THE REAL AND IMAGINARY HAREM: Assessing Delacroix's Women of Algiers as an Imperialist Apparatus I aurel Ma

In his highly influential book, *Orientalism* (1978), Palestinian-American literary theorist, Edward Said shook the grounds of academic discourse by redefining "Orientalism" as "a political doctrine willed over the Orient because the Orient was weaker than the West, which elided the Orient's difference with its weakness." He claimed that scholarship of the Orient was historically fabricated and manipulated to portray the East as an inferior and foreign counterpart to the West, implicitly justifying European imperial and colonial domination over the Arab-Islamic world. Art historians such as Todd Porterfield translated these ideas to Orientalist paintings. They argued that embedded in these paintings were the West's imperialist attitudes of conquering the land by penetrating the forbidden harem on which it projected its erotic fantasies of "Oriental" women.²

On the surface, French artist, Eugene Delacroix's The Women of Algiers in their Apartment (1834) fits into this mold (see figure 1). It presents a voyeuristic view of the harem, featuring three women and their black servant surrounded by the familiar assortment of Oriental objects and furnishings. The fact that Delacroix traveled to North Africa in 1832 as part of a French diplomatic mission two years after the invasion of Algiers also seems to suggest that the painting was a form of propaganda for France's imperialist ambitions. However, upon closer examination, Women of Algiers deviates from the depiction of the exotic "other" typical of Orientalist works of the period. Indeed, Delacroix presents a more nuanced message than Said's Orientalism might suggest: namely, that the civilization of Algeria, though less advanced than France's, was closer to nature and possessed the values of Roman antiquity that had eroded in the West. The painting's numerous contradictions – its simultaneous invitation and frustration of the voyeur's gaze, its slumbering shadows and luminous colors, its

calm and intensity – speak to its paradoxical nature as a product of both imagination and reality.

My argument is this: just as the viewer cannot fully penetrate the harem in *Women of Algiers*, the French July Monarchy could not export its prototype of a diametrically opposed East as if it were a passive space, immune to contingency and contestation. *Women of Algiers* powerfully demonstrates how colonial projects underwent a dynamic process, in which they were continuously shaped and mediated by forces beyond the metropole's control, such as the "fractured subjectivities" of its agents – in this case, Delacroix's sensibilities and re-interpretation of the Orient through firsthand experience.³

In this essay, I will first explore the historical context in which Delacroix produced Women of Algiers and explain why it is essential in assessing Orientalist art as an imperialist project. Secondly, I will analyze the relevance of the harem as a popular motif in Orientalist paintings. Thirdly, I will demonstrate how despite appearing as an imperialist instrument upon first glance, Women of Algiers complicates the typical voyeurism in the works of his contemporaries, namely Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres. Then, I will further illustrate how Delacroix's masterful use of stark contrasts places the viewer in the intersection between fantasy and reality just as the painting is at once, staged and authentic. To prove the latter point, I will examine how the painting was created, emphasizing Delacroix's deliberate effort in accuracy. Through his journals and letters, I will reveal how despite being influenced by the prevailing doctrine of European superiority, he was struck by the native people's nobility in contrast to what he considered French depravity. Then, I will proceed to discuss how this thinking manifested in Women of Algiers. Finally, I will elaborate the painting's larger implications on the intertwining histories of art and empire in North Africa.

Napoleon's campaigns of 1798-1801 in Egypt and Levant were a watershed in the encounter between the West and the "Orient," an imagined world that covers present-day Turkey, Greece, the Middle East and North Africa.⁴ They not only heightened political and commercial aspirations to establish hegemony over territories, but also inspired



Fig. 1 Eugene Delacroix, *The Women of Algiers (in Their Apartment)*, 1834. Oil on canvas, 180 x 229 cm. Musee du Louvre, Paris.



Fig. 2 Antoine-Jean Gros, Bonaparte Visits the Plague Stricken in Jaffa, 1804. Oil on canvas, $532 \text{ cm} \times 720 \text{ cm}$. Louvre, Paris.

an explosion of literature, "science," and art of this "foreign" world. These works reflected a distorted view of the unfamiliar terrain and its peoples based on European preconceptions amidst the development of scientific racism in the nineteenth century such as the emerging field of ethnology. According to this scholarship, Western civilization was inherently superior to the "primitive savages" of the Orient. It provided a rationale for European imperial domination under the euphemism of civilizing mission. In extending its rule over North Africa, the West was supposedly uplifting intellectually and morally inferior "natives" with its education, religion, and technology.

Indeed, French painters, whether Romanticist, Realist or Impressionist, depicted the "Orient" as a world that was everything France (as it envisioned itself – a champion of Western culture and progress) was not, relying more on imagination than fact. For example, Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres derived the nude figures in his Orientalist paintings from Greek and Roman antique sculptures rather than human models. Moreover, while some made the trip to the Orient themselves, many more, such as Antoine-Jean Gros, the artist of *Bonaparte Visits the Plague Stricken in Jaffa* (1804), either referred to travelers' accounts or conjured up exotic scenes based on literature by Lord Byron and Victor Hugo (see figure 2). Furthermore, many Orientalist paintings were commissioned by the state and thus, held to present favorable interpretations, if not outright propaganda to gain popular support for France's imperial expansion.

Women of Algiers is essential in assessing the concept of Orientalist art as machinery for the colonial engine because in comparison to other contemporary works, it was hailed as "authentic" and even "scientific" given that Delacroix not only journeyed to North Africa, but managed to enter a Muslim harem and it was created at a particularly crucial and decisive moment in the French conquest of North Africa. Delacroix's voyage occurred two years after France's invasion of Algiers in 1830, which was largely the result of Charles X's attempt to win his people's loyalty amidst British encroachment in the Mediterranean that threatened France's power on the international front. King Louis-Philippe who since assumed the throne sent Charles Edgar de Mornay

as an ambassador to Morocco, hoping to negotiate with Sultan Moulay Abderrahmane to assert increasing control over the rest of the Algerian territories. Mornay invited Delacroix to join him after his first choice, Jean-Baptiste Isabey who established his reputation as a painter in the earlier Algerian campaign, rejected the offer, claiming "having been in Algiers, [he was no longer] possessed by the demon of curiosity."

The point that needs to be emphasized is that Delacroix was selected because he was also known for his history paintings of the Orient. The most famous example is The Massacre at Chios (1824), which captured the tragedy and terror of the Ottoman military attack and slaughter of the inhabitants of Chois during the Greek War of Independence in 1822 (See figure 3).9 Another example is his Death of Sardanapalus (1827) (See figure 4). Inspired by Lord Byron's play about the last king of Assyria, portrayed Oriental debauchery and brutality in a chaotic hodgepodge of female nude bodies.¹⁰ While the French monarchy might not have dictated what Delacroix was to produce, it certainly had expectations in permitting him on the trip. Moreover, 1834, the year in which Delacroix completed and exhibited Women of Algiers in the Paris Salon also marked the official military colonization of Algeria, which set a precedent for the later domination over other parts of North Africa: Tunisia in 1881 and Morocco in 1912.11 Thus, while I aim to demonstrate that Women of Algiers is not a perfect projection of the French imperial agenda, the prevailing culture of Orientalism undoubtedly informed it.

Despite its mixed reception at the Paris Salon, critics spoke overwhelmingly of its authenticity. Whether they believed "truth" was a positive or negative aesthetic, *Women of Algiers* was considered "accurate" by virtue of the fact that Delacroix was a rare eyewitness of the harem (thanks to connections to the French military which permitted him to bypass Muslim law) and even "scientific" because his portrayal of the women deviated from the ideal nude. Minister of Commerce and Public Works, Louis Adolphe Thiers purchased the painting for the state almost immediately upon its showing because of its quintessential Orientalist subject matter, regardless of its effectiveness in conveying the specific imperialist message it wanted to



Fig. 3 Eugene Delacroix, *Death of Sardanapalus*, 1827. Oil on canvas, 392 x 496 cm. Louvre, Paris



Fig. 4 Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *The Turkish Bath*, 1862. Oil on wood, 108 cm x 108 cm. Louvre, Paris.

send to the French public.¹³

To understand the parameters that Delacroix worked within and transcended, it is necessary to explore the depiction of the harem in Orientalist painting. The term, "harem" derives from the Arabic word pronounced "haram," which means "forbidden" or "sacred." ¹⁴ This mystery not only applied to the Muslim household, but women who wore the veil, which Europeans conceived and promulgated as a symbol of oppression under their tyrannical husbands and society. However, defining the harem is problematic because it is more reflective of European's sexual fantasies of "Oriental" women than of domestic realities of the regions it supposedly depicted.

Two mutually reinforcing myths about the harem were constantly evoked. One version of the harem was the opulent quarters of the Turkish palace where a plethora of female concubines and slaves anxiously awaited the return of their master-husband, the Sultan. The second was of a prison in a Muslim household where women were subject to their husband's absolute control against their will. 15 European Orientalists often painted the harem as a site of debauchery to evoke the falsity of Islam, understood as the anti-religion of Christianity. They conflated what they deemed the "backwards" customs of polygamy and segregation of women with Islam itself. In reality, these practices preceded the coming of Mohammad. Moreover, though the Ouran allowed the husband to have a maximum of four legal wives and an unlimited number of concubines, only the elite had the financial means to possess a great number of women. Additionally, in contrast to the seclusion portrayed in Orientalist paintings, many women in rural North Africa worked outside their homes as an additional source of family income and did not always wear the veil as it might impede their manual labor. 16 However, the banality of the harem in Orientalist art gave the false impression that these illusory spaces were real and prevalent. 17

The voyeuristic view in Orientalist painting spoke to the "masculine" European desire to trespass into the secret realm of the harem and conquer the women sexually and psychologically. For example, *The Turkish Bath* (1862) displays myriad partly and fully exposed female

bodies twisted in a way that evokes internal sexual frustration that yearns for the West's penetration (see figure 4). Simultaneously, by professing to liberate them from their husbands' despotism, Europeans could justify their political and military domination over the Orient. The promotion of Western democracy in contrast to Eastern tyranny once again reflects how Orientalist paintings were more about the West's self-identification than the realities of the East that it artificially delineated. Georges Rochegrosse's The Slave and the Lion, which features an incredibly pale bare-breasted female juxtaposed against the dark shadows cast over her indifferent, brown-skinned master directly above her, highlights these Western notions of the East's oppression of women (see figure 5). Women's bodies were the metaphoric battlegrounds for European domination of North Africa. Ultimately, trespassing into the harem and penetrating the women demonstrated manly European conquest. Just as the French colonizer fantasized about raping the "spoils" of their victory, the proliferation of images of women's bodies became trophies of its domination over the "other." These notions of a masculine colonizer and a feminine colonial subject to "legitimize colonial rule as a reflection of male superiority which was seen as 'natural' in society" encompass what is known as the "colonial gaze." 18

Indeed, Women of Algiers contains several elements of the typical harem as portrayed by European painters. The room is flooded with Oriental objects, such as the hookah and glass vases and the familiar patterns associated with the Oriental style embedded in the rugs and furniture. The black slave's drawing of the curtain fits into the narrative of the dramatic unveiling of the harem, reserved for the Muslim male, but now subject to the colonizer's gaze. The women's adorned bodies, wrapped in heavy blankets and multiple layers of vibrant garb (the leftmost woman is particularly bottom-heavy) suggest a sluggishness that subscribes to the "lazy native" stereotype.

Despite its typical Orientalist subject matter, Women of Algiers' depiction of the harem differs strikingly in that the spectator cannot achieve total penetration. In contrast to the woman in Ingres' Grande Odalisque (1814) whose body is completely naked as women usually



Fig. 5 Georges Rochegrosse, *The Slave and the Lion*, 1888. Oil on canvas, 54 cm x 65 cm. Galerie de Souzy Paris, Paris.



Fig. 6 Ingres, Grande Odalisque, 1814. Oil on canvas, 88.9 cm x 162.56 cm. Louvre, Paris.

were in French Orientalist painting, with her back to the viewer to intensify the notion of the voyeuristic view, the women in *Women of Algiers* are all fully clothed. In fact, they seem so overdressed that they appear to sink into the ground (see figure 6). Their hefty bodies mark a departure from the idealized, erotic female figure, disturbing some critics who remarked that the picture was "impoverished by its reality." Moreover, the viewer's attention is focused on the uneasy tension of the leg of the kneeling woman second from the right that poses a strong barrier between the viewer and the harem.

Rather than glancing over their shoulder to achieve a degree of seduction as the woman does in *Grande Odalisque*, the sedentary women in *Women of Algiers* gaze inward as if engaged in self-reflection, rather than excitedly awaiting the arrival of male authority. The kneeling woman, in particular, is subsumed in a lingering state of melancholy. Though the two women on the left appear relaxed and open, their purpose is clearly not to display or sexually objectify themselves to the onlooker. Rather, they seem preoccupied in themselves or in the case of the woman second to the left, absorbed in the woman next to her as demonstrated by her warm, affectionate gaze. A shadow casts over the already enigmatic eyes of the woman in the left corner, as if symbolically obscuring her thoughts and thereby, creating even greater distance between her and the viewer. Instead of invoking the sexual fetishes of the viewer, the women radiate a sense of dignity.

The curtain that supposedly unveils the harem also challenges traditional voyeurism. While it may initially appear that the black servant is drawing it to reveal her mistresses, the curtain is actually located behind them. Delacroix's use of shadows to portray depth suggests that even if the black servant pulls the curtain completely, it will only expose the back wall. It almost seems as if the curtain was artificially inserted for the mere purpose of its being a requirement of a standard Orientalist painting. The curved lines that seem to emulate Arabic are also inserted on the upper right corner as if the curtain were just a canvas to place other necessary Oriental elements. Instead of concealing a titillating mystery of the recesses beyond, the curtain appears as just another item on a checklist that Delacroix might have

felt was necessary to include to superficially satisfy the financiers of his journey.

Moreover, the character of the black servant herself complicates the image. It is difficult to decipher whether she is pulling the curtain away at all. It can easily be argued that she is slowly and gently letting it fall to avoid its disturbing her mistress since her left hand is not placed on the edge of the curtain, but on the surface, with which she applies a degree of pressure. While the role of black servants in Orientalist paintings is typically merely to buttress the preciousness of their mistresses, the black servant in *Women of Algiers* defies convention by being a source of much debate and fascination herself. It is equivocal whether she is eavesdropping for or against her mistresses.²⁰ In this way, she is equally as enigmatic as her mistresses.

Delacroix's naming of the painting also departed from common practice. While most titles of contemporary Orientalist paintings contained sexually-charged terms, *Women of Algiers in their Apartment* is relatively de-eroticized. Instead of "odalisque" or "slave," he used "women" and instead of "harem" or "seraglio," he opted for "apartment." The syntax and inclusion of the specific location resemble ethnographic labels. In comparison to titles such as *Jealousy in the Harem* and *The Deposed Favorite*, *Women of Algiers* is matter-of-fact and objective.

Just as Women of Algiers both invites and frustrates the colonial gaze, Delacroix harmoniously weaved a variety of stark contrasts within the painting. It exhibits both calm and agitation – the sitting women are still and serene, but the black servant's half-step and hand, placed precariously on the curtain, instill a sense of commotion. Additionally, the suffocating crowdedness of the Oriental objects and patterns combines with the loneliness evoked by the women's inward gazes and the alienation of the leftmost woman. Likewise, the cold tones, such as the green of the kneeling woman's pants, merge with the warm tones, such as the yellow of the rugs, to achieve an overall cohesion. The smooth blending of soft hues on the women's faces equalizes the rough, swift brushstrokes of the pillowcase. Furthermore, the slumbering shadows over the cabinet in the back of the room balance



Fig. 7 Delacroix, *A Harem in Algiers*, 1832. Pencil with water-color, 10.7 cm x 13.8 cm. Louvre, Paris.

out the luminous white of the kneeling woman's shirt. Yet the most extraordinary example of Delacroix's mastery in creating equilibrium with contrasts is the placement of the rectangular window panels with strong vertical lines to counterbalance the parallel diagonals along the lower left and upper right of the painting.

This harmony of contrasts is important because it reflects the nature of the painting itself: a cross-fertilization of the colonial imagination as demanded by European standards of Orientalist painting with Delacroix's own sensibilities derived from his six-month experience in Morocco and Algiers. Delacroix produced the painting two years after his trip to the harem, where he made watercolor sketches of the Muslim women he saw. The painting was staged in that they were told to dress in their most elegant garb for the sitting.²¹ Moreover, the end product was an assemblage of separate sketches rather than a direct transplantation of the scene he observed to the canvas. Yet Delacroix took careful measures for authenticity. Rather than painting from Greek sculpture or using Jewish models and then darkening their skin color as others had done before him, he drew from actual Muslim women of "Turkish stock."22 Furthermore, he refrained from simply painting the familiar "Oriental colors," such as the bright turquoise and golden yellow in Grande Odalisque. Instead, he applied established scientific principles to attain true color and light as evidenced by the color triangle in his sketchbook.²³ The precise labeling of the colors of the women's costumes in his sketches also demonstrates this commitment to verisimilitude (see figure 7).

Even though his conformity to certain requirements of Orientalist harem paintings shows that he was informed by the imperial culture, his diaries suggest that his understanding of the people diverged from prevailing racial stereotypes. It is this understanding that accounts for the peculiarity of *Women of Algiers*. On April 28, 1832, he wrote: "They are closer to nature in a thousand ways: their dress, the form of their shoes. And so beauty has a share in everything that they make. As for us, in our corsets, our tight shoes, our ridiculous pinching clothes, we are pitiful. The graces exact vengeance for our science." While he might not have considered the Algerians superior to the French, he

was surprised and captivated by their purity and innocence in contrast to the corruption that he associated with French modernity. He claimed that North Africans embodied the values of Roman antiquity that had been lost in Europe. "Rome," he wrote to his friend, Auguste Jal, "is no longer found in Rome," but in the "Barbary Coast." The nobility and honor that he saw in North Africans explicate the dignity and respect commanded by the women in *Women of Algiers*.

Delacroix's dissatisfaction with his homeland is closely intertwined with his admiration of the North Africans he encountered. Just as France constructed its identity by inventing the Orient as the "other," Delacroix conceptualized North Africa as the opposite of what he despised in French society, a haven from the congestion of urban Parisian life. This romanticization of the "other" through introspection may explain the inward gazes of the women in the painting and the function of the mirror in the upper left corner reflecting light onto the body of the kneeling woman, whose melancholy echoes Delacroix's disappointment with France's moral collapse as technology and disease alienated man from nature.26 The light projected onto her body represents Delacroix's newly attained enlightenment. He had finally come face to face with the "primitive truth and nakedness" that had deteriorated in his homeland.²⁷ Cournault, who accompanied Delacroix, wrote that upon seeing the women, he exclaimed: "It is as if in the time of Homer!"28 What he witnessed in the apartment that he painted was female devotion to the home and love for her husband and children - "woman as I understand her, not thrown into the life of the world, but withdrawn at its heart, at its most secret, delicious and moving fulfillment."29 The women's reserve and self-reflection in Women of Algiers echoes their loyalty to their family and each other. The spectator, despite stepping into the space, remains an outsider. The mystery of the woman and the harem is thus, respected and preserved.

Moreover, the limbo state of the painting speaks to Delacroix's desire to hold onto the precious memory of this North African paradise. On February 8, 1832, he wrote to his friend, Pierret, with great excitement and joy about experiencing on the streets of Tangier, "the life he had dreamed of during his feverish youth – the pawing horses, their

prodigious discharges of nervous energy and fury: the men at full stretch in an action where din and speed were unrestrained and the flash of bright colors mingled with that of the guns; the wild beasts with their concentration and fusion of animal power at is maximum."³⁰ To Delacroix, this rawness embodied Greek valor and spirit that was no longer present in France. Based on this interpretation, the flood of Oriental objects in *Women of Algiers* symbolizes French overindulgence and pomp that paradoxically cause the alienation evoked in the leftmost woman's empty stare. This alienation illuminates man's growing separation from nature not despite, but because of his "science."³¹ According to Delacroix, French civilization's knowledge and power were the sources of its depravity. Thus, *Women of Algiers* was not a tribute to France's successful colonization over Algiers, but a criticism of French society itself.

The stark contrasts that I already discussed represent the polarities of the West and the East as Delacroix interpreted them. However, instead of clashing to create a tumultuous tragedy or patriotic triumph as in *The Death of Sardanapalus* and *Liberty of the People* respectively, they blend together just as the making of the West and the East are inextricably linked. This mastery in creating congruity through contrasts marked the height of Delacroix's career and the maturation of his Romantic style. Successive artists continue to reference *Women of Algiers* as a source of inspiration with Picasso even recreating *Women of Algiers* in fifteen paintings.³²

Women of Algiers highlights the dynamic nature of Orientalist paintings as imperialist instruments. Rather than mere exports of the colonizer's design, they were contextual and contingent upon forces that sometimes worked against the metropole's desires. Orientalist art as an important component of French empire-building demonstrates that the West's invention of the East is inseparable from the creation of its own identity. Women of Algiers conveys this linkage through its use of stark contrasts, yet total penetration into the harem could never be achieved. Likewise, while Delacroix was pressured to work within the framework of Orientalist convention, his distinct sensibilities, namely, his admiration of the North Africans' primitivism, consciously

or unconsciously permeated his work. While his nation and patron demanded his loyalty and support for its colonial ambitions, he retained a significant degree of freedom over the creation process. The end result was a unified, yet multifaceted composition that interlaced subject matter that satisfied French fetishes with certain elements that defied accepted Orientalist standards.

Orientalist painting is ultimately, an "art of the interstices." Colonialism intertwined the destinies and imaginations of metropole and colony in complex ways. Thus, to mistaken the East as an organic outgrowth or inverse image of the West neglects the inconsistencies and compromises of its actors. The fractured disposition of Women of Algiers destroys the plausibility of a unitary representation of the West or the East. Even when military and technological power is unbalanced (Algeria fell under French domination), the colonizer and colonized were in a continuous process of mutual engagement and transformation. In exploring the history of the period of imperialism and colonization, more emphasis needs to be placed on this interconnection and syncretism. Studying the colonizer and the colonized in isolation comes with the risk of essentializing one or the other. Thus, this essay calls for a more transnational historiographic approach that is particularly useful for understanding North Africa, itself a site of enormous cross-cultural linkages and dynamic movement of peoples, ideas, and institutions.

¹ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 207.

² Todd Porterfield, *The Allure of Empire: Art in the Service of French Imperialism 1798-1836* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 132-133.

³ Nicholas Thomas, as quoted in Roger Benjamin, Orientalist Aesthetics: Art, Colonialism, and French North Africa, 1880-1930 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 5.

⁴ Mary Anne Stevens, *The Orientalists: Delacroix to Matisse - The Allure of North Africa and the Near East* (London: Royal Academy of Art, 1984), 16.

- ⁵ Diana K. Davis, Resurrecting the Granary of Rome: Environmental History and French Colonial Expansion in North Africa (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007), 66.
- ⁶ Stevens, The Orientalists, 17.
- ⁷ Todd Porterfield, *The Allure of Empire: Art in the Service of French Imperialism 1798-1836* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 130.
- ⁸ Eugene Delacroix, as quoted in Porterfield, *The Allure of Empire*, 131.
- ⁹ Bathelemy Jobert, *Delacroix* (Princeton, 1997), 72.
- ¹⁰ Porterfield, The Allure of Empire, 131.
- ¹¹ Lucette Valensi, On the Eve of Colonialism: North Africa Before the French Conquest, trans. Kenneth J. Perkins (New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1977), viii.
- ¹² Porterfield, The Allure of Empire, 122.
- ¹³ Joan DelPlato, *Multiple Wives, Multiple Pleasures: Representing the Harem, 1800-1875* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2002), 52.
- ¹⁴ Ruth Bernard Yeazell, *Harems of the Mind: Passages of Western Art and Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 1.
- ¹⁵ Delplato, Multiple Wives, 19.
- ¹⁶ Ilene Susan Fort, "Femme Fatale or Caring Mother?" in *Picturing the Middle East: A Hundred Years of European Orientalism*, ed. Henry Krawitz (New York: Dahesh Museum, 1996), 43.
- ¹⁷ Yeazell, Harems of the Mind, 2.
- ¹⁸ Tamara L. Hunt and Micheline R. Lessard, *Women and the Colonial Gaze* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 1.
- ¹⁹ Porterfield, *The Allure of Empire*, 122.
- ²⁰ Mary J. Harper, "The Poetics and Politics of Delacroix's Representation of the Harem in Women of Algiers in Their Apartment" in *Picturing the Middle East: A Hundred Years of European Orientalism*, ed. Henry Krawitz (New York: Dahesh Museum, 1996), 55.
- ²¹ Rene Huyghe, *Delacroix* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1963), 280.
- ²² Ibid., 280.
- ²³ Porterfield, *The Allure of Empire*, 130.
- ²⁴ Eugene Delacroix, The Journal of Eugene Delacroix, trans. Walter

Pach, (New York: NY Covici & Friede Publishers, 1937), 122.

- ²⁵ Eugene Delacroix, as quoted in Porterfield, The Allure of Empire, 136.
- ²⁶ Harper, *Picturing the Middle East*, 63.
- ²⁷ Huyghe, *Delacroix*, 274.
- ²⁸ Huyghe, *Delacroix*, 280.
- ²⁹ Ibid., 280.
- ³⁰ Ibid., 271.
- ³¹ Delacroix, The Journal of Eugene Delacroix, 122.
- ³² Porterfield, The Allure of Empire, 148.