-Ándalus no eran españoles, su proyecto político era árabe,” *El País*, 2 May 2001. https://elpais.com/diario/2001/05/02/andalucia/988755744_850215.html [accessed 02/July/2021].

5 Fanjul, S., “La época de Al-Ándalus fue terrorífica,” *La Opinión de Málaga*, 27 July 2015. <https://www.laopiniondemalaga.es/sociedad/2015/07/27/epoca-andalus-terrorifica-28517831.html> [accessed 02/July/2021].

“The Route of the Almoravids and Almohads” (Tarifa-Granada), which have been awarded European Cultural Itinerary status by the Council of Europe.

Finally, two last conclusions. On the one hand, the obvious difficulty of integrating, even today, the Al-Andalus period into a national Spanish historical narrative, chiefly due to its Islamic nature, in contrast to the traditional conception of Spain as a nation forged on the ideological and symbolic axis of the Christian religion. And, on the other hand, aside from internal debates, the power and validity of the features of Al-Andalus heritage as an identifying feature of Andalusia in the eyes of foreign tourist markets. This is a reality that goes beyond the degree of historical accuracy that sustains the Al-Andalus myth, as it has been engraved in the Western popular imagination for generations, and is, therefore, an image that impacts on present-day Andalusia, which calls to mind a well-known quote by Ashcroft: “stereotypes as well as being a reflection of reality can transform it, since reality creates discourse as much as discourse creates reality” (Sazatornil, 2015, p. 83).

ANNEXES: LIST OF FILMS

TABLE 1. Cinema as a document (1905-1922).

FILM	YEAR	DIRECTOR
Le coffret de Tolède	1914	Louis Feuillade
Les fiancés de Séville	1914	Louis Feuillade
Sangre y arena	1916	Vicente Blasco Ibáñez
La fête espagnole	1919	Germaine Dulac
Chichinette et Compagnie	1921	Henri Desfontaines
El Dorado	1921	Marcel L'Herbier
Soleil et ombre	1922	Jeanne Roques
Blood and Sand	1922	Fred Niblo

TABLE 2. Cinema as propaganda (1923-1939).

FILM	YEAR	DIRECTOR
La malchanceuse	1923	E.M. Donatien
La Terre des Taureaux	1923	Jeanne Roques
Currito de la Cruz	1925	Alejandro Pérez Lugín
El Niño de Oro	1926	José María Granada
El Patio de los Naranjos	1926	Guillermo Hernández Mir
La hermana San Sulpicio	1927	Florián Rey
La Femme et le Pantin	1929	Jacques de Baroncelli
La Copla Andaluza	1929	Ernesto González
Los claveles de la Virgen	1929	Florián Rey
La hermana San Sulpicio	1934	Florián Rey

Currito de la Cruz	1936	Fernando Delgado
María de la O	1936	Francisco Elías
La Reina Mora	1937	Eusebio Fernández Ardavín

TABLE 3. The leaden years (1940-1959).

FILM	YEAR	DIRECTOR
Martingala	1940	Fernando Mignoni
Blood and Sand	1941	Rouben Mamoulian
Pepe Conde	1941	José López Rubio
Tierra y cielo	1941	Eusebio Fernández Ardavín
El frente de los suspiros	1942	Juan de Orduña
Misterio en la marisma	1943	Claudio de la Torre
La boda de Quinita Flores	1943	Gonzalo Delgrás
Ídolos	1943	Florián Rey
Olé torero	1948	Benito Perojo
Fifa e arena	1948	Mario Mattoli
Jalisco canta en Sevilla	1949	Fernando de Fuentes
La guitarra de Gardel	1949	León Klimovsky
Currito de la Cruz	1949	Luis Lucia
Le désir et l'amour	1951	Henri Decoin
Una cubana en España	1951	Luis Bayón Herrera
La hermana San Sulpicio	1952	Luis Lucia
El seductor de Granada	1953	Lucas Demare
La Belle de Cadix	1953	Raymond Bernard
Puebla de las mujeres	1953	Antonio del Amo
Nuits Andalouses	1954	Maurice Cloche
Châteaux en Espagne	1954	René Wheeler
El duende de Jerez	1954	Daniel Mangrané
Todo es posible en Granada	1954	José Luis Sáenz de Heredia
Sucedió en Sevilla	1955	José Gutiérrez Maesso
La Cruz de Mayo	1955	Florián Rey
La Reina Mora	1955	Raúl Alfonso
Para siempre amor mío	1955	Tito Davison
Congreso en Sevilla	1955	Antonio Román
Suspiros de Triana	1955	Ramón Torrado
Good-bye Sevilla	1955	Ignacio F. Iquino
Curra Veleta	1956	Ramón Torrado
Les girls	1957	George Cukor
Il conte Max	1957	Giorgio Bianchi
Saeta del Ruiseñor	1957	Antonio del Amo
La Femme y le Pantin	1958	Julien Duvivier
Pane, Amore e Andalusia	1958	Javier Setó

Les bijoutiers du clair de lune	1958	Roger Vadim
El Cristo de los Faroles	1958	Gonzalo Delgrás
Villa Alegre	1958	Alejandro Perla
Taxi, roulotte et corrida	1958	André Hunebelle
El hinch	1958	José María Elorrieta
Tenemos 18 años	1959	Jesús Franco
Honeymoon	1959	Michael Powell
Tommy the Toreador	1959	John Paddy Carstairs
It Started with a Kiss	1959	George Marshall

TABLE 4. Tourism is a great invention (1960-1975).

FILM	YEAR	DIRECTOR
Holiday in Spain	1960	Jack Cardiff
Despedida de soltero	1960	Eugenio Martín
The Magic Fountain	1963	Fernando Lamas
The Running Man	1963	Carol Reed
The Pleasure Seekers	1964	Jean Negulesco
Amador	1964	Francisco Regueiro
Donde tú estés	1964	Germán Lorente
En Andalucía nació el amor	1966	Enrique López Eguiluz
Los duendes de Andalucía	1966	Ana Mariscal
Camino del Rocío	1966	Rafael Gil
Granada, addio!	1966	Marino Girolami
El próximo otoño	1967	Antonio Eceiza
Días de viejo color	1967	Pedro Olea
Amor a la española	1967	Fernando Merino
Operación Cabaretera	1967	Mariano Ozores
Fathom	1967	Leslie H. Martinson
Una chica para dos	1968	León Klimovsky
Objetivo BI-KI-NI	1968	Mariano Ozores
Stress-es tres-tres	1968	Carlos Saura
El turismo es un gran invento	1968	Pedro Lazaga
Cuidado con las señoras	1968	Julio Buchs
Una vez al año ser hippy no hace daño	1968	Javier Aguirre
Hard Contract	1969	S. Lee Pogostin
El abominable hombre de la Costa del Sol	1970	Pedro Lazaga
El coleccionista de cadáveres	1970	Santos Alcocer
Coqueluche	1970	Germán Lorente
La novicia rebelde	1971	Luis Lucia

Les Charlots font l'Espagne	1972	Jean Girault
Secuestro a la española	1972	Mateo Cano
Night Child	1972	James Kelley
Me has hecho perder el juicio	1973	Juan de Orduña
Manolo La Nuit	1973	Mariano Ozores
Una vela para el diablo	1973	Eugenio Martín
Qué cosas tiene el amor	1973	Germán Lorente
Stardust	1974	Michael Apted
Fin de semana al desnudo	1974	Mariano Ozores
Una chica y un señor	1974	Pedro Masó
Professione: Reporter	1975	Michelangelo Antonioni

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Alfonso Fernández-Tabales: conceptualization, funding acquisition, project administration, investigation, methodology, supervision, writing – original draft, writing – review & editing.

Maria C. Puche-Ruiz: conceptualization, formal analysis, investigation, methodology, visualization, writing – original draft, writing – review & editing.

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