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## The cultural representation of the Spanish-Moroccan War La representación cultural de la guerra hispano-marroquí

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### Abstract

The Spanish-Moroccan War implied the start of the colonial development in Morocco in the 19th century when the European colonialist countries (especially the United Kingdom and France) divided Africa, although it was not until 1912 that the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco was established.

But this war was essential because in the national imaginary it was established as the moment in which the Spanish nation was recomposed to return to be a great Empire. Despite the result of the war being disappointed, it was a moment of development of the Spanish patriotism.

Consequently, the war aroused enormous interest among the population. The interest also was very important in the cultural field, which served to show to the population the development of the war between the Spanish troops and the Moroccans. In addition, some of the works tried to represent the Moroccan society to understand this territory that was the principal colonial interest of Spain.

Pedro Antonio de Alarcón and Mariano Fortuny were the most important Spanish artists of the moment who portrayed the conflict. Their works were those which had the best quality of the period and those which marked the Hispanic consciousness about the Spanish-Moroccan war.

### Keywords

Spanish-Moroccan war, Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, Mariano Fortuny, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, *La batalla de Tetuán*

### Resumen

La Guerra de África implicó el inicio de la implantación de una subordinación cuasi-colonial en Marruecos en el momento en el que las potencias colonizadoras europeas del siglo XIX (especialmente el Reino Unido y Francia) dividieron África, aunque no fue hasta 1912 el momento en el que se estableció el Protectorado español de Marruecos.

Esta guerra fue esencial porque en el imaginario nacional se estableció como el momento en que la nación española se recompuso para volver a ser un gran Imperio. De esta manera, a pesar del desencanto general que provocó la contienda fue un momento de desarrollo del patriotismo español.

En consecuencia, la guerra despertó un enorme interés entre la población, destacando incluso en el campo cultural pues servía para hacer mostrar a la población el desarrollo de la guerra entre las tropas españolas y los marroquíes. Además, algunas de las obras representaron a la sociedad marroquí pues era el principal interés colonial de España en este momento.

Pedro Antonio de Alarcón y Mariano Fortuny fueron los artistas españoles más importantes del momento que retrataron el conflicto. Sus obras fueron las que tuvieron la mejor calidad del período y las que marcaron la conciencia hispana sobre la Guerra de África.

### Palabras clave

Guerra de África, Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, Mariano Fortuny, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, *La batalla de Tetuán*

## 1. Introduction

Spain has had historically a close contact with the north of Africa. However, the discovery and colonization of America since the 16<sup>th</sup> century meant that the Spanish governments turned their political attention to this continent, even though the testament of Isabella I begged her successor to recover the Maghreb from the Islam. Thus, the north of Africa was a secondary territorial objective<sup>1</sup>.

Only since the Spanish-Moroccan War of 1860, the north of Africa (especially Morocco) became the center of the new colonial project in Africa<sup>2</sup> because Spain had lost the American Empire at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (except Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines). Therefore, the Spanish-Moroccan War is conceived as the moment when Spain recovered the political interest and the intention to influence the Moroccan interior policy, as well other countries did in said country and all around Africa (like the United Kingdom, France or Germany).

The war was very popular because after a period of civil wars (the Carlists Wars between absolutists and liberals) the Spanish-Moroccan War supposed fighting against another country<sup>3</sup>. (De Alarcón y Ariza, 1859: 5). This situation meant the union of the Spanish politicians and population against a foreign enemy. It was a moment of the development of national patriotism. The Spanish population thought that the country was again a powerful colonial nation like in the previous centuries. However, the result of the war was disappointing, because the conflict had supposed a big mobilization but the peace treaty was very poor<sup>4</sup>.

The Spanish-Moroccan War allowed to the Spanish population to know Morocco, the territory that will be the object of attention of the new national colonialism<sup>5</sup>. In such a way, the most important events of the conflict were portrayed by many painters and were narrated by many reporters and writers. In this way, the population could observe and read how the army fought in Morocco.

Many intellectuals went to Morocco to observe directly the conflict. Mariano Fortuny and Pedro Antonio de Alarcón were the most important artists that could see the progress of the war. Fortuny (one of the most relevant painters of the 19<sup>th</sup> century) was commanded to picture the most significant acts during the war by the Diputación provincial de Barcelona. Alarcón (which also was one of the most important artists in his field, literature) decided to enlist as a volunteer soldier in the army. This way, he could observe the war directly. The result was the narration of his own experience in *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África* (1860), which had a big success.

## 2. Methodology

This cultural research tries to compare how the representation of the Spanish-Moroccan War was shown to the Spanish population in 1860. The cultural production of this event was very large. The development of journalism implied a great media coverage of this war.

The artistic interest also was very important as well because this war was the resurgence of the patriotic pride. This pride had disappeared with the collapse of the

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<sup>1</sup> MANUEL ESPLUGA OLIVERA, «Las campañas de Marruecos, gestas y desastres», in MANUEL ARAGÓN REYES, FATIHA BENLABBAH E IGNACIO SÁNCHEZ GALÁN (edd.), *El Protectorado español en Marruecos: la historia trascendida*, vol. 3, Iberdrola, Bilbao 2013, pp. 299-324, p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> This continent was divided and conquered during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>3</sup> PEDRO ANTONIO DE ALARCÓN Y ARIZA, *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, Imprenta y Librería de Gaspar y Roig, Editores, Madrid 1859, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> ANTONIO CÁNOVAS DEL CASTILLO, *Apuntes para la historia de Marruecos*, Fortanet, Madrid 1913, p. 258.

<sup>5</sup> Only in 1912 Spain established the Moroccan protectorate with France until 1956.

Spanish Empire in America, which had happened at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The artists could show the superiority of a European powerful country in contrast with an African Empire that had Medieval reminiscences.

So, the artistic works that we analyze show how the Spanish-Moroccan War (especially the battle of Tetouan) was portrayed. We emphasize the works commissioned to Mariano Fortuny, since he was one of the most important painters of the century and he could go to Morocco and be part of the conflict. At the same time, we have compared it with the literary works about the war, especially with *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*. This work was written by Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, who enlisted in the Spanish army to be part of the combat.

Like this, we can observe the representation of a transcendental event that the government wanted to show to the people. In a certain way, the works that we analyze (pictures and books) have narrative and photographic connotations, because the artists wanted to represent this event and immortalize it for the future.

Besides, we can see the importance of these works for the development of the Spanish nationalism. The 19<sup>th</sup> century was when this ideological concept appeared, that is, when the modern concept of nation and State emerged. Nationalism is oriented towards the development and creation of a national identity that is based on elements shared by the population such as culture, language, history, etc. So then, patriotism is an essential element of nationalism. The Spanish-Moroccan War was one of the most important episodes of the 19<sup>th</sup> century for the patriotic Spanish movement because all the population was engaged against a foreign enemy and proud of being Spanish. The confrontation with a weak country revived the perception of Spain such a powerful nation<sup>6</sup>.

### 3. Spain and his colonial place

The 19<sup>th</sup> century was the transcendental period that supposed one of the most important political change in Spain because during this century the absolutist regime finished, and the political liberalism started. This political change was related to the Napoleon occupation of the Spanish kingdom (1808-1813). The reign of Joseph I introduced the reforms that his brother had implemented in France and which had had a big impact in all Europe. However, at that moment, the Spanish political liberalism started his own revolution. The most important result was the Constitution of Cádiz in 1812, which was the first constitution of Spain.

Simultaneously, with the beginning of the Spanish liberalism, the Colonial Empire started to collapse. After the defeat of Napoleon, the House of Borbón took back the Spanish throne. The first action after the comeback of Ferdinand VII was the restoration of the absolutist regime (that survived until 1834). Nevertheless, the disintegration of the Empire had started. The *vacatio regis* provoked by the abdication of Ferdinand VII and Charles IV to Napoleon on May 5, 1808 (Abdications of Bayonne) started the mobilization of the Spanish elites to take on the sovereignty of the State during the French occupation of the Iberian Peninsula. If the king could not govern, the population would govern. In this way, in the main towns, the elites created *juntas* (a group of local authorities) to manage the Empire. The Junta Suprema Central (1808-1810) was placed as the most important of all these *juntas* because it collected executive and legislative powers. However, the Latin American *juntas* did not recognize the subjection to the Junta Suprema Central because the

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<sup>6</sup> CÁNOVAS DEL CASTILLO, *Apuntes para*, cit. p. 269.

Metropolis was invaded by the Napoleon troops, so the European portion of Spain could not be the only leader of the Empire<sup>7</sup>.

Thereby, although there were Latin Americans deputies at the Cádiz Cortes, the Spanish American Wars of Independence started. They supposed the end of the Spanish colonial rule in Latin America. In that way, by the middle of the century, Spain was a small country in comparison to the big colonial expansion that the United Kingdom or France had started. By the end of the century, Spain only owned Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines.

Despite the end of the Spanish Empire, the 19<sup>th</sup> century implied the development of the European Empires (especially British and French Empires) on Asia, Oceania, and Africa. Even though the European countries had had trading posts on the African coast since the 16th century, the colonization of Algeria (which started in 1830) marked the beginning of European colonial presence in Africa<sup>8</sup>.

#### 4. The Orientalism after the Spanish-Moroccan War

At the end of the 1850s, these elements joined with an unstable political situation in Spain that led the government from that moment to start wars in different parts of the world. These are the «Prestige Wars» and they happened in Indochina, Peru, and Morocco. They took place to compensate the Colonial losses in Latin America.

These facts were portrayed by Orientalism, which is the term that we use to talk about the depiction or imitation of Eastern cultures and which is included within the Romanticism. It coincided with the European expansion in Asia and Africa. Orientalism started when Napoleon landed in Egypt in 1798<sup>9</sup>. It implied the use of a lot of clichés built by the European intellectuals that have been repeated ad nauseam in paintings, novels, films, etc.

But what does Orientalism really mean? Orientalism is linked to the exotic, the strange, the lassitude, violence, sex, the colorful, sometimes even dreamlike and unreal. In fact, in several Orientalist works seemed to represent dreams of the artists without knowing the places that they wanted to show.

In this artistic context, the Iberian Peninsula had a very particular situation because it was the inspiratory object of many Orientalist European artists and writers. Spain was judged as an African territory due to its cultural and economic backwardness. Spain appeared in the European artistic mind as in the same area of Morocco. Spain provided the same colors and contrasts that they looked for in North African territories. In this way, Andalusia was the most important place because of its Arab heritage (for example in the Mosque of Córdoba, the Alhambra or the Giralda)<sup>10</sup>.

Even though Orientalism is not the subject of this research<sup>11</sup>, we cannot ignore the influence that it had on the authors who portrayed the Spanish-Moroccan War of 1860

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<sup>7</sup> MANUEL CHUST CALERO, JOHN ELLIOTT (edd.), *Las independencias iberoamericanas en su laberinto : controversias, cuestiones, interpretaciones*, Publicacions de la Universitat de València, Valencia 2010, p. 24.

<sup>8</sup> Only after the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 Africa was completely conquered.

<sup>9</sup> Díaz de Villegas said that the settle in Algeria in 1830 it was also an important moment at the beginning of Orientalism. JOSÉ DÍAZ DE VILLEGAS, TOMÁS GARCÍA FIGUERAS, *África en la historia y en el arte*. Junta de Cultura de Vizcaya, Bilbao 1961, p. 47.

<sup>10</sup> ANTONIO MUÑOZ DEGRAÍN, *El orientalismo en la pintura de Antonio Muñoz Degraín*, Generalitat Valenciana, Valencia 1999, p. 16.

<sup>11</sup> We understand here Orientalism as the cultural concept which refers to works of Occidental artists about Asia (especially the Middle East) after the Napoleonic campaign in Egypt (1798-1801). This moment was the start of European cultural interventions and trips to the Arab countries to have exotic adventures.



(especially in painting). That is why we must contextualize its development in Spain. In the 1830s of the 19th century, the principal romantic artists of the time<sup>12</sup>, such as Eugène Delacroix and David Roberts<sup>13</sup>, as painters, and Lord Byron and Washington Irving, as writers, left their mark on the peninsula due to their crossing because they considered Spain to be an Oriental country, especially Andalusia due to its Arab past. However, the influence of these authors sparked a Spanish Orientalism developed in a stylistic and a thematic way similar to the European Orientalism<sup>14</sup>.

Besides, the Spanish Orientalism was very peculiar because it had a single object of attraction, Morocco. So, for Spain, we should speak of Africanism, not Orientalism. In addition, the peculiarity of this artistic genre in the Spanish context came from the geographical and historical proximity to its object of interest. This supposed a very realistic approach, which was very unusual in the European Orientalism, where the fantasy was the rule. Besides, the Al-Andalus period of Spanish history had linked the Iberian Peninsula the Maghreb under the same authority.

The influence was very important in the Spanish artists especially in those that went to Morocco since 1860. However, the Spanish Orientalism was very particular because of the proximity between Spain and the Arab world, as Edward Said wrote in the prologue of the latest edition of *Orientalism*<sup>15</sup>.

Therefore, Mariano Fortuny (one of the most important Spanish painters in Morocco during the Protectorate) noticed a great link between Moroccan and Andalusian art. In conclusion, Spanish Orientalism could be perceived as a historical reencounter between Arabs descendants<sup>16</sup>.

In painting, the first great follower of Romanticism and Spanish Orientalism was Jenaro Pérez Villaamil (1807-1854). He was a great landscapist and naturalist painter of the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, whose work was focused on the Arab theme. Villaamil was essential to understand the Spanish authors who represented Morocco after<sup>17</sup>.

At the same time, Villaamil was also one of the great promoters of the historicist art (especially since 1850) that was very important during Romanticism<sup>18</sup>. In this way, Villaamil represented two of the essential elements of the painters who developed their pictorial work in Morocco: on the one hand, the representation of the Arab world, and on the other hand, the historicism. This historicism in the Spanish-Moroccan War served to preserve historical acts putting them in relation with the greatness of Spain.

The other precursor of Spanish Orientalism was José María Escacena and Daza (1800-1858), although his work had a very limited significance in Spanish Romanticism. His

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<sup>12</sup> Romanticism implied the glorification of the past and nature, that is why it prefers the medieval thematic. As well, the Orient world had in the 19<sup>th</sup> century this medieval and exotic essence that the Romantic artists loved. Thus, Orientalism will be here Romanticism which has Oriental thematic.

<sup>13</sup> Scottish romantic painter who toured Spain and Morocco, which relates to the vision of these two nations. So then, a British Orientalist model was set up, with a vital insertion of landscaping, developed first by this author. ENRIQUE ARIAS ANGLÉS «Pérez Villaamil y los inicios del orientalismo en la pintura española», in *Archivo español de arte*, n. 71 (281), 1998, pp. 1-15, p. 6.

<sup>14</sup> Ivi, p. 4.

<sup>15</sup> EDWARD SAID, *Orientalismo*, Debate, Madrid 2002, p. 9.

<sup>16</sup> ENRIQUE ARIAS ANGLÉS, «Una mirada al mundo marroquí a través de la pintura española, desde la Guerra de África (1859-1860) hasta el fin del Protectorado (1956)», in MANUEL ARAGÓN REYES, FATIHA BENLABBAH E IGNACIO SÁNCHEZ GALÁN (edd.), *El Protectorado español en Marruecos: la historia trascendida*, vol. 2, Iberdrola, Bilbao 2013, pp. 55-104, p. 58.

<sup>17</sup> JUAN ANTONIO GAYA NUÑO, *Ars Hispaniae: historia universal del arte hispánico. V. 19, Arte del siglo XIX*, Plus Ultra, Madrid 1966, p. 28.

<sup>18</sup> ARIAS ANGLÉS, «Pérez Villaamil, cit. p. 9.

paintings represented popular Moroccan scenes without any prejudice. This was the usual before the military confrontations that began in 1860 with the Spanish-Moroccan War<sup>19</sup>.

But when we talk about literature, the Spanish Orientalism focus his attention on the Islamic past of Spain. Orientalist literature in Spain had developed during the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century because the Islamic and the Moorish were the recurrent objects of attraction. However, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Orientalist literature had a historical sense because the authors recurred to Al-Andalus and the Moorish revolts as portrayed in *Morayma: Tragedia* (1829) or *Aben Humeya o la Rebelión de los Moriscos: un drama histórico* (1830) written by Martínez de la Rosa and *Granada. Poema Oriental* (1852) written by José de Espronceda.

Thereby, after the Spanish-Moroccan War in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The main works about Morocco usually dealt with geography and history, which is an indicator of the colonial objective in this literature. Some titles were *Viaje de Ali Beyu-el-Abbasi* (1836) written by Domingo Badía y Lebllich, *Los cristianos de Calomarde o el renegado por fuerza* (1835) written by León López y Espila, *Manual del oficial en Marruecos o cuadro geográfico, estadístico, histórico, político y militar de aquel imperio* (1844) written by Serafín Estébanez Calderón and *Apuntes para la historia de Marruecos* (1851) written by Antonio Cánovas del Castillo (who added an appendix after the war)<sup>20</sup>.

## 5. The Spanish-Moroccan War

The recurrent violence in the territories that surrounding Ceuta and Melilla was increasing and caused tensions between Spain and Morocco (like in 1844 when the Riffians attacked Melilla). However, it was in 1859 when the government of the political party Unión Liberal (1858-1863), led by Leopoldo O'Donnell, took the initiative and declared war on the Moroccan Empire. The reason being that he Moroccan authorities had not taken the measures to end the attacks led by the Anghera cabilia that surrounding Ceuta<sup>21</sup>. Moreover, the colonial context favoured the development of a war like this<sup>22</sup>.

The war was part of a group of military interventions that wanted to distract the population from the bad domestic political situation, the «Prestige Wars» that we have already explained. Among these conflicts, the Spanish-Moroccan War was the most relevant because it generated a great expectation among the Spanish population.

The Spanish-Moroccan War of 1860 increased the interest of the Spanish artists towards Morocco. In addition, the Spanish government needed artists to narrate the development of the war in Morocco. All this situation produced the division of Spanish Orientalism in two trends. The first was characterized by great respect and

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<sup>19</sup> ARIAS ANGLÉS, «Una mirada, cit. p. 58.

<sup>20</sup> NIL SANTIÁNEZ, «De la tropa al tropo: colonialismo, escritura de guerra y enunciación metafórica en *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*», in *Hispanic Review*, n. 76 (1), 2008, pp. 71-93, p. 79.

<sup>21</sup> The agreement of Tetouan signed on August 1859 established that the Moroccan government had to compensate the Spanish government for the attacks led by Angheras. However, the attacks continued and then the Spanish government gave an ultimatum to solve the situation on September 5. Marion Reder Gadow, «El norte de África en la política Española hasta el siglo XIX», in MANUEL ARAGÓN REYES, FATIHA BENLABBAH E IGNACIO SÁNCHEZ GALÁN (edd.), *El Protectorado español en Marruecos: la historia trascendida*, vol. 3, Iberdrola, Bilbao 2013, pp. 231-268, p. 264.

<sup>22</sup> The Spanish government was supported by Prussia, Austria, Russia and Portugal, meanwhile the United Kingdom required that the conquest would be temporary until the payment of war reparations. DE ALARCÓN Y ARIZA, *Diario de un testigo*, cit. p. 58.

interest in Morocco. It was originated by Mariano Fortuny (1838-1874). He was followed by José Tapiró (1836-1913) and Mariano Bertuchi (1884-1955). They created an unprejudiced and truthful image of the Moroccan world. In literature, Pedro Antonio de Alarcón also take part on this trend. The other trend of Orientalism showed the Riffian as a cruel enemy, due to their recurrent confrontation<sup>23</sup>.

The conflict with Morocco became one of the most popular wars of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The war has been one of the few conflicts that has brought together all Spaniards because it concerned the whole country. The war was an explosion of patriotism. It produced a great enthusiasm within the population. The Spaniards believed that Spain was again a powerful Empire.

The Spanish-Moroccan War was declared on October 22, 1859. It involved the mobilization of 40,000 men. On several occasions they showed that they were badly organized and that they ignored the basic rules of combat which led to the general disbanding of the frightened soldiers. This was possible to manage only thanks to the harangues of generals such as Prim<sup>24</sup>. Besides, we must talk about the multiple adversities that the army suffered, such as bad weather, fatigue, hunger and diseases (especially cholera). (De Alarcón y Ariza, 1859: 38). The conflict was not an exceptional military event. It was very slow, and its battles were not especially memorable. They were reduced to three: Castillejos (January 1), Tetouan (February 4) and Wad-Ras (March 24).

The war finished on April 26, 1860, with the sign of the Wad-Ras Treaty, which was very disappointing (it was called «paz chica») considering the war had caused 10,000 casualties (1152 killed in action and 2888 died due to different illnesses)<sup>25</sup>. The Treaty established the payment of 100 million pesetas as war reparations, the increase of the territory of Ceuta and Melilla, the cession of Santa Cruz de la Mar Pequeña (a historic settlement in the Atlantic coast), and the status of the most favoured nation in trade.

The war became an epic event that created a big interest in the Spanish population (it appeared in a lot of romances and poems which praised the work of the army) and that sparked a great journalistic interest. At the same time, the war was represented culturally through literature and painting. In the case of literature, the main work was *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África* written by Pedro Antonio de Alarcón<sup>26</sup>. In the case of painting, the importance attributed to the war by the State is also observed<sup>27</sup>, because several paintings were commissioned to several artists, including Eduardo Rosales and Mariano Fortuny, two of the most important painters of the 19th century in Spain.

## 6. The literary vision

The war in Morocco produced a succession of literary publications that included academic celebrations, chronicles, newspaper editorials, memoirs, theatre, musical

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<sup>23</sup> ARIAS ANGLÉS, «Una mirada, cit. pp. 60-62.

<sup>24</sup> CÁNOVAS DEL CASTILLO, *Apuntes para*, cit. p. 260.

<sup>25</sup> SHM-EMC (Servicio Histórico Militar-Estado Mayor Central), *Historia de las Campañas de Marruecos, Tomo 1*, Imprenta Ideal, Madrid 1947, p. 319.

<sup>26</sup> *Aita Tettauen*, the «Episodio Nacional» of Benito Pérez Galdós about the Spanish-Moroccan War along with *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África* became the most important narrative works about the war.

<sup>27</sup> The Battle of Tetouan focused the interest of the war. Thus, some painters were commissioned to paint it: Marino Fortuny (1862-1864), Eduardo Rosales (1868), Vicente Palmaroli (1870), Dionisio Fierros (1894) or César Álvarez Dumont (1898) (acquired and exhibited in the Spanish Senate).

shows and fictions in general. From the historiographical scope, important politicians of the time studied the conflict and justified it.

First, Antonio Cánovas del Castillo extended his *Apuntes para la historia de Marruecos*, written in 1851. It was a chronological report of the historical evolution of the Moroccan territory. In 1860, before the war, the author added a chapter where he reported the development of the war and where he justified the Spanish obligation to exercise its colonial rule in Morocco to promote its development.

Another important work edited by a politician, in this case, Emilio Castelar, was *Crónica de la guerra de África*. This work analyzed the background of the war, but most importantly, it collected a lot of sources to understand the Spanish-Moroccan War. The sources included official parts, correspondence between different army corps and parliamentary discussions<sup>28</sup>.

In both works, the action of Spain in Africa was justified as necessary to civilize the country. Besides, the authors wanted to prepare the future and the effective colonization of Morocco, although this war did not imply an effective occupation of the territory because the government of the United Kingdom supported that the sovereignty of Morocco remained<sup>29</sup>.

Another literary genre that was widely exploited to praise the military work and its heroic feats was the popular lyric. In this way, many romances and *coplillas* were produced and later were collected by important authors. We must remark the compendium edited by the Marquis of Molins (Mariano Roca de Togores y Carrasco), *El romancero de la guerra de África*<sup>30</sup>, which narrated, through a sequence of romances, the evolution of the war. It was written by different authors such as the Duke of Rivas (Ángel de Saavedra y Ramírez de Baquedano), Juan Eugenio Hartzenbuch or Antonio Alcalá Galiano. Another example was the work of Eduardo Bustillo, *Historia de la gloriosa guerra de África en 1859*<sup>31</sup>, which narrated the war in several romances just like the publication of the Marquis of Molins.

However, the main literary work over the war was *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, written by Pedro Antonio de Alarcón (1833-1891). This author was one of the most important writers in the Spanish literature of travel chronicles, which had a big success in this century because of the increase in tourism by the bourgeoisie<sup>32</sup>. His chronicles were very popular among the population and were praised by the main authors of the moment such as Emilia Pardo Bazán or Azorín.

*Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África* is an example of a travel chronicle that also showed the power of the Spanish army and its military successes in the Spanish-Moroccan War. Thus, Alarcón, in addition to telling the military acts, also made a story in which he showed the north of Morocco to the reader. The chronicle was included into the «literary realism» movement because the book showed the realism of the war and Morocco with continuous descriptions of the combats and the places. Particularly for this work, the author enlisted himself as a volunteer of the Spanish army. He was not just another soldier, as he was friend with the general Antonio Ros

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<sup>28</sup> EMILIO CASTELAR Y RIPOLL, *Crónica de la guerra de África*. Madrid, Imprenta de V. Matute y B. Compagne, 1859.

<sup>29</sup> CÁNOVAS DEL CASTILLO, *Apuntes para*, cit. p. 258; CASTELAR Y RIPOLL, *Crónica de*, cit. p. 8.

<sup>30</sup> MARIANO ROCA DE TOGORES MOLINS (Marquis of Molins), *El romancero de la guerra de África*, Imprenta y estereotipa de M. Rivadeneyra, Madrid 1860.

<sup>31</sup> EDUARDO BUSTILLO, *Historia de la gloriosa guerra de África en 1859 : escrita y dividida en romances*, Hernando, Madrid 1891.

<sup>32</sup> ANA RODRÍGUEZ FISCHER, «Los viajes de Pedro Antonio de Alarcón: teatros de la tragicomedia de una vida», in *Anuario de Estudios Filológicos*, n. 35, 2012, pp. 181-199, p. 182.

de Olano, who was one of the most important general in the development of the war. He was elected to be an orderly of the general O'Donnell, the Prime Minister and the Minister of War and therefore the leader of the conflict.

The book has been recognized as one of the founding texts of Spanish colonial Africanism. It is the main direct report of the war that put Morocco back in the colonizing interest of Spain. Moreover, we see how the author mixed feelings because he wanted to avoid confrontation but at the same time, he wished Spain would recover the role of a great political power, where Morocco was essential.

The work was published by episodes from December 1859 to March 1860. It achieved a big sales success among the population that wanted to know the details of the confrontation (50,000 copies were sold, which was a true record for this moment)<sup>33</sup>. In this way, the book involved the consecration of Alarcón as a writer.

The narration only reported what Alarcón lived during the war, which meant that the book had a limited and subjective perspective. However, the veracity of the narrative was guaranteed because he took part on the war. The content of the work is a detailed report of the Spanish-Moroccan War, from the day the author embarked in Malaga on December 11, 1859, to his return to Madrid on March 23, 1860, just the day before the battle of Wad-Ras, which was the last combat of the war. The writer narrated the arrival to Ceuta<sup>34</sup>, the slow progress with a successions of skirmishes with the Moroccans, the battle of Castillejos<sup>35</sup>, the combat of Guad-el-Gelú<sup>36</sup>, the battle of Tetouan<sup>37</sup>, the entry into the city<sup>38</sup> and the detailed description of it (population, habits, buildings, etc.)<sup>39</sup>. Like this, the description of the places they passed through was an essential element of the work.

It was appreciated because it was one of the first examples of the Spanish colonial narrative in Morocco that served to create the image of North Africa for the Spaniards, although it was partly incomplete. This is because the Moroccans were mainly portrayed on the battlefield. When he wanted to analyze the native population he could not do as he would like, because the Moroccans escaped from the advance of the troops and they took all their belongings. In this way, he could not portray literary Muslim habits. So, the focus of the work was the military combats. Consequently, the anthropological research work focused mainly on the Jews who stayed in Tetouan when the Spanish army conquered it<sup>40</sup>.

Thereby, although he could not study the Muslims in an anthropological way, he did a portrait of them through the combats. On the one hand, the vision showed of the Moroccans differed from the Riffians to the Arabs. The Riffians were represented as bellicose people and with a big resentment towards Spain, especially for owning Ceuta, Melilla and the sovereign rocks of Spain on the coast. These people would have been the real instigators of the war and the forces most difficult to control by the Sultan. On the other hand, the Arabs were pictured as a pragmatic and rational society, even though in several occasions the book showed the «Moors» as not being

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<sup>33</sup> NIL SANTIÁNEZ, «De la tropa, cit. p. 90.

<sup>34</sup> DE ALARCÓN Y ARIZA, *Diario de un testigo*, cit. p. 11.

<sup>35</sup> Ivi, pp. 59-69.

<sup>36</sup> The intervention of Pedro Antonio de Alarcón in this combat supposed that he received the Orden de San Fernando. Ivi, pp. 163-174.

<sup>37</sup> Ivi, pp. 163-174.

<sup>38</sup> Ivi, pp. 182-196.

<sup>39</sup> Ivi, pp. 196-242.

<sup>40</sup> Alarcón wrote: «we must not allow that ten thousand inhabitants of the Jewish quarter and the two or three thousand Moors who still remain in other neighborhoods die because of hunger», Ivi, p. 271.



reliable people<sup>41</sup>. The big clairvoyance of its leaders was also noticed. An example would be the negotiation of the peace, where they responded to the requirements of Spain in a cautious way to avoid the collapse of their regime. Such is the case of giving up the sovereignty of Tetouan, as it would imply the dethronement of the Sultan. This situation would mean to the government of Spain to have to continue battling for several decades to achieve a satisfactory result<sup>42</sup>.

To conclude the literally representation of the war, we cannot forget *Aita Tettauen*, written by Benito Pérez Galdós. This novel is part of the «Episodios Nacionales», the set of 46 historical novels whose plots narrated the experiences of many fictional characters in relation to the historical events that happened in Spain during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The «Episodios Nacionales» were divided into five series. *Aita Tettauen* was the sixth novel of the fourth series. Its protagonists were Juan Santiuste, in charge of rebroadcasting the war and the Muslim El Nasiry (a renegade Christian). They met in Tetouan. The book was a novel based on the *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África*, whose writer, Alarcón, was a character in *Aita Tettauen*.

## 7. The pictorial vision

The Spanish-Moroccan War portrayed a lot of times. The genre of these works was historicism because the painters wanted to show historical events, especially battles of the war. As we have explained, the Spanish-Moroccan War was an event where the Spanish patriotism emerged. The war was perceived as an epic act, and the artists wanted to portray it.

Many of the artists took a biased and negative view of the enemy to represent the war. They pictured the Moroccans as ferocious and bloodthirsty because of the war. This was the beginning of a succession of conflicts between Spain and Morocco (1897, 1909 and 1921), so the vision negative of the Moors was consolidated among the Spanish population.

The main works that represented this trend for the Spanish-Moroccan War were *El general Prim, seguido de voluntarios catalanes y el batallón Alba de Tormes, atravesando las trincheras del campamento de Tetuán* (1866) painted by Francisco Sans y Cabot and *Episodio de la Guerra de África en 1860* (1898) painted by César Álvarez Dumont.

*El general Prim, seguido de voluntarios catalanes y el batallón Alba de Tormes, atravesando las trincheras del campamento de Tetuán* (1866) painted by Francisco Sans y Cabot (1828-1881) represented the Moroccans as barbarous people that had to be dominated by the Spaniards<sup>43</sup>. In this way, the Moroccans were represented as cruel characters who are crushed by Prim, who appeared as a new «Santiago Matamoros»<sup>44</sup>.

In the same way, César Álvarez Dumont (1866-1945) represented the war in *Episodio de la Guerra de África en 1860* (1898) and is currently exposed in the palace of the Senate. In this case, the author was born after the war, so his perception of Morocco was based on the constant attacks of the Riffian *cabilas* to the Spanish presidios. The Moroccans were again represented as ferocious characters who were again crushed by the Spanish troops.

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<sup>41</sup> Ivi, p. 179.

<sup>42</sup> Ivi, p. 259.

<sup>43</sup> This way to show the Moroccans was followed by several artists after the Spanish-Moroccan War.

<sup>44</sup> ARIAS ANGLÉS, «Una mirada, cit. p. 64.

Facing this artistic trend where the constant conflicts conditioned a negative view of Morocco, other authors followed the trend started by José María Escacena y Daza. These authors opted to approach Morocco without prejudice. In this manner, the artists pictured the Moroccans in a more realistic way, included Mariano Fortuny. In addition, he was the best painter who portrayed the Spanish-Moroccan War. This painter and Eduardo Rosales were the most important Spanish painters of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Mariano Fortuny (1838-1874) was «the painter of the war in Africa» and the creator of a school of Africanist painters who continued until 1956 (Tapiró, Bertuchi, etc.). His most important painting over the war was *La batalla de Tetuán*. This event concentrated the attention of the artists on this happening<sup>45</sup>.

Fortuny was one of the first Spanish painters who achieved fame internationally during his life. In addition, he was the first important painter who immortalized the reality of the north Moroccan, thanks to his stay in this country. Thereby, he showed that it was necessary to be present in Morocco to represent it properly<sup>46</sup>.

He received pictorial training from his childhood. He quickly began to stand out for his great ability. Thus, he started to work for Claudio Lorenzale in 1853. He started to develop historicist paintings, like *Los almogávares quemando las naves en las playas de Nápoles* or *Berenguer III davant l'enseny de Barcelona al castell de Foix*. With the last pictures, he won a paid stay in Rome by the Diputación de Barcelona in 1857. The stay implied the sending to the Diputación de Barcelona many works<sup>47</sup>.

On January 10, 1860, the Diputación de Barcelona offered to Fortuny the possibility to go to Morocco to accompany the troops to describe the main episodes of the war in Africa, hence becoming one of the main graphic spectators of the war<sup>48</sup>. On February 2 he left Barcelona. On the February 12, he arrived at Tetouan and went to the camp of the General Prim where he had the possibility of living with the Estado General (as Pedro Antonio de Alarcón)<sup>49</sup>.

He executed numerous drawings and watercolours of the places where the combats and skirmishes were taking place. He had a frantic activity sketching, copying and taking notes for the pictures that the Diputación de Barcelona had commissioned him. It also was necessary to emphasize his presence in the battle of Wad-Ras<sup>50</sup>.

After this first stay in Morocco, there was a break with the concept of Romantic painting that Fortuny had. He had to take many pictorial notes that involved a quick work, highlighting the capture of movement (with a fast and precise style), the light and the treatment of color with impressionist touches. The crossing through Morocco

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<sup>45</sup> DÍAZ DE VILLEGAS, GARCÍA FIGUERAS, *África en la historia*, cit. pp. 51-53.

<sup>46</sup> CAMILO HERRERO GARCÍA, «La publicitación de la obra española en Marruecos: de Fortuny a Bertuchi», in DAMIÁN GONZÁLEZ MADRID, MANUEL ORTIZ HERAS, JUAN SISINIO PÉREZ GARZÓN (edd.) *La Historia, lost in translation? Actas del XIII Congreso de la Asociación de Historia Contemporánea*, Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, Cuenca 2017, pp. 2583-2594, p. 2587.

<sup>47</sup> JUAN DE CONTRERAS Y LÓPEZ DE AYALA, *Mariano Fortuny: conferencia pronunciada en la Fundación Universitaria Española con motivo del centenario del pintor el día 16 de mayo de 1974*, Fundación Universitaria Española, Madrid 1975, p. 10.

<sup>48</sup> The Diputación de Barcelona wanted to take part in this explosion of patriotism. In such a way, the politicians decided to send the best painter of the time, to show the acts of the «Voluntarios Catalanes» and the general Prim. So, he became one of the best graphic chroniclers of war along with Pedro Antonio de Alarcón. Ivi, p. 11.

<sup>49</sup> MARIANO FORTUNY Y MARSAL, *M. Fortuny, 1838-1874: [exposición]*, Fundación Caixa Galicia, La Coruña 1997, p. 34.

<sup>50</sup> DÍAZ DE VILLEGAS, GARCÍA FIGUERAS, *África en la historia*, cit. pp. 54-55.

implied the discovery of arid beautiful landscapes that had an immense luminosity. Also, a never-ending variety of human types, habits, weapons, etc.<sup>51</sup>.

Furthermore, with his stay in Morocco, he produced two types of works which used the same technique, but that showed the Moroccan reality in a different way. On the one hand, the paintings that portrayed the military combats (*La batalla de Tetuán* and *La batalla de Wad-Ras*)<sup>52</sup> and, on the other hand, the paintings with a costumbrist thematic that wanted to show the daily life. They were painted with techniques that allowed to work fast such as watercolour or with a much smaller format<sup>53</sup>.

Fortuny returned from Morocco on April 23. He made his first trip to Madrid where Federico de Madrazo introduced him to Francisco Sans y Cabot. Then the General Council of the Diputación de Barcelona commissioned a painting that will represent *La toma de los campamentos de Muley-el-Abbas y Muley-el-Hamed por el ejército español* or *La batalla de Tetuán*<sup>54</sup>.

In 1861 he returned to Rome where he continued with his pictorial work. The following year, the Diputación de Barcelona received the works commissioned for that year and some outlines of the picture of the battle. Thus, he was able to request funds to return to Morocco.

The following year he made his second trip to Morocco to take notes for painting *La batalla de Tetuán*<sup>55</sup>. In 1863 the scholarship in Rome was ratified with the quantity of 8,000 reales for two years to make the big painting of *La batalla de Tetuán*. Then, the Diputación de Barcelona commissioned other five pictures, where the heroic performances of the «Voluntarios Catalanes» in the Spanish-Moroccan War were exalted. In the end, he only did two paintings out of the six. And both are relevant to this research: *La batalla de Tetuán* and *La batalla de Wad-Ras*.

In the first case, *La batalla de Tetuán* (1863-1873) was the picture that more work and headaches caused Fortuny. It is a picture of almost 30 m<sup>2</sup> (300 x 972 cm) for which he made numerous preliminary outlines. The author was better trained on small formats<sup>56</sup>, because they were easier to sell to an art collector than big paintings. Its making was extremely boring, which meant that it left several areas unfinished<sup>57</sup>. It was recognized as one of his most notable and important works (along with *La Vicaría*). The pictorial execution was perfect, because he drew the troops as a compact mass with brushworks that defined perfect silhouettes and reliable tones<sup>58</sup>.

The picture represented the «Voluntarios Catalanes» directed by Prim (which did not appear very defined) in the center of the composition. The depiction showed the attack on a Moroccan camp, from which some soldiers escaped. Fortuny distributed

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<sup>51</sup> DE CONTRERAS Y LÓPEZ DE AYALA, *Mariano Fortuny*, cit. p. 10.

<sup>52</sup> Several drawings were included that served as a study for the realization of these two paintings as *Arena con línea de montaña. Marruecos* (watercolour on paper, 1860).

<sup>53</sup> We must highlight: *Odalisca* (oil on cardboard, 1861), *Soldado marroquí* (watercolour, 1860), *Joven judía* (watercolour, 1860) and *Casa en Marruecos* (watercolour, 1862-1865).

<sup>54</sup> In order to represent the studies that he had done in a big painting he needed to see different painters throughout history who dealt with similar themes, so in June of the same year he was subsidized a trip to Paris where he observed *La toma de Smalah -el-Kadar* painted by Horace Vernet. MARIANO FORTUNY Y MARSAL, *Mariano Fortuny Marsal, Mariano Fortuny Madrazo: grabados y dibujos*, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid 1994, p. 10.

<sup>55</sup> He made other costumbrist pictures like *Corrida de la pólvora* (oil on canvas, 1863), and *Herrero marroquí* (oil on canvas, 1863).

<sup>56</sup> The size of his masterpiece *La Vicaría* was only 60 x 94 cm.

<sup>57</sup> GAYA NUÑO, *Ars Hispaniae*, cit. p. 344.

<sup>58</sup> FORTUNY Y MARSAL, *M. Fortuny*, cit. p. 58.



the composition in three horizontal bands: in the first one was the camp; the second was an empty space where we observe the dust raised by the horses (highlighting the earthy colors in the composition); in the last one, the Spaniards appeared attacking the camp. In the vertical arrangement, the forms faded in the lateral zones. In addition, everything flowed towards two very marked vanishing points. This implied that attention was not concentrated at any specific point. All this was represented in a geographical framework of sandy land on the right, covered with a thin vegetation, and on the left, the estuary of Tetouan and the sea<sup>59</sup>.

The representation, in this case, showed the violence and cruelty of the enemy in the heat of the battle. In addition, these works extol the feats of the Spaniards, as the same time as they served to justify the interventions that could happen after this war in North Africa. The partisan tone that is extracted from these works served to legitimize the paternal speech that emerged after the war.

In 1865 Fortuny returned to Morocco for the third time<sup>60</sup>. After this, he returned to Rome where he continued to paint *La batalla de Tetuán*. The work became a nightmare. In 1866 the Diputación de Barcelona insisted on presenting it at the Universal Exhibition in Paris. Fortuny did not send it because he did not finish it. The time passed and in the 1870s the Diputación de Barcelona requested to take back paid the money received for the painting. But with his death in 1875 the Diputación Provincial de Barcelona acquired the work from his family. So, the picture arrived unfinished at the Museum of Modern Art in Barcelona<sup>61</sup>.

## 8. Conclusions

The Spanish colonial interest in Africa appeared when Spain lost the American colonies. A lot of European countries conquered colonies on the continent. Africa appeared as the territory where the Spanish nation should settle next. Thereby, the trade relations and colonial territorial conquests could be established.

The Spanish-Moroccan War is perceived as the moment when Spain recovered the political interest and the intention to influence in the Moroccan interior policy, as other countries did in this country and all around Africa (like the United Kingdom, France or Germany).

The war was very popular because it supposed the union of the Spanish politicians and population against a foreign enemy. It was a moment of the development of national patriotism. The Spanish population thought that the country was again a powerful colonial nation like in the previous centuries.

The Spanish-Moroccan War exposed the Spanish population to the knowledge of Morocco, the territory that would be the object of attention of the new national colonialism. Thus, the most important events of the conflict were portrayed by many painters and were narrated by many reporters and writers. In this way, the population could observe and read how the army fought in Morocco.

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<sup>59</sup> HERRERO GARCÍA, «La publicitación, cit. p. 2589.

<sup>60</sup> In this trip he painted *El camellero* (watercolour, 1865). He also painted other pictures with Moroccan topic the following years: *Árabes velando el cadáver de un amigo* (engraving, 1866), *Fantasia árabe* (oil on canvas, 1867), *Fumador de opio* (watercolour, 1867), *Calle de Tánger* (watercolour, 1869), *Encantador de serpientes* (oil on canvas, 1869) and *El vendedor de tapices* (watercolour, 1870).

Fortuny went another time to Morocco in 1871 to take more outlines. He painted: *Casas de Tetuán*, (watercolour, 1871), *Postas árabes en Tánger* (watercolour, 1871), *Moro en Tánger* (oil on board, 1871), *Marroquíes* (oil on board, 1872-1874) and *Afilador marroquí* (oil on canvas, 1872).

<sup>61</sup> FORTUNY Y MARSAL, M. *Fortuny*, cit. p. 16.

The Spanish-Moroccan War of 1860 increased the interest of Spanish artists towards Morocco. So then, many artists went to Morocco to observe directly the conflict. Mariano Fortuny and Pedro Antonio de Alarcón were the most important intellectuals that could observe directly the progress of the war. Their works were those which had the best quality of the period and those which marked the Spanish consciousness about the Spanish-Moroccan War.

Fortuny (one of the most relevant painters of the 19<sup>th</sup> century) was commanded to picture the most significant acts during the war by the Diputación de Barcelona. The results were a lot of paintings where the daily life and the war were depicted. The most important pictures were *La batalla de Tetuán* (which was the masterpiece of Fortuny) and *La batalla de Wad-Ras*. Alarcón (who was one of the most important artists in his field, literature) decided to enlist himself as a volunteer soldier in the army. In such a way, he could observe the war directly. The result was the narration of his own experience in *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África* (1860), which had a big success.

Consequently, both artists made the works that became the cultural reference on the Spanish-Moroccan War: *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África* and *La batalla de Tetuán*. Both works tried to remove the negative and superficial image of Morocco. In this manner, these works wanted to expose to the Spanish population the true development of the war and the reality of the Moroccans. So, both artists depicted the Moroccans as a bellicose people who fought against the Spanish troops. However, the authors did not exaggerate the many prejudices that the Spaniards had over the Moors and that other authors showed in their works. As a result, the intention of Pedro Antonio de Alarcón and Mariano Fortuny was to present in a photographic way what happened during the Spanish-Moroccan War.