MULTIPLE BODIES: LOOKING AT SPANISH CEMETERY SCULPTURE, 1875-1931.

TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME 1

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Abstract.

This thesis explores Spanish cemetery sculpture during the Bourbon Restoration. It looks closely at works which have been marginalised from sculpture studies for their religious, funerary and Spanish character, and for the period in which they were produced. Arguing that cemetery sculpture was central to sculptural development in Spain, rather than tangential to it, it explores how funerary works overlapped and intersected with exhibition sculpture, public monuments, anatomical sculpture and other genres. It uncovers new intermedial connections with theatre, literature, print culture and painting, and shows how Spanish cemetery sculpture was integrated in a cross-border, bourgeois cosmopolitanism, even as it looked to traditional motifs and its own golden ages for inspiration.

This study examines the specificity of funerary sculpture in this period, in Spain and more widely, by thinking about the multiple bodies which converge at the tomb: sculpted, dead, and living; earthly and heavenly; present and absent; and visible and invisible. It delves into those relationships between artists, patrons, viewers and the deceased which are particular to the cemetery genre, and explores the impact of the fundamental distinction between self-memorialisation and commemorating illustrious dead men. By examining gender representation, religious orthodoxy, class tension, and theatrical associations, it reveals how the genre was considered inherently problematic; and explores how sculptors, patrons and critics navigated this moral minefield differently.

The thesis consists of five chapters, each of them a case study. It focuses on technically and conceptually sophisticated sculptures created by Mariano Benlliure, Julio Antonio, Rosendo Nobas, Antonio Pujol, Enric Clarasó and Quintín de Torre.

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5.17. Giorgione, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1505-10, oil on panel, National Gallery of Art, Washington.

5.18. Unknown, Quintín de Torre in his studio, *ca.* 1907-10, photograph. Circled in red is probably the model for the Ulacia tomb.

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Note on Names, Translations and References.

A brief note is necessary to explain the system I have adopted when referring to names in Spanish and Catalan, and when translating between languages.

People in Spain have two surnames, and two given names are also common. Surnames are traditionally composed of the father's first surname, followed by the mother's first surname. In nineteenth- and early twentieth-century usage, these were frequently, although inconsistently, joined by *y* (and). This custom has survived in Catalonia, where the Catalan *i* (and) is often used today. Some surnames are themselves composed of two names, which may be separated, or preceded by *de* (of). *De* was also used, in the past, to add a man's surname on the end of that of his wife. People in Spain commonly use both their given names, but are often known by, or publish under, only their first surname. Very occasionally, it is the second surname which predominates, instead. Examples of all these variants appear in this thesis.

In the Bibliography, I have used authors' full names, when known, or the name under which they consistently published. However, for ease of reading, and to facilitate cross-referencing between the footnotes and the Bibliography, I have omitted second surnames from footnotes, unless to do so would cause confusion (for example, when several authors in the Bibliography share the same first surname). Where the person is generally known by their second rather than first surname, I have respected this after the first mention (for example, Pedro González de Velasco, referred to subsequently as Velasco).

When referring to Spanish artists and historical figures, I generally use Spanish versions of their names. However, where I have evidence that a person referred to him- or herself in Catalan, or where secondary sources consistently employ the Catalan version of the person's name, I have used this instead (for example, the sculptor who published his memoirs, in Catalan, under the Catalan name "Enric Clarasó" instead of using the Spanish name "Enrique").

Unless otherwise noted, all translations in the thesis are my own. I have translated all titles of works of art into English, adding the original title, in brackets, where the language of the original is relevant to my argument. However, titles in Latin have been maintained.

In the footnotes, I refer to archives in abbreviated form (for example, AMP: Archivo del Museo del Prado, Madrid). These abbreviations, and the full references to which they relate, can be found in the first section of the Bibliography.

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Author's Declaration.

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been awarded for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

Introduction.

In *Tomb Sculpture: Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (1964), Erwin Panofsky concluded his classic, chronological account with Bernini, arguing that, after him "the days of funerary sculpture, and of religious art in general, were numbered," and asserting that "he who attempts to write the history of eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and twentieth-century art must look for his material outside the churches and outside the cemeteries."[1] Quoting Henry James' declaration, in 1884, that "modern sculpture" was a "sceptical affair," and that tomb sculptors of the past had left their contemporary counterparts with "nothing to say," Panofsky suggested that "those who came after Bernini were caught in a dilemma – or, rather, trilemma, between pomposity, sentimentality, and deliberate archaism."[2]

A slightly different vision was put forward by Spanish art critic Luis Alfonso, in 1880, as he cast an ironic eye on the cemetery sculpture being produced around him. Conveying his personal scepticism about the moral and spiritual motivations of sculptors and their patrons – and anticipating, perhaps, James' insinuation that the artistic product of such collaborations reflected a certain *religious* scepticism – Alfonso diverged from Panofsky on one fundamental point: the peripheral nature of the genre. For the Spanish critic, there was nothing tangential about cemetery sculpture. On the contrary, he argued that the cemetery was the cradle of contemporary Spanish sculpture, and the origin of its "renaissance," with which he credited Catalan sculptors.[3] He explained the process as follows:

> Barcelona's necropolis [ie. Poblenou cemetery] was extended, and a large terrace was destined to receive funerary monuments. Human vanity, which does not die even in the tomb, moved the rich to erect cenotaphs and mausoleums. Architects, stone-carvers and builders set to work, and transformed that sad place into a curious gallery of monumental burials. But very soon after, they began to demand decorative reliefs, allegorical figures, recumbent statues. The labourers who roughed down the stone were no

[1] Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1964), 96.

[2] Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, 96; Henry James, *Collected Travel Writings: The Continent* (New York: Library of America, 1993), 123.

[3] Luis Alfonso, "La Escultura en Barcelona," *Ilustración Española y Americana*, Aug 30, 1880, 115-18.

longer enough, nor were the makers who cut it according to pattern; an artist was now needed to model it, sculptors were needed.

The opportunity, which often decides the course of life, presented itself to various youths who worked as artisans rather than in the art of the chisel. They seized it and revealed [their abilities] to themselves by doing so to the public. [...] [Funerary] chapels and burial mounds were populated with statues. And art, like those flowers which lushly prosper on mortal remains, sprouted full of life in the mansion of death, its cradle was a tomb. [...] Besides, what was bound to happen, happened: that the people who visited the cemetery, or who commissioned the effigy of a deceased person, quickly realised that the makers of those sad sculptures could also make happier, more beautiful and more lively ones. The *ensanche* [expansion-district] of the city of the living was growing much faster than that destined to the dead, and in it were appearing palaces and private mansions which required artistic and monumental adornments, that required the chisel to model their magnificent appearance.[4]

The social, economic and urban backdrop which Alfonso vividly summarised constitutes the context of this thesis, which spans the years of the Bourbon Restoration in Spain, 1875-1931. It is a bourgeois context, and one which may – in broad if not always specific terms, and to varying degrees – be extended beyond Barcelona to other Spanish cities with a large, fast-growing, upper-middle class, such as Madrid and Bilbao.[5]

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[4] Alfonso, "La Escultura en Barcelona," 116. "Ensanchóse la necrópolis barcelonesa, y destinóse un gran patio á monumentos fúnebres. La humana vanidad, que ni en la tumba muere, movió á los potentados á erigir cenotafios y mausoleos. Arquitectos, canteros y albañiles pusieron manos á la obra, y convirtieron presto aquel triste lugar en curiosa galería de enterramientos monumentales. Pero muy en breve hubieron éstos de exigir el relieve decorativo, la figura alegórica, la estatua yacente. No bastaban, pues, los peones que desbastaban la piedra, ni los artífices que la cortaban con arreglo á patron; era ya menester artista que la modelase, eran menester escultores.

La ocasión, que decide con frecuencia del rumbo de la vida, se brindó á varios jóvenes dedicados al oficio más bien que al arte del escoplo. La aprovecharon y se revelaron á si propios al revelarse al público. […] Las capillas y túmulos sepulcrales se poblaron de estatuas. Y el arte, como esas flores que prosperan lozanas sobre los residuos y despojos mortales, brotó lleno de vida en la mansión de la muerte, tuvo por cuna el sepulcro.

[…] Aconteció, por otra parte, lo que acontecer debía: que las gentes que visitaban el cementerio, ó las que encargaban la efigie de un difunto, cayeron fácilmente en la cuenta de que los autores de aquellas tristes esculturas podrían asimismo serlo de otras más alegres y más bellas y más vivas. El ensanche que se daba á la ciudad de los vivientes crecía mucho más que el otorgado á la de los muertos, y en aquél surgían palacios y hoteles, que reclamaban artísticos y monumentales adornos, que demandaban el cincel para modelar su magnífico aspecto."

[5] On bourgeois culture in Spain, see Jesús Cruz, *El Surgimiento de la Cultura Burguesa: Personas, Hogares y Ciudades en la España del Siglo XIX* (Tres Cantos: Siglo XXI, 2014).

As in other western countries, Spanish cities were experiencing an explosion in cemetery expansion and construction, to cater for the rising population, which included a new class of people who could afford, and who desired, monumental tombs. This not only meant that cemetery and non-cemetery sculpture were intertwined and interdependent, as Alonso suggested; but that, over subsequent decades, funerary sculpture spread and flourished on an unprecedented scale. Yet, by the second decade of the twentieth century, commentators were discussing its proliferation, in Spain, in terms of an inverse relationship between quantity and quality.[6] Such criticisms included accusations of a lack of originality – anticipating, to some extent, Panofsky's more general observations on modern tomb sculpture – and were explicitly bound up with the "problem" of mechanical reproduction,[7] since many cemetery statues were mass-produced. These comments on the Spanish context were, however, restricted to national sources; for Spanish sculpture of this period was, and remains, as we shall see, largely off the radar of international art history.

This thesis brings Spanish cemetery sculpture from the periphery – where it has been doubly relegated for its funerary character *and* its Spanish-ness – back to the centre of sculpture studies. It is, first and foremost, an interrogation of the genre itself, with a focus on specificity as opposed to separateness. To do that, I consider the different ways in which cemetery sculpture compares and intersects with other commemorative, religious and "bourgeois" genres, such as public monuments, portrait busts, processional sculptures and death masks, as well as "exhibition" or gallery sculpture, and medical models; and explore its connections with other media including painting, theatre, and photography.[8] The particularities of the Spanish context, and regional differences within the country, constitute an overlapping concern.

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[6] See, for example, Enrique Serrano Fatigati, *Escultura en Madrid desde Mediados del Siglo XVI hasta Nuestros Días, Precedido de un Capítulo sobre Escultura Castellana en General* (Madrid: Fototipia de Hauser y Menet, 1912), 48; L. F., "En los Cementerios de Barcelona," *Diario de Barcelona*, Nov 1, 1913, 14622; Ricardo de Orueta, *La Escultura Funeraria de España: Provincias de Ciudad Real, Cuenca, Guadalajara* (Madrid: Junta para Ampliación de Estudios, 1919), V.

[7] On mechanical reproduction, see Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of its Technological Reproducibility. Second Version," in *The Work of Art in the Age of its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media*, ed. Michael W. Jennings, Brigid Doherty and Thomas Y. Levin, and trans. Edmund Jephcott, Rodney Livingstone, Howard Eiland et al. (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap, 2008), 19-55; Angela Dunstan, "Nineteenth-Century Sculpture and the Imprint of Authenticity," *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* (2014), http://19.bbk.ac.uk.

[8] For a discussion of photography as a reproductive medium over this period, in Spain, see Lou Charnon-Deutsch, "From Engraving to Photo: Cross-cut Technologies in the Spanish Illustrated Press," in *Visualizing Spanish Modernity*, ed. Susan Larson and Eva Woods (Oxford: Berg, 2005), 178-206.

MULTIPLE BODIES

What does it mean, for cemeteries and for sculpture, to permanently exhibit figurative sculpture inside a cemetery space? My title, "multiple bodies," encapsulates some of the key facets of the genre's specificity. Firstly, it alludes to the multiplicity of diverse, juxtaposed sculpted bodies which co-exist in cemeteries; jarring with, and complementing, one other. This is a consequence of the fact that cemeteries occupied a unique position between the public and the private, for they were publically-accessible spaces whose monumentalisation was in the private hands of large numbers of individuals working independently. Unlike museums, exhibitions, and city squares, there was no "curatorial" hand to direct how cemetery sculptures were exhibited. Cemeteries were monumentalised in a cumulative, "non-selective," comparatively haphazard manner, in the sense that individual plot owners decided what their plot would contain, who would make the grave-marker or memorial, or where it would be bought, and how much they would spend. A photograph of Poblenou cemetery – taken in 1874, just as sculpture was assuming a greater role in funerary monumentalisation – gives a sense of the broad range of typological and stylistic choices (fig. 0.1). Although regulations required cemetery authorities to approve the architectural plans for large monuments, this appears to have been primarily for sanitary and structural, rather than aesthetic, reasons. The singular absence of a qualitative filter in the cemetery, compared with other exhibition spaces, has impacted negatively on the appreciation of the genre within the historiography of sculpture.

Secondly, the concept of "multiple bodies" reflects the emotionally powerful fact that cemeteries are repositories of sculpted bodies and dead ones. Marking the location of the dead, figurative sculptures derive function and meaning from the corpses they accompany, and attribute meaning to them. It is a genre which is strongly, because literally, attached to people. The fact that these people are dead charges the space with an auratic force, which is derived – as Tony Seaton has suggested – from the extreme otherness of death.[9] In the cemetery, sculpture "multiplies" the body by representing it; "divides" it, by representing the allegorical separation of body and soul; or replaces it, by giving visibility to what is concealed. The physical presence of the corpse, however invisible, complicates the characterisation of such sculptural replacements as straightforward cases of "surrogation," as conceptualised by Joseph Roach in *Cities of the*

[9] See Tony Seaton, "Purposeful Otherness: Approaches to the Management of Thanatourism," in *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism*, ed. Richard Sharpley and Philip R. Stone (Tonawanda: Channel View Publications, 2009), 75-108.

Dead (1996); for, in the cemetery, the vacancy left by the dead is never complete, nor the original entirely absent.[10] Occupying a physically and conceptually intermediate position between viewers' living bodies and the dead bodies of corpses, figurative sculpture mediates death for the sake of the living.

Finally, and extending my last point, the title refers to the multiplicity of different bodies – present and absent, visible and invisible, dead and alive, real and represented – which converge on the tomb. The majority of sculpted monuments in the cemeteries of Spain, and of Catholic countries more generally, are collective tombs destined to contain multiple bodies. Moreover, in addition to the physical presence of these corpses, of the sculpted bodies and of the visitors who look at them, the implied presence of the absent sculptor who often signed the monument must be considered. This thesis explores the relationships between these multiple bodies.

CATHOLICISM AND THE SPANISH CEMETERY

This thesis is the first extensive study to focus exclusively on figurative cemetery sculpture in Spain. Its scope, however, reaches beyond national borders, for it is underpinned by the conviction that, as Michel Vovelle has argued, the cemeteries of southern Europe shared a "collective imaginary."[11] As will become apparent, Spain's cemetery sculpture has much in common with that of Italy and France. Yet, while Anglophone art historians Suzanne Glover Lindsay[12] and Sandra Berresford[13] have cast an "outsider's" eye on the cemetery sculpture of France and Italy respectively, and Antoinette Le Normand-Romain has devoted a large survey volume to the French case,[14] there have not been comparable, sculpture-focused, publications on Spanish production from within or outside Spain.

The Catholic context is what most obviously unites the cemeteries of Southern Europe. The predominance of religious subject-matter and symbolism in sculptural monuments explains, in part, why Italian and Spanish sculptors were regularly employed to produce

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[10] Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

[11] Michel Vovelle, "L'Imaginaire Collectif des Cimetières Méridionaux," *Monuments Historiques* 124 (1982-83): 9-19. "Imaginaire collectif."

[12] Suzanne Glover Lindsay, *Funerary Arts and Tomb Cult: Living with the Dead in France 1750-1870* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

[13] Sandra Berresford et al., *Italian Memorial Sculpture 1820-1940: A Legacy of Love* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2004).

[14] Antoinette Le Normand-Romain, *Mémoire de Marbre: La Sculpture Funéraire en France 1804-1914* (Paris: Mairie de Paris, 1995).

funerary sculpture for export to Latin American countries.[15] It has also played a significant role in the art historical marginalisation of funerary sculpture as a genre. As early as *ca.* 1890, Barcelona critic and art history professor Francisco Miquel Badía wrote that "our era, rationalist and sceptical in general, is not suited to the triumph of religious art."[16] More recently, in her well-documented 1998 book on cemetery art in Asturias, Cantabria and Vizcaya, Carmen Bermejo suggested that cemetery sculpture appealed to viewers' sentiments rather than to their intelligence, and that it never called into question the tenet of the Christian religion, the Resurrection.[17] Outside Spain, the art historical antipathy towards religious sculpture of this period is more pronounced, and has only recently begun to shift.[18] When nineteenth- and twentieth-century religious art is discussed at all, it is frequently portrayed as conceptually simplistic, over-sweet and backward-looking; often in terms similar to those used by Panofsky, as we saw earlier.[19]

Seeking to redress the imbalance created by the secular bias in art historical studies of this period, this thesis looks seriously at religious sculpture. It does so by exploring the artistic implications of the new social, political and cultural contexts in which late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century funerary monuments were produced, rather than judging them by standards of other periods.

In Spain, the flourishing of cemetery sculpture coincided with the restored Bourbon monarchy, a period known in Spanish as the Restauración, which constitutes the chronological framework of this thesis, as we have seen. Spanning 56 years, the Restauración put an end to the First Spanish Republic by handing the throne back to the deposed Bourbons in 1875, and concluded with the declaration of the Second Spanish

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[15] For discussions of Italian sculpture in Latin America, see Franco Sborgi, "Difusión de la Escultura Italiana en Iberoamérica," in *Historia del Arte Iberoamericano* by Ramón Gutiérrez and Rodrigo Gutiérrez (Barcelona: Lunwerg, 2000), 220; Rodrigo Gutiérrez, "Carrara nell'America Latina. Industria e Creazione Scultorea," in *Carrara e il Mercato della Scultura*, ed. Sandra Berresford (Milan: Federico Motta, 2007), 254-59.

[16] Francisco Miquel, *El Arte en España: Pintura y Escultura Modernas* (Barcelona: A. Elías y Compañía, *ca.* 1890, 356. "Nuestra época, racionalista y escéptica en los general, no es indicada para los triunfos del arte religioso." For a well-documented overview of the reception of contemporary religious sculpture in nineteenth-century Spain, see Teresa Sauret, "La Escultura Religiosa Española en el Siglo XIX," in *Escultura Barroca Española*, vol. 1, ed. Antonio Rafael Fernández (Antequera: ExLibric, 2016), 233-52.

[17] Carmen Bermejo, *Arte y Arquitectura Funeraria: Los Cementerios de Asturias, Cantabria y Vizcaya (1787-1936)* (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 1998), 225.

[18] As an example of this shift, see Claire Jones, "Nathaniel Hitch and the Making of Church Sculpture," *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 22 (2016), http://dx.doi.org/10.16995/ntn.733

[19] See, for example, Ewa Kuryluk, *Veronica and her Cloth: History, Symbolism and Structure of a "True" Image*. (Cambridge, USA: B. Blackwell, 1991), 129; Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, 96.

Republic in 1931.[20] Except during the royally-sanctioned dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (1923-30), it was a strongly centralised, repressive, constitutional monarchy, in which elections were systematically rigged to avoid change. In addition to urban expansion, population growth and the consolidation of a new bourgeoisie, the period saw a rise in industrialisation, an increase in Basque and Catalan nationalism, the loss of Spain's remaining American colonies, the return of emigrants who had made their fortunes in the Americas, and attempts to colonise North Africa.

The Restoration regime forged a strong, "de facto alliance" with the Catholic Church, with wide-reaching consequences for burial practice.[21] Cemeteries, it must be clarified, differ fundamentally from churchyards in that they are large, purposely-designated burial grounds not attached to churches, usually owned by secular authorities.[22] Expressly designed as hygienic and practical replacements for traditional burial around and inside churches, and located *outside* urban centres for the same reasons, cemeteries did not become the standard place for interment until the nineteenth century. In Spain, church burial had been banned and phased out at the beginning of the century, for all but the highest-ranking clergy and military heroes of exceptional national importance.[23] One particularity of the Madrid context was that Catholic confraternities known as *sacramentales* set up their own, private cemeteries, which were soon opened up for use by non-members.[24]

Despite the physical separation between cemeteries and churches, the political context of the Restauración helped to imbue Spain's cemeteries with a strong Catholic character. For example, the major municipally-owned cemeteries built during the period – including Montjuïc (Barcelona, 1883), La Almudena cemetery (Madrid, from 1884) and Vista Alegre (Bilbao, 1902) – were organised along religious principles, with prominently situated Catholic chapels and, in some cases, a cruciform layout (fig. 0.2). While France had

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[20] For more on the history of this period, see Raymond Carr, *España, de la Restauración a la Democracia, 1875-1980* (Barcelona: Ariel, 2015); Charles J. Esdaile, *Spain in the Liberal Age: From Constitution to Civil War, 1808-1939* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 2000).

[21] Esdaile, *Spain in the Liberal Age*, 156.

[22] For a nuanced critical discussion on cemeteries, see Julie Rugg, "Defining the Place of Burial: What makes a Cemetery a Cemetery?" *Mortality: Promoting the Interdisciplinary Study of Death and Dying* 5, no. 3 (2000): 259-76.

[23] For a history of the transition from church and churchyard burial to cemetery burial in Spain, see Carlos Saguar, "Carlos III y el Restablecimiento de los Cementerios Fuera del Poblado," *Fragmentos* 12-14 (1988): 241-59; Francisco Javier Rodríguez and José Manuel Suárez, *Los Cementerios en la Sevilla del Siglo XIX* (Seville: El Monte, 1990); Federico Ponte, "Aportación a la Historia Social de Madrid: La Transformación de los Enterramientos en el Siglo XIX," *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños*, 22 (1985): 494-95.

[24] For more on these, see José del Corral, "Los Cementerios de las Sacramentales," *Itinerarios de Madrid*, no. 14 (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, 1954).

abolished physical barriers between religious denominations within its cemeteries in 1881, in Restoration Spain, non-Catholics, suicides, people killed in duels, and other religious outcasts were relegated to un-consecrated ground outside the main cemetery site, known as "civil cemeteries;" or could be buried in the so-called "British cemeteries" set up in some Spanish cities by the British embassy, which catered for non-Catholics of all faiths.[25] The ideological battle between the Church and non-Catholics in relation to civil cemeteries were the subject of José Jiménez's book *Los Cementerios Civiles y la Heterodoxia Española* (1978), which remains a key text for understanding Spanish religious heterodoxy.[26] The social ostracism which these spaces implied accounts for the fact that only a tiny minority of people chose, for ideological reasons, to be buried in them: Catholic burial was the norm.

The walls which literally separated "worthy" corpses from outcasts were pulled down at the end of the Restauración, as a result of the Republican constitution of 1931, which stipulated that "the Spanish State has no official religion." The Catholic Church reacted fiercely to this new secularity, inaugurating a period of conflict between Church and State which came to a head during the Spanish Civil War (1936-39), when the Church sided with Franco's Nationalists. After the Nationalists won, and began to commission religious monuments, such as the still bitterly divisive burial site known as the Valley of the Fallen (1940-59),[27] religious sculpture and the sculptors who produced it became associated – justifiably or otherwise – with the dictatorship (1939-75). As a consequence, some sculptors were ignored in the post-dictatorship era, and have only recently begun to receive the art historical attention they deserve.[28]

SPANISH SCULPTURE, CATHOLICISM AND DEATH

Internationally, the historiography of Spanish sculpture has long been fascinated, often in an ambivalent way, with its Catholic character; but has failed to look beyond the mesmerizingly naturalistic polychrome wooden statuary of the gothic and baroque

[25] For further information, see Carlos Saguar, "El Cementerio Británico de Madrid," *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños* 39 (1999): 359-74.

[26] José Jiménez, *Los Cementerios Civiles y la Heterodoxia Española* (Madrid: Taurus, 1978).

[27] For more on this, see Carlos Saguar, "La Cruz Soñada: Concepción y Construcción del Valle de los Caídos," *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños* 45 (2005): 757-96.

[28] This issue is addressed with relation to sculptors Miguel and Luciano Oslé in Jorge Egea and Bernat Puigdollers, "Presentació de la Recerca a la Reial Acadèmia Catalana de Belles Arts de Sant Jordi sobre el Fons dels Escultors Miquel i Llucià Oslé," in *L'Escultura a Estudi: Iniciatives i Projectes*, ed. Cristina Rodríguez, Núria Aragonès and Irene Gras (Barcelona: Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 2016), 117-32.

periods.[29] Horst Janson's classic *Nineteenth-Century Sculpture* (1985), for instance, makes no mention of Spanish sculpture. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century sculpture is also conspicuously absent from three recent publications which have addressed the long-standing historiographical gap, in visual studies focused on Spain, between Goya and Picasso, through the lens of "modernity": Andrew Ginger's *Painting and the Turn to Cultural Modernity in Spain* (2007), and the edited collections *Visualizing Spanish Modernity* (2005) and "Recalcitrant Modernities: Spain, Cultural Difference and the Location of Modernism" (2007).[30] This absence has less to do with the perception that Spanish sculpture of this period was not *avant-garde* – a widespread attitude which these publications neither uphold nor address – than with the lack of Anglophone sculpture scholars or "hispanists" working on it.

The fascination with the Catholic character of "traditional," pre-nineteenth-century Spanish sculpture is imbricated in the pervasive image of Spain as inherently "deathly" or wedded to death, since blood-covered dead Christs and disconsolate, mourning Virgins were its most recurrent subjects. As Brad Epps explains,

> Over and again Spain is seen – perhaps most acutely from the outside but also from the inside – as obsessed and/or at peace with death. And the saints, martyrs, and mystics; the relics and rituals; the [...] legacy of the Inquisition and the auto de fe; the panoply of torture devices and practices; the internecine violence, absolutism, and totalitarianism; the nationally charged practice of bullfighting; the once seemingly endemic poverty, scarcity, and economic backwardness, all contribute to such a (mis)perception. The *leyenda negra,* or dark legend, is perhaps the most enduring sign of a specifically Spanish mode of death, one that experienced a curious revival [...] in the modern period. José Gutiérrez Solana, Emile Verhaeren and Darío de Regoyos, Pío Baroja, and other uneasy heirs to Goya turned their sights to

[29] See, for example, Marcel Dieulafoy, *Art in Spain and Portugal* (New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1913). On the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century reception of Spanish religious sculpture in Anglophone countries, see Nigel Glendinning and Hilary Macartney, eds., *Spanish Art in Britain and Ireland, 1750-1920: Studies in Reception in Memory of Enriqueta Harris Frankfort* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2010); M. Elizabeth Boone, *Vistas de España: American Views of Art and Life in Spain, 1860-1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

[30] Andrew Ginger, *Painting and the Turn to Cultural Modernity in Spain: The Time of Eugenio Lucas Velázquez (1850-1870)* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2007); Susan Larson and Eva Woods, eds. *Visualizing Spanish Modernity* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2005); "Recalcitrant Modernities. Spain, Cultural Difference and the Location of Modernism," ed. L. Elena Delgado, Jordana Mendelson and Oscar Vázquez, special issue, *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* 13, nos. 2-3 (2007): 121-32.

> what they variously represented as a nation mired in misery, violence and death.[31]

Epps refers, here, to how the Protestant-led, propagandistic "dark legend" of superstitious Catholic Spain was re-worked by Spanish artists and writers during the Restauración. For example, *Black Spain* (*La España Negra*) was the title given to a now-classic literary-artistic collaboration between Spanish painter Regoyos and Belgian poet Verhaeren, produced after the friends' 1888 trip in search of the authentic "black soul" of Spain. The trip included visits to a coffin-shop and a cemetery, where the Belgian baulked at the matter-of-fact use of the word "cadaver" on a tomb inscription.[32] More recently, the idea that death pervades everyday life in Spain permeates Pedro Almodóvar's film *Volver* (2006), which opens with a multitude of provincial women busily cleaning graves in a vast cemetery.

If cemetery *sculpture* is absent from these cultural representations of a Spain obsessed with death, it is because it does not fit the "Black Spain" narrative. Catholicism, in the Spanish cemetery, is a source of hope and comfort, rather than an object of suspicion; and cemetery sculptures – even when they represent the traditional dead Christ and grieving Virgin – overwhelmingly sought to soften, sweeten and elevate death rather than represent its crudity. Even the daring sculptural alternatives to "sweet death," which I discuss in Chapter Three, suggest rationalism, intelligence and modernity rather than "darkness." This is ultimately because monumental tombs denoted the economic, social and professional progress of a successful bourgeoisie, making them far removed from the image of misery, ignorance and backwardness upon which the "dark Spain" narrative was based.

With this in mind, I propose that an alternative, nineteenth-century, hispanic-Catholic "mode of death" influenced the creation and reception of cemetery sculpture in Restoration Spain. I refer to the way in which the viewing of funerary monuments was embedded in ritualised cultural practices concentrated around the Catholic feasts of All Saints' Day (1st November) and All Souls' Day (2nd November). In Spain, as in other Catholic countries, mourners descended on cemeteries *en masse* on these days, when

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[31] Brad Epps, "Seeing the Dead: Manual and Mechanical Specters in Modern Spain (1893-1939)," in *Visualizing Spanish Modernity*, ed. Larson and Woods, 117. Italics in the original.

[32] Darío de Regoyos, *La España Negra de Émile Verhaeren* (Madrid: Casimiro, D.L. 2013). Regoyos and Verhaeren's project was itself revived in a publication by Spanish artist and writer José Gutiérrez Solana. See José Gutiérrez Solana, *La España Negra* (Madrid: G. Hernández y Galo Sáez, 1920).

visiting the graves of dead relatives was considered compulsory,[33] and the Church granted special indulgences to those souls in Purgatory whose living relatives visited the cemetery during the first week of November. Journalists and art critics consistently waited until this time of year to write about the latest cemetery monuments, and to publish photographs of them in the press, so that the presentation and reception of this sculptural genre was inextricably bound up with specific social-religious rituals.

What made Restoration Spain distinct from other Catholic countries in Europe was that theatre-going was also almost as integral to the All Saints' ritual as cemetery-visiting. The drama that "everyone" – or rather, those who could afford it – went to see at this time of year, and which was the most-frequently performed play in late nineteenth-century Spain,[34] was José Zorrilla's *Don Juan Tenorio* (1844), a version of the traditional Don Juan story set in a vaguely medieval or Golden-Age Seville. Critic Isidoro Fernández suggested that it had become part of the nation's fabric, claiming that "when the day comes that *Don Juan Tenorio* plays to an empty theatre, Spain will have become completely civilised, but it will not be Spain."[35]

Compellingly, cemetery sculpture had a central role in the play, making it surprising that neither art historians nor theatre scholars have yet noted the inter-medial connections. The second half is set in a privately-owned, romantic cemetery containing the sculpted tombs of the noble victims of the eponymous antihero; all of which were elaborately represented in the *mise-en-scènes* of Restoration productions (see, for example, fig. 0.3). It is in the cemetery that Don Juan eventually achieves religious salvation through the agency of the marble effigies, which leave their tombs and become animated to the extent that the boundaries between stone, flesh, ghost and spirit become impossibly blurred. The sense that sculpted bodies might come to life at any moment must surely have been in the minds of some cemetery visitors who had seen *Don Juan Tenorio* the night before.

Just as importantly, the play's representation of aristocratic tombs as sumptuous sculptural monuments in a garden cemetery setting, while historically incongruous, offered wealthy spectators a high-class burial model to aspire to. In this respect, it did not

[33] The process is detailed in Octavio V. Sala, "Nuevos Monumentos Funerarios," *Hojas Selectas*, Jan 1908, 994-1001.

[34] David T. Gies, Introduction to *Don Juan Tenorio*, by José Zorrilla (Madrid: Castalia, 1994), 7-57.

[35] Isidoro Fernández, cited in *La Historia de Don Juan Tenorio: Su Leyenda, su Vida, su Historia y su Dramática* (Madrid: La Novela Teatral, 1920), n.p. "El día en que anunciándose Don Juan Tenorio estén vacíos los teatros, España habrá llegada a su completa civilización, pero no será España." For more on the play's popularity, see Jeffrey T. Bersett, *El Burlado de Sevilla: Nineteenth-Century Theatrical Appropriations of "Don Juan Tenorio"* (Newark, Delaware: Juan de la Cuesta, 2003).

matter whether these spectators were rich industrialists and businesspeople or members of the bourgeoisie or military élite who had recently risen to the ranks of the new, expanded nobility created by monarchs who liberally bestowed new aristocratic titles on their favourites.

Indeed, like the sculpted funerary monuments I discuss in this thesis, Zorilla's play was intended for bourgeois consumption. David Gies convincingly argues that it constitutes Spain's first bourgeois drama, because the sinning antihero is "redeemed when he accepts the two fundamental principles of bourgeois ideology": domesticity and the ultimate authority of the Catholic religion.[36] The play's comforting message is conveyed through "fantastical" imagery and an unorthodox plot of loose religiosity which has close links to actual late-nineteenth-century cemetery sculpture, as I explore in Chapter One. Meanwhile, the play's engagement with the moral-religious dichotomy between truth and illusion proves highly relevant to the sculptures I discuss in Chapter Four.

THEATRICALITY AND SCULPTURE

This thesis also examines broader relations between sculpture, religiosity and theatricality. I deal with the subtle range of the theatrical, and explore how diverging understandings of the concept have been applied, with remarkable historiographic persistency, to funerary sculpture in Spain and abroad.[37] In this respect, Vovelle's allusion to the "theatrical magnitude" of "great orchestrated encounters" in stone reflects how cemetery sculpture's "innate" theatricality has often been taken for granted.[38] It also exemplifies the way in which centuries-old religious conceptualisations of theatricality have been sidelined in the secondary scholarship on the genre, itself symptomatic of the lack of seriousness with which religious sculpture of this period has been regarded.[39]

My exploration of the supposed "theatricality" of funerary sculpture weaves together Spanish, French and German art criticism penned during the period, including Adolf Hildebrand's observations on Antonio Canova's funerary monuments, with more recent

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[36] Gies, Introduction to *Don Juan Tenorio*, 47. "Se redime al aceptar los dos principios fundamentales de la ideología burguesa."

[37] For a detailed exploration of the history of the concept of theatricality, see Tracy C. Davis and Thomas Postlewait, introduction to *Theatricality*, ed. Tracy C. Davis and Thomas Postlewait (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1-39.

[38] Vovelle, "L'Imaginaire Collectif des Cimetières Méridionaux," 10-18. "Ampleur théâtrale;" "grandes rencontres orchestrées."

[39] In contrast, the performative dimension of baroque Catholic sculpture was explored in detail in Susan Verdi Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain: Sevillian Confraternities and the Processional Sculpture of Holy Week* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

British and Italian art historical approaches, such as Franco Sborgi's exploration of "The Theatricalisation of Death in Nineteenth-Century Funerary Sculpture" (2005),[40] and David Bindman and Malcolm Baker's discussions of funerary monuments in *Roubiliac and the Eighteenth-Century Monument: Sculpture as Theatre* (1995).[41] I also consider how the theorisation of art historical theatricality in canonical texts by Michael Fried[42] and Rosalind Krauss,[43] which were not developed with religious or funerary sculpture in mind, can fruitfully be brought to bear on Spanish cemetery sculpture. I propose new readings of nineteenth-century funerary sculpture in relation to theatre by examining the intersection between religious, moral, gendered, and "secular" constructions of theatricality.

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF SPANISH CEMETERY SCULPTURE

By focusing on the genre specificity of cemetery sculpture, and adopting a critical and object-centred approach, this thesis departs significantly from the dominant historiographical trends in the existing scholarship.

The art historical study of Spanish cemeteries was spearheaded in the 1980s by Carlos Saguar, who dedicated his PhD thesis to "Funerary Architecture in the Cemeteries of Madrid,"[44] and has since authored several scholarly, cross-disciplinary articles on the architecture, urban planning and history of Spanish cemeteries, while giving less attention to sculptural monuments.[45] Meanwhile, sculpture historians specialised in nineteenth-century Spain, including Mireia Freixa, Leticia Azcue, Carlos Reyero, María Soto and Natàlia Esquinas, have published on cemetery sculpture in the context of overview articles, monographic publications on individual sculptors, and entries in exhibition catalogues; though rarely in the form of detailed case studies.[46]

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[40] Franco Sborgi, "La Théâtralisation de la Mort dans la Sculpture Funéraire au XIX siècle," in *Les Narrations de la Mort*, ed. Anne Carol de Régis and Jean-Noël Pelen (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 2005): 225-39.

[41] David Bindman and Malcolm Baker, *Roubiliac and the Eighteenth-Century Monument: Sculpture as Theatre* (New Haven: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art / Yale University Press, 1995).

[42] In particular, Michael Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).

[43] Rosalind Krauss, *Passages in Modern Sculpture* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1981).

[44] Carlos Saguar, "Arquitectura Funeraria Madrileña del Siglo XIX," PhD diss. (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1989).

[45] The following publication is, however, dedicated to a predominantly sculptural monument: Carlos Saguar, "El Panteón Guirao, de Agustín Querol, en la Sacramental de San Isidro," *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños* 23 (1986): 79-86.

[46] Examples include Mireia Freixa, "La Escultura Funeraria en el Modernismo Catalán," *Fragmentos* 3 (1984): 40-54; María Soto, "Los Primeros Años de Quintín de Torre," *Sancho el Sabio* 32 (2010): 43-70; Carlos Reyero

Most of the scholarship on Spanish cemetery sculpture has been published in cemetery monographs, and I consulted more than 70 in the course of my research.[47] Although these publications vary greatly in terms of academic rigour and target audience, they have in common a geographical framework which shapes their content; from a focus on the individual cemetery, to various cemeteries in a town, to the cemeteries in a region. Many are published, funded or commissioned by regional governments and local institutions, suggesting that cultural and touristic promotion of a region is sometimes a motivating factor. This is clearly true when the monograph is dominated by attractive colour photographs of monuments, or when it doubles as a cemetery guidebook, as is the case of two informative and engaging books about Barcelona's Poblenou and Montjuïc cemeteries, co-written by historians and art historians Elisa Martí, María Isabel Marín and Lidia Catalá, and aimed at a non-academic readership.[48]

There are subtle distinctions to be made, in these geographically-delimited approaches, between recognising genuine differences between Spain's regions and localities, celebrating or promoting them, and limiting oneself to the local or regional because of a lack of knowledge of the wider picture. As the current political crisis in Catalonia has highlighted on the international stage, Spain is, as it was in the Restoration, a culturally,

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and Mireia Freixa, *Pintura y Escultura en España 1800-1910* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1995). Case studies include Leticia Azcue, "Joseph Llimona. Desconsuelo," in *El Siglo XIX en el Prado*, ed. José Luis Diez and Javier Barón (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2007), 423-26; Natàlia Esquinas, "Desconsuelo, de Josep Llimona," in *Copia e Invención* (Valladolid: Museo Nacional de Escultura, 2013), 379-88.

[47] I summarise these sources below for ease of reading, but full references can be found in the Bibliography. The following regions and cities have been studied by the authors whose surnames appear in brackets: Asturias, Cantabria and Vizcaya (Bermejo 1998); Bilbao (Arnaiz 1995, Barrio 1988, Muñiz ed. 2008, Fernández and Zurrunero 1987); Burgos (Rodríguez Ojeda 1967); Canary islands (García Roig 1987); Cuenca (Gómez Sánchez 1998); Granada (López-Guadalupe ed. 2006); Guadalajara (López Villalba 1991); León (Serrano Laso 1993); Logroño (Reyero 1984; Corta and Ferreira 2008); Málaga (Grice-Hutchinson 1989; Pazos 1993; García Millán 1975); Mallorca (Cantarellas 1987); Menorca (Hernández Gómez and Sintes 1996); Murcia (Gómez de Rueda 1998; Moreno Atance 2005); Santander (Bermejo 2005); Seville (Mena 1987; Rodríguez Barberán 1990 and 1996); Tenerife (García Pulido 2000); Valencia (Catalá Gorgues 2007) and Zaragoza (Oliván 2010).

Madrid's cemeteries have been researched collectively in the following texts: Corral 1954; Carrasco-Muñoz 1984; Gea 2002; Álvarez 2006; Escudero 2014; Saguar 1989. Publications on specific burial sites in Madrid include: Panteón de Hombres Ilustres (Pastor 1970; Boyd 2004; Portela 2011; Aparisi 2011); San Justo (Pino 1995; Pino 2008; Saguar 2002); San Isidro (Reuter and Fischer 2006; Saguar 1988; Diéguez and Giménez 2000; Llopis 2011); British cemetery (Saguar 1999; Butler 1996); Almudena/Necrópolis del Este (Pardo Canalís 1980; Saguar 1996); San Lorenzo (Saguar 1996); San Nicolás (Saguar 1994); San Martín (Saguar 1995); Santa María (Saguar 1997); del Sur (Saguar 1987); del Norte (Saguar 1987) and San Sebastián (Saguar 1993).

Barcelona's cemeteries have been examined collectively in: Riera and Aymerich (1981) and Serra Florensa (1973). Monographic cemetery studies include: Poblenou (Saguar 1990; Nadal and Puyol 2000; Martí, Marín and Català 2004 and 2007); Montjuïc (Solé Suqué 1976; Marín Silvestre 1986; Aguado 2003; Martí, Català and Marín 2008) and Sant Andreu (Lacuesta et al. 2009). The following publications deal with cemeteries in other Catalan towns: Badalona (Abras 1998); Lloret de Mar (Alcoy 1990); Masnou (Rico and Roig 2008); Olot (Ferrés and Galizia 2005); Reus (Solé i Gasull 1991; Flores Juanpere and López 2005); Sabadell (Fernández Álvarez 2000) and Vilafranca del Penedès (Allué, Arnabat and Valls 2004).

[48] Elisa Martí, Lidia Català and Maria Isabel Marín, *Un Paseo por el Cementerio de Poblenou*, 2nd ed. (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2007); Elisa Martí, Maria Isabel Marín and Lidia Català, *El Cementerio de Montjuïc* (Barcelona: Cementiris de Barcelona, 2008).

linguistically, climatically and environmentally diverse country. Alfonso, for instance, was justified in identifying Catalan sculptors as the frontrunners in the renewal of Spanish sculpture, and, as a result, Chapters Three and Four of this thesis explore some of the specificities of funerary sculpture in Catalonia. Returning to cemetery monographs, however, it must be noted that many have relied almost exclusively on local sources, resulting in a limited ability to draw parallels outside the chosen geographical area, and a lack of awareness of more recent international research which theorises the cemetery, such as the work of Seaton, Roach and Julie Rugg.[49] Authors frequently assume, or seek, a geographically-limited readership, confined to Catalan speakers in some cases, and to Spanish nationals in others.[50]

Moreover, while cemetery architecture has often received separate and dedicated attention,[51] very few of these cemetery monographs deal exclusively with sculpture.[52] Broad-brush discussions of sculpture frequently appear after chapters devoted to the history of cemetery development in Spain, the history of the particular cemetery under study, and cemetery architecture; and the emphasis is generally on accurate description, and brief typological and stylistic classification on an object-by-object basis, rather than critical analysis. An inventorial objective similarly drives Toni Flores and Esther Celma's ongoing online project to record all of Catalonia's funerary monuments of artistic interest.[53] Until now, spatial and environmental considerations, such as how adjacent sculptures relate to each other and to the vegetation and architecture which surrounds them, and how exhibiting "cemetery" sculpture outside cemeteries could radically alter its meanings, have scarcely been addressed. These issues are central to this thesis.

REGIONALISM, NATIONALISM, INTERNATIONALISM

This thesis also goes against the grain of the current scholarship by moving away from localised and descriptive studies towards a genre-focused approach, through a series of overlapping, representative, in-depth case studies selected from across Spain. My

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[49] Seaton, "Purposeful Otherness;" Roach, *Cities of the Dead;* Julie Rugg, "Introduction: Cemeteries," *Mortality* 8, no. 2 (2003): 107-12; Rugg, "Defining the Place of Burial."

[50] The minority official language of Catalan is frequently chosen by Catalan authors; while publications from the rest of the country commonly refer to "our country" throughout their texts, taking for granted an exclusively Spanish readership. See, for example, Bermejo, *Arte y Arquitectura Funeraria.*

[51] Consider, for example, the conference whose proceedings were published under the title *Una Arquitectura para la Muerte* (Seville: Consejería de Obras Públicas y Transportes, 1993).

[52] One exception is Pilar Ferrés and Maria Galizia, *Escultura Funerària del Cementiri Municipal d'Olot* (Olot: Ajuntament d'Olot, 2005).

[53] Toni Flores and Esther Celma, Patrimoni Funerari.cat, accessed March 30, 2018, http://www.patrimonifunerari.cat/

intention is not, however, to replace regionalism by nationalism, but to enable wider-reaching conclusions by drawing attention to the broader, often international picture.

It is essential to underline the fact that sculptors, sculptures, and artistic models were mobile, and not bound by the geographical boundaries which writers of cemetery monographs have sometimes imposed.[54] Sculptures destined for cemeteries, or derived from funerary works, were frequently shown at regional, national and international exhibitions, and were sometimes even displayed in shop windows, as we shall see. Several of the sculptors I discuss – including Mariano Benlliure, Agustín Querol, and Julio Antonio – produced funerary works in Madrid after having relocated to the capital from other regions of Spain; while others, such as Enric Clarasó, José Llimona and José Campeny, received commissions from outside Catalonia, where they resided. This mobility did not apply only to celebrated sculptors. The Franzi brothers – masons who specialised in making marble tombs, and were probably of Italian origin – were initially based in Barcelona, but later opened a second branch in the centre of Madrid.[55]

Moreover, the majority of Spanish sculptors who produced cemetery works undertook a period of artistic training in Rome or Paris; sometimes, as in Benlliure's case, staying there for years. This fact is reflected in the inclusion of several works of funerary statuary in *La Escultura del Eclecticismo en España: Cosmopolitas entre Roma y París 1850-1900* (2004), Reyero's important and long-overdue exploration of Italian and French influences on Spanish sculpture.[56] Epps has similarly drawn attention to the cosmopolitanism of Spanish – and particularly, Catalan – art of this period, and lucidly concluded that "it is perilous [...] to fixate on national or local origins," for "the referential power of place was often little match for the more autonomous and interpictorial turns of the work of art."[57] To this we must add that the bourgeois cultural context in which cemetery sculpture emerged was a cosmopolitan one, as the diverse origins and transnational travels of the families I discuss in this thesis reflect.

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[54] In this respect, two scholarly, cross-country publications missed the opportunity to explore international artistic mobility, because each consists predominantly of self-contained country- or cemetery-specific chapters. See Sofía Diéguez and Carmen Giménez, eds., A*rte y Arquitectura Funeraria (XIX-XX): Dublín, Génova, Madrid, Torino* (Madrid: Electa, 2000); Mauro Felicori and Franco Sborgi, eds., *Lo Splendore della Forma: La Scultura negli Spazi della Memoria* (Rome: Luca Sossella, 2012).

[55] Asociación de Arquitectos de Cataluña, *Anuario para 1915* (Barcelona: Talleres Gráficos de J. Bartra Laborde, 1915), 27.

[56] Carlos Reyero, *La Escultura del Eclecticismo en España: Cosmopolitas entre Roma y París 1850-1900* (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2004).

[57] Epps, "Seeing the Dead," 119.

Within the funerary genre, connections with Italy were strengthened through the widespread importation of Italian sculpture, no doubt facilitated by the presence of numerous Italian sculptors and marble carvers who had settled in Spain, such as the Nicoli family.[58] Furthermore, art periodicals such as *La Ilustración Española y Americana* (Madrid), and *La Ilustración Artística* and *Ilustració Catalana* (Barcelona), regularly printed engravings and photographs of funerary sculpture produced abroad, as well as in Spain. Within this broader cosmopolitanism, Spain's cultural ties to Italy and France were, thus, artistic as well as religious, and often transcended the differences between regions in Spain.

SCULPTORS, MARBLE-MASONS AND ARCHITECTS

Each of the five case studies in this thesis focuses on sculptures which were specifically commissioned as funerary monuments for particular individuals or families, rather than selected from catalogues of serially-produced, generic tomb designs, or purchased straight from a shop. Given that the non-selective nature of cemeteries as exhibition spaces has contributed significantly to the low regard in which cemetery sculpture has traditionally been held, I consider that a prioritisation of minority objects chosen on qualitative grounds is strategically necessary. At the same time, I address a broad range of styles, and consider works which develop imaginatively the most common iconographic subjects within the funerary genre: mourning women, angels, the *Pietà*, and the *gisant*. In doing so, I balance new readings of canonical works with explorations of other sculptures about which little has been written.

The exceptional, commissioned works which form the basis of my case studies were predominantly, but not exclusively, produced by men who were considered to be sculptors.[59] The question of the status of *who* made sculptural funerary monuments runs throughout this thesis.[60] More specifically, I address the boundaries traditionally erected between the "high art" attributed to sculptors and the "low art" generally associated with other, little-known professionals dedicated to stone-carving for cemeteries. The issue is

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[58] On the Spanish branch of the Nicoli family, see María Luisa Tárraga, "Los Nicoli en Madrid. Su Transcendencia en el Arte Español," *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia Aruntica di Carrara* 11 (2005): 23-106.

[59] As yet, I have not encountered any funerary sculptures, in Spain, produced by women. Examples from Italy and France feature in Marjan Sterckx, "The Invisible 'Sculpteuse': Sculptures by Women in the Nineteenth-century Urban Public Space – London, Paris, Brussels," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 7, no. 2 (Autumn 2008), http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/ autumn08/90-the-invisible-sculpteuse-sculptures-by-women-in-the-nineteenth-century-urban-publicspacelondon-paris-brussels.

[60] Rosa Alcoy and Bermejo have given serious consideration to some of these professional divisions. See Bermejo, *Arte y Arquitectura Funeraria;* Rosa Alcoy, *El Cementiri de Lloret de Mar: Indagacions sobre un Conjunt Modernista* (Lloret de Mar: Ajuntament de Lloret de Mar, 1990).

particularly pertinent given Alfonso's claim that it was through the cemetery that artisans were "elevated" to the status of sculptors, in the first place; a suggestion that implicated and involved stone-carvers in the process of bourgeois social climbing and urban development that his article described.[61]

Although there was no consensus regarding the correct terminology to identify the different sculpture professionals according to their functions, the panorama was more nuanced than we might suppose. A report by the cemetery committee of Bilbao, in 1906, distinguished four categories:

> Among those dedicated to sculpture, there are *artist sculptors*, who compose their works and execute them; there are also *makers* who only execute what others have conceived; afterwards come the *carvers*, who are principally dedicated to ornamentation in different materials; and finally we must take into account the *marmolistas,* whose works are especially important in this case.[62]

It is the first and last of these categories that are principally of interest here, since these were the only professionals who would design, and therefore "sign," works of figurative sculpture (*makers* and *carvers*, in this context, seem to vaguely refer to assistants of one or the other). *Marmolistas*, whom I hereafter translate as "marble-masons," were stonemasons who worked in marble and specialised in tomb production in its many forms.[63] Though frequently described as overlapping with *lapidarios*[64] – the "gravestone sellers" whose shops sold small-scale, mass-produced statues (see fig. 0.4) – *marmolistas* sometimes aligned themselves with sculptors. In Barcelona, for example, José Planas advertised his services as a "*lapidario marmolista*, builder in stone and marble,"[65] but Antonio Pujol – whose work I discuss in Chapter Three – presented himself as an *escultor marmolista* (sculptor marble-mason).[66] It was most consistently against the supposedly

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[61] Alfonso, "La Escultura en Barcelona," 116.

[62] File regarding a proposal by city councillors to reform article 60 of the cemetery regulations of Vista Alegre, 1906, Bilbao Primera 0498/001, AMB-BUA. "Entre los que se dedican a la escultura, hay *escultores artistas*, que componen sus trabajos y los ejecutan; los hay también *artífices* que ejecutan singularmente lo que otros han concebido; vienen después los *tallistas*, que se dedican principalmente à trabajos de ornamentación en distintas materias; y finalmente ha de contarse también á los *marmolistas*, cuyos trabajos tienen importancia especial en este caso." The italics are mine.

[63] The French and Italian equivalents of the *marmolista* are, respectively, *marbrier* and *marmista.*

[64] See, for example, Antonio Espina, "La Exposición de Bellas Artes IX," *España*, July 1, 1922, 15.

[65] Asociación de Arquitectos de Cataluña, *Anuario para 1906 y 1907* (Barcelona: Fidel Giró, *ca.* 1906), 10. "Lapidario marmolista, constructor en piedra y mármol."

[66] Asociación de Arquitectos de Cataluña, *Anuario para 1918* (Barcelona: Farré y Asensio, 1918), 32.

inferior category of *marmolistas* or *lapidarios* that "artist-sculptors" were defined in the cemetery context.[67]

While this thesis focuses exclusively on sculptural tomb projects led by sculptors or marble-masons, and mostly examines other kinds of inter-medial connections rather than the comparatively well-researched link between sculpture and architecture,[68] it is important to address briefly the role of architects in creating funerary monuments. Most sculptural tomb projects, whether led by a sculptor or a marble-mason, required the involvement of an architect or master builder. This was because large-scale monuments invariably had underground crypts with spaces for multiple corpses, and therefore required architectural plans, which had to be approved by the cemetery authorities or the municipal architect before construction could go ahead.

Panteón is the Spanish word used to refer to such large, multi-body tombs; and *panteones* were the favoured burial format of Spain's bourgeoisie, who used them to unite family members in death. The visible part of a *panteón* was either predominantly sculptural or architectural, and the main maker would be chosen accordingly, although sculptors and architects sometimes teamed up to work regularly in close partnership with one another on such projects.[69] Architect-led *panteón* projects tended to take the form of small-scale mausoleums or chapels, and often required the collaboration of sculptors to provide free-standing figures to place in the interior, or to occupy exterior niches. While I refer to several such projects in this thesis, they are not my focus. Chapter Four, however, discusses two sculptural tableaux for which the *sculptor* devised constructed settings integral to the statues' meanings.

Also outside the main frame of this thesis – although briefly considered in Chapter Two – is the "pantheon," in the English sense of the word, which Rugg has defined as "a monument or building commemorating a nation's dead heroes,"[70] and which also translates as *panteón* in Spanish. Because pantheons literally transcend the geographical limits of the cemetery site, do not necessarily accommodate the bodies of those commemorated, and are generally State-led memorialisation projects with nationalistic

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[67] For example, Serrano Fatigati, *Escultura en Madrid* […], 48.

[68] The close relationship between sculpture and architecture in Spanish cemeteries has been discussed in Bermejo, *Arte y Arquitectura Funeraria* and Alcoy, *El Cementiri de Lloret de Mar.*

[69] Examples of such partnerships are discussed in Miguel Ángel Aramburu-Zabala, *Leonardo Rucabado y la Arquitectura Española 1875-1918* (Santander: Real Sociedad Menéndez Pelayo, 2016); Montserrat Oliva and Hugo García, "Panteón Urrutia Miró, Un Icono del Arte Funerario Catalán," Adiós Cultural, March 27, 2018, http://www.revistaadios.es/articulo/51/Panteon-Urrutia-Miro.html.

[70] Rugg, "Defining the Place of Burial," 271.

objectives, they merit separate studies of their own. In this respect, Carolyn P. Boyd has explored Madrid's main Panteón de Hombres Ilustres (Pantheon of Illustrious Men) in relation to the construction of a collective national "memory,"[71] while a cross-national publication on pantheons edited by Richard Wrigley and Matthew Craske did not include examples from Spain.[72]

CEMETERY MODELS AND THE ROLE OF SCULPTURE: THE GARDEN VERSUS THE NECROPOLIS

The cemetery was not, however, a "curious gallery of monumental burials"[73] by default, and the place of sculpture in Spanish cemeteries was ideologically and aesthetically contested.

Scholars identify two main strands in Western nineteenth-century cemetery design, based on distinct philosophical approaches and architectural designs: the "informal landscape-garden approach," which developed from a picturesque aesthetic, and the formal, built necropolis.[74] These categories were not fixed. Indeed, Europe's best-known cemetery, the Père-Lachaise in Paris (established 1804), considered the original garden cemetery, became so saturated with monuments[75] that it was eventually the cemeteries that it inspired in Protestant Britain and the USA that came to be regarded the quintessential examples of the type.

The Italian model was the necropolis, literally "city of the dead," which was conceptualised as the counterpart, mirror image, or microcosm of the city of the living.[76] Often divided into "patios" enclosed by porticoed walls in the manner of a monastery cloister, the necropolis had a formal layout, named streets and squares, and was dominated by sculptural and architectural monuments. There were also classical connections. Pompeii, which exercised a major influence on the popular imagination at

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[71] Carolyn P. Boyd, "Un Lugar de Memoria Olvidado: El Panteón de Hombres Ilustres en Madrid," *Historia y Política* 12 (2004): 15-39.

[72] Richard Wrigley and Matthew Craske, eds. *Pantheons: Transformations of a Monumental Idea* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

[73] Alfonso, "La Escultura en Barcelona," 116. "Curiosa galería de enterramientos monumentales."

[74] James Stevens Curl, "The Design of the Early British Cemeteries," *Journal of Garden History* 4, no. 3 (1984): 227. See, also, Robert Auzelle, "Les Parcs Funéraires," *Monuments Historiques*, no. 124 (1982-83): 85-90; Richard A. Etlin, "Père Lachaise and the Garden Cemetery," *Journal of Garden History* 4, no. 3 (1984): 211-22; David Schuyler, "The Evolution of the Anglo-American Rural Cemetery: Landscape Architecture as Social and Cultural History," *Journal of Garden History* 4, no. 3 (1984): 291-304.

[75] Etlin, "Père Lachaise and the Garden Cemetery," 211-22.

[76] For more on cemeteries as cities of the dead, see Roach, *Cities of the Dead*, 48-55.

the end of the nineteenth century, was sometimes invoked as a conceptual precedent or parallel. Articles in the Spanish press not only described Pompeii as a living city which had become a cemetery,[77] but discussed and illustrated the ruins of the city's actual cemetery, which consisted of funerary monuments laid out along a street, outside the city walls (fig. 0.5).[78]

The major cemeteries of Restoration Spain followed a mixed approach, with the garden cemetery eventually triumphing more in theory rather than in practice. It is no coincidence that the best surviving example of the garden cemetery model in urban Spain is the British cemetery of Madrid (inaugurated 1854). For example, in 1876, Ángel Fernández de los Ríos published an enthusiastic description of an "ideal" project for a vast municipal funerary park on the outskirts of Madrid, based on ecology and equality in death.[79] The project which was eventually carried out was, however, very different. The plan for Madrid's vast Almudena cemetery (then known as the Necrópolis del Este) drew on detailed dossiers about a wide range of cemeteries around the world, which the mayor of Madrid amassed in 1877.[80] The architects rejected the model of the Père-Lachaise for its lack of order, and distrusted the British and American "park with gardens" for the pleasurable leisure time it invited, settling instead on a necropolis model.[81] Moreover, they justified their decision to give the cemetery architecture a visibly Catholic character on the basis of the official Catholicism of the Spanish state.[82]

A similar gap emerged between ideal and reality in Barcelona, when it became clear that a new cemetery was needed to supplement the saturated "necropolis" of Poblenou; whose extension Alfonso had conceptualised as the bourgeois city of the dead, as we saw earlier. In 1885, Celestino Barallat, a member of the city's Cemetery Committee, published *Principios de Botánica Funeraria*, which detailed how to achieve the ideal, United-States inspired, garden cemetery through landscaping.[83] Barallat advised against "cold

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[77] "Nuestros Grabados," *Globo,* May 18, 1876, 1; Vicente Moreno de la Tejera, "Pompeya," *Figaro* (Madrid), Nov 24, 1880, 2.

[78] Dr. Xatart, "Ruinas de Pompeya," *Viajero Ilustrado Hispano-Americano*, April 1, 1879, 7; Vicente Moreno de la Tejera, "Pompeya," *Figaro* (Madrid), Nov 26, 1880, 2.

[79] Ángel Fernández de los Ríos, *Guía de Madrid, Manual del Madrileño y del Forastero* (Madrid: Oficinas de La Ilustración Española y Americana, 1876), 629.

[80] Files containing reports on cemeteries across the world, sent to the mayor of Madrid upon request, 1877, Cementerios II, Secretaría, 6-158-1 to 6-159-8, AVM.

[81] Fernando Arbós and José Urioste, *Memoria Histórico-Descriptiva del Proyecto de Necrópolis del Este de Madrid* (Madrid: Imprenta y Litografía Municipal, 1879), 36.

[82] Arbós and Urioste, *Memoria Histórico-Descriptiva* […], 37-38.

[83] Celestino Barallat, *Principios de Botánica Funeraria*, facsimile, intr. Jaume Bover (Barcelona: Alta Fulla, 1984).

symmetrical arrangements" and straight paths, reminiscent of the utilitarian, business-driven city of the living, and asserted that the "direct work of God" (nature) should dominate the "work of men" (monuments).[84] As Barallat was writing, the new municipal cemetery of Montjuïc had already been inaugurated but was not yet complete. The original architectural plan shows a hybrid solution in which the main space is symmetrical, linear and monumental, while curved paths and denser vegetation occupy less accessible areas of the cemetery (fig. 0.6). The plan was abandoned mid-construction to make way for a greater concentration of large monuments; and, in the Montjuïc of today, sculpture, architecture and vegetation are densely packed together.

The hybrid approach echoed the way in which the cemetery in *Don Juan Tenorio* was represented. Not only did set designs for the play consistently show grand monuments in a lush garden (fig. 0.3),[85] but the supposedly original ruins of the tombs of Don Juan's victims, in the grounds of the San Telmo palace in Seville, were set in an overgrown, quintessentially Romantic, garden (fig. 0.7).[86]

At the other extreme, in terms of aesthetic appeal and aristocratic pedigree, were *nichos* [niches]; a relatively cheap burial form in compartmentalised, constructed blocks, which was adopted in areas of all of Spain's major urban cemeteries, and came to be seen as typically Spanish (fig. 0.8).[87] Only on rare occasions did such tombs feature relief sculpture that was not mass-produced, one of which I discuss in Chapter Two. Artists and writers emphasised the low-class associations of *nichos*, sometimes satirising them through the conceptual lens of the necropolis. Thus, a cartoonist for the satirical periodical *La Esquella de la Torratxa* (Barcelona) regularly drew skeletal next-door neighbours having a chat through the "windows" of their respective *nichos* (for example, fig. 0.9), while a journalist for the same periodical asked, "do not the flocks [sic] of superimposed *nichos* recall the superimposed flats of the narrow buildings which predominate in many of the streets of the old town?"[88] Vilified for their ugliness and allegedly unhygienic overcrowding – both

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[84] Barallat, *Principios de Botánica Funeraria*, 52. "Frías distribuciones simétricas;" "obra directa de Dios;" "la obra de los hombres."

[85] Several set designs for the play exist in the Museo Nacional del Teatro, Almagro.

[86] For more on these "tombs," which have disappeared, see Francisco Márquez, *Origen y Elaboración de "El Burlador de Sevilla"* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1996), 63-64.

[87] See, for example, Gusave Doré, "Un Enterrement à Barcelone," *L'Illustration* (Paris), Nov 29, 1873. See also María Antonia López-Burgos del Barrio, "El Cementerio de Granada: Viajeros de Otros Tiempos," in *Memoria de Granada: Estudios en Torno al Cementerio,* ed. Juan Jesús López-Guadalupe (Granada: EMUCESA, 2006), 511-39. Though less common, *nichos* also existed in some Italian and French cemeteries.

[88] "Crónica," *Esquella de la Torratxa,* Oct 28, 1898, 698. "Las bandadas de ninxos superposats ¿no recordan els pisos superposats de las casas estretas que predominan en molts dels carrers de la ciutat vella?"

indirect results of the comparatively low economic means of those buried in them – it is significant that blocks of *nichos* were, unlike the cemetery monuments of the bourgeoisie, sometimes discussed in terms consistent with the "Black Spain" narrative.[89]

MONUMENTS, MONEY AND (IM)MORALITY

The debate surrounding cemetery models had a strong moral dimension which art historians have so far largely overlooked; yet which had profound implications for the production and reception of cemetery sculpture, as this thesis reveals. Barallat and Fernández de los Ríos' texts exemplify a widespread discourse in which rural, nature-dominant, and poor cemeteries (although not areas dominated by *nichos*) were presented as morally superior to monumentalised, urban ones. Although the equation of nature with purity, humility and truth had Romantic roots, it gained momentum, in the funerary context, as cemeteries became increasingly monumentalised. For example, writing at the turn of the twentieth century, poet Vicente Medina suggested that greater sincerity of feeling was to be found in the poorest areas of the cemetery, where the graves were supposedly simple and humble. He was also highly critical of the perceived falsity of the rich who visited cemeteries to flaunt their wealth on All Soul's Day.[90] Significantly, he used the term "theatrical" to describe the perceived insincerity and artificiality of both their behaviour, and the monumental, bourgeois areas of the cemetery itself.[91] He explicitly attributed the state of moral corruption to the urban-like domination of monuments, "mean-spirited" art, limited vegetation and lack of real flowers, and dreamed of a future in which the dead would be buried in cheerful gardens.[92]

The Catholic Church may well have distrusted the cheerfulness of the gardens of Medina's emphatically non-religious vision, but its position on cemeteries coincided with enlightened reformers and social critics in one crucial aspect: simple tombs were morally superior to elaborate, monumental ones. The clergy, too, frowned upon the gratuitous luxury of many funerary monuments, expressing their disapproval of what Thorstein Veblen theorised in 1899 as the "conspicuous consumption" of the "leisure class."[93] Thus,

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[89] See, for example, Fernández de los Ríos, *Guía de Madrid* […], 624; José Coroleu, *Barcelona y sus Alrededores* (Barcelona: Jaime Seix, 1887), 267.

[90] Vicente Medina, "Fúnebre," *Madrid Cómico*, Nov 3, 1900, 454; Vicente Medina, *La Canción de la Muerte* (Cartagena: Imp. La Tierra, 1904), 71-72.

[91] Medina, *La Canción de la Muerte*, 71. "Teatral."

[92] Medina, *La Canción de la Muerte*, 71-72. "Mezquino."

[93] Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). First published 1899. See also Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1992), 55.

French clergyman Léger-Marie Pioger's *Life After Death*, translated into Spanish in 1875,[94] claimed that true Christians would be undeceived by lavish tombs, and suggested that to seek earthly immortality through monuments was futile, since, according to him, "bronze, itself, turns to dust."[95] Citing the teachings of St. Augustine, he asserted that the construction of splendid mausoleums served to give comfort to the living, but would not save the dead.[96] In *Clamores de Ultratumba* (1900), Spanish clergyman José Coll made the same point, adding disapprovingly that ostentatious monuments and rituals were reminiscent of "pagan apotheoses."[97] Such unequivocal statements may well belie assumptions about the kind of art favoured in "Catholic" Spain, urging a more nuanced approach to religious sculpture. Crucially, it was not expensive, elaborate sculpture *per se* that the Church objected to; but the idea that sculpture erected in the cemetery, irrespective of its iconography, existed to glorify not God, but humans.

Indeed, a particular source of moral discomfort with the necropolis model, and the monuments therein, was derived from their monetary associations. On the one hand, in 1873, Fernández de los Ríos was already expressing disapproval at what would later become a commonplace occurrence: the systematic crowding of the cemetery space to maximise income from selling expensive plots destined to contain monuments.[98] On the other hand, it was all too obvious that every form of monumentalisation had a price. In 1901, *Madrid Cómico* satirised this in a short vignette about a coy young widow who, following a long discussion of price with the marble-mason, manages to settle on a cheap, generic tomb for her dead husband, while ingeniously keeping up appearances.[99] The fact that the story was again a translation from the French emphasises further the cross-border character of these moral issues. In this particular case, the cheapness was presented as a reflection of the shallowness of the widow's grief; female decorum and mourning behaviour being, as I underline in Chapter Four, under consistent scrutiny. However, in the moral minefield that was tomb selection, one could equally attract moral censure by

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[94] Léger-Marie Pioger, *La Vida Después de la Muerte o sea la Vida Futura según el Cristianismo* (Barcelona: Juan Oliveras, 1875).

[95] Léger-Marie Pioger, *La Vie Après la Mort ou La Vie Future Selon le Christianisme, la Science et Notamment les Magnifiques Découvertes de l'Astronomie Moderne*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Librairie de Propagande, 1873), 40. "Le bronze se convertit lui-même en poussière."

[96] Pioger, *La Vida Después de la Muerte* […], 65.

[97] José Coll, *Clamores de Ultratumba* (Barcelona: Librería y Tipografía Católica, 1900), 84. "Las apoteosis paganas."

[98] Fernández de los Ríos, *Guía de Madrid* […], 624.

[99] Pierre Verin, "Sentimiento Eterno," *Madrid Cómico*, Nov 2, 1901, 355.

choosing something expensive and therefore "ostentatious," particularly when the object was acquired or commissioned in one's lifetime.

It was not only mass-produced monuments which were reproduced in catalogues alongside their price tags.[100] In his 1899 book *Panteones y Sepulcros en los Cementerios de Madrid*, cemetery architect Enrique Repullés offered full-page photographs of a selection of Madrid's cemetery monuments, with accompanying commentaries which named the architects, sculptors and other makers, and the cost of each monument. Repullés had no qualms about discussing the breakdown of the prices in great detail, instead assuming that "our readers will find [it] pleasing and of some use."[101] The book was clearly conceived as an elite catalogue of sorts, from which aspiring future patrons could seek inspiration and select artists, and which sought to imply a correlation between artistic and economic value.

MUSEUMS OF SCULPTURE, OR SITES TO HONOUR THE ILLUSTRIOUS DEAD

On the other hand, Repullés was defending the moral high ground of the monumental cemetery by focusing on the artists who *made* the monuments rather than the rich who *bought* them, and explicitly presenting the space as an example of a socially respectable and morally edifying institution: the art museum.[102] The idea that cemeteries could be museums of sculpture was widely voiced by Spanish writers during the period, often with reference to Staglieno cemetery in Genoa, which was a popular tourist destination.[103]

A second approach which allowed cemetery monuments to elude moral censure focused on the illustrious dead. Tombs commissioned in posthumous homage to "great men," who were understood to have deserved preferential treatment, ceased to denote the purchasing power of a particular individual, particularly since they were commonly financed by public subscription; and were consequently much less liable to be viewed as bourgeois vanity projects. The first book devoted to Spain's cemetery monuments, published in 1898, took this angle. Entitled "The Tombs of Illustrious Men in the Cemeteries of Madrid," Manuel Mesonero's text identified and described the tombs of

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[100] For example, *Cementerio del Sud-Oeste de Barcelona: Modelos de Sepulturas* (Barcelona: n.p., n.d.)

[101] Enrique María Repullés, *Panteones y Sepulcros en los Cementerios de Madrid* (Madrid: Imprenta de San Francisco de Sales, 1899), n.p. "Nuestros lectores verán con gusto y podrá serles de alguna utilidad."

[102] Repullés, *Panteones y Sepulcros en los Cementerios de Madrid*, n.p. Around the following year, a comparable book was published on Barcelona's cemetery monuments: Juan Bautista Pons, *Monumentos Funerarios Coleccionados por Juan Bautista Pons* (Barcelona: Juan Bta. Pons y Cia. editores, *ca.* 1900).

[103] See, for example, Manuel Ibo, "El Cementerio de Capuchinos de Roma," *Ilustración* (Barcelona), Oct 29, 1882, 498; Ángel Pulido, *De la Medicina y los Médicos* (Valencia: Librería de P. Aguilar, 1883), 539.

figures of national importance, and was intended to encourage veneration and gratitude, and to be "useful and patriotic."[104] The moral improvement of the reader – particularly if he or she was prompted to visit the tombs featured in the book – was thus implied. As I explore in Chapter One, the funerary monuments discussed in this mode of viewing overlap, in many ways, with the public statuary which was simultaneously and enthusiastically being erected, across the country's city squares and parks, in honour of "illustrious men."[105] More than a simple result of a patriarchal system, the linguistic gender bias also emphasised the idea that greatness was the preserve of men; and, by extension, implied that only men deserved posthumous monuments focused on merit or achievement.

OVERVIEW OF THE CHAPTERS

The fundamental distinction, in terms of circumstances and moral connotations, between posthumous tombs in honour of the illustrious dead, and cemetery monuments commissioned by the moneyed bourgeoisie for themselves and their own families, underpins the organisational structure of this thesis.

The thesis consists of five chapters, which are divided into three thematic parts. The first part, entitled "Memorialising the Individual Dead," is comprised of two linked chapters, which are ordered chronologically, and which deal with works that commemorate recently-dead artistic "heroes" or "great men." The opening chapter centres on Benlliure's monument (*ca.* 1890-1901) for the opera singer Julián Gayarre, probably the most famous funerary sculpture of the Spanish Restauración. I explore its multi-dimensional links with theatre and show how this particularly mobile work drew on the loose religiosity of contemporary Italian funerary sculpture, which the sculptor adapted into a dual level, secular-religious, apotheosis allegory. I also examine the co-existing claims to immortality of the dead artist and the living sculptor, in relation to the alternative display spaces of the cemetery, the art exhibition, and the public square, particularly with respect to the presence or absence of a corpse.

I develop these latter questions, in new contexts, in the second chapter. I use Julio Antonio's group (1917-19) for the dead Alberto Lemonier, which the young sculptor finished as he was himself dying of tuberculosis, as a starting point for an exploration of

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[104] Manuel Mesonero, *Las Sepulturas de los Hombres Ilustres en los Cementerios de Madrid* (Madrid: Imp. de Hernando y Cia., 1898), 5-7. "Útil y patriótica."

[105] For a discussion of this "statue-mania" in the French context, see Maurice Agulhon, "La 'Statuomanie' et l'Histoire," *Ethnologie Française* 8, nos. 2-3 (1978): 145-72.

the funerary memorialisation of sculptors, as well as a case study in its own right. I cast a new critical eye on Restoration critics' coverage of the object, of its extraordinary display at a solo art exhibition in Madrid, and of the fraught relationship between bourgeois society and artistic endeavour and identity: a conflict between money and merit which comes to a head with death. Although not primarily a theoretical chapter, it draws on the writings of Roland Barthes and Jacques Derrida to discuss the consequences of authorial death on processes of meaning-making in funerary sculpture; particularly in terms of the displacement problem of the commemorator becoming the subject of attention instead of the commemorated. I argue that the Pygmalion-esque conceptualisation of sculpture as somewhere between life and death takes on new significance when dealing with the funerary genre. I also consider how the search for a national sculptural identity in the early decades of the twentieth century impacted upon the production, and reception, of religious sculpture in Spain.

The second thematic part of the thesis, "Memorialising Those Still Living," focuses on sculptural monuments which were not posthumous acts of homage, but commissioned, in life, by those who would later be buried beneath them. Again, I consider two generations of sculptors, although in this case the makers were all Catalan artists based in Barcelona. Barcelona's coastal location, and large port, contributed to its nineteenth-century consolidation as an industrial city and international trading hub, bringing wealth to a particularly large new bourgeoisie; among whom sculpted tombs became especially fashionable. Proliferation spurred innovation, arguably to a greater extent than elsewhere in Spain. By focusing on works which departed from the common, feminised themes of mourning and the apotheosis of the soul, I argue that bourgeois men and the artists they employed used sculpture for modern, professional, masculine self-fashioning. The ways in which those who commissioned the works positioned themselves in relation to the moral conundrum of the monumental tomb prove to be sophisticated, complex, and sometimes contradictory.

Chapter Three, the first chapter in this second part, focuses on audacious sculptural re-workings of an ancient motif of death, the skeleton, in the context of the tensions between religion, science, and secularity. First, I look at the hitherto misunderstood tomb which Rosendo Nobas – one of the sculptors whom Alfonso specifically credited with Spain and Catalonia's sculptural renaissance, and also an anatomical sculptor – created for the anatomist Dr. Jaime Farreras (1887-88). I then turn to the family tomb commissioned by Republican politician Nicolau Juncosa, by little-known marble-mason Pujol (*ca.* 1913). I

examine the divide between high and low art, and artists and artisans, and look at the relationship between style, subject-matter and sculptural genre from new perspectives.

Chapter Four centres on *Memento Homo* (1899-1900), an ideal exhibition sculpture which was re-contextualised spatially and conceptually by the sculptor, Clarasó, when he re-used it for two cemetery monuments. I argue that *Memento Homo*'s intended funerary meaning was developed in relation to intertwined religious, Romantic and gendered notions of theatricality, in which "natural," garden burial was conceptualised as morally defeating the "theatricality" of ostentation. Moreover, while again not primarily a theoretical excursus, I show how Fried's secular dialectic between theatricality and absorption can be extended to theorise the viewership of cemetery sculpture in Catalonia, Spain, and much of Europe. The chapter reveals how Clarasó's sculptures, and the way they were represented through photography, juxtaposed men absorbed in work with women absorbed in sorrow.

Part Three, "Holy Families and Earthly Ones," consists of a single, final chapter. Chapter Five looks at the religious funerary tableaux which Basque sculptor Quintín de Torre created for two tombs in Bilbao's Derio cemetery (1907-*ca*. 1915). Revisiting the concept of the cemetery as necropolis, I focus on the *panteón* as a funerary parallel to the bourgeois family home: a piece of architectural property filled with multiple bodies. The chapter returns to the question of gender roles within families and with respect to tomb choice, and contrasts male and female tomb commissions. By uncovering a hitherto undiscovered source, I offer a new reading of Torre's funerary sculpture for Pedro Maiz, which centres on the intermedial relationships between sculpture, architecture and painting, and on the sculptor's sophisticated awareness of the bodily presence of viewers.

Part 1.

Memorialising the Individual Dead:
Fame, Obscurity, and the Death of the Author.

Chapter 1.

Art, Theatre and Apotheosis: Mariano Benlliure's Funerary Monument for Julián Gayarre (*ca.* 1890-1901).

Julián Gayarre's tomb (figs. 1.1-1.5) is replete with "human" bodies, though only one is dead. The real, concealed, corpse of the celebrated opera singer lies in a cast iron coffin, interred in the monument's crypt, whose existence is invisible from the exterior.[106] Viewers are instead invited to imagine that Gayarre is inside an intensely visible bronze "coffin," which is the nexus of the spectacular funerary sculpture created by the singer's friend, the sculptor Mariano Benlliure. Sustaining the weight of this false coffin are two sculpted bodies: animated female figures in bronze, who lean, twist and stretch gracefully, as they lift the coffin and its imagined contents out of a horizontal marble sarcophagus and push it heavenwards. A winged, bronze body has swooped down to receive the coffin, and hovers above it, her arm and head gestures indicating that she is listening to, or for, sounds emanating from within. Her left wing spreads vertically, its uppermost point constituting the pinnacle of the sculptural group's pyramidal composition.[107] Contrasting with her sense of lightness, and the imagined movement of her beating wings, is the sculpture's fourth bronze body, an elegantly matron-like woman, exuding stillness. She is seated diagonally on the steps leading up to the sarcophagus and leans on a broken lyre, with her shielded face turned towards it in grief, the sense of weight reflecting the heaviness of her heart. As viewers move around the sculpture, the body count escalates. A multitude of singing, dancing male babies, each executed in low relief except for the figures placed at each corner (which are nearly fully in the round), jostle for space as they hold up a long banner which stretches around the four sides of the white marble sarcophagus. Squeezed at regular intervals into the spaces above the babies' heads, are mask-like, disembodied male heads, each distinct from the others. Finally, the

[106] This invisibility is unusual in Spanish cemetery monuments. While crypt access is commonly marked by a large, prominent horizontal slab, Gayarre's crypt can be accessed by removing the central stone block of the first step. See Soledad Díaz, Ana Laborde and Ángel Luis de Sousa, *Mausoleo de Gayarre en Roncal. Restauración* (Navarra: Gobierno de Navarra, 1998), 36-37; 24.

[107] Actual pyramids, and neo-Egyptian styles and motifs, became common in cemetery monuments in Italy, France and Spain. For more on Egyptian influences on Spanish cemeteries, see Carlos Saguar, "Egiptomanía y Arquitectura en España (1840-1940)," *Goya* 259-60 (July-Oct 1997): 386-406; Carlos Saguar, "Arquitectura Modernista en los Cementerios de Madrid," *Goya* 217-18 (July-Oct 1990): 67.

narrow horizontal band of marble which separates the sarcophagus from the grey marble steps, which form the monument's podium, is adorned with small reliefs of reclining female nudes.

This chapter explores the Gayarre tomb's multiple bodies – real and sculpted; visible and concealed; earthly and heavenly; "alive" and dead; present and absent – in relation to sculptural, religious, literary and theatrical representations of the apotheosis and the separation of body and soul. I also discuss the rivalling claims to immortality between the deceased and the artist, and their associations with competing physical spaces and formats for posthumous commemoration. Today among Spain's best-known works of cemetery sculpture, Benlliure's first funerary monument generated considerable criticism when it was first revealed, and has since attracted a level of sustained, rigorous, art historical research[108] which distinguishes it from most of the sculptures discussed in my subsequent case studies. In this chapter, I critically examine this historiography, looking beyond the confines of the monographic, artist-centred approach, and widening the scope by examining the sculpture in new conceptual and geographical contexts. Before that, however, a brief outline of the circumstances of production is essential.

CIRCUMSTANCES OF PRODUCTION

Gayarre died, aged 45, on 2 January 1890, less than a month after his voice famously failed during a performance in Madrid's opera house, the Teatro Real. The singer's nephew soon commissioned a funerary monument from Valencian sculptor Benlliure, who was then living in Rome, where Gayarre had visited him the previous summer, and sat for a portrait bust (fig. 1.6).[109] Benlliure worked quickly on the sculpture to commemorate his friend. On 17 August 1890, the Madrid press reported that a smaller-scale plaster model had been completed;[110] and in October of the same year, it featured on the front cover of

[108] Key scholarship includes *Mariano Benlliure: El Dominio de la Materia* (Madrid: Dirección General de Patrimonio Histórico, Consejería de Empleo, Turismo y Cultura de la Comunidad de Madrid, 2013), the catalogue of an exhibition curated by Lucrecia Enseñat and Leticia Azcue; Carmen de Quevedo, *Vida Artística de Mariano Benlliure* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1947); Violeta Montoliu, *Mariano Benlliure, 1862-1947* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1997); Díaz, Laborde and de Sousa, *Mausoleo de Gayarre en Roncal. Restauración*.

[109] For more on this bust, which was subsequently founded in bronze, see Enseñat, "Alegoría de la Música," in *Mariano Benlliure: El Dominio de la Materia*, 94-95; Montoliu, *Mariano Benlliure,* 53; Gonzalo Alonso, "El Misterio del Busto de Julián Gayarre," *Razón*, Nov 14, 2015, 64.

[110] Soldevila, "El Monumento de Gayarre," *Imparcial*, Aug 17, 1890, 3.

the periodical *La Ilustración Española y Americana* (fig. 1.7).[111] The sculptor subsequently altered the pose of the seated mourner, a change dated prior to 18 October 1891.[112]

Although the definitive monument in bronze and marble was completed in Rome in 1895, Benlliure expert Lucrecia Enseñat has explained that it was held up in the city due to a disagreement with the founder.[113] Once this had been resolved, Gayarre's family gave Benlliure permission to send the sculpture to the 1898 exhibition of the Círculo de Bellas Artes in Madrid, where it was given pride of place at the centre of the room (fig. 1.8); and subsequently, to the 1900 Universal Exposition in Paris (fig. 1.9), where Benlliure won a medal of honour. It had attracted a considerable volume of scholarly criticism and journalistic commentary by the time it came to mark Gayarre's buried body, in 1901, when it was finally installed in the rural, mountain cemetery of Roncal, the singer's native village in Navarra.

A "TOMB OF THEATRE" FOR A MAN OF THEATRE

The characterisation of the sculpture as innately "theatrical" pre-dates its installation in the cemetery, and has proved to be a historiographical staple ever since the International Jury at the 1900 Paris exposition reached the following verdict:

> [The] tomb of the tenor Gayarre, which first surprised due to the agitation of its lines and its decoration, took on, upon reflection, eminent symbolic value; it was indeed, if one may say so, *the perfect model for a tomb of theatre*.[114]

The words suggest that the characteristics which could otherwise have merited censure were excused, even approved, because of the deceased man's identity as a professional performer. This verdict probably encompassed the observation that movement and profuse adornment were normal attributes of contemporary performances and stage sets, as well as the recognition of the sculpture's multiple allusions to Gayarre as a performer.

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111 Eusebio Martínez de Velasco, "Nuestros Grabados. Proyecto de Mausoleo á Julián Gayarre," *Ilustración Española y Americana*, Oct 22, 1890, 233-34.

112 Lucrecia Enseñat identified a clay version of the modified figure which the artist signed and dated 18 October 1891, providing an approximate date by which the final design was completed. Enseñat, "Alegoría de la Música," 252.

113 Enseñat, "Alegoría de la Música," 252.

114 *Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1900 à Paris. Rapports du Jury International* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902-06), 101. "[Le] tombeau du ténor Gayaré [*sic*], qui surprenait d'abord par l'agitation de ses lignes et de son décor, prenait, à la réflexion, une valeur symbolique éminente; c'était bien, si l'on peut dire, le modèle accompli d'un tombeau de théâtre." The italics are mine. A different edition of this text is cited, in Spanish, in Carlos Reyero, "El Triunfo de la Escultura Española en la Exposición Universal de París de 1900," *Boletín del Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar* 91 (2003): 308-09.

The sculpture's most explicit professional reference was the text which featured on the banner encircling the sarcophagus, which named some of the operas in which the tenor had performed; while the disembodied heads were surely representative of Gayarre's diverse acting roles. I will return to Benlliure's other efforts at personalisation presently.

By defending the tomb's appropriate theatricality, the Jury helped to justify its decision to award Benlliure a medal of honour. It also resolved, to the sculptor's advantage, a conceptual tension between aesthetic value and "theatricality," or the latter's close relative or attribute, "excess."[115] In this respect, the critical reception of other French commentators at the exhibition, which Reyero collated in 2003, deserves a closer look for the language they employed in their attempt to describe and assess the sculpture.[116] Reyero records how Auguste Marguillier considered it spectacular, but of slightly excessive pomp,[117] while Léonce Bénédite considered that it was "in the spirit of the Florentine Renaissance, perhaps excessively ornate, *but* of a very decorative character."[118] Paul Lafond's *La Sculpture Espagnole*, published eight years later, judged it to be "in the taste of the sixteenth century, of a good decorative sentiment, *though* a little over-busy."[119] Consistently singled out among the Spanish sculptural section, and from the eleven works exhibited by Benlliure, the Gayarre tomb was admired by its French critics for its artistic merits *in spite of* its perceived excesses. No connections were made between these excesses and the sculpture's semi-religious subject-matter, which critics did not allude to at all. This, in itself, is indicative of the emphatic secularity of French art criticism by this time, and of the perceived secularity of the exhibition space. Crucially, as a posthumous homage by others to the dead singer, the sculpture was not open to the moral criticism of pandering to the excesses of vanity.

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[115] On the relationship between theatricality and excess, see Davis and Postlewait, introduction to *Theatricality*, 5 and 21.

[116] Several French sources which refer to Spain's sculptural contribution to the Paris exhibition are discussed in Reyero, "El Triunfo de la Escultura Española en la Exposición Universal de París de 1900," 308-11.

[117] Auguste Marguillier, "L'Art Étranger," *Revue Encyclopedique*, Sept 22, 1900, 747, discussed in Reyero, "El Triunfo de la Escultura Española en la Exposición Universal de París de 1900," 309.

[118] Léonce Bénédite, "La Sculpture III. Les Écoles Étrangères," in *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne*, ed. Émile Dacier (Paris: n.p., 1900), 170. "Dans le sentiment de la Renaissance Florentine, trop chargé peut-être, mais d'un caractère très décoratif." The italics are mine. See, also, Reyero, "El Triunfo de la Escultura Española en la Exposición Universal de París de 1900," 309.

[119] Paul Lafond, *La Sculpture Espagnole* (Paris: Alcide Picart, 1908), 290. "Dans le goût du XVIe siècle, d'un bon sentiment décoratif quoiqu'un peu trop chargé." The italics are mine.

Although the negative connotations of "excess" have mostly disappeared from scholarly studies of the sculpture,[120] a belief in its inherent theatricality has survived. This has become tied to the problematic notion of the "baroque," the dominant historical or stylistic period with which the sculpture is most frequently associated. For example, in the catalogue of the 2013 exhibition, *Mariano Benlliure: El Dominio de la Materia*, Enseñat noted the "sense of baroque theatricality,"[121] while Reyero asserted that "of course, the theatrical composition is rooted in the baroque, as is all the gestural illusionism of the figures, particularly of the angels."[122]

At the same time, the other myriad historical, stylistic and geographical terms with which the sculpture has been characterised and classified merit greater scrutiny. The non-figural decoration was markedly eclectic, with narrow friezes of Egyptian and Greek motifs around the sarcophagus and four classically-inspired bucrania (ornamental ox-skulls) at its base. While eclecticism was the "style" of the day, in this tomb it may meaningfully be related to the vast geographical and chronological scope covered by Gayarre's operatic roles, alluded to through the diverse disembodied relief heads. Stretching from tenth-century germanic lands (*Lohengrin*, 1850), through ancient Egypt (*Aida*, 1871) and seventeenth-century Venice (*La Gioconda*, 1876), to nineteenth-century Paris (*La Traviata*, 1853), to name but a few, the operas in which Gayarre performed required him to switch between a vast array of historical guises, each with an elaborate costume.[123] To adopt a similar approach to that of the Paris exhibition jury, then, we might "justify" the sculptor's eclectic approach in terms of the versatility and variety which characterised the singer's stage appearances.

However, just as opera was strongly associated with Italy, Italian points of reference have proved the most tenacious in terms of defining or characterising the Gayarre tomb sculpture. Looking back on his creation, years later, Benlliure recalled how critics in France and Italy both pointed to "influences from the Italian school" and even mistook him for an Italian artist, explaining with just a hint of defensiveness that

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[120] Xabier Sáenz, however, commented on the work's "rhetorical excesses" as recently as 2001. Xabier Sáenz, "El Mausoleo de Gayarre," *Arte y Artistas en el País Vasco* (2001): 44-45.

[121] Enseñat, "Alegoría de la Música," 252. "Sentido de la teatralidad barroca."

[122] Reyero, "Benlliure Monumental," in *Mariano Benlliure: El Dominio de la Materia*, 97. "Por supuesto la composición teatral es de raíz barroca, como es todo el ilusionismo gestual de las figuras, en particular de los ángeles." For more on the use of the term "baroque," see Helen Hills, "The Baroque: The Grit in the Oyster of Art History," in *Rethinking the Baroque*, ed. Helen Hills (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 11-36.

[123] For the full repertoire of Gayarre's operas, see Fernando Hualde, "Repertorio Completo," Fundación Julián Gayarre, accessed Dec 1, 2016, http://www.juliangayarre.com/images/repertorio.pdf.

> The character of the execution always arises from the environment that surrounds the artist, whose contagion he cannot avoid, particularly when one is very young. I say this because of its Italian tendency, which I do not consider a defect, but rather the contrary.[124]

The sculptor went on to place the onus on the sculpture of the past, writing that he could only hope that the secrets of the great Renaissance masters had penetrated his works.[125] With her bare back and outstretched arms, one of Benlliure's bronze coffin bearers appears to be a lither take on the Libyan sibyl on the Sistine chapel ceiling; while the wingless male putti which surround Michelangelo's sibyl were perhaps loosely transposed from painted renditions of marble reliefs to actual sculpted forms (fig. 1.10). When critic Vicente Sanchís claimed, in 1898, that Benlliure's marble sarcophagus was "pure Renaissance style,"[126] he perhaps had in mind the similarity of subject-matter with Jacopo della Quercia's tomb of Ilaria del Carretto (*ca.* 1406), which featured a frieze of putti encircling the sarcophagus (fig. 1.11).[127] Stylistically speaking, however, the faces of Benlliure's babies had a freshness, spontaneity, and individualisation different from their Renaissance counterparts. Meanwhile, those critics who sensed a sixteenth-century air to the work[128] may have seen, in the twisting bodies of the coffin-bearers, broader echoes of sculptures such as Giambologna's *Rape of the Sabine Women* (1574-82) (fig. 1.12).

This critical and autobiographical preoccupation with drawing parallels with the art of Italy's artistic golden ages has, however, consistently deflected attention from the Gayarre tomb's connections to contemporary Italian sculpture. This avoidance may have been partly deliberate, since to be mistaken for an Italian sculptor at the turn of the twentieth century did not necessarily constitute the "greatest praise" that Benlliure claimed.[129] Writing in 1890, Alfonso was voicing a widely-held view when he lamented that the *fin de siècle* Italian sculpture school had become showy and decadent, and that it appealed

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[124] Letter to Martín Fernández, cited, without a date, in Quevedo, *Vida Artística de Mariano Benlliure*, 181. "Influencias de la escuela italiana;" "El carácter de la ejecución obedece siempre al ambiente que rodea al artista, y de cuyo contagio no se puede prescindir, sobre todo cuando se es muy joven. Digo esto por su tendencia italiana que no lo creo defecto, sino todo lo contrario."

[125] Letter to Martín Fernández, cited in Quevedo, *Vida Artística de Mariano Benlliure*, 181.

[126] Vicente Sanchís [Miss-Teriosa, pseud.], "Exposición de Bellas Artes VI. El Monumento a Gayarre," *Globo,* May 27, 1898, 1. "Estilo Renacimiento puro."

[127] Montoliu mentions the Carreto tomb as an example of the Italian *quattrocento* ornamention which Benlliure probably studied during his time in Rome, but does not link it specifically to the Gayarre tomb. See Montoliu, *Mariano Benlliure,* 223.

[128] Lafond, *La Sculpture Espagnole*, 290.

[129] Letter to Martín Fernández, cited in Quevedo, *Vida Artística de Mariano Benlliure*, 181. "Mejor elogio."

primarily to vulgar viewers.[130] Moreover, when the Paris jury who awarded Benlliure the medal of honour, in 1900, wrote disdainfully of the Italian contribution to the same exhibition, cemetery sculpture was held up as the worst example of contemporary Italian tendencies: "too often," the Jury concluded, "they are nothing but gesturing, grimacing subjects, of exaggerated mimicry: realism, or more accurately, materialism, like that which so painfully surprises the visitor in the Cemetery of Genoa."[131] Yet, as I now show, the Gayarre tomb's virtuoso approach to form and space, and subject-matter, was solidly rooted in late nineteenth-century Italian funerary sculpture.

REACHING HEAVENLY HEIGHTS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY ITALIAN FUNERARY SCULPTURE

To appreciate this, I begin by examining how the tomb's broadly pyramidal structure – with its symbolic reaching towards the heavens – became compositionally complex in Benlliure's hands: an intricate interplay of horizontal forms to suggest the earthly (the steps and sarcophagus), diagonal figures (the bronze females), and an emphatic final vertical pointing to the spiritual realm (the raised wing of the hovering bronze creature). The composition is undercut from multiple angles, and strikingly riddled with "holes." The negative spaces under the winged figure and the "coffin" are as visually important as the forms themselves, as are the wide variety of contours which viewers can apprehend as they walk around the work (see figs. 1.1-1.4). The absence of material beneath, and between, the sculpted forms distances the work clearly from the solidity of Michelangelo's ("Florentine Renaissance"[132]) tombs and the results of direct carving.[133] Instead, Canova's masterpiece of negative space, *Cupid and Psyche* (1894-99) (fig. 1.13), constitutes a precedent for the harmonious symmetry of the leaning bodies and stretching arms of Benlliure's bronze coffin-bearers.

The practice of displacing the expected centre of gravity, so that the sculpted bodies appear suspended in the air, was embraced by many Italian sculptors of the second half of the nineteenth century, who used it to demonstrate their technical virtuosity in

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[130] Luis Alfonso, "El Arte al Final del Siglo. La Escultura," *Ilustración Española y Americana*, Sept 15, 1890, 155-59.

[131] Louis Liard and Léonce Bénédite, *Rapports du Jury International, Introduction Générale,* vol. 1, *Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1900, à Paris* (Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1904), 727. "Ce ne sont, trop souvent que sujets gesticulant, grimaçant, d'une mimique exagérée: réalisme ou plus justement matérialisme comme celui qui étonne si péniblement le visiteur dans le Campo Santo de Gènes."

[132] As we have seen, this term was used by Bénédite in relation to the Gayarre tomb. Bénédite, "La Sculpture III," 170.

[133] For a discussion of direct carving in Britain, see Penelope Curtis, "How Direct Carving Stole the Idea of Modern British Sculpture," in *Sculpture and the Pursuit of a Modern Ideal in Britain, c.1880–1930*, ed. David Getsy (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 291-316.

increasingly vertical compositions.[134] Since the concept of religious ascension or heavenly apotheosis had long been literalised as an upward, counter-gravitational force, which involved the deceased person (or their soul) "floating" and angels "flying," it is unsurprising that this subgenre flourished in cemeteries. Thus, there was a clear impulse to translate, into sculpture in the round, the motifs of neoclassical funerary reliefs, such as Bertel Thorvaldsen's memorial for the Baroness Chaudoir (1818) (fig. 1.14), which had its origins in John Flaxman's designs. Indeed, Janson has pointed out that "the original plaster remained on view in Thorvaldsen's Rome studio for two decades and left an enduring impression on Italian tomb carvers."[135] This relief represents the soul of the deceased rising to heaven; personified, according to artistic convention, as a young woman[136] with her arms crossed over her chest in a religiously recognisable gesture of humility and reverence.

In transposing such motifs into free-standing sculptures, Canova's light-footed, forward-leaning *Hebe* (*ca.* 1800-05) (fig. 1.15) proved a popular model for funerary sculptors and marble-masons, who looked to the swirling, frothy clouds of the Italian artist's original sculpture, mingled them with profuse drapery, and lifted the feet off the ground.[137] *Hebe*'s raised arm was sometimes transformed into a gesture of blessing, or of dropping flowers onto the tomb. One of the first sculptors to make marble bodies "float" in this manner was Rafaelle Monti. Monti's *Veiled Woman*, which Gabriel Williams recently identified as the *Houri* or *Peri* exhibited at the Royal Panopticon in London in 1854 (fig. 1.16),[138] clearly adopted the iconography of the personified Christian soul rising to heaven; though these religious funerary associations were lost, or suppressed, in favour of orientalist readings in the British and North American contexts in which they were exhibited. This distancing was probably an astute move since, even without its Catholic connotations, Williams has demonstrated that the sculpture was frowned upon by British art critics for its Italian showiness and "trickery."[139] However, the funerary relevance was apparently obvious to

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[134] Examples which pushed this tendency to the limit include *Sweet Dreams* (1892) by Antonio Frilli, and *Shooting Stars* (date unknown) by Vittorio Caradossi.

[135] Janson, *Nineteenth-Century Sculpture*, 73.

[136] The soul as a young woman replaced the medieval representation of the soul as a small child, which Janson suggests last appeared in art in El Greco's *Burial of the Count of Orgaz* (1586). See Horst W. Janson, "The Image of the Human Soul in Medieval Funerary Art," in *Arte Funerario: Coloquio Internacional de Historia del Arte*, ed. Beatriz de la Fuente and Louise Noelle, vol. 1 (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1987), 98.

[137] For more on the "floating" *Hebe*, see David Bindman, "Lost Surfaces: Canova and Colour," *Oxford Art Journal* 39, no. 2 (2016): 233-35.

[138] Gabriel Williams, "Italian Tricks for London Shows: Rafaelle Monti at the Royal Panopticon," *Sculpture Journal* 23, no. 2 (2014): 131-43.

[139] Williams, "Italian Tricks for London Shows," 134-35.

the anonymous marble-mason who loosely – and perhaps indirectly – copied Monti's model for a tomb in the cemetery of the Sacramental de San Justo in Madrid (fig. 1.17).

By the time Benlliure conceived the Gayarre tomb, the master of the gravity-defying funerary apotheosis was the Genoa-based sculptor Federico Fabiani, whose compositions, though gently mocked by some for their "angelic alpinism,"[140] inspired countless copies in cemeteries worldwide,[141] including dozens across Spain. Particularly influential was Fabiani's tomb for Rocco Piaggio and his family (1876) (fig. 1.18), whose iconography was described in an early twentieth-century multilingual guidebook to Staglieno cemetery as follows: "The Angel of the Resurrection points out the way to Heaven to the elect soul in [*sic*] the day of the universal judgement."[142] The subject, whose dubious orthodoxy I address later in this chapter, had previously been adopted by Pietro della Vedova for the funerary monument to Giuseppina Garbiglietti (1872) in Turin (fig. 1.19); whose profusely-decorated marble sarcophagus also had echoes of the Carretto tomb (fig. 1.11).[143]

With regard to the second of Fabiani's international funerary successes, featuring another pairing of a male angel and female soul, scholars have hitherto overlooked that the work was apparently first created for export to Spain. The sculpture on the tomb of the family of José Más Esteve, in Barcelona's Poblenou cemetery (figs. 1.20-1.21), was signed by Fabiani and dated "Genova 1880," making it four years earlier than the almost identical Parpaglioni monument in Staglieno cemetery (1884) (fig. 1.22), which was placed in a proscenium arch in one of the porticoed cloisters of the necropolis, and which scholars have consistently identified as the original.[144] Photographs of both versions soon appeared in cemetery souvenir albums and publications on either side of the Mediterranean.[145] The sculpture's gravity-defying virtuosity was most impressive in its outdoor Barcelona location, where visitors were afforded 360º views, and could admire the female figure's

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[140] Ferdinando Resasco, *Staglieno Camposanto* (Genoa: Tipografia della Borsa Fiore & Scoma, 1926), cited in Franco Sborgi, "Il Cimitero Monumentale di Staglieno a Genoa," in *Arte y Arquitectura Funeraria (XIX-XX): Dublín, Génova, Madrid, Torino*, ed. Sofía Diéguez and Carmen Giménez (Madrid: Electa, 2000), 245. "Alpinismo angelico."

[141] For more on Fabiani's influence in Italy and abroad, see Leo Lecci, "Un Modello per la Scultura Funeraria Internazionale: Il Cimitero Genovese di Staglieno," in *Lo Splendore della Forma*, ed. Felicori and Sborgi, 265-67.

[142] *Camposanto de Genova* (Genova: Fratelli Lichino, n.d. *ca.* 1920?), n.p.

[143] The sensuality of Pietro della Vedova's work looked to Giulio Bergonzoli's gravity-defying sculpture *The Love of Angels* (*ca.* 1867), exhibited in plaster at the Universal Exposition in Paris in 1867.

[144] Franco Sborgi, "Companions on the Final Journey," in *Italian Memorial Sculpture 1820-*1940, by Berresford et al., 211-12. According to Pons, the imported work was placed on a pedestal carved by Barcelona marble-mason Pere Bassegoda. See Pons, *Monumentos Funerarios Coleccionados por Juan Bautista Pons*, 46.

[145] For example, Pons, *Monumentos Funerarios Coleccionados por Juan Bautista Pons*, 46; *Ricordo del Camposanto di Genova (24 Vedute)* (n.p., *ca.* 1900?), n.p.

displaced centre of gravity from one side, and the angel's outstretched limbs and floating drapery from the other. Furthermore, the figures projected into a real sky, not the painted celestial background of the version in Staglieno.

Benlliure, as a Spanish artist living in Italy, who was active and integrated in the artistic circles of his native and adoptive countries,[146] was particularly well-placed to absorb the influences of contemporary Italian funerary sculpture, and to know of its enthusiastic reception in Spain's cemeteries. After all, Fabiani's monument was far from the only Italian funerary importation. Benlliure's friend Giulio Monteverde[147] had recently sculpted an angel for the interior of an ambitious Italo-Spanish mausoleum project, commissioned in Rome, but erected in Madrid's Sacramental de San Isidro cemetery: the chapel-tomb of the Gándara family (1882-83) (fig. 1.23).[148] Four niches around the monument's exterior were adorned with female allegories of Religion, Faith, Hope and Charity, by Giulio Tadolini, Felipe Moratilla and Manuel Oms; and it was originally topped by an energetic, flying bronze angel by Ricardo Bellver (figs. 1.24 and 1.25). The last three sculptors were Spaniards living in Rome.[149]

Enseñat has aptly described the Gayarre tomb as "a challenge to the laws of gravity,"[150] and the trend for sculpted funerary apotheoses – in the manner of Fabiani – was part of the aforementioned Italian "contagion" to which Benlliure alluded in the letter cited earlier. However, while the Italian works I have discussed were made of marble, the Spanish sculptor required bronze to execute those parts of the Gayarre tomb which took gravity-defying to the extreme. Particularly striking is the manner in which the winged creature appears to hover almost horizontally, the legs and drapery seemingly gently brushing the top of the coffin, although they actually provide the only means of support (fig. 1.1). The sense that Benlliure had pushed the limits of his material made an impression on critic José Pueyo, who, in 1898, noted admiringly that the winged figure

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146 For more on Benlliure and the community of Spanish artists in Rome, see Mikel Lertxundi, "Ardor de Juventud. La Colonia Artística Española en Roma (1880-1900)," in *Mariano Benlliure: El Dominio de la Materia*, 33-43.

147 The friendship is mentioned in Quevedo, *Vida Artística de Mariano Benlliure*, 27.

148 For more on this mausoleum, see Repullés, *Panteones y Sepulcros en los Cementerios de Madrid*, IX; Carmen Giménez, "Panteón de la Familia de la Gándara," in *Arte y Arquitectura Funeraria (XIX-XX)*, ed. Diéguez and Giménez, 81. Early examples of other cemetery sculptures imported from Italy include the Palau family tomb in Madrid's San Isidro cemetery, produced in Genoa in 1866 by Antonio Debarrieri, and the tomb of P.F. Luis Vallmitjana in Barcelona's Montjuïc cemetery, made in Carrara in 1883 by Luigi Ambrogi.

149 For more on Bellver, Oms and Moratilla in Rome, see Reyero, *La Escultura del Eclecticismo en España.*

150 Enseñat, "Alegoría de la Música," 252. "Un reto a las leyes de la gravedad."

was "of a lightness and elegance which seem impossible to achieve in bronze."[151] By alternating twisting bronze bodies with horizontal blocks of marble, the sculptor provided variety and visual clarity; note, for example, the clear contours of the mourning woman placed in front of the mottled grey stone steps and the brilliant white sarcophagus. Reyero has recently explored the possible symbolic significance of the combination of these two sculptural materials in Spanish sculpture of this period to indicate earthly versus spiritual planes, though without drawing general conclusions.[152] Benlliure, however, appears not to have assigned symbolic qualities to either bronze or marble, but to have based his choice on material properties and the aesthetic effect of visual contrast.

A PERSONALISED APOTHEOSIS

Perhaps the greatest originality of Benlliure's sculptural apotheosis, however, is to be found not in the use of materials, but in his personalisation of the contemporary Italian trend for the virtuoso heavenly ascension. In this section, I show how he transformed the generic Christian theme – used equally for masculine, feminine and family tombs – into a specific homage to Gayarre the theatrical performer, and one which could allude equally well to artistic, secular *and* religious apotheosis.

The key to this lay in the fluid identities of the tomb's multiple bronze bodies. The journalist who first reported in detail on the plaster model in 1890 was evidently following the sculptor's explanations – which I address in a moment – when he identified them as secular allegories, each of particular relevance to Gayarre's profession: the mourning woman was Music, the coffin-bearers Harmony and Melody, and the winged figure Genius.[153] These identifications, however, were far from obvious without the benefit of textual explanations. Only Music was provided with an attribute, but her lyre was not immediately visible (fig. 1.5).

It was with the winged body that Benlliure's pseudo-classical allegory began to slip most conspicuously, and the scholarship to reveal an interpretative vagueness or fluidity with which researchers have been markedly unconcerned. (This disregard is typical of the

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[151] José Pueyo, "La Exposición del Círculo de Bellas Artes," *Revista Contemporánea* (Apr-June 1898): 434-35. "Es de una ligereza y elegancia que parecen imposibles de conseguir en el bronce."

[152] Carlos Reyero, "El Realismo en la Escultura Pública. Vivos y Muertos para la Eternidad," in *Matteo Inurria y la Escultura de su Tiempo*, ed. Ramón Montes (Córdoba: Ayuntamiento de Córdoba, 2011), 288-92. For discussions of the significance of combined materials in the sculptures of Edward Onslow Ford, see David Getsy, *Body Doubles: Sculpture in Britain, 1877-1905* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 139-41; Jason Edwards, "Ex Omnia Conchis? Edward Onslow Ford and the Problem of Victorian 'Animalier' Sculpture," *Word & Image* 34, no. 1 (2018): 55-63.

[153] Soldevila, "El Monumento de Gayarre," 3.

broader scholarship on Spanish sculptural "eclecticism," which rarely scrutinises the processes of meaning-making). In Benlliure's official biography, published by his wife Carmen Quevedo in 1947, and almost certainly written in collaboration with him, the figure was alluded to as "the genius of Fame."[154] The term implied that the figure belonged to the tradition of young male, often winged, creatures who were shown accompanying the deceased in classical art, and who re-appeared in Western neoclassical funerary sculpture. At the same time, Fame was frequently a female allegory in her own right, usually sporting or wielding a laurel wreath, as in Louis-Ernest Barrias' celebrated sculpture of that name (*ca.* 1893). A more recent biography, meanwhile, referred to Benlliure's winged figure as the "genius of Music."[155] Particularly revealing is the fact that several critics over the years, beginning with art critic Rafael Balsa de la Vega in 1898, have referred to the figure as an angel.[156] Today, even Benlliure experts continue to shift from using the term "genius" – or "Genius," which, as a divinity or allegory, is not quite the same thing – to the word "angel" as soon as they let down their guard.[157] This suggests that the combination of the apotheosis theme, the winged figure and the cemetery location makes religious interpretations of the monument almost unavoidable.

The open-endedness of the winged figure in cemetery sculpture is not restricted to the Gayarre tomb. Several scholars have discussed the iconographical fluctuations and transformations between the classical "genius" figure and the Christian angel in funerary art,[158] though it is less commonly noted how the genius' downturned torch morphed easily into a trumpet, the attribute of the Last Judgement angel. What many also fail to recognise is that the latter attribute is shared with the classical allegory of Fame, resulting in an almost seamless fusion of both, as occurred in the sculpture, entitled *Fame*, which Ricardo Bellver created to crown the Panteón de Hombres Ilustres (Pantheon of Illustrious Men) in Madrid's cemetery of the Sacramental de San Isidro (fig. 1.26).[159] Physical indications of gender, such as the suggestion of breasts on Benlliure's flying bronze body, do not assist identification as much as might be expected, since angels were equally

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[154] Quevedo, *Vida Artística de Mariano Benlliure*, 178. "El genio de la Fama."

[155] Montoliu, *Mariano Benlliure*, 94.

[156] Rafael Balsa, "La Exposición del Círculo de Bellas Artes," *Liberal*, May 19, 1898, 2.

[157] Enseñat, "El Quehacer Artístico de Mariano Benlliure," in *Mariano Benlliure: El Dominio de la Materia*, 52; Enseñat, "Alegoría de la Música," 252; Reyero, "Benlliure Monumental," 97. The latter is one of several critics who have mentioned "angels," in plural, referring presumably to either Harmony and Melody, or to the male babies adorning the sarcophagus. None of these, however, are winged.

[158] Sborgi, "Companions on the Final Journey," 202-04.

[159] For more on this project, see Mesonero, *Las Sepulturas de los Hombres Ilustres en los Cementerios de Madrid*, 91; Carmen Giménez, "El Panteón de Hombres Ilustres en el Cementerio de San Isidro de Madrid," in *Tiempo y Espacio en el Arte: Homenaje al Profesor Bonet Correa*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1994), 1265-73.

represented by this time as belonging to either sex, or as sexless.[160] The winged figure's adaptability was later taken to extreme lengths in the Del Sel family tomb in the cemetery of Castro Urdiales (Cantabria), in which the gilded female was heaped with an incongruous combination of Egyptian garb, laurel wreath and trumpet (fig. 1.27).[161] The Gayarre tomb's winged creature, in contrast, was ambiguous for opposite reasons: an absence of attributes which left it open to interpretation.

Benlliure's own explanation of the Gayarre tomb, probably penned several years after he completed it, and quoted in Quevedo's biography, suggests he was aware of the figure's duality:

> This is, in summary, the idea that inspired the mausoleum: the figure on the top is *Genius, the Spirit*, who gathers the last note above the coffin. [The coffin] is carried by two figures that represent Harmony and Melody, who, guided by the figure of Genius, carry to the high regions that marvellous voice, the divine gift, which has descended from divinity and returns to it; on earth the matter remains, the mortal part represented by the sorrow of the woman who cries on the broken lyre.[162]

Benlliure's choice of language is a startlingly vague mix of pseudo-classical and religious terminology, suggesting that the concept behind the monument was a deliberate (or at least semi-conscious) fusion of religious and secular impulses. Viewers of the tomb could, thus, interpret the apotheosis as a representation of Gayarre's religious *or* artistic immortality, or a combination of both. Particularly striking is the creative adaptation of the biblical text of Genesis 3:19, which describes death as a return of the body to the ground from whence we came, in order to explain the subject of the composition: Gayarre's divine *voice* was returning to heaven, from whence it originated. According to Benlliure's explanation, the voice thus replaced the ascending soul of the deceased which

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[160] On cemetery angels, see Sborgi, "Companions on the Final Journey;" María Cruz Morales, "Paraísos de Mármol. La Imagen del Ángel en la Escultura Funeraria Modernista," *Cuadernos de Arte e Iconografía* 2, no. 4 (1989): 377-83.

[161] For more on this monument, see Aramburu-Zabala, *Leonardo Rucabado y la Arquitectura Española 1875-1918*, 170-71.

[162] Letter to Martín Fernández, cited in Quevedo, *Vida Artística de Mariano Benlliure*, 181. "Esta es, en síntesis, la idea que inspiró el mausoleo: la figura que sirve de remate es el Genio, el Espíritu, que recoge sobre el féretro la última nota. Éste lo llevan dos figuras que representan la Armonía y la Melodía, las cuales, guiadas por la figura del Genio, elevan a las altas regiones aquella maravillosas voz, el don divino, lo que ha bajado de la divinidad y a ella vuelve; en la tierra queda la materia, la parte mortal representada por el dolor de la mujer que llora sobre la lira rota." The italics are mine.

had become the standard sculpted funerary apotheosis. Yet its packaging – the coffin – denoted a corpse.

CATHOLICISM AND THE FUNERARY APOTHEOSIS

Before delving further into the peculiar relationship between voice, soul and body in Benlliure's memorial to Gayarre, it is useful to take a step back to examine the orthodox Catholic stance on the funerary apotheosis, and its troubled relationship with sculptural representations. Christ's bodily ascension (by his own will) and the Assumption of the Virgin (physically assumed into heaven through Christ's agency) are divine exceptions to the Catholic belief that humans cannot reach heaven until they have died. Doctrine holds that, once deceased, the worthy attain paradise in a two-stage process, each of which involves a judgement. This is a direct consequence of the principle that, as clergyman Pioger put it, "death is the separation of the soul and the body," so that "to die is to divide."[163] The first step starts with the Particular Judgement, which takes place in the instant after an individual's death. A positive outcome results in the *soul* of the deceased beginning a journey to heaven, almost always via a temporary stay in Purgatory, while the *body* decomposes in the grave.[164] Catholics believe that the bodies of all dead humans will remain buried until the day of the Last Judgment, which will take place at the end of time, when all humanity is judged at once. At this point, the souls which have already attained heaven will be reunited with their resurrected – and "re-composed"– bodies; and only then, in Pioger's words, will "the complete man [...] be rewarded in heaven."[165]

It is immediately evident that the funerary apotheoses of Fabiani, and his circle and followers, showed little interest in adhering to these doctrinal principles; their deceptive simplicity hiding a gaping division between religious doctrine and representation. Let us take the Piaggio tomb (fig. 1.18), which paired a Last Judgment angel, complete with the trumpet required to awaken buried corpses, with a personified soul, who was shown floating out of the open sarcophagus. Contrary to what the early cemetery guidebook claimed, the sculpture could not, in orthodox terms, show the "elect soul in [*sic*] the day of the universal judgement,"[166] since the soul was supposed to be in heaven (or at least in Purgatory) already, having been directed there as a result of the deceased's Particular

[163] Pioger, *La Vie Après la Mort* […], 15-16. "La mort est la séparation de l'âme et du corps;" "Mourir, c'est se diviser."

[164] Coll, *Clamores de Ultratumba,* 86-92. Coll, who dedicated a full chapter to Particular Judgment, emphasised that it never took place in heaven itself, since heaven was entirely unpolluted.

[165] Pioger, *La Vie Après la Mort* […], 128. "L'homme tout entier sera récompensé dans le ciel."

[166] *Camposanto de Genova*, n.p.

Judgment. In any case, the soul's ascension to heaven emphatically did not require the lid of the sarcophagus to be moved to one side, as it was in Fabiani's representation. Perhaps with such contradictions in mind, Pioger scorned the very imagery of the ascending soul, declaring that "it is left to vulgar men to believe that the soul flies away after death, as though it had wings," and asserting that this stance showed "an entirely sensual way of thinking."[167] Pioger's rejection of sensuality points to a religious impasse for any artist attempting to represent this spiritual process in figurative form, and through the visual and tactile medium of sculpture.

Meanwhile, the notion of the apotheosis was treated as morally dubious by Spanish clergyman Coll, when he likened ostentatious monuments to "pagan apotheoses," as we saw in the Introduction.[168] Yet the doctrinal disapproval voiced by these texts apparently did nothing to prevent the normalisation and spread of religiously contradictory, even unorthodox, figurative funerary sculpture, both in Italy and Spain. It was against this background of loose or vague religiosity in sculpted funerary apotheoses that Benlliure created the Gayarre tomb. No further theological knowledge is needed to recognise that the sculpture did not accurately reference either the Particular or the Last Judgement, neither of which allowed for the ascension of a corpse.

MYTHOLOGISING THE DEAD GAYARRE IN BODY, SOUL AND VOICE

Theoretically recasting the monument as an apotheosis of the voice, rather than of the soul or body, made it possible to promote it as an assertion of the secular immortality of Gayarre's talent. Yet Benlliure was undoubtedly aware of the permeability of this divide between the "religious" soul and the "secular" voice. The concepts are closely and consistently bound together throughout the extraordinary literary mythologizing of Gayarre's final illness and death, which began with articles and obituaries immediately after his death in 1890, and has endured to the present day.[169] For example, recalling how the singer's voice had dramatically failed during a performance in December 1889, after which his health rapidly declined, music critic Antonio Peña suggested that "it was as though, with the breaking of his voice, his soul broke."[170] Furthermore, Gayarre's voice

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[167] Pioger, *La Vie Après la Mort* […], 17-18. "Laissons les hommes vulgaires se persuader qu'a la mort, l'âme s'envole, comme si elle avait des ailes;" "une manière de penser toute sensuelle. "

[168] Coll, *Clamores de Ultratumba*, 84. "Las apoteosis paganas."

[169] See, Juan López Benito, "Madrid Llora la Muerte del Genial Gayarre," *Madrid Histórico* 64 (July-Aug 2016): 32-37.

[170] Antonio Peña, "La Muerte de Gayarre," *Ilustración Musical Hispano-Americana*, Jan 30, 1890, 203. "Como si al romperse la voz se hubiese quebrado el alma."

was rarely treated as secular. The trope of the talented singer having the "voice of an angel" was repeated with particular force and consistency with relation to the tenor, so that references to him joining the chorus of heavenly angels were almost inevitable.[171] Equating the soul with the voice, and the voice with angels, a writer in *La Ilustración Ibérica* went as far as imagining a dual apotheosis: "Gayarre's voice was angelical, and as God welcomes his soul he will also receive that sweet vibration to share it among the angels who sing praises to his divinity."[172]

These evocative textual memorials and the graphic material which accompanied them must, I argue, have influenced Benlliure's sculptural memorial, helping to shape his adaptation of the Italian sculptural apotheosis trend into a memorial tailored to Gayarre's public persona. In recognition of the intertwined nature of text, image, object and ritual in funerary culture, I hereafter employ the term *commemorabilia*, which Edward Casey usefully coined to refer to "commemorative vehicles" through which structured remembrance takes place.[173] *La Ilustración Musical Hispano-Americana*, whose commemorative edition of 30 January 1890 dedicated various articles to the singer, juxtaposed a portrait of Gayarre with an illustrated title page which included a seated allegory of Music, holding a lyre; a singing angel; and a choir of cherubs singing from a scroll, which they hold up between them (fig. 1.28). The broad affinities with Benlliure's sculpted bodies are unmistakeable. Although based in Italy, Benlliure maintained close ties with Spain and the large community of Spanish artists living in Rome. He also had a particular interest in music and the opera,[174] and could well have had access to these Spanish periodicals.

This line of argument requires us to cast a critical eye on one particular myth of artistic inspiration, which imprecise use of citation has helped to create. According to Violeta Montoliu – who claims to be quoting Benlliure himself – Gayarre would affectionately call out the sculptor's name down the street whenever he visited him in Rome, and it was the memory of this habit which sparked the idea behind the sculpture:

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171 See, for example, "Julián Gayarre," *País,* Jan 3, 1890, 1; "Gayarre," *Dinastía*, Jan 5, 1890, 2; "Julián Gayarre," *Ilustración Musical Hispano-Americana*, Jan 30, 1890, 202.

172 J. M. Bonilla, "¡Gayarre!," *Ilustración Ibérica*, Jan 25, 1890, 58. "La voz de Gayarre era angelical, y al acoger Dios su alma recogerá también esa vibración dulcísima para repartirla entre los ángeles que alabanzas canten á su divinidad."

173 Edward S. Casey, *Remembering. A Phenomenological Study*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 218.

174 Furthermore, Benlliure's partner, from 1895 until her death in 1927, was the Spanish singer and zarzuela performer Lucrecia Arana.

> That note vibrates constantly in my ears and it inspired the monument. When I heard of his death I made a *modello* [or sketch] for myself, to dedicate it, *myself only*, to a very close friend. Afterwards, his relatives commissioned me [to execute] the mausoleum because they knew about my friendship with him, and they had no need to give me references or descriptions.[175]

The first half of this "quotation" proves to be a free adaptation from the letter to Martín Fernández quoted in Quevedo's biography,[176] while the second part was apparently Montoliu's own addition. Where the original letter suggested that Benlliure responded to his friend's death by making a *modello* or sketch, Montoliu used this to imply that this constituted *the* modello for the tomb, and added the word "only" so that the idea of personal inspiration was exaggerated. The result was to over-emphasise the circumstances of inspiration as artist-centric and drawn from within – an approach which belies the compelling evidence of the influence of impassioned journalistic accounts on Benlliure's design, to which I return later.

But let us first return to the association of Gayarre's soul with his voice, a connection felt to be particularly forceful because the cause of his death was vaguely and mysteriously located, according to the authors of these textual memorials, somewhere in his vocal apparatus. The parts of his body which assured his artistic immortality were poignantly identified as those which caused his mortality. Thus, his final illness and death were attributed, variously, to a "complaint of the larynx," "the rebellion of his throat," a lung complaint, a heavy cold, flu and bronchial pneumonia.[177] It is significant that these afflictions were loosely associated with the soul in their own right, as Susan Sontag has argued. In *Illness as Metaphor*, she draws on multiple cultural sources to argue that "a disease of the lungs is, metaphorically, a disease of the soul," a connection based on the idea that lungs belong to "the upper, spiritualized body," in contrast to those conceptually more "embarrassing" sicknesses which affected lower, "baser," bodily

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[175] Cited in Montoliu, *Mariano Benlliure,* 65. "Esa nota vibra constantemente en mis oídos y ella me inspiró el monumento. Cuando me enteré de su muerte hice un boceto para mí, para dedicárselo *yo sólo* a mi amigo del alma. Después sus familiares me encargaron el mausoleo porque conocían mi amistad con él y no precisaban darme referencias ni descripciones."The italics are mine.

[176] Letter to Martín Fernández, cited in Quevedo, *Vida Artística de Mariano Benlliure*, 181.

[177] Julio Enciso *Memorias de Julían Gayarre Escritas por su Amigo y Testamentario Julio Enciso* (Bilbao: Laida, 1990; first pub. 1891), 252-26 ("afección laríngea"); Peña, "La Muerte de Gayarre," 203 ("La rebeldía de su garganta"); F. Hernández, "Gayarre y Madrid," in *Gayarre y su Tiempo*, ed. Alfonso Carlos Saiz, Begoña Valdivielso, Ana Arregui and Carmen Valdés (Bilbao: Laida, 1990), 165; José R. Carracido, "Impresiones Científicas. La Laringe de Gayarre," *Ilustración Musical Hispano-Americana*, Jan 30, 1890, 206; "Gayarre," *Liberal* (Madrid), Jan 1, 1890, 2; López Benito, "Madrid Llora la Muerte del Genial Gayarre," 34.

organs.[178] The apparently genuine uncertainty about the specific cause of death was harnessed by those who conjured an almost spiritual mystique around Gayarre's demise.

There is, however, a crucial postscript to the post-mortem mythologizing of the singer which threatens to throw what we may think we have learnt into disarray; one which is symptomatic of the existence of parallel and intersecting discourses of religion and science surrounding death and the afterlife (that I return to in Chapter Three). While writers enthused about the divine abilities of Gayarre's larynx, the organ itself, having been swiftly extracted on the day of his death, underwent a medical examination by a trio of illustrious doctors searching for a scientific explanation for the singer's talent, which may well have doubled as an autopsy.[179] The results of the anatomical study were published later the same month in several articles, including the 30 January 1890 edition of *La Ilustración Musical Hispano-Americana,* in an article entitled "Scientific Impressions. Gayarre's Larynx." The article concluded with the words, "Gayarre possessed a privileged organ, one might say unique, but above this was his artist's soul."[180]

Subsequently embalmed, donated to one of Gayarre's doctors, and later transferred from museum to museum, the preserved larynx effectively came to assume a new role as a secular, or at least semi-secular, relic. Moreover, there existed at least one wax reproduction of the larynx, documented in the consulting room of laryngologist Dr. Eustasio Uruñuela before 1908, suggesting that it remained of medical interest.[181] The juxtaposition of the idea that Gayarre's voice had ascended to immortality, with the fact that his larynx remained on earth, became, in one sense, a bizarre variant on the Catholic notion of the separation of the soul from the body.

FLIGHTS OF FANCY, FLIGHTS OF FANTASY

So what *was* in the sculpture's bronze coffin? Was it supposed to contain Gayarre's voice, his soul or his body? And what was the likelihood that viewers would agree on the

[178] Susan Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1978), 17-18. See, also, Alba del Pozo, "Reescrituras del Balneario y la Tuberculosis en la Barcelona de Fin de siglo XIX-XX," text of a paper given at the "XIII Coloquio Internacional de Geocrítica: El Control del Espacio y los Espacios del Control," accessed Oct 31, 2016, https://www.academia.edu/7141200/ Reescrituras_del_balneario_y_la_tuberculosis _en_la_Barcelona_de_fin_de_siglo_XIX-XX. The author discusses the versatility of tuberculosis as a metaphor in nineteenth-century Barcelona, arguing that it was associated with sick artists and spiritual, high-class women.

[179] For more on the larynx, see Óscar Salvoch, *Julián Gayarre: La Voz del Paraíso* (Pamplona: Ediciones Eunate 2015), 905-16; Begoña Torres and Chloe Sharpe, "La Laringe de Julián Gayarre (1844-1890). El Símbolo de la Voz de un Genio," *Investigaciones en Técnica Vocal* 4, no. 2 (2017): 5-23.

[180] Carracido, "Impresiones Científicas. La Laringe de Gayarre," 206. "Gayarre poseía un órgano privilegiado, único puede decirse, pero por cima de él estaba su alma de artista."

[181] Torres and Sharpe, "La Laringe de Julián Gayarre (1844-1890)," 16.

coffin's contents? My argument in the next few pages centres on the fact that early Spanish critics were little concerned about these questions, or the tomb's logical, or theological, irregularities; and that when they noticed them at all, they explained or justified them on the grounds of *fantasía* ["imagination," or "fantasy"].

Let me begin with Francisco Alcántara's laudatory article on the sculpture on the occasion of its exhibition at the Círculo de Bellas Artes in May 1898. Noting the sculpture's religious unorthodoxy, he indulgently asserted that:

> Benlliure let his imagination [*fantasía*] run free with such force when he conceived the work, that he did not even stop to think how poorly received a cadaver would be in the heavenly realms.[182]

Reporting for *La Ilustración Española y Americana* later that month, Carlos Luis de Cuenca used the alternative meaning of *fantasía*, signifying "fantasy," to justify the sculpture's illogical nature, and did so without any serious concern for religious questions:

> The composition of the group, in terms of the manner of symbolising the immortality of the artist, cannot and should not be judged with the coldness of logic; one must feel it and judge it in the realm of fantasy [*fantasía*].[183]

Finally, when Serrano Fatigati wrote his classic 1912 monograph on sculpture in Madrid and Castille, in which he singled three notable works of recent funerary sculpture out of "the thousand products *manufactured* in the workshops of the *lapidarios*," he had this to say about the work:

> Benlliure made the sepulchre of Gayarre at the moment when his imagination [*fantasía*] was passing though its most undisciplined phase, and it is a good example to recognise the extent to which a man of genius can give real beauty when forgetting certain artistic principles, which, in the hands of ordinary *lapidarios* or imitators could result, on the other hand, in major errors. The lack of subordination to the natural laws of balance, which leads to everything that is decadent in architecture and sculpture, is, in the tomb of the unforgettable

[182] Francisco Alcántara, "La Exposición del Círculo de Bellas Artes," *Imparcial*, May 18, 1898, 1. "Benlliure dejó correr su fantasia con tal impetus al idear la obra, que no pudo parar mientes, ni siquiera en lo mal recibido que habría de ser en las regiones celestiales un cadáver."

[183] Carlos Luis de Cuenca, "Nuestros Grabados," *Ilustración Española y Americana*, May 30, 1898, 311. "La composición del grupo, en lo que se refiere al modo de simbolizar la inmortalidad del artista, no puede ni debe juzgarse con la frialdad de la lógica; hay que sentirla y juzgarla en el terreno de la fantasía."

> Spanish tenor, compensated for by such excellence in the figures, such poetry in the listening angel [...][184]

Serrano's commentary raises a number of interesting points. He recognised that the tomb was an exceptional instance of a gravity-defying trend in sculpture but made no references to the religious apotheosis. The idea that "decadence" and lack of discipline – rather than an absence of orthodoxy – were "compensated for" by the artist's skill and genius closely resembled the approach taken by the French exhibition critics, in which the negative concept of "excess" was consistently weighed up against the sculpture's positive qualities, such as the appropriateness to the dead man's profession. Finally, it is worth noting how Serrano brought the "insubordination" of the sculpture, in terms of its gravity-defying representation of flight, into relation with the "undisciplined" nature of the sculptor's imagination, since this idea has proved enduring in the historiography. Montoliu made the sculpture into a metaphor for artistic creativity and imagination when she claimed that Benlliure was able to "flee from fashion and *allow his creativity to fly*" when making it.[185] I will return to the question of artistic creativity later, as I first need to explore an extraordinarily florid piece of eulogistic writing which imagined Gayarre's apotheosis precisely as a delirious and multisensory "fantasy."

"The Celebration of the Angels. *Fantasía*" was the revealing title of the panegyric which immediately preceded the article on Gayarre's larynx in the 30 January 1890 edition of *La Ilustración Musical Hispano-Americana*, with which we are now familiar. It is also the most compelling candidate for a textual source for Benlliure's tomb design. The writer, Benito Busó, imagined in considerable detail the "celebration that [God's] legions of angels have prepared to receive the spirit" of the singer in Heaven, and almost flippantly explained the apotheosis in the text's closing lines: "[Gayarre] reached, through his faith, the temple of immortality, where the angels will not wonder at his arrival, because he sings like them."[186] Busó envisioned a choir of angels being joined by a "voice [...] not unknown to

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[184] Serrano Fatigati, *Escultura en Madrid* […], 50. "Los mil productos *fabricados* en los talleres de los lapidarios." Italics in the original. "Hizo Benlliure el sepulcro de Gayarre en el momento en que pasaba su fantasía por la fase de mayor indisciplina, y es un buen ejemplar para reconocer hasta qué punto puede un hombre de genio dar belleza real á los olvidos de ciertos principios artísticos que en manos de lapidarios adocenados é imitadores pudieran resultar, por el contrario, grandes desaciertos. La falta de subordinación á las leyes naturales del equilibrio que engendra todo lo decadente en arquitectura y escultura, se halla compensada en la tumba del inolvidable tenor español por tantas excelencias de las figuras, tal poesía en el ángel que escucha […]."

[185] Montoliu, *Mariano Benlliure,* 65. "Evadirse de la moda y dejar *volar su creatividad*." The italics are mine.

[186] Benito Busó, "La Fiesta de los Ángeles. Fantasía," *Ilustración Musical Hispano-Americana,* Jan 30, 1890, 202-03. "Fiesta que mis legiones de ángeles tienen preparada para recibir el espíritu;" "[Gayarre ha] conseguido con su fe llegar al templo de la inmortalidad, en donde los ángeles no extrañarán su llegada, porque canta como ellos."

us; that seductive and pleasing echo had electrified us on several occasions; sometimes in the form of Borgia, other times in that of the knight of the Holy Grail."[187] He went on to list some of Gayarre's other theatrical roles, in operas by Meyerbeer, Verdi and Donizetti, much as Benlliure's sculpture would later allude to Gayarre's characters sculpturally and through textual inscription. The self-styled textual "fantasy" was, perhaps, legitimised on the grounds that Gayarre belonged to these fictional worlds of changing operatic characters.

Busó also likened his *fantasía* to the "idealizing of a dreaming soul."[188] *Fantasía*, as something generated in the mind rather than mimicking or reflecting the "real," was treated as a close relative of "idealism." As I analyse, in detail, the conceptualisation of idealism as the counterpoint to realism in Chapter Three, at this point it is simply worth noting that Benlliure explicitly stated that he expected the Gayarre tomb to appeal to "idealists."[189] On the other hand, it may have been precisely to avoid his work being interpreted as a "dream" that Benlliure altered his original figure of Music to emphasize grief rather than sleep (compare figs 1.5 and 1.7). As I explore in Chapter Two, sleep's traditional artistic connection with death consisted of the deceased person being presented as though asleep, but sleep was not interchangeable with the emotion of grief suffered by those left behind. In Benlliure's initial design, the outward-facing Music closed her eyes and rested her head on her hand in a manner strongly reminiscent of the dreamed quasi-apotheosis in painted renditions of the *Dream of Jacob*, such as that by Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (fig. 1.29), in which the dreamed stairway to heaven appeared behind the dreamer's head.[190] As we have seen, Music's pose was changed so that she appeared so absorbed in sorrow that she was ostensibly unaware of the viewer's presence. The alteration seems to clarify that the upper and lower spheres of the monument were to be read as two distinct sides of the same coin: hope and grief, the two complimentary reactions to death, both staples of the funerary sculpture genre.

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[187] Busó, "La Fiesta de los Ángeles," 203. "Voz no […] desconocida para nosotros; aquel eco tan seductor y halagüeño nos había electrizado en distintas ocasiones; unas veces bajo la forma del Borgia, otras bajo la del caballero del Santo Gräl."

[188] Busó, "La Fiesta de los Ángeles," 203. "Idealizar el alma soñadora."

[189] Letter from Benlliure to his brother José, March 1900, cited in Enseñat, "El Quehacer Artístico de Mariano Benlliure," 64.

[190] An alternative hypothesis is that Benlliure wished to distance his female allegory from Edward Onslow Ford's seated woman in the *Shelley Memorial*. There are intriguing points of similarity between the works, which both combined bronze with marble, were developed and worked up in the early 1890s, and were exhibited at the Universal Exposition in Paris in 1900. For more on the Shelley memorial, see Getsy, *Body Doubles*, 119-41; Francis Haskell, "The Shelley Memorial," *Oxford Art Journal* 1, no. 1 (1978): 3-6.

Whether or not the insistence on *grief* rather than *dream* was the reason for the change of design, the common ground between Benlliure's sculpture and Busó's "fantasy" are undeniable in the imagery of the apotheosis of voice and soul, the loose use of religious concepts, the references to Gayarre's multiple theatrical roles, and even the "busy-ness" of both text and monument. More crucially still, they point to the notion of the religious fantasy as an acceptable, meaningful framework for post-mortem memorialisation in late nineteenth-century Spain.

DON JUAN TENORIO *AND THE "RELIGIOUS-FANTASTICAL DRAMA"*

Zorrilla's *Don Juan Tenorio*, which we have encountered in the Introduction, played a significant, but hitherto overlooked, part in promoting and normalising the (funerary) religious fantasy during the Restauración. Over the next few paragraphs, I show how the play lived up to its explanatory subtitle, "Religious-fantastical drama" (*Drama religioso-fantástico*), in terms of plot and *mise-en-scène*, and discuss the implications upon the creation and viewership of the Gayarre tomb.

Liturgically speaking, the plot of *Don Juan Tenorio* was particularly relevant to the All Saints' and All Souls' period – when, as we have seen, it was habitually performed – as well as to the period of transition between Carnival and Lent, to which the two distinct parts of the play correspond.[191] The first half of the play is set in the city of Seville during Carnival, and contains most of Don Juan's transgressions. These include the killings of Don Luis and Don Gonzalo, the seduction and abandonment of the latter's daughter, the novice nun Doña Inés, and the seduction and sexual "ruin" of Doña Ana Pantoja, through the use of a mask to assume the identity of the lady's fiancé (Chapter Three returns to these conceptual links between Carnival, theatre, pretence, and moral disorder).

The play's "religious-fantastical" elements, however, only reveal themselves in the second half, which opens with Don Juan's return to the family estate after five years in exile. As we saw in the Introduction, this part mostly takes place in a garden cemetery, an appropriate setting for the eventual purification of Don Juan's soul. It is here that the antihero encounters a sculptor bidding goodbye to the lifelike funerary marble effigies he has just created. The sculptor explains that Doña Inés has died of a broken heart and been buried alongside Don Juan's murdered victims and his own father, who financed the sculptural memorials of each in atonement for his son's deeds. After a series of

[191] On the play's Carnival and Lent symbolism, see Ana Alcolea, "El *Don Juan Tenorio* de Zorilla: Entre el Carnaval y la Cuaresma," *Verba Hispánica* 8 (1999): 101-14.

supernatural interventions in which the statues of the dead become animated and mobile, and attempt to convince Don Juan to repent, the latter is killed, but subsequently given a final chance for salvation through the intercession of the dead, yet revived, Doña Inés. His last-minute repentance permits the apotheosis of his soul, together with that of the woman who saved him.

It is the extraordinarily unorthodox salvation of Don Juan that I wish to underline here. Flying in the face of doctrine, Zorrilla's female heroine makes a pact with God on account of her exceptional virtue: instead of receiving her Particular Judgment at the moment of death, she is permitted to wait for Don Juan in the "Purgatory" of her own tomb so that their fates can be sealed together. Doña Inés' concluding assertion that "Don Juan was saved by Love"[192] effectively reverses the Catholic belief that the *living* can actively speed up the salvation of the *deceased person*'s soul through prayer. Entirely disregarding the Church's distinction between the two types of judgment, Doña Inés is resurrected in the flesh when she emerges from her own tomb at the moment of Don Juan's Particular Judgment. Zorrilla titled the final ascension to heaven "The Apotheosis of Love,"[193] and indicated in the stage directions that it was to be represented through two bright flames floating out of the couple's mouths to the sound of music, after which the curtain was to fall.[194]

In this blend of religious subject-matter with the supernatural, Zorrilla's choice of the term "fantastical" almost certainly accounted for the drama's unorthodox – even magical – elements, in a similar way that "fantasy" did in the mind of the Gayarre tomb critics. Moreover, given the huge cultural impact of *Don Juan Tenorio*, it may come as no surprise that Busó's multisensory evocation of Gayarre's apotheosis, with its "rosy clouds forming capricious figures [which] began to ascend into space in different directions, saturating the air with delicate perfumes,"[195] loosely resembles Zorrilla's stage directions for the final scenes of his play:

[192] José Zorrilla, *Don Juan Tenorio*, ed. and intr. David T. Gies (Madrid: Castalia, 1994), 239.

[193] Zorrilla, *Don Juan Tenorio*, 231. "Apoteosis del Amor."

[194] Zorrilla, *Don Juan Tenorio*, 240.

[195] Busó, "La Fiesta de los Ángeles," 203. "Nubes sonrosadas formando caprichosas figuras empezaron á elevarse por el espacio en diferentes direcciones, saturando el ambiente de perfumes delicados."

> The flowers open and reveal various little angels that surround Doña Inés and Don Juan, dropping flowers and perfumes onto them and, to the sound of a sweet, distant music, the theatre is illuminated with the light of dawn.[196]

The ways in which the play was received is particularly revealing of attitudes towards religious (un)orthodoxy in the period under study. It was not without irony about the audience's motivations that Francisco Fernández Villegas asserted, in 1902, that Madrid's residents would "*religiously* fulfil" the "duty" of watching *Don Juan Tenorio* each November.[197] The theatre critic later noted that the play's supernatural representations sometimes elicited unintended laughter from the audience;[198] and in this respect it is revealing that at least 26 parodies were written in the nineteenth century alone.[199] Even among those who took it seriously, only rarely does it appear to have been a cause for religious indignation.[200] This was probably because, as Gies has argued, the play's ultimate message was a "comforting and Catholic one" in a period of weakening religious faith; so that the optimism afforded by the salvation of even the worst of sinners ultimately compensated for the unorthodox manner in which Don Juan's salvation was achieved.[201] Indeed, as Gies pointed out, all earlier interpretations of the myth – such as Mozart's *Don Giovanni* (1787), in which Gayarre, incidentally, had performed[202] – sent the character to Hell rather than Heaven.[203]

Don Juan Tenorio's religious unorthodoxy is likely to have reflected, and contributed to, the normalisation of loosely theological attitudes to the immortality of the soul after death, providing a relevant context for understanding how the Gayarre tomb could have been understood. The play invited nineteenth-century audiences to take comfort in the general message of salvation in the afterlife, rather than preoccupying themselves with doctrinal details. Its religious optimism must have served its Restoration bourgeois

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196 Zorrilla, *Don Juan Tenorio*, 240. "Las flores se abren y dan paso a varios angelitos que rodean a doña Inés y a don Juan, derramando sobre ellos flores y perfumes, y al son de una música dulce y lejana se ilumina el teatro con luz de aurora."

197 Francisco Fernández [Zeda, pseud.], "Crónica de Teatros," *Ilustración Artística*, Dec 8, 1902, 794. "Cumplen religiosamente;" "deberes".

198 Fernández [Zeda, pseud.], "Crónica de Teatros," *Ilustración Artística*, Sept 12, 1904, 602.

199 Bersett, *El Burlado de Sevilla*, 10-11. On these paradies, see also Carlos Serrano, *Carnaval en Noviembre: Parodias Teatrales Españolas de Don Juan Tenorio* (Alicante: Instituto de Cultura Juan-Gil Albert, 1996).

200 The play was presented as sacrilegious and immoral at least twice in *La Ilustración Católica*, during the 1880s, but criticism on religious grounds appears to have died down by the 1890s. See Nulema, "Revista," *Ilustración Católica*, Nov 7, 1881, 129-30; Tordesillas, "La Década," *Ilustración Católica*, Nov 5, 1888, 361-62.

201 Gies, Introduction to *Don Juan Tenorio*, 54-57. "Confortante y católico."

202 Hualde, "Repertorio Completo."

203 Gies, Introduction to *Don Juan Tenorio*, 54.

audiences well, given that most of them were also cemetery visitors who were likely to have just participated, or have been just about to participate, in the ritual mourning customary of the All Saints' period.

WHOSE ARTISTIC IMMORTALITY?

Having explored the overlaps and contradictions between sculptural, literary, theatrical and doctrinal representations of the apotheosis of the dead, I now draw on a different aspect of *Don Juan Tenorio* to address an intersecting issue: the question of artistic immortality turned back onto the sculptor.

The play's second half opens, in the cemetery, with a monologue by the sculptor as he releases his creations into the world. Having exclaimed with satisfaction that his funerary effigies sumptuously fulfilled the last wishes of the man who commissioned them, he proceeds to appropriate them as monuments to his own artistic, and secular, immortality:

> Ah! Marbles which my hands polished with such care, tomorrow the fascinated Sevillians will contemplate you; and upon seeing the gigantic proportions of this *panteón*, [future] generations will hold ours in veneration. As the days sink one by one, [...] you will stand as posthumous memories of me. Oh! Fruits of my waking eyes, stones that I animated [...], watch over my artistic glory, for you will live longer than I![204]

These words draw on the tropes of sculpture imitating life, the permanence or immortality of stone as a material, and the inherent vanity of Pygmalion love for one's creations.[205] This sculptor is also, however, Pygmalion's opposite, since by caressing his statue into life, Pygmalion chooses earthly bliss over posthumous glory, while the statues in *Don Juan Tenorio* are animated by supernatural forces. Most importantly, the sculptor's words raise the point that the deceased is not the only protagonist of funerary sculpture, and that, while the dead may aspire to religious immortality, artistic immortality is usually the preserve of the sculptor.

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[204] Zorrilla, *Don Juan Tenorio*, 192. "¡Ah! Mármoles que mis manos pulieron con tanto afán, mañana os contemplarán los absortos sevillanos; y al mirar de este panteón las gigantes proporciones, tendrán las generaciones la nuestra en veneración. Mas yendo y viniendo días, […] en pie estaréis vosotras, póstumas memorias mías. ¡Oh! Frutos de mis desvelos, peñas a quien yo animé […] ¡velad mi gloria de artista, pues viviréis más que yo!"

[205] For a discussion of Pygmalionism in late nineteenth-century Spanish sculpture, particularly in relation to the female nude, see Carlos Reyero, "Es un Cuerpo Desnudo: El Amor por las Estatuas en la España de Finales del Siglo XIX," in *Pigmalión o el Amor por lo Creado,* ed. Facundo Tomás, Isabel Justo and José Luis Alcaide (Rubí: Anthropos, 2005), 261-78.

The Gayarre tomb was exceptional in that it was the celebration of one artist by another, capable of "immortalising," in secular or artistic terms, the memory of each. Playing with the idea of these two co-existing kinds of eternity, and indirectly acknowledging the existence of two potential candidates for "immortality," Balsa concluded his enthusiastic praise of the monument, on the occasion of its exhibition in 1898, by asserting the sculptor to be "among the immortals in the heavens of art."[206] This was not, however, the first time that the art of Gayarre and Benlliure had been jointly glorified. In January 1891, on the first anniversary of the singer's death, two commemorative functions took place in Madrid: one religious, a mass in the Cathedral, the other artistic, an operatic memorial concert at the Teatro Real.[207] As the curtain was lifted on the second part on the concert, it unveiled Benlliure's new bronze bust of Gayarre,[208] atop the sculptor's specially-designed allegorical plinth (fig. 1.30). According to an illustrated press account, the object was placed centre-stage and surrounded by costumed singing "monks" paying musical homage to the sculpted surrogate of the dead man[209] – an action which inevitably honoured the living sculptor, too.

Like the sculptor in *Don Juan Tenorio*, Benlliure was concerned with both the immediate visibility of the Gayarre tomb as a work of art, and the endurance of this visibility over time. Enseñat has recently published details of a letter written at the opening of the Universal Exposition in Paris in 1900, in which the sculptor reported to Queen María Cristina of Spain that he had "'managed to place the Mausoleum of Gayarre in one of the best places in the room, given the limited space which France has given to the foreigners.'"[210] The positioning of the sculpture in relation to other works may be appreciated in figure 1.9, in which Benlliure's work appears on the far left, in the middle ground.

In addition to exhibiting the definitive monument in Madrid (1898) and Paris (1900), Benlliure increased the sculpture's visibility by creating multiple versions, reductions and "fragments" of the monument, in different materials, which he exhibited nationally and

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[206] Balsa, "La Exposición del Círculo de Bellas Artes," 2. "Entre los inmortales en el cielo del arte."

[207] Eusebio Martínez, "Nuestros Grabados," *Ilustración Española y Americana*, Jan 8, 1891, 3.

[208] This bust was not the one made in Rome in 1889 (fig. 1.6), but rather a second cast, on a new, elaborate pedestal. It belonged to the Centro de la Armada, was donated to the Teatro Real in December 1891, and has since disappeared. The bust's trajectory is analysed in Alonso, "El Misterio del Busto de Julián Gayarre," 64.

[209] Martínez, "Nuestros Grabados," 3.

[210] Letter from Benlliure to the Queen María Cristina, via her secretary Alfonso de Aguilar, May 1, 1900, cited in Enseñat, "El Quehacer Artístico de Mariano Benlliure," 65. "He conseguido colocar el Mausoleo de Gayarre en uno de los mejores sitios del salón, dado el poco espacio que ha concedido Francia a los extranjeros."

internationally,[211] and by donating two of these to Spanish museums.[212] Providing an artistic context for the sculpted tomb and its variants, such exhibitions placed the onus on the name of the artist, and – in the case of international shows – the country he or she represented, and rewarded sculptural ability. They did not primarily celebrate the life or achievements of those people represented or commemorated in the monuments on display. Indeed, when Benlliure exhibited *Music (fragment)* at the International Fine Arts Exhibition in Munich in 1894, where he won a first class medal, the title of the work did not allude to Gayarre.[213] It is worth recalling that much of the contemporary criticism of the Gayarre tomb was penned on the occasion of its display, as a completed work, in art exhibitions, and that the use of art historical terminology and periodisation, and a generally secular approach, prevailed. Such "artistic" audiences may have been in Benlliure's mind when he chose to adapt the loosely religious Italian funerary apotheosis into a secular/classical allegory with historicist references.

When the time came to install the work in the rural cemetery of Roncal, in accordance with the wishes of the dead man, it is well-known that Benlliure expressed disappointment at the thought of his beloved sculpture languishing "in a completely deserted valley" far from any town.[214] The moral superiority of rural burial – discussed in the Introduction – or the aesthetic advantages of the dramatic landscape setting of the cemetery of Roncal, were not invoked.

COMPETING SPACES FOR IMMORTALISATION: CEMETERIES, CITY SQUARES AND BANKNOTES

While temporary art exhibitions provided creators of funerary monuments with a chance to garner fame, make their name, and advance towards "artistic immortality," the

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[211] For example, fragments of the Gayarre tomb were exhibited in Munich, Madrid, Berlin, Buenos Aires, Venice and Bilbao between 1894 and 1906. *Münchener Jahres-Ausstellung, Glaspalast, 1894* (Munich: Verlag von Franz Hanfstaengl, 1894), 58; *Catálogo de la Exposición Artística Organizada a Beneficio de los Soldados Heridos en Cuba y Filipinas* (Madrid, Imprenta Central de los Ferrocarriles, 1897), 9; *Quarta Esposizione Internazionale d'Arte della Cittá di Venezia 1901. Catalogo Illustrato*, 2nd ed. (Venice: Carlo Ferrari, 1901), 111; Enseñat, "Alegoría de la Música," 250; Javier González, *Las Exposiciones de Arte Moderno de Bilbao, 1900-1910* (Vitoria-Gasteiz: Bassarai, 2007), 126.

[212] Donations were made to the Museo Nacional del Teatro, in Almagro, and the Museo Comarcal Salvador Vilaseca, in Reus. See Enseñat, "Alegoría de la Música," 252.

[213] *Münchener Jahres-Ausstellung*, 58; *Illustrierter Katalog der VII Internationalen Kunstausstellung im Königlichen Glaspalaste* (Munich: Verlag von Rudolfmosse, 1897), 15. "*Die Musik (fragment).*"

[214] Letter from Benlliure to Natalio Rivas, cited in Quevedo, *Vida Artística de Mariano Benlliure*, 180. "Un valle completamente desierto." The letter was written on 22 August 1901, according to José Javier Azanza, "'Mármol y Bronce para la Inmortalidad.' El Mausoleo de Gayarre, de Mariano Benlliure," text of a conference, Universidad de Navarra, Sept 19, 2015. http://www.unav.es/catedrapatrimonio/paginasinternas/conferencias/roncal/azanza/default.html.

definitive cemetery location was better suited for the declaration and promotion of the religious immortality of the deceased, whose corpses they accompanied. The Gayarre tomb, however, narrowly escaped being permanently installed not in the cemetery, but in an alternative location in which the idea of secular, or civic, immortality prevailed: the city square.

The idea that Benlliure's creation should become a public monument appears to have been first proposed by Sanchís on the occasion of the 1898 exhibition.[215] The critic suggested that it be placed in the square in front of the Teatro Real, whose foyer already contained the sculpted bust of Gayarre which had been unveiled on stage in 1891.[216] Quevedo claims that such was the wish of the Queen herself, and that Benlliure and the mayor of Madrid were in agreement, but that Gayarre's family refused, stating that they did not want his memorial monument to be in a different place from his tomb, which would remain in Roncal.[217] In effect, while the monument's visibility would have been greatly maximised, it would have been unaccompanied by Gayarre's corpse.

The intersection between public and cemetery monuments, as site-specific objects through which to commemorate dead illustrious individuals in a period of veritable "statue-mania," has been fruitfully examined by a number of French scholars, though from a more socio-political than visual point of view.[218] Writing on the French context, Le Normand-Romain and Maurice Agulhon have shown that numerous "great men" were memorialised through two distinct monuments, one funerary, the other public; but that cemeteries were more inclusive because they welcomed monuments to members of the political opposition who stood no chance of being memorialised through a state-sanctioned public monument.[219] In the case of the Gayarre tomb, politics was far from a barrier to a city location, as we have seen. Yet, had the Queen's desire prevailed, the sculpture would have made a singular and unprecedented public monument, on aesthetic

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[215] Sanchís, "Exposición de Bellas Artes VI. El Monumento a Gayarre," 1.

[216] On the bust, see Alonso, "El Misterio del Busto de Julián Gayarre," 64.

[217] Quevedo, *Vida Artística de Mariano Benlliure*, 179.

[218] Maurice Agulhon, "Le Tombeau du 'Grand Homme' au XIXe siècle," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 6, no. 106 (Nov 1985): 157-64 ; Antoinette Le Normand-Romain, "¿Monumento Público o Monumento Funerario?" in *La Escultura. La Aventura de la Escultura Moderna en los Siglos XIX y XX* by Antoinette Le Normand-Romain, Anne Pingeot, Reinhold Hohl, Barbara Rose and Jean-Luc Daval (Barcelona: Carroggio, 1996), 44-45; Antoinette Le Normand-Romain, " 'En Hommage aux Opposants Politiques': Monument Funéraire ou Public?" *Revue de l'Art* 94 (1991): 74-80; Stéphane Michonneau, *Barcelona: Memòria i Identitat: Monuments, Commemoracions i Mites* (Vic: Eumo, 2002); 391-94; Stéphane Michonneau, "Políticas de Memoria en Barcelona al Final del Siglo XIX," in *España, ¿Nación de Naciones?* ed. Anna María García (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2002), 101-20.

[219] Le Normand-Romain, "¿Monumento Público o Monumento Funerario?" 44-45; Agulhon, "Le Tombeau du 'Grand Homme' au XIXe siècle," 161-64.

and conceptual grounds. While public monuments to illustrious men invariably included either a full-length effigy or portrait bust of the commemorated person as though *alive*, Benlliure's sculpture showed Gayarre as both invisible and *dead*, through the unmistakably funerary coffin and sarcophagus.

Given that death was a prerequisite for having a public monument erected in one's honour (but not for commissioning one's own funerary monument), the concurrence among Spanish writers that commemorative sculpture in cities must not look deathly,[220] seems ironic. Yet the distinction between the "liveliness" of the public monument, and the "deathliness" of the funerary monument, was repeatedly raised during the period, and fitted with the idea of the city of the dead as the mirror image of the city of the living. It was in this context, though in relation to Barcelona, that Stéphane Michonneau forcefully concluded that "the cemetery and the city are very different places, which cannot be confused: in the nineteenth century, to erect a funerary monument in the streets was unimaginable."[221] Installing the Gayarre tomb in front of the Teatro Real would have been the exception to the rule.

An unsigned article of 1908, entitled "Commemorative Art in our Era," provides illuminating insight into the perceived differences between the two sculptural genres in the Spanish context:

> The [public] monument and the tomb are almost indistinguishable in their commemorative objective, and thus the latter often fulfils the conditions of the former. However, the eminently religious character of the Christian tomb naturally imposes certain reservations in the composition. The artist cannot overly-memorialise the time which the honoured person spent on Earth because, however important his actions were, the immensity of the afterlife extends its wings over them, and in the face of it, all heroisms and sacrifices are dwarfed. Moreover, when the work of art is erected in a street, a park or a square, it seems that the honoured person is reintroduced into civic life and

[220] On this point, see, for example, Miguel Salvador, "El Monumento del 31 de Mayo de 1906," *Pequeñas Monografías de Arte* 16 (Aug 1908): 129-36.

[221] Michonneau, "Políticas de Memoria en Barcelona al Final del Siglo XIX," 117. "Cementerio y ciudad son lugares muy distintos que no se confunden: en el siglo XIX no es imaginable erigir un monumento funerario en las calles."

> the artist then regains the freedom to use all the means which occur to his imagination.[222]

The way in which the religiosity of the Spanish funerary monument was taken for granted – in contrast to France, where it was not[223] – usefully contextualises the inescapably religious layer which Benlliure gave his "apotheosis of the voice." Yet the sculptor's layering of other, co-existing meanings in the work has resulted in the Gayarre tomb being discussed in terms not of artistic constraint, but of "freedom" and "imagination;" concepts which the article's author associated with the public monument, instead. The issues of artistic freedom and constraint recur frequently in relation to funerary sculpture, as we shall see in subsequent chapters.

The lack of an effigy, meanwhile, meant that placing the funerary monument in a city square could never have "reintroduced" Gayarre into "civic life," thereby failing to fulfil the surrogative function of public monuments to "great men" which is implicit in the writer's exposition. As Roach has theorised, the effigy "fills by means of surrogation a vacancy created by the absence of an original."[224] Yet, while Benlliure's bust to Gayarre in the Teatro Real (fig. 1.30) and his monument to the poet Antonio de Trueba (fig. 1.31) – also presented at the 1900 Paris Exposition, and subsequently erected in public gardens in Bilbao – could function as such "civic" surrogates because they were portraits of the commemorated men looking alive, the Gayarre tomb referenced the vacancy left by death, and conveyed the idea that the dead man was on his way to a higher place.

The Gayarre monument was finally inaugurated in Roncal cemetery on 1 October 1901, on a day of dual religious-secular homage to the singer. While the secular part of the day was focused on the singer's civic philanthropy, and consisted of an official presentation of the village schools whose construction he had financed, it was as part of the religious

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[222] "El Arte Conmemorativo en Nuestra Época," *Hojas Selectas,* Jan 1908, 802. "El monumento y el sepulcro casi se confunden en su objeto conmemorativo, y así sucede muchas veces que el último participa de las condiciones del primero. Sin embargo, el carácter eminentemente religioso de la sepultura cristiana impone, como es natural, ciertas reservas en la composición. El artista no puede recordar en demasía el paso sobre la Tierra del personaje que trata de honrar, pues por grandes que hayan sido sus hechos, extiende sobre ellos sus alas la inmensidad de la vida futura, ante cuya enigma todas las heroicidades y sacrificios quedan empequeñecidos. Mas cuando la obra de arte se erige en la calle, en un parque o en una plaza, parece que el dignificado se reincorpora á la vida ciudadana y el artista recobra entonces la libertad de emplear todos los medios que le sugiere a su imaginación."

[223] Agulhon, "Le Tombeau du 'Grand Homme' au XIXe siècle," 161-64. Agulhon describes how, in France, the tombs of some illustrious nonconformists and unbelievers became places of secular cult.

[224] Roach, *Cities of the Dead*, 36.

memorial that the monument was presented.[225] The church ceremony incorporated a procession to the cemetery to pray for Gayarre's soul at the foot of his monument, thereby consolidating the sculpture's religious character as an apotheosis of the soul.

As for the competing claims to secular immortality of the commemorator and the commemorated, it was only in 1951 that the cemetery monument was publically and officially presented as an object through which to memorialise the sculptor, three years after his own death. The 500-peseta banknote, issued 50 years after the sculpture was erected in Roncal, featured an engraving of the monument in its luscious natural surroundings.[226] On the other side was a portrait not of Gayarre, but of Benlliure.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the Gayarre tomb in new contexts, analysing its connections with the virtuoso apotheoses of nineteenth-century Italian sculpture, and revealing multiple points of intersection between sculpture, theatre and commemorative journalism. I have shown how Benlliure devised a personalised, multi-level apotheosis which was secular, artistic and religious, by conflating Gayarre's soul with his voice; and how the work's religious aspects fit a loose, unorthodox brand of *fin-de-siècle* Spanish Catholicism, which normalised the concept of "religious fantasy." I have also explored how commemorative sculptures could glorify and "immortalise" the artists who created them, particularly when displayed in art exhibitions and highly-visible urban locations, and unaccompanied by the corpse.

This chapter has ended with the Benlliure banknote, and the sense that the artist's death "freed" the monument to become a memorial to the sculptor, rather than the singer. In the next chapter, the impact of authorial death takes centre stage. Through a closely linked case study, Chapter Two develops the question of rivalling claims to immortality in relation to the moral conflict between merit and money, and analyses the posthumous memorialisation of sculptors in greater depth.

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[225] "Las Provincias," *Correo Español*, Oct 2, 1901, 3; "Desde Pamplona," *Globo*, Oct 4, 1901, 2; Lassa, "Homenaje a Gayarre," *Heraldo de Madrid*, Oct 2, 1901, 1; Antonio Peña, "En Memoria de Gayarre," *Liberal*, Oct 2, 1901, 3.

[226] The banknote is mentioned in Azanza, "'Mármol y Bronce para la Inmortalidad.'"

Chapter 2.

The Death of the Author? Julio Antonio and the Lemonier Tomb (1918-19).

Transformed into a fountain, the funerary monument to Alberto Lemonier de la Portilla (1918) stretches awkwardly over a shallow pool of water in an airy, sky-lit museum stairwell, instead of covering the bodily remains of the dead child, as the sculptor initially intended (figs. 2.1-2.4). Questionable on aesthetic, historical and conservation grounds, the current display in the Museu d'Art Modern in Tarragona (MAMT)[227] proudly lays claim to the monument as a masterpiece by its author, locally-born sculptor Julio Antonio Rodríguez Hernández (1889-1919) – better known by his artistic name, Julio Antonio – whose works form the core of the museum's permanent collection.[228] The presentation is also, poignantly, the final nail in the coffin for the posthumous memorialisation of Lemonier, which began to suffer from the moment of the sculpture's first public appearance in a solo exhibition in January 1919. Today, biographical traces of the dead boy have almost entirely disappeared; and I have been unable to locate the tomb or cemetery where his body lies, to determine exactly when he died, or to confirm his age at death. This is because the story of Julio Antonio's funerary sculpture is the story of the forgetting of Lemonier, and his public and institutional supplanting by the figure of the artist.

In this chapter, I examine how the literal death of the author shaped the manner in which his final work, the Lemonier monument, has been critically received and displayed since. To do so, I predictably borrow Roland Barthes' poststructuralist catchphrase, which was both the title and pithy conclusion-cum-battle cry of his canonical essay;[229] a text whose enormous impact undoubtedly owes something to the revolutionary associations of the

[227] The current display dates from a refurbishment project of 1991. See "El Pati," Museu D'Art Modern Tarragona, accessed Aug 8, 2017, http://sae.altanet.org/houmuni/web/mamt/ expo_permanent/pati.php.

[228] The MAMT is ascribed to Tarragona's provincial government, which has published the following books on the sculptor: Antonio Salcedo, *Julio Antonio Escultor 1889-1919* (Barcelona: Diputació de Tarragona, 1997); Ramón Oteo, Rosa M. Ricomà and Antonio Salcedo, eds., *Julio Antonio Escultor (1889-1919): Actes del Col·loqui sobre Julio Antonio* (Tarragona: Diputació de Tarragona, 1999); Rosa M. Ricomà et al., *Bronze Nu: Julio Antonio, Una Vida d'Escultor* (Tarragona: Diputació de Tarragona, 2006).

[229] Roland Barthes, "The Death of the Author," in *Image-Music-Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (London: Fontana, 1977), 142-48.

country and year in which it was published (France, 1968),[230] and much to its self-proclaimed applicability across the arts. Barthes' manifesto famously urged readers – by which he also meant viewers and listeners – to metaphorically "kill off" the author; the author to absent himself from his work (Barthes' author is always male); and critics to discard their author-central approach to analysis, in the interest of giving audiences the freedom of meaning-making without the "tyranny" of the "Author-God" and his biography. Purely theoretical, Barthes' "death of the author" was connected neither conceptually, nor temporally, with his real death. Indeed, it was an absolute rejection of the trope of artistic immortality that held that an author lived on through his or her work. This chapter examines how the biographically-focused interpretative practices denounced by Barthes reached their extreme conclusion, as a result of the author's *literal* death. In doing so, it draws on Jacques Derrida's reflections on the ethics of commemorating the dead through language,[231] extending their application to sculptural forms of memorialisation.

The chapter develops the question of funerary sculpture's competing claims to immortality, and asks how sculptors were to be posthumously memorialised. While I consider new spaces and commemorative formats in a temporal context that begins almost three decades after the death of Gayarre, there are good reasons to pair the two chapters. Not only did the Lemonier monument attract a degree of critical attention unrivalled, in Spanish funerary sculpture, since the creation of the Gayarre tomb, but early twentieth-century critics explicitly defined Julio Antonio against Benlliure. Following a Romantic trope, the younger sculptor was frequently posited as the invigorating antidote to the stagnant official artistic establishment that Benlliure was felt, by a new generation of critics and intellectuals, to represent.[232] The friction between the two sculptors[233] became part of the posthumous image of Julio Antonio as a bohemian

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[230] Jane Gallop, *The Deaths of the Author: Reading and Writing in Time* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 29.

[231] Jacques Derrida, *The Work of Mourning*, ed. and intr. by Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

[232] Eugenio Noel, "Vencer Después de Morir: Ante una Obra de Julio Antonio," *Esfera*, March 18, 1922, 7; "Una Obra Maestra de Julio Antonio," *España*, Jan 30, 1919, 10-11. On Julio Antonio's critics, friends, and intelectual circle, see Antonio Salcedo, Carmen Fernández and Lucía García de Carpi, *Julio Antonio. Obras de la Colección* (Museo Camón Aznar Ibercaja and Museo Reina Sofía, 2001), 21-26 and 39-57.

[233] On the tension between Julio Antonio and Benlliure, see Ramón Pérez de Ayala, "Julio Antonio. Una Vida Trágica," *Prensa* (Buenos Aires), June 16, 1919, reproduced in Ramón Pérez de Ayala, *Ramón Pérez de Ayala y las Artes Plásticas: Escritos sobre Arte de Ramón Pérez de Ayala*, compiled by Florencio Friera and José Tomás (Granada: Fundación Rodríguez-Acosta, 1991), 180-81; Sefa Figuerola i Domènech, "Aproximació Bibliogràfica a l'Obra de Miquel Viladrich," in *Julio Antonio Escultor (1889-1919): Actes del Col·loqui sobre Julio Antonio*, ed. Oteo, Ricomà and Salcedo, 115-16; Chus Tudelilla, "Imágenes sin Tiempo," in *Viladrich: Primitivo y Perdurable*, ed. Concha Lomba and Chus Tudelilla (Fraga: Ayuntamiento de Fraga, 2007), 112-15.

artist unjustly ignored by the Establishment, and unfettered by convention; someone who sought inspiration in the Spanish tradition by turning his back on contemporary Italian models, and thereby became the short-lived saviour of the national school of sculpture.[234] By dismissing the sculptures of "Establishment" artists as "bibelots," "cake" or "confectionary," or claiming they had "the fragility of meringue," Julio Antonio and his supporters helped to fix the idea of virtuoso Italian-inspired sculpture as superficial, bourgeois, ephemeral, brittle, over-sweet and effeminate.[235] Benlliure's recently-completed sculptural group for the tomb of the Duke and Duchess of Denia (1903-14) (figs. 2.5-2.6), which took the vertical apotheosis of the Gayarre tomb to dizzying new heights but attracted a far more muted response, doubtlessly exemplified the kind of sculpture which Julio Antonio was credited with fighting against.

DEATH AND MEMORIAL LIKENESSES OF JULIO ANTONIO

This chapter begins with the death of the sculptor on 15 February 1919. Aged barely 30, Julio Antonio passed away at the Villa Luz Sanatorium in Madrid, where his doctor and friend, Gregorio Marañón, had sent him following a period treating his laryngeal tuberculosis.[236] As with Gayarre, the sense that he had died prematurely, in his artistic prime – and from a similarly "spiritual" illness[237] – fuelled a wave of press articles and commemorative poems through which the sculptor was instantly mythologized. The public craze for the recently-closed Lemonier sculpture exhibition was also instrumental in this fervid response to his death, as we shall see later. The reaction is a surprising one, however, if we take at face value the claim of his friend and supporter, the critic Ramón Pérez de Ayala, that Julio Antonio had been "known, loved and revered only by a small group of friends" just two months earlier.[238] Journalists reported in detail on his wake and burial in Madrid's Almudena cemetery, which drew prominent members of high society, the art world, and the political establishment, including Benlliure – in his capacity as

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[234] Eugenio Noel, "Vencer Después de Morir: Ante una Obra de Julio Antonio," *Esfera*, March 18, 1922, 7; Pérez de Ayala, "Julio Antonio. Una Vida Trágica;" "Una Obra Maestra de Julio Antonio," *España*, 10-11.

[235] Letter from Julio Antonio to his parents, cited in Eduardo Quesada, "Ramón Pérez de Ayala y las Artes Plásticas," in Pérez de Ayala, *Ramón Pérez de Ayala y las Artes Plásticas,* 42 ("bibelots"); José Francés, "En Memoria de Agustín Querol," *Academia* 10 (1960): 19 ("tartas"); Julián Lozano, "Julio Antonio, Mi Maestro," *Goya* 209 (1989): 264 ("repostería); Rafael Santos, *Julio Antonio, 1889-1919* (Madrid: MEAC, 1970), 11-12 ("la fragilidad de meringue").

[236] Salcedo, *Julio Antonio Escultor 1889-1919*, 167; Pérez de Ayala, "Julio Antonio. Una Vida Trágica."

[237] Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor,* 17-18.

[238] Ramón Pérez de Ayala, "La Última Obra de Julio Antonio," *Arte Español* (first trimester, 1919): 233. "Conocido, amado y reverenciado sólo de un escaso grupo de amigos."

Spain's Director General of Fine Arts – as well as Alberto Lemonier's parents.[239] The Viscount of Eza stepped in to pay for the funeral,[240] while Dr. Marañón financed the modest tomb.[241]

This initial commemorative fervour had an unusually strong visual component centred on reproducing and disseminating the appearance of the sculptor's face, as it looked in the moments after death; owing, perhaps, to the fact that he was surrounded in death, as in life, by artist friends and acquaintances. The day after Julio Antonio's demise, newspaper *El Sol* published two sketches, by painter Daniel Vázquez Díaz, which captured with raw immediacy the unkempt face of the dead man, his unshaven jaw hanging slightly open (fig. 2.7). One of these was re-worked in charcoal to soften the features in time for its publication, two weeks later, in *La Esfera* (fig. 2.8). A more expressionistic deathbed drawing, by Basque artist Juan de Echevarría Zuricalday, occupied the front page of the periodical *España* on 20 February (fig. 2.9). Echevarría's use of curved lines, hatching and cross-hatching gave a powerfully organic quality to the cadaveric head, which seems to emerge, like a rocky outcrop covered with sparse vegetation, from the "sea" of bed sheets; potentially evoking Golgotha (Calvary), the skull-shaped mount on which Christ was crucified. At the same time, the head looks sculptural, the features chiselled from stone or carved from wood. The sculptor's junior apprentice, Julián Lozano, also took a death mask (fig. 2.10), and multiple copies were distributed among the artist's friends.[242]

Diverse proposals soon began to circulate for a more permanent, sculptural memorial to the sculptor, most of which included a likeness of the dead man.[243] Two of these came to fruition: a public monument (now lost) and a funerary one. The former project was coordinated by a group of the sculptor's supporters, who opened a public subscription to finance a bronze portrait bust on a black granite plinth, to be executed by Julio Antonio's principal assistant and close friend, Enrique Lorenzo Salazar (fig. 2.11).[244] Doubtless mindful that some of the proposals would not have been to the sculptor's taste,[245] the

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[239] "Entierro del Escultor Julio Antonio," *Imparcial*, Feb 17, 1919, 2; "La Muerte de Julio Antonio: Su Entierro," *Liberal* (Madrid), Feb 17, 1919, 3; Salcedo, *Julio Antonio Escultor 1889*-1919, 167.

[240] Salcedo, *Julio Antonio Escultor 1889-1919*, 167.

[241] Lozano, "Julio Antonio," 265.

[242] Lozano, "Julio Antonio," 265.

[243] Juan de la Encina, "Julio Antonio," *España*, Feb 20, 1919, 6; "Entierro del Escultor Julio Antonio," *Imparcial*, 2; "La Muerte de Julio Antonio: Su Entierro," *Liberal*, 3.

[244] Correa, "Artistas Españoles: Enrique Lorenzo Salazar," *Ilustración Española y Americana*, June 30, 1920, 362-63; "Un Homenaje. Inauguración del Busto de Julio Antonio," *Voz*, May 25, 1921, 4.

[245] This concern was raised in Encina, "Julio Antonio," 6.

organisers intended this sculptural homage to encompass not only subject-matter – Julio Antonio's portrait – but also style or format, since they stipulated that Lorenzo was to base it on "the model which Julio Antonio designed himself for the bust which was going to be dedicated to Goya in Fuendetodos" (fig. 2.12).[246] The decision also implied the artistic alignment of Julio Antonio with the epitome of the unconventional Spanish artistic genius.

The result was a youthful, heroic head of "perfect and simple serenity and [...] intense spiritual force,"[247] which harmonised rather better with the pronounced pectoral muscles of the torso than Goya's tortured head did with his own nude torso in the model by Julio Antonio (compare figs. 2.11 and 2.12). In May 1921, the monument was erected in the gardens of Spain's National Library, next to the entrance to the premises occupied by the Sociedad Española de Amigos del Arte (a private art society), and inaugurated by the King himself.[248] The symbolic significance of this location in terms of the artist's career will become clear later. From the fact of its creation to its privileged location and royal patronage, the monument was an exceptional way of honouring a contemporary sculptor in Restoration Spain; and is testament to the extent to which Julio Antonio became, to adopt the expression used by María Gómez and Fernando García, who have reviewed the phenomenon, "the beloved of the critics" following his death.[249]

The second sculptural memorial object, the marble head carved for Julio Antonio's tomb, perhaps unsurprisingly, did not receive comparable attention. The suggestion that the death mask should be used as a basis for a funerary sculpture[250] was not adopted, and, instead, Lozano took up a life-size, high-relief plaster head which had remained in the dead sculptor's studio (fig. 2.13), and transposed it into a marble block.[251] The current funerary object emerges from the stone in the Michelangel-esque manner revived by Rodin, which was still in vogue in Spain during this period (figs. 2.14-2.15). When reminiscing, in 1989, about his time as a studio apprentice, Lozano did not recall the

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[246] "Por Julio Antonio," *ABC*, Feb 27, 1919, 17. "La maqueta que el propio Julio Antonio compuso para el busto que se iba a dedicar a Goya en Fuendetodos." Following Julio Antonio's death, Lorenzo finished the Goya monument, which was inaugurated on 19 October 1920. See Correa, "Artistas Españoles," 362; Lucía Elena García de Carpi, *Julio Antonio. Monumentos y Proyectos* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1985), 14.

[247] Correa, "Artistas Españoles," 363. "Una perfecta y sencilla serenidad y […] intensa fuerza espiritual."

[248] "Un Homenaje," *Voz*, 4.

[249] María Victoria Gómez and Fernando García, "Documentación y Análisis de las Críticas de Arte sobre el Escultor Julio Antonio 'El Amado de la Crítica,'" *Documentación de las Ciencias de la Información*, 27 (2004), 75-96.

[250] "Entierro del Escultor Julio Antonio," *Imparcial*, 2.

[251] Lozano, "Julio Antonio," 259 and 265.

original plaster as a self-portrait by Julio Antonio, but it is currently catalogued as such by the MAMT,[252] undoubtedly based on comments which the sculptor's sister made to art historian Rafael Santos, who proposed a plausible date of 1909.[253]

Self-portraits, as Le Normand-Romain has pointed out in her extensive study of French artists' tombs during this period, served a double purpose on a sculptor's grave, both fixing the likeness of the deceased, and simultaneously evoking his or her talent[254] (we have seen a similar duality of intention behind the public monument to Julio Antonio). Yet upon close scrutiny, the head on Julio Antonio's tomb only seems to fit a loose concept of self-portraiture. The sculptor's cleft chin and angular jaw may be seen echoed in the object, but the lips are plumper and more sensual, and the hair curlier and wilder than in a comparable photographic portrait (fig. 2.16). The head is at once energetic and melancholic; a projection, perhaps, of the sculptor's romantic self-image as an artistic rebel, which is reflected in letters which he wrote around this time.[255] It was probably in response to this ideal character that the little-known plaster was previously catalogued as a "studio head."[256]

The identity of the head is further complicated by its kinship with the face of the injured classical hero in Julio Antonio's *Monument to the Heroes of Tarragona* (begun in 1911), which drew inspiration from Michelangelo's *Palestrina Pietà* (*ca.* 1555) and *Bandini Pietà* (1547-55), and which he worked up separately in a bust (figs. 2.17-2.18). This was the same sculpted hero whose right hand was based directly on a life cast of the sculptor's own hand, a bronze version of which Pérez de Ayala was later to keep on his desk as the artistic "relic" of a genius (fig. 2.19).[257] It is worth underlining, at this point, that the choice of the classical-sounding "Julio Antonio" as an artistic name linked the sculptor both to Michelangelo, and to the emperor-heroes of ancient Rome.[258] The tomb head – or more

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[252] "Les Col·leccions," Museu D'Art Modern Tarragona, accessed Aug 8, 2017, http://sae.altanet.org/houmuni/web/mamt/mamt/coleccions.php.

[253] Santos, *Julio Antonio, 1889-1919*, 38.

[254] Antoinette Le Normand-Romain, "Tombeaux d'Artistes," *Revue de l'Art* 74 (1986): 56.

[255] See, for example, the letter to his parents from *ca.* 1909-10, partly reproduced in Quesada, "Ramón Pérez de Ayala y las Artes Plásticas," 42.

[256] Santos, *Julio Antonio, 1889-1919*, 38.

[257] Ramón Pérez de Ayala, "La Mano de Julio Antonio," *Prensa* (Buenos Aires), Jan 29, 1922, reproduced in Pérez de Ayala, *Ramón Pérez de Ayala y las Artes Plásticas,* 210-11. For more on the popularity of artists' cast hands, see Edouard Papet, "À Fleur de Peau: Le Moulage sur Nature au XIXe Siècle," in *À Fleur de Peau: Le Moulage sur Nature au XIXe Siècle*, by Edouard Papet et al. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2001), 25-26. Figure 2.19 is not Pérez de Ayala's copy but a cast in the MAMT collection.

[258] According to Pérez de Ayala, Benlliure would draw attention to Julio Antonio's classical pretensions by pretending to forget the sculptor's name and referring to him as "Marco Antonio" or "Julio César." See Pérez de Ayala, "Julio Antonio. Una Vida Trágica."

precisely, the plaster original – thus introduces us to certain sculptural practices which will prove relevant when addressing autobiographical readings of the Lemonier tomb later in this chapter: Julio Antonio's corporeal self-inclusion; and the layering of the identities of sculptor, sculptor-hero, and sculpted hero in his work and artistic self-image.

SCULPTORS MEMORIALISING SCULPTORS

The unremarkable appearance of Julio Antonio's tomb, situated among hundreds of plots of identical size and very similar format, with only a small-scale sculptural component, was not out of the ordinary among Spanish sculptors' tombs. As the funerary memorialisation of artists in Spain has yet to be researched, Le Normand-Romain's aforementioned article provides a useful point of departure, particularly when distinguishing between posthumous tombs erected in homage to artists, which commonly had the artist's genius as their theme; and tombs erected by artists, to their families, in their own lifetimes, which generally had a more "traditional" focus, such as hope or sorrow.[259] What the French art historian did not address, however, was the proportion of artists who were actually buried in "artistic" tombs, the only ones covered in her article. In Spain, this proportion was relatively small; and sculptors' tombs were almost never of a quality, magnitude or economic value to rival the funerary monuments they sculpted for others.

A telling reflection of the general social position of Spanish sculptors was the fact that sculptors were called upon to memorialise the nation's "great men" but were not themselves commemorated among them, as a brief glance at Madrid's three "Pantheons of Illustrious Men" reveals. Bellver's allegory of Fame, encountered in Chapter One (fig. 1.26), topped the collective tomb of a painter (Goya), a philosopher, and two poets, which was erected in the Sacramental de San Isidro cemetery in 1885. The best sculptors of the day, including Benlliure and Agustín Querol, were called upon to create large-scale funerary monuments for the military personalities and national politicians to whom an entire burial complex was dedicated next to the Atocha Basilica, and which was the most ambitious of the three projects.[260] Finally, in spite of its name, the Panteón de Hombres Ilustres de la Asociación de Escritores y Artistas Españoles (1902)[261] apparently only

[259] Le Normand-Romain, "Tombeaux d'Artistes," 56.

[260] For more on this project, see Boyd, "Un Lugar de Memoria Olvidado;" Luis Miguel Aparisi, "Panteón de Hombres Ilustres," *Madrid Histórico* (Jan-Feb 2011): 18-25; Francisco Portela, "Ayer y Hoy en el Panteón de Hombres Ilustres: Excelente Proyecto Inacabado," *Ilustración de Madrid* 19 (2011): 51-56.

[261] On this project, see Manuel Vega, "Arte Funerario," *Arquitectura y Construcción*, Nov 11, 1902, 316-17; "Variedades," *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, June, 1902, 503; Antonio Porpetta, *Escritores y Artistas*

counted one artist, the painter Eduardo Rosales, and no sculptors, among its thirteen dead.[262] Yet it originally had a significant sculptural component, which consisted of allegorical marble figures representing the dual emotions of grief and hope, by Querol (now lost); and portrait medallions by Aniceto Marinas, Elías Martín, and Miguel Ángel Trilles (fig. 2.20). As there appear to have been no public subscriptions to finance sculptors' tombs during the period, this left the purchase of grave plots, and the erection of cemetery monuments, in the private hands of sculptors themselves, or their families and friends.

Julio Antonio's posthumous funerary memorialisation can be usefully contextualised by briefly considering some of these private endeavours. Let us begin with Querol, whom we have already encountered twice in this chapter, and who was a very successful sculptor when he died unexpectedly in 1909. The discrepancy between the extreme plainness of his "forgotten" tomb – an unadorned stone slab, featuring only the deceased's name and the dates of birth and death – and his monuments, which included the celebrated funerary memorial to the assassinated Prime Minister, Antonio Cánovas del Castillo (fig. 2.21), in Atocha's Panteón de Hombres Ilustres, was keenly felt by journalist Aemece, who sought comfort in the familiar trope of artistic immortality to "resolve" it:

> The glory of Querol is proclaimed in Spain and in America by his monumental creations. The presence of his mortal remains in the cemetery are proclaimed by a stone which exposure to the elements has blackened and which ivy has almost covered. What does it matter that the climbing plant tries to erase the name of Querol, if it is to be found sculpted in the bronzes of immortality![263]

The dead Querol had, in fact, been briefly honoured with a sculptural memorial of sorts: the ephemeral arrangement set up, around his corpse, in the studio of his Madrid home, which had been converted into his *capilla ardiente* (fig. 2.22).[264] The term refers both to the

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Españoles (Historia de una Asociación Centenaria) (Madrid: Asociación de Escritores y Artistas Españoles, 1986), 161-68.

[262] Porpetta, *Escritores y Artistas Españoles*, 168.

[263] Aemece, "Muertos Ilustres del Siglo XX," *Blanco y Negro*, Nov 1, 1914, 12. "La gloria de Querol la proclaman en España y en América sus creaciones monumentales. La presencia de sus restos mortales en el cementerio la proclama una piedra que la intemperie ha ennegrecido y la hiedra casi ha cubierto. ¡Qué importa que la trepadora planta intente borrar el nombre de Querol, si se halla esculpido en los bronces de la inmortalidad!" For a photograph of the tomb, see Juan Antonio Pino, *Ilustres en el Recuerdo* (Madrid: Fundación Sacramental de San Justo, 2000), 206.

[264] "El Insigne Escultor Agustín Querol," *Actualidades*, Dec 22, 1909, 6-7; "El Entierro de Don Agustin Querol," *Nuevo Mundo*, Dec 23, 1909, n.p.

room in which the body of the deceased is laid out before the funeral, and to the wake which takes place inside it. The press of the day published photographs which showed the open coffin surrounded by a profusion of flowers and a selection of the sculptor's works, including the prizewinning group entitled *Tradition* (*ca.* 1887); a bust of St. Francis of Assisi (*ca.* 1892-95); and, placed appropriately beside the corpse's head, the quintessential Catholic mourner: the *Virgin of Sorrows* (*ca.* 1884). Positioned to face the coffin, where they were presumably joined by real, living mourners, the sculptures appeared to be mourning the creator who had, Pygmalion-like, brought them into being, and was now lying dead. Captured in black and white photography, the clasped hands of the corpse are as white as the marble or plaster of the surrounding sculptures, and more apparently inanimate, a point to which I return later. The arrangement celebrated Querol as a sculptor; and the dead artist effectively reigned supreme for its short duration, since there was no second author to compete with.

While Chapter One examined the conflicting, or coexisting, claims of immortality of the deceased singer and the artist who created his funerary monument, the issue now at hand, of sculptor's tombs sculpted by sculptors, raised the competitive stakes between the commemorated and the commemorator, since their "genius" manifested itself in the same field. In the eulogies and other public commemorative texts collated in his *Work of Mourning*, Derrida addressed the comparable ethical challenge involved in writing about dead writers who had been his friends. Acutely conscious that he was open to accusations of using the death of another to his own advantage, and of becoming "indecent" by making the commemoration about himself, Derrida asked:

> Are we going to make the dead our ally ('the dead with me'), to take him by our side, or even inside ourselves, to show off some secret contract, to finish him off by exalting him [...]?[265]

These questions are worth thinking about when examining how Julio Antonio's recent predecessors had memorialised their peers. The relatively simple tomb of Jerónimo Suñol Pujol, featuring a portrait medallion surrounded by the tools of the sculptor's trade, was carved by his former apprentice, Juan Vancell Puigcercós, whose discrete signature is only visible at close range (fig. 2.23). Derrida's concerns about making the dead person one's "ally" spring immediately to mind, however, when examining the economical tomb of Rosendo Nobas Ballbé, whose funerary production is the focus of Chapter Three. The

[265] Derrida, *The Work of Mourning*, 50.

Catalan sculptor was interred in the highest – and almost certainly cheapest[266] – row of a block of *nichos* in Barcelona's Poblenou cemetery; apparently supporting Josep Masriera's assertion, in a memorial article penned immediately after his death in 1891, that Nobas had been of comparatively modest means, but rich in friends.[267] A terracotta relief was only added some twelve years later (figs. 2.24-2.25). The relief consisted of Nobas' portrait, in profile, surrounded by a laurel wreath, and a prominent inscription that read "To the celebrated sculptor Rosendo Nobas / Memento by his friend Miquel Tusquellas,"[268] which rendered unnecessary the signature which Tusquellas also included at the bottom right of the plaque. One cannot help questioning the motivations of this minor artist when claiming the friendship of a far more successful and talented sculptor, in what we might consider an exclusive, potentially exploitative, appropriation of the dead Nobas.

One strategy used by Derrida to avoid the theoretical "finishing off" of his already deceased friends was to quote them extensively, thereby giving the dead the opportunity to "speak for themselves."[269] From an anthropological perspective, it has been argued that "many of the cultural systems concerned with death are in fact constructed to give a voice to the silenced dead."[270] Sculptural equivalents of Derrida's practice of citation can be found in French and British tombs featuring reproductions of sculptures by dead artists – for example, the tombs of James Pradier (executed by Eugène Guillaume and others, *ca.* 1852),[271] Alexandre Falguière (by Laurent Marqueste, *ca.* 1900),[272] and Frederic Leighton (by Thomas Brock, 1902) – but I have yet to find Spanish funerary examples in this vein.

Whereas "personalisation" is a more accurate term than "citation" to describe Benlliure's inclusion of sculptural reliefs alluding to the operas in which Gayarre had performed,[273] Lozano's rendition of Julio Antonio's head in marble, for his tomb (figs. 2.14), seems to

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[266] A catalogue of tomb types in Montjuïc cemetery listed the highest niches as the cheapest, probably because they were the least accessible. *Cementerio del Sud-Oeste de Barcelona*, n.p.

[267] Josep Masriera, "Rossendo Nobas," *L'Avenç,* Feb 28, 1891, 43.

[268] "Al celebrat escultor Rosendo Nobas / Recort de son amich Miquel Tusquellas."

[269] Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas, introduction to *The Work of Mourning*, by Jacques Derrida (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 23-28.

[270] Sarah Webster Goodwin and Elisabeth Bronfen, introduction to *Death and Representation*, ed. Goodwin and Bronfen (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1993), 6.

[271] Le Normand-Romain, "Tombeaux d'Artistes," 55-57 and 63.

[272] Claire Barbillon, "Les Citations d'Œuvres Peintes ou Sculptées dans les Bas-Reliefs au XIXe Siècle: Une Sculpture Historiographique?" in *Copia e Invención* (Valladolid: Museo Nacional de Escultura, 2013), 382-84.

[273] Benlliure did adopt citation, however, in his public monument to Goya (1902), now outside the Museo del Prado in Madrid.

respond to the impulse of giving the dead creator a voice. However, the tomb head goes beyond citation, since this second "author" respectfully rendered himself invisible by leaving no identifiable trace of himself on the cemetery object. Indeed, it is clear from Lozano's retrospective article that he did not consider the act of transferring Julio Antonio's plaster into marble to be a creative act on his part, any more than he did the taking (the verb is revealing in itself) of his death mask.[274] Yet this article benefitted from the reflected fame of the dead, since the act of writing under the title "Julio Antonio, My Teacher" gave Lozano the opportunity to publish images of his own mediocre artistic production in a respected art historical journal.[275]

These particular ethics of memorialisation, the problems of making someone else's commemoration about oneself, did not trouble the art critics and journalists whose pens sprang into action at Julio Antonio's demise. The remainder of this chapter focuses upon the object with which we began; re-constructing and critically analysing the process by which the tomb of Alberto Lemonier became, in the eyes of the critics, another memorial object for its dead author, without ever accompanying the corpse of either male.

THE LEMONIER-DE LA PORTILLA TOMB COMMISSION

As Lucía García de Carpi has explained, Julio Antonio's connections with the family of Lemonier began when he was commissioned to produce a public monument to commemorate the boy's maternal uncle, Braulio de la Portilla Sancho, a young military "hero" who died in action in one of Spain's colonial battles in North Africa, in 1909.[276] Unveiled in Madrid's Parque del Oeste in 1913,[277] the monument consisted of a portrait bust, the nude torso sporting a military cross, raised on a tall plinth adorned with stylised garlands (figs. 2.26-2.27). This representation of youthful heroism prefigured, in format and decoration, the public monument to Julio Antonio with which we are already familiar; and which has more traditionally been associated with the Goya monument.

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[274] Lozano, "Julio Antonio," 265.

[275] Lozano, "Julio Antonio, Mi Maestro." This followed another article in the same journal, penned by Francisco Oliván, but based almost entirely on correspondence with Lozano, whose title translates as "The Sculptor Julián Lozano, Favourite Disciple of Julio Antonio." Francisco Oliván, "El Escultor Julián Lozano, Discípulo Preferido de Julio Antonio," *Goya* 199-200 (1987): 58-61.

[276] García de Carpi, *Julio Antonio. Monumentos y Proyectos,* 10-11; Ricomà et al., *Bronze Nu*, 120. For a military biography of the dead man, see Antonio García, *Braulio de la Portilla Sancho: Muerto por su Patria y por su Rey el 27 de Julio de 1909 (Melilla)* (Toledo: Viuda é Hijos de J. Peláez, 1911). For more on the colonial context, see Susan Martin-Márquez, *Disorientations: Spanish Colonialism in Africa and the Performance of Identity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008).

[277] "Los Héroes. El Capitán La Portilla," *Heraldo de Madrid*, Dec 14, 1913, 2-3; "Inauguración. Monumento al Teniente La Portilla," *ABC*, Dec 15, 1913, 9. The monument has since disappeared.

When Braulio's sister Teresa suffered another tragic loss of a young male, her son Alberto, she and her half-French husband, Alfredo Lemonier, turned to the same sculptor for the creation of a funerary monument. The couple were wealthy, well-connected members of Madrid's bourgeoisie, who were living in the capital's elegant, newly urbanised expansion district known as the Barrio de Salamanca, in 1917; the year in which the first references to the memorialisation of the dead Alberto appeared in the press.[278] *La Época* revealed that, in her son's memory, Teresa had made an economic contribution to the *Monumento al Sagrado Corazón*, a colossal project dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and featuring sculptures by Marinas.[279] *El Día*, meanwhile, published a photograph showing a detail of the preparatory plaster version of the female mourning figure of the funerary monument, which was identified as a representation of the devoted mother in a caption that read: "fragment of the statue of Ms. María Teresa de Lemonier [sic], at prayer, modelled by the sculptor Julio Antonio for a *panteón*" (fig. 2.28).[280]

According to García de Carpi, Julio Antonio had begun work on the tomb monument the year before, 1916, when he modelled a plaster mask of the dead boy based on photographs provided by the family (fig. 2.29).[281] This would account for the open eyes and low level of detail, which suggest that the object is not, in spite of its format, a death mask. Drawing on second-hand information from a descendent of the family, García de Carpi implied that the sculptor did not get to see Alberto's corpse, claiming that an older brother posed for the recumbent figure.[282] The assertion appears to fit chronologically with her claim that Alberto was eleven years old when he died, but it is incompatible with Lozano's version of events. If, as Lozano recalled,[283] Alberto died at the age of thirteen, it is more likely that he was the couple's first child, given that they married in March 1902

[278] Teresa de la Portilla Sancho was the daughter of army general Leoncio de la Portilla, whose sister was married to prominent politician Andrés Mellado. Alfredo Lemonier was a lawyer and businessman whose French engineer father, Leopoldo Lemonier, had achieved success in Andalusia. Their betrothal and marriage, in March 1902, were featured in the society pages of the Madrid press. *Le Tout Madrid: Anuario de la Aristocracia*, Madrid, 1917, 158; Monte-Cristo, "Ecos de Sociedad," *Imparcial*, March 6, 1902, 3; "Noticias de Sociedad," *Época*, April 1, 1902, 2; "Audiencia de Madrid," *Boletín Oficial de la Provincia de Madrid*, Jan 31, 1917, 2; Manuel Delgado and Juan Manuel Cano, "El Agua como Motor en la Industria," *Anales de Arqueología Cordobesa* 21-22 (2010-11): 267-68.

[279] "El Monumento al Sagrado Corazón," *Época*, May 19, 1917, 3.

[280] "Fragmento de la estatua orante de doña María Teresa de Lemonier, modelada por el escultor Julio Antonio para un panteón," *Día*, March 6, 1917, 6.

[281] García de Carpi, *Julio Antonio. Monumentos y Proyectos,* 15-16.

[282] García de Carpi, *Julio Antonio. Monumentos y Proyectos,* 15-16; García de Carpi, "Luces y Sombras de una Actuación," in *Julio Antonio. Obras de la Colección*, 72. The information cannot have come from Teresa, as was implied, since she died in 1947. See Death notice of Teresa de la Portilla Sancho, *ABC*, Feb 20, 1947, 23.

[283] García de Carpi, *Julio Antonio. Monumentos y Proyectos,* 15; Lozano, "Julio Antonio," 264.

and that he was dead by May 1917. The significance of the uncertainties regarding Alberto's age will become relevant presently.

GRIEVING MOTHERS AND DEAD SONS

When the funerary monument was completed, in 1918, it united the mother figure, cast in bronze, with the representation of the carved marble corpse of her dead son (figs. 2.1-2.4). The pyramidal verticality which characterised the Gayarre tomb re-appears, but without any Italianate undercutting, in the solid shape of the kneeling Teresa de la Portilla. The figure's parted lips, slightly outstretched arms, and heaven-facing palms and eyes combine to express an emotional struggle, in which Christian hope and acceptance conquer the mother's sense of despair at her loss. Death, or death in the guise of sleep, takes the horizontal form of the boy's semi-shrouded corpse. Critics at the time objected to the disjunction between the two figures,[284] yet the juxtaposition of bronze and marble, as well as being broadly fashionable in the period, seems calculated to symbolically reflect the chasm which has sprung up between mother and child, the abrupt shift from life to death. Delicately-carved white marble evocatively conveys the coldness of the corpse and the innocence, purity and fragility of youth; while bronze, encrusted with coloured glass, is fittingly used for the living woman, who is sumptuously-dressed in the rich earthly trappings which her son, nude under his thin shroud, has left behind.[285] The blanket beneath the boy's body, and the mass of roses under his head and torso, were carved from the same marble block, but were initially painted in metallic tones,[286] which would have slightly softened the join between the two figures, while making the whiteness of the corpse stand out further (figs. 2.1-2.3 and 2.30).

The combination of grieving mother and dead son established an overt religious parallel with the *Pietà*, the artistic representation of the Virgin holding Christ's dead body in her arms or lap. By this period, the *Pietà* had become a relatively common iconographical theme in Catholic cemeteries, particularly in Spain, where the cult of the Virgin of Sorrows was especially strong. We have seen how Querol's sculpted *Virgin of Sorrows* presided over his own *capilla ardiente* (fig. 2.22), and Chapter Five of this thesis examines a cemetery monument that adopted the subject in 1907. While, as Bermejo has noted, the funerary appropriateness of the *Pietà* lay in the fact that "it generically symbolises sorrow

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[284] See, for example, A. Ballesteros, "El Grupo Funerario de Julio Antonio," *Cervantes*, Feb 1919, 103-04.

[285] According to Garcia de Carpi, the female figure was originally meant to look richer still, with gold leaf on her hair. García de Carpi, *Julio Antonio. Monumentos y Proyectos,* 16.

[286] A photograph taken before the paint started flaking appears in Salcedo, *Julio Antonio Escultor 1889-1919*, 163.

upon the death of a loved one,"[287] it was a personalised comparison between religious characters and earthly ones that Julio Antonio presented in the Lemonier monument. Critic Antonio Ballesteros expressed his disappointment that the sculptor had resorted to an "easy Catholic simile, which has been used and abused until it has become a greasy and vulgar cliché."[288]

Yet the religious parallel, though obvious, was neither straightforward nor exclusive. The monument's stylistic and thematic syncretism was widely noted by critics, who saw in it elements drawn from Castillian, Roman, Greek, renaissance, baroque, Byzantine and "oriental" traditions and styles.[289] Recent Italian influences were not included in this mix. Indeed, as we have seen, Julio Antonio was explicitly praised for rejecting Italian models in favour of "Spanishness," and it was the supposed "national" character of his work which dominated the early historiography of the artist, as Carolyn Boyd has perceptively analysed.[290] However, scholars have hitherto failed to note the visual similarities between an undated funerary *Pietà* in Milan's Monumental Cemetery (fig. 2.31) and Julio Antonio's small-scale bronze model showing the intended appearance of the completed Lemonier tomb (fig. 2.32), particularly in terms of the formal arrangement of the figures on a loosely crucifix-shaped base. It remains unclear whether the connection between the two works is the result of coincidence, of reliance on an unidentified shared source, or of direct influence in one direction or the other.

The critics' allusions to Byzantine and oriental elements were prompted by the female figure's peculiar costume: a thick, furry skirt, and a mantle reminiscent of the Virgin in its form, but not in its profuse decoration with bejewelled, swirling plant motifs (figs. 2.3-2.4).[291] The result of this syncretism is neither biblical nor contemporary, creating a sense that the characters are suspended in time. While Italian cemetery sculpture attracted moral disapproval for its manner of minutely mimicking, in stone, the "materialistic" finery of the costume and accessories of its bourgeois owners, Julio Antonio's adoption of

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[287] Bermejo, *Arte y Arquitectura Funeraria,* 239. "Simboliza genéricamente el dolor por la muerte de un ser querido."

[288] Ballesteros, "El Grupo Funerario de Julio Antonio," 103. "Fácil símil católico, del que han usado y abusado, hasta convertirlo en grasiento y vulgar lugar común."

[289] "Una Obra Maestra de Julio Antonio," *España*, 10; Ángel Vegue, "Julio Antonio y el Renacimiento de la Escultura Española," *Imparcial*, Jan 27, 1919, 2.

[290] Carolyn P. Boyd, "Julio Antonio, the 'Sculptor of the Race': The Making of a Modernist Myth," *Historia y Política* 37 (2017): 395-413. As Boyd notes, it is only in the last few decades that his Catalan identity has been emphasized.

[291] For more on the Byzantine revival in architecture and painting, see J.B. Bullen, *Byzantium Rediscovered* (London: Phaidon, 2003).

a neo-Byzantine aesthetic made it highly unlikely that the sculpted Teresa's jewels would be interpreted in the same censorious manner.[292] In this respect, it is also significant that the sculptor veered away from the specificity of portraiture, apparently deforming the nose of the sculpted Teresa to make the bridge more pronounced and "more sculptural," to the sitter's initial displeasure.[293] Indeed, critics at the time, for reasons I address presently, steered clear of comparing the sculpted figure with the real mother, instead focusing their energies on assessing the talent of the sculptor.

The marble male figure (figs. 2.3 and 2.30) similarly resisted being read in terms of a simple Lemonier-Christ parallel. The body is Christ-like in the context of the overall composition, and in its horizontal, semi-veiled nudity, but it has an uninjured perfection and youth that set it apart from the dead Jesus. Yet the marble male is not entirely plausible as an eleven- or thirteen-year-old boy, either. The head is poignantly childlike, the skin of the torso is stretched tightly over the protruding ribcage and collarbones to suggest the body of a growing boy, but the muscular arms and shoulders seem to belong to an older man. Without even considering how the real dead Alberto may have looked, critic Francisco de Alcántara observed that the hands were older than the face, and the hips too narrow for the torso.[294] Responding to this "in-between" character, it was consistently assumed, prior to García de Carpi and Lozano's publications in the 1980s, that Alberto had died in adolescence;[295] a stage of life which had recently been theorized by psychologist G. Stanley Hall, who associated it with the age range of 14-24.[296] The adolescent body had also preoccupied British sculptor Edward Onslow Ford a few years earlier, as Jason Edwards has explored.[297]

Adding a classical dimension, which was highly appropriate given Julio Antonio's interest in archaic classical sculpture (in fashion across Europe at this time), various

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[292] Interestingly, on the occasion of Teresa's marriage, the society pages of the Madrid press had lavished detailed attention on the sumptuous jewels she received as gifts. See Monte-Cristo, "Ecos de Sociedad," 3.

[293] García de Carpi, *Julio Antonio. Monumentos y Proyectos*, 16. "Más escultórico."

[294] Francisco Alcántara, "En el Salón de los Amigos del Arte. Un Grupo Escultórico de Julio Antonio," *Sol*, Jan 28, 1919, 2.

[295] José Francés [Silvio Lago, pseud.], "Un Suceso Artístico: La Estatua Yacente de Lemonier," *Esfera*, Feb 15, 1919, 13; Tomás Borras, "Perdurado. El Arte de Julio Antonio," *Voz*, May 30, 1921, 1; Santos, *Julio Antonio, 1889-1919*, 47-48.

[296] G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence (*New York: D. Appleton, 1904).

[297] Jason Edwards, "The Adolescent Female Body," in *In Focus: The Singer Exhibited 1889 and Applause 1893 by Edward Onslow Ford*, ed. Jason Edwards (Tate Research Publication, 2015), accessed June 12, 2018, http://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/in-focus/the-singer-and-applause-edward-onslow-ford/the-adolescent-female-body.

commentators invoked a third dead male: Adonis, the beautiful dead youth of Greek mythology.[298]

DEATH AS SLEEP, DEATH AS SCULPTURE

In the context of the myth of Adonis' rebirth, one critic questioned whether the marble male was even dead, asking: "Is he not, rather, suffering a dream of sleep, a lethargy, which does not tolerate decomposition, which can be resolved in a new flowering of life?"[299] The metaphor of death as sleep had a long tradition in figurative tomb sculpture, as we have seen, and it retained its popularity in the period under study because it offered a comforting alternative to the representation of the body as emphatically dead.[300] The limp, drooping, "arm of death" has been an indicator of death in art since classical times[301] – appearing, for example, in Raphael's *Deposition of Christ* (1507) and David's *Death of Marat* (1793, fig. 2.33) – and was used by Julio Antonio in the *Monument to the Heroes of Tarragona* (fig. 2.18). In the Lemonier sculpture, in contrast, the boy's right arm holds up the shroud or sheet that veils the lower half of his body, in a position more suggestive of sleep.[302]

Critic José Francés sought to explain the liminality of the sculpted boy's state by suggesting that Julio Antonio had represented him in the first moments after death, so that "in the feet and legs the rigidity of the cadaver is already spreading; but in the torso it is as though the heart had stopped beating a few minutes earlier."[303] The process of rigor mortis which Francés was describing, in which a soft, living body solidifies into an inanimate object – which is, yet simultaneously is no longer, a person – has suggestive parallels with the sculptural process: figuratively speaking, both the hand of the sculptor and rigor mortis, Medusa-like, cause the body to "turn to stone." It was also the opposite of the "de-solidification" process at the heart of the Pygmalion myth, which Jean-Léon

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[298] See, for example, Ballesteros, "El Grupo Funerario de Julio Antonio," 103-104; Alcántara, "En el Salón de los Amigos del Arte," 2.

[299] *España*, "Una Obra Maestra de Julio Antonio," 11. "¿No sufre más bien de un sueño de muerte, un letargo, que no tolera la descomposición, que puede resolverse en nuevo florecimiento vital?

[300] For more on sculptural representations of death as sleep, see Briony Fer, Fiona Russell and Alison Yarrington, "Sleep in Sculpture: Babies from the Bowes," *Essays in Sculpture* series, no. 13, Leeds: Henry Moore Institute, 1996; Joy S. Kasson, *Marble Queens and Captives* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 109-40; Karl S. Guthke, *The Gender of Death: A Cultural History in Art and Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 133.

[301] Salvatore Settis, "La Línea de Parrasio. Estrategias del Dibujo: Experimentación, Prácticas de Taller e Historia del Arte," lecture series, Museo del Prado, Nov 2010-April 2011.

[302] Salcedo, *Julio Antonio Escultor 1889-1919*, 164.

[303] Francés [Lago, pseud.], "Un Suceso Artístico," 13. "En los pies y las piernas avanza ya la rigidez cadavérica; pero en el tronco aún es como si el corazón hubiera cesado de latir unos minutos antes."

Gérôme famously represented, sculpturally and pictorially, as beginning with Galatea's head and spreading downwards (fig. 2.34).[304]

Compellingly, Pygmalion's act of animating his statue has, at different moments in history, been conceptualised not only as a metamorphosis from object to person, but as a transition from death to life. In this context, Michael Paraskos has drawn attention to Deborah Steiner's argument that the ancient Greeks conceived death as the cessation of motion, and that the term *empedos*, which indicated the inability to move, was used to refer to both statuary and dead people.[305] Victor Stoichita, meanwhile, has shown how the medieval retelling of the Pygmalion myth, in the *Romance of the Rose*, conceptualised the statue of Galatea as hovering between life and death, and was frequently accompanied by illustrations which presented it as a recumbent tomb sculpture (fig. 2.35);[306] so that animation became a peculiar resurrection of the sculpted "double." In Restoration Spain, *Don Juan Tenorio*'s animated statues were, as we have seen, instrumental in giving the anti-hero eternal life in death; but it is in a more obscure play of 1898, Ángel Ganivet's *El Escultor de su Alma*, that the Pygmalion myth was most strikingly re-worked in order to equate sculpture with death.[307] The play concludes with the double deaths of the protagonist, a sculptor, and his daughter, his metaphorical "masterpiece" for whom he feels an incestuous, Pygmalion love. Both deaths are by petrification: father and daughter solidify into stone statues. The liminal state of Julio Antonio's marble boy – between death and sleep, and between death, life and sculpture – thus reflected, and partook of, long-standing cultural presentations of death as *something else*; and therefore as unstable and potentially non-finite.

A "DEMOCRATIC" EXHIBITION

The Lemonier funerary sculpture made its first public appearance in January 1919, when it was exhibited, alone, at the centre of a room in the headquarters of the Sociedad

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[304] For more on Gérôme's representations of Pygmalion and Galatea, see Édouard Papet, "'Father Polychrome:' The Sculpture of Jean-Léon Gérôme," in *The Spectacular Art of Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904)*, ed. Laurence des Cars, Dominique de Font-Réaulx and Édouard Papet (Milan: Skira, 2010), 304-06.

[305] Michael Paraskos, "Bringing into Being: Vivifying Sculpture through Touch," in *Sculpture and Touch*, ed. Peter Dent (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 63-64; Deborah Steiner, *Images in Mind* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 145-47.

[306] Victor I. Stoichita, *The Pygmalion Effect: From Ovid to Hitchcock* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 36-39.

[307] Ángel Ganivet, *El Escultor de su Alma: Drama Místico* (Granada: Imp. de El Defensor de Granada, 1904). For a discussion of the play, see Ignacio Henares, "Estética y Espiritualismo en el Fin de Siglo: El Escultor de su Alma de A. Ganivet, un Drama Plástico," in *Pigmalión o el Amor por lo Creado*, ed. Tomás, Justo and Alcaide, 113-22.

Española de Amigos del Arte.[308] The general circumstances of the exhibition have been described in monographs about the sculptor, but have not been subjected to critical scrutiny. The initiative behind the show, and its organisation, have traditionally been attributed to Julio Antonio's friends Pérez de Ayala, Marañón, and the Marquis of Montesa, in line with the pervasive image of the sculptor as an artistic rebel who rejected the pomp and showiness of the artistic establishment, as epitomised by the National Exhibitions of Fine Art.[309] In fact, Pérez de Ayala clearly recorded that the sculptor visited him at home in autumn 1918 to tell him that he wanted to exhibit the work publically, and, by implication, to enlist his help;[310] pointing to greater agency on the part of the sculptor than has been acknowledged. The decision, perhaps partly motivated by the realisation that his own death was imminent, was apparently not as out-of-character as we might assume. In 1912, Julio Antonio is remembered as having followed up his (now well-known) expression of dislike at national exhibitions with the following declaration:

> I firmly believe in a reaction of the popular spirit and I have hope that the crowds [or "the masses"], taking an interest in these artistic matters, will take down false honours and dedicate a look of praise to those works which are capable of producing definitive emotion.[311]

This democratic impulse of inviting the masses to make up their own minds about sculptures with emotional appeal could have been met by installing the Lemonier sculpture inside the public, free cemetery space; but it fit, equally, with the manner in which the 1919 exhibition presented Julio Antonio's last completed work to the public. Hyperbole and partiality aside, there was apparently considerable truth to Pérez de Ayala's comment that "from the Sovereign to the artisan, all the inhabitants of Madrid went to see Julio Antonio's statue."[312] Long queues formed outside the entrance, the

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[308] For more on this society, see Prudencio Mateos, "La Sociedad Española de Amigos del Arte," *Villa de Madrid: Revista del Excmo. Ayuntamiento* 94 (1987): 70-86; Dimitra Gkozgkou, "Los Amigos del Arte: ¿Una Sociedad de Ambiguos Intereses?," in *Nuevas Contribuciones en Torno al Mundo del Coleccionismo de Arte Hispánico en los Siglos XIX y XX*, ed. Immaculada Socias and Dimitra Gkozgkou (Gijón: Trea, 2013), 99-124. The Lemonier exhibition is not discussed in either text.

[309] García de Carpi, "Luces y Sombras de una Actuación," 73; García de Carpi, *Julio Antonio. Monumentos y Proyectos*, 17; Ricomà et al., *Bronze Nu*, 122; Salcedo, *Julio Antonio Escultor 1889-1919*, 165; Luis Araquistáin, "Un Hombre Elemental (Esbozo Psicológico de Julio Antonio)," *España*, Feb 20, 1919, 7.

[310] Pérez de Ayala, "Julio Antonio. Una Vida Trágica."

[311] Words spoken by Julio Antonio in 1912, as remembered by the artist's friend, Leocadio Martín Ruiz, and recounted to Santos. Santos, *Julio Antonio, 1889-1919*, 11-12. "Creo firmemente en una reacción del espíritu popular y tengo esperanzas fundadas en que las muchedumbres, interesándose en estas cuestiones de arte, echarán abajo los falsos prestigios y dedicarán una mirada de elogio a las obras que sean capaces de producir una emoción definitiva."

[312] Pérez de Ayala, "La Última Obra de Julio Antonio," 233-34. "Desde el Soberano hasta el menestral, todo el vecindario madrileño acudió a ver la estatua de Julio Antonio."

opening hours were extended to meet the demand, and the show was visited by the President and members of the royal family.[313] The support of the monarchy – which Benlliure's monument to Gayarre had also attracted, as we have seen, years earlier – was recorded visually in a photograph showing the King and Queen posing beside the sculpture (fig. 2.36).[314] In the absence of documentation about the exhibition in the archives of the Sociedad Española de Amigos del Arte,[315] we can only speculate that the entrance probably cost little, or nothing. Pérez de Ayala praised the work's success in achieving that "rare marvel": "to reach the heart of the crowds."[316]

Intellectuals and art connoisseurs with less personal involvement in the show generally expressed admiration for the sculpture, but were less complimentary about the visitors and their capacity for "sincere" responses to the object. Focusing on those between "the Sovereign and the artisan," they reserved their greatest scorn for a middle class they considered vulgar and uneducated, and thus distinct from themselves. For example, Francés sneered at how those with more money than taste treated the sculpture as just another object of fashion, consuming the exhibition as they did other passing fads:

> In front of that sorrowful poem [ie. the sculpture], [...] the multitude gathers, and applauds, and commissions works, and renews, a little, its repertoire of topics for evening conversation, to accompany the cup of tea and the ridiculous leaps of Yankee dances.[317]

In a similar vein, Luis Araquistáin, socialist editor in chief of the weekly periodical *España*, indignantly asserted that the unpretentious Julio Antonio must have been deeply disgusted by the

> [...] false and showy homage of that official Spanish world which saw, in his last exhibition, a social meeting-point rather than a great work of art, and in

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[313] Ramón Pérez de Ayala, "Apostillas. Una Estatua de Julio Antonio,"*Sol*, Jan 31, 1919, 1; "La Actitud del Conde de Romanones," *Día*, Jan 28, 1919, 4; "La Exposición Julio Antonio," *Época*, Jan 31, 1919, 2.

[314] A similarly-posed photograph, taken from the other side, and including other members of the royal family, was published in José María Infiesta, *Julio Antonio* (Barcelona: Nou Art Thor, 1988), 42.

[315] Sociedad Española de Amigos del Arte files, box 6, folder 7, AMP.

[316] Pérez de Ayala, "Apostillas. Una Estatua de Julio Antonio," 1. "Raro prodigio;""Llegar al corazón de la muchedumbre."

[317] José Francés [Lago, pseud.], "Artistas Contemporáneos. Julio Antonio," *Esfera*, Feb 15, 1919, 11. "Frente á ese doloroso poema, [...] la multitud se congrega y aplaude y encarga obras y renueva un poco el repertorio de sus temas para las charlas vespertinas, junto a la taza de té y los saltos ridículos de las danzas yanquis." These attitudes closely recall those of the professional critics and art connoisseurs who emerged in Britain during the 1860s, as analysed by Elizabeth Prettejohn. See Elizabeth Prettejohn, "Aesthetic Value and the Professionalization of Victorian Art Criticism 1837-78," *Journal of Victorian Culture* 2, no. 1 (1997): 87.

> *him* [...] a potentially adequate instrument to perpetuate the vanity of this or that rich person in bronze or marble.[318]

The last part of Araquistáin's comment reads as a thinly-disguised snub at the Lemonier-La Portilla family and their nouveau-riche pretensions. The hostility is highly illuminating, for it suggests a reason why the intellectuals and art critics who wrote at length on the Lemonier tomb almost doggedly refused to discuss those who had commissioned it; or the obscure boy – neither hero, genius or "illustrious man" – it was ostensibly designed to commemorate. The moral dubiousness of the funerary genre remained; for, even though the monument was a posthumous one, it presented the "pious" grief of the living Teresa for all to see, and was an unquestionable show of economic means. For example, some critics implied that Julio Antonio's talent had been hijacked, and that he had compromised his artistic integrity for the sake of accessibility.[319] Of course, the fact that the exhibition took place in an "art space," without the accompaniment of Lemonier's corpse, prioritised object-centred readings and predisposed visitors to think about the artist.

The extraordinary spatial contextualisation of the sculpture played a crucial part in these reactions. The object was placed at waist height on a black, velvet-covered plinth at the centre of the room, whose walls were covered by black drapery. Critics vividly described how a single source of illumination in the low ceiling provided a cold half-light that cast a "pale, dying glow" over the sculpture, in a scene "drained of colour, beatific, and almost from beyond the grave."[320] The whole was recognised, vaguely, as a "sort of funerary chamber."[321]

Did this ambiguous setting evoke the tomb of Christ, or did it anticipate the monument's intended location, perhaps inside the underground crypt of a cemetery mausoleum? Neither of these possibilities is as convincing as the evocative parallel between the exhibited sculpture and a *capilla ardiente*. From the outset, the Lemonier sculpture show played deliberately on the similarity between the sensory and kinaesthetic experiences at

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[318] Araquistáin, "Un Hombre Elemental," 7. "[...] Falso y aparatoso homenaje de este mundo oficial español que veía, en su última exposición, más que una gran obra de arte, un punto de cita social, y en *él* […] un posible instrumento adecuado para perpetuar la vanidad de tal o cual ricacho o ricacha en mármol o bronce." The italics are mine.

[319] For example, Ballesteros, "El Grupo Funerario de Julio Antonio," 103.

[320] Francés [Lago, pseud.], "Un Suceso Artístico," 13. "Fulgor lívido y mortecino." Pérez de Ayala, "La Última Obra de Julio Antonio," 234. "Desencarnado, beatífico y casi de ultratumba." See also José Francés, "Los Tres Silencios," *Nuevo Mundo*, Feb 28, 1919, 28.

[321] Alcántara, "En el Salón de los Amigos del Arte," 2. "Una especie de cámara fúnebre."

a wake and at an art exhibition: crowds of living bodies look intently at, and stand solemnly and quietly around, an immobile body. It is highly suggestive that, in English, the term "viewing" is a synonym for "wake," with more intimate wakes referred to as "private viewings." In the Lemonier exhibition, viewers became, by their very presence, participants in the wake, and witnesses of the mother's grief, while the sculpted boy "became" a real, recently-dead body. The sculpture *was* the corpse. This reading is confirmed when one scrutinises the carefully-posed photograph which shows Julio Antonio and his mother accompanying the royal couple on their visit to the exhibition (fig. 2.36). Rather than paying homage to each other, the artist and the King stand rigidly before the sculpted corpse, with lowered eyes and solemn faces, their hats removed out of respect for the "dead." All four figures are dressed in mourning attire. The image recalls the photograph of Querol's wake, but here the roles are reversed: these mourners are human, and the corpse is a sculptural object.

The significance of the singular exhibition setting in shaping the class-focused critiques, discussed above, is exemplified in the opening lines of one of Francés' articles on the Lemonier monument:

> Theatrically – with a coerced theatricality [aimed at] providing the uneducated and frivolous public with sentiment and opinion – Julio Antonio has exhibited the funerary group.[322]

In contrast to the discourse surrounding Gayarre's tomb, there was no sense of personalised appropriateness, here, to temper the pejorative associations of "theatricality." The comment seems to encompass the typical slippage from more neutral, descriptive understandings of the concept of the theatrical (the stage-like nature of the drapery and lighting), to moral ones (the showiness of the set-up, and the artificiality of a forced emotional response).[323] It also drew attention to that fact that the exhibition invited viewers to perform the part of mourners. Far from sharing Julio Antonio's view that "the masses" were capable of "taking down" falsity by looking at art with fresh eyes, Francés presented "the public" – including, or especially, uneducated members of the middle class – as easily taken in and seduced by theatricality, and thus aligned with it.

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[322] Francés [Lago, pseud.], "Un Suceso Artístico," 13. "Teatralmente – con una teatralidad coaccional para dotar de sentimiento y de opinión al público ineducado y frívolo – ha expuesto Julio Antonio el grupo funerario."

[323] Caroline van Eck and Stijn Bussels, "The Visual Arts and the Theatre in Early Modern Europe," in *Theatricality in Early Modern Art and Architecture*, ed. Caroline van Eck and Stijn Bussels (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 13.

When seeking to contextualise this negative representation of the relationship between sculpture, popular audiences and theatre, art historian Antonio Salcedo's retrospective labelling of the Lemonier exhibition as an "installation" proves imprecise and unhelpful.[324] I suggest, instead, that Julio Antonio's show fell under the shadow of a much-maligned form of public entertainment which had been, until recently, extremely widespread across Spain: the waxwork exhibition. Intellectual opinions on waxwork exhibitions had not improved since Miquel asserted, in around 1890, that "wax figures and dioramas" pleased the "vulgar" viewer.[325] Such shows commonly featured compositions of life-size wax sculptures, in appropriate spatial contexts and with all the necessary props, enacting scenes – sometimes with the help of automated mechanisms – which were calculated to elicit instinctively strong emotions, whether pathetic or visceral. Heroic deaths and blood-curdling murders were, thus, frequent.[326] Set up at fairgrounds amid talking heads, street performers, dioramas and other panoramas, these ephemeral exhibitions blurred the boundaries between sculpture, theatre and even cinema.[327] The spatial contextualisation of the Lemonier monument came dangerously close to these popular displays, which were considered beyond the boundaries of art. Yet, for all the intimations of artificiality that surrounded it, we must keep in view that this "funerary chamber" context has greater claims to authenticity than the current museum display, in which the tomb has given way to a fountain.

The Lemonier monument came close to appearing in a more spatially "neutral" exhibition context a few months later, according, at least, to Julio Antonio's closest friend, Miguel Viladrich Vila.[328] In a bitter diatribe against Benlliure, Viladrich publically accused the veteran sculptor of scheming to prevent the sculpture from participating in the Exhibition of Modern Spanish Painting in Paris in 1919, which, in spite of its name, also included sculptures.[329]

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[324] Salcedo, *Julio Antonio Escultor 1889-1919*, 166.

[325] Francisco Miquel, *El Arte en España* (Barcelona: A. Elías y Compañía, *ca*. 1890), 354-55. "Las figuras de cera y los dioramas;" "vulgo."

[326] For a discussion of the shows in relation to national art exhibitions, see Jo Labanyi, "Horror, Spectacle and Nation-Formation: Historical Painting in Late-Nineteenth-Century Spain," in *Visualizing Spanish Modernity*, ed. Larson and Woods, 64-80.

[327] Regarding connections between wax exhibitions, theatre, cinema and "spectacle" in Spain, see Carmen Pinedo Herrero, *El Viaje de Ilusión: Un Camino hacia el Cine: Espectáculos en Valencia durante la Primera Mitad del Siglo XIX* (Valencia: Ediciones de la Filmoteca, 2004); Agustín Sánchez, *Los Jimeno y los Orígenes del Cine en Zaragoza* (Zaragoza: Patronato Municipal de las Artes, 1994), 71-96.

[328] On this friendship, see Figuerola, "Aproximació Bibliogràfica a l'Obra de Miquel Viladrich,"109-20.

[329] Miguel Viladrich, public letter denouncing Benlliure, May 1919, reproduced in Tudelilla, "Imágenes sin Tiempo," 113.

With his mother beside him,[330] Julio Antonio died only a few days after the closure of the exhibition that brought him such publicity. Life imitated art; or, more precisely, *death* imitated art. The fact that art had imitated death – when Julio Antonio represented sculpturally the death of Lemonier – fell by the wayside as critics, commentators and friends seized upon the poignancy of the parallel between the sculptural rendition of youthful death and the real death of its author. As Gallop has noted in response to Barthes' famous essay, "the author's [literal] death could make the reader think more, not less, about the author."[331] References to the Lemoniers disappeared as the dead sculptor took their place. "You, Julio-Antonio, artistic genius, good friend, bohemian comrade of old, are the recumbent youth," wrote the obscure Dionisio Serra,[332] aligning himself with the dead in the process. The open-endedness of the sculpture, and its resistance to straightforward historicism and portraiture, facilitated this acquisition of a fourth identity, to join those of Alberto Lemonier, Christ and Adonis. While the only facial feature that the marble male shared with the sculptor was the distinctive cleft chin, the air of heroism and classical divinity was arguably better suited to an artistic "genius" of national importance than to an unknown boy. The marble boy was explicitly identified as the *mater dolorosa*'s "son-hero" by the dead sculptor's critic and friend, Margarita Nelken,[333] and we will recall how the hero/genius aesthetic informed the public monument created by Lorenzo in the sculptor's memory (fig. 2.11). García de Carpi even claims that there were calls for a full-scale replica of the Lemonier tomb to be made for the sculptor's own tomb.[334]

In these retrospective readings of the Lemonier monument, the grieving bronze mother also acquired new layers. In Serra's eyes, she became an allegory of "Spain, Spanish art, universal art,"[335] while it was a parallel between the Virgin and Julio Antonio's mother, Lucía Hernández Costa, that Pérez de Ayala invoked when he described the latter as "an admirable woman, the strong woman of the Bible."[336] Hernández was, by all accounts,

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330 Pérez de Ayala, "Julio Antonio. Una Vida Trágica."

331 Gallop, *The Deaths of the Author*, 1.

332 Dionisio Serra, "Julio-Antonio," *Polytechnicum* 11, no. 135 (March 1919): 210. "Tú, Julio-Antonio, artista genial, buen amigo, antiguo camarada de bohemia, eres el mancebo yacente."

333 Margarita Nelken, "El Monumento de Julio Antonio," *Figaro* (Madrid), Feb 6, 1919, 2. "Hijo-héroe."

334 García de Carpi, *Julio Antonio: Monumentos y Proyectos*, 17.

335 Serra, "Julio-Antonio," 210. "España, el arte español, el arte universal."

336 Pérez de Ayala, "Julio Antonio. Una Vida Trágica." "Una mujer admirable, la mujer fuerte de la Biblia."

extremely close to her son, as well as supportive and protective of him;[337] and was paired again with him in death, since she was later interred in his tomb. The sculptor's predilection for sculptural groups in which strong women stand behind, or physically sustain, weaker, injured or dead males opens itself to autobiographical interpretations when considered in this light (see, for example, fig. 2.18).

After Julio Antonio's death, the similarity between the exhibition space and a *capilla ardiente*, which was surely deliberate from the outset, was retrospectively made explicit for poignant effect. Francés re-imagined the sculptor's friends, who had stood outside the exhibition, as guards of honor keeping vigil outside a *capilla ardiente*; and, moreover, connected it with the room in the Sanatorium where the sculptor's real wake had taken place: "Here, too, there is a funerary chamber, with black drapery and a recumbent statue and with shadows that oppress and push their faces forward to see the sculptor."[338]

Francés used the parallel to reiterate his criticism of the "frivolous, perfumed young ladies, uneducated youths and those who are considered high society, and politicians" who had been titillated by the thrill of the exhibition, and whom he compared with the silently-grieving true friends who attended the real wake.[339] Indeed, Julio Antonio's death became the occasion for several critics to present themselves as enlightened, discerning, long-standing admirers of an artist whose talent the Establishment and "elegant society" had only belatedly recognised. Among these critics, there was probably a sense of vindication in the act of attributing the tomb to the impoverished artistic "genius" – who was their friend – instead of associating it with the rich, bourgeois Lemoniers.

Just as the sculpture was re-imagined as the artist's corpse, the real corpse was likened to the sculpture, or at least to sculpture. Araquistáin wrote that, "on seeing [Julio Antonio's] cadaver, an hour before his burial, it seemed to me that I was seeing again a fragment, the essential one of his last work," adding some lines later that the face of the dead sculptor resembled "a self-portrait in polychromed stone."[340] Pérez de Ayala recorded that all those gathered at Julio Antonio's *capilla ardiente* "agreed on a certain impression: 'his inanimate

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[337] Pérez de Ayala, "Julio Antonio. Una Vida Trágica;" Lozano, "Julio Antonio," 259 and 264; Santos, *Julio Antonio, 1889-1919*, 7.

[338] Francés, "Los Tres Silencios," 28. "Aquí también hay una cámara funeraria, con cortinajes negros y con estatua yacente y con sombras que se oprimen y adelantan el rostro para ver al escultor."

[339] Francés, "Los Tres Silencios," 28. "Damitas perfumadas y frívolas, los jovenzuelos ineducados e eso que llaman buena sociedad, y personajes de la política."

[340] Araquistáin, "Un Hombre Elemental," 7. "Al ver su cadáver, una hora antes de su sepelio, me pareció que volvía a ver un fragmento, el esencial de su última obra." "Autorretrato en piedra policromada."

head is as admirable and august as his most admirable sculptures.'"[341] Juan de la Encina alluded subtly to Julio Antonio's perceived "Spanish-ness" when he suggested that, in death, his face resembled "a classical Spanish sculpture;" adding, "never have I seen death this beautiful."[342]

The alleged consensus that the head was sculpture-like found its way into the drawing by Echevarría which was published on 20 February 1919, and in which, as we had cause to note earlier, Julio Antonio's head appeared to have been cut into wood or stone (fig. 2.9). The published drawing appears to have been closely based on a more naturalistic sketch, probably made moments after death, which did not have this sculptural quality;[343] suggesting that the "body as sculpture" interpretation was foist upon the corpse by this network of critics, many of whom were in the artist's close circle, perhaps after the sketch had already been made. Similarly, in the first, rapid sketches which Vázquez made at the sculptor's deathbed (fig. 2.7), there was nothing to justify the corpse being praised as either sculptural or beautiful. Pérez de Ayala offered his own explanation for this discrepancy:

> In the agony, the face had become disjointed. After death, he regained his beauty and it was even exulted, with an imposing expression of majestic serenity. His skin took on a warm, golden tonality; his hollow cheeks were filled out and his mouth gained a smile... The great painter Miguel Viladrich, his fraternal friend, exclaimed: 'he looks like a god'.[344]

This almost supernatural account of the posthumous transformation of the artist's head into a beautiful object-person was a fitting way to introduce this new parallel: he was also "god-like." While Encina's comparison pointed most obviously to a parallel with religious Spanish statuary – such as the highly realist, polychromed dead Christs by Gregorio Fernández – it was the gods of classical mythology, and perhaps the myth of the "divine" artist – tellingly associated with Michelangelo – which Viladrich was invoking. Many of

[341] Pérez de Ayala, "Julio Antonio. Una Vida Trágica." "Todos coincidían en cierta impresión: 'su cabeza inanimada es tan admirable y augusta como las más admirables esculturas suyas."

[342] Encina, "Julio Antonio," 3. "Parecía una talla clásica española;" "Jamás he visto tan hermosa la muerte."

[343] This more naturalistic version of the drawing was photographed by Moreno, and is now in the IPCE (inv. no 00235_D), where it is attributed to the sculptor Victorio Macho.

[344] Pérez de Ayala, "Julio Antonio. Una Vida Trágica." "En la agonía, el rostro se le había desencajado. Después de muerto, recobró su hermosura y aún se le exaltó, con una expresión imponente de majestuosa serenidad. Tomó su piel tonalidad caliente y dorada; sus huecas mejillas se colmaron y su boca adquirió sonrisa… El gran pintor Miguel Viladrich, su amigo fraternal, exclamó: 'parece un dios'."

the multiple layers of identity that critics had read into the Lemonier tomb sculpture were, as we have just seen, also read into the head of the dead artist.

While the exhibition laid some of the groundwork for this blurring of boundaries by encouraging visitors to behave as though the marble corpse were a real one, it is also significant that the cause of death was tuberculosis. Besides showing that death by tuberculosis was commonly aestheticized as beautiful, Sontag cites Charles Dickens' description of TB as the "'disease in which death and life are so strangely blended, that *death takes the glow and hue of life, and life the gaunt and grisly form of death*.'"[345]

FATE, POIGNANT COINCIDENCE, OR AUTOBIOGRAPHY?

For post-mortem interpretations of the Lemonier sculpture as an autobiographical object to be morally coherent with the romantic image of Julio Antonio as a sincere and unpretentious artist, it was vital to avoid the suggestion that it constituted the sculptor's vanity project, or a narcissistic show of self-love. The fact that Julio Antonio's death imitated his art was variously presented as a poignant coincidence, fate, or a product of his subconscious. For example, Pedro de Répide speculated that it was "by ultrahuman inspiration" that the artist "made his own mournful poem" in the "recumbent statue."[346] Similarly avoiding the Lemonier name by using the latter term, Araquistáin tentatively suggested that:

> Recently it is even possible that he resigned himself to the idea of imminent death and even that he made of it a terrible theme for art. Was not the recumbent statue, exhibited a few days ago, perhaps he in his artistic consciousness contemplating himself dead?[347]

The idea of alternative consciousnesses loosely calls to mind the writings of Sigmund Freud. More specifically, the image of the artist as a spectator of his own death recalls Freud's assertion, that "it is [...] impossible to imagine our own death; and whenever we attempt to do so we can perceive that we are in fact still present as spectators," on the basis that we cannot conceive of a moment when our individual consciousness will

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[345] Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor*, 16-19. The text she cites appears in Charles Dickens, *Nicholas Nickelby* (New York: J. Van Amringe, 1840), 481. The italics are mine.

[346] Pedro de Répide, "Crónica. Recordando a Julio Antonio," *Libertad*, Feb 17, 1920, 1. "Por una inspiración ultrahumana;" "hecho su propio poema doloroso;" "estatua yacente."

[347] Araquistáin, "Un Hombre Elemental, 7. "Últimamente hasta es posible que se resignara a la idea de la muerte próxima y aun que hiciera de ella terrible tema de arte. La estatua yacente, expuesta días atrás, ¿no era tal vez en su conciencia artística él mismo contemplándose muerto?"

cease.[348] Published four years earlier, in "Thoughts for the Times on War and Death" (1915), Freud was writing in the context of the First World War, which saw the deaths of young male "heroes" on a massive scale.

Julio Antonio evidently engaged with the European crisis, in spite of Spain's neutrality, since he contributed sculpture to the art exhibition organised in support of the Spanish legionaries fighting for the Allies, and publically signed the manifesto of the Anti-Germanophile League, both in 1917.[349] The signatories also included some of the critics in his social circle, including Araquistáin and Pérez de Ayala. The war began while the sculptor was working on the *Monument to the Heroes of Tarragona*, which commemorated those who had died defending the city during a brutal attack by Napoleonic troops in 1811, and not long after he had completed the bust of another dead war hero, Braulio de la Portilla. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that prematurely-dead youths, and not just of a century earlier, were already on his mind when he received the Lemonier commission.

Whether Julio Antonio's connections with young heroes translated into a sense of empathetic or literal identification with them is difficult to determine, but there are two compelling pieces of circumstantial evidence that lend plausibility to autobiographical readings of his last work. The first of these is the hand of the dying hero in the *Monument to the Heroes of Tarragona*, which, as we saw earlier, was based on a cast of the sculptor's hand. Pérez de Ayala's assumption that Julio Antonio cast his own hand for purely practical reasons, because he lacked a model,[350] does not stand up to examination, for the creation of this most "personal" of objects paradoxically required the assistance of another person anyway; and, in any case, the artist was not short of male friends and assistants whose hands he could have cast.

The second piece of evidence centres on a painting by Viladrich, Julio Antonio's closest friend and inseparable companion. In 1910, five years before Freud wrote about imagining one's own death, Viladrich created a painting precisely on this subject, which he titled *My Funeral* (fig. 2.37).[351] Re-working the style and iconography of traditional

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[348] Sigmund Freud, "Thoughts for the Times on War and Death" (1915), in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. and trans. James Strachey, Anna Freud, Alix Strachey and Alan Tyson, Vol. 14, *(1914-1916). On the History of the Psycho-Analytic Movement, Papers on Metapsychology and Other Works* (London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1957), 275-300.

[349] "La Exposición 'España,'" *España*, Jan 25, 1917, 4-6; "Liga Antigermanófila," *España*, Feb 8, 1917, 12.

[350] Pérez de Ayala, "La Mano de Julio Antonio," 210.

[351] For more on this painting, see Tudelilla, "Imágenes sin tiempo,"95-97; Concha Lomba, "Metamorfosis de la Mirada," in *Viladrich: Primitivo y Perdurable*, 142-47; Marcus B. Burke, "Miguel Viladrich Vila (1887-1956). Mis Funerales" in Mitchell A. Codding, María Dolores Jiménez-Blanco and Patrick Lenaghan, *Tesoros de la Hispanic Society of America* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2017), 368-70.

religious painting into a primitivist-symbolist triptych, Viladrich represented his own severed head at the feet of personified skeletal Death, while a mix of solemn and grotesquely-grinning figures crowd around. The artist later explained that the painting was a "symbolic fantasy" of his bohemian youth "in those early times of struggle," when he was, he implied, a misunderstood artist condemned and mocked by society.[352] The only character whom he identified among the crowd was Julio Antonio, whom he singled out as one of his only genuine mourners (the sculptor is the figure dressed in dark red in the central panel, situated between Death's wing and the guitar player).[353] Poignantly, it was Viladrich who was soon to mourn the dead Julio Antonio, and not the other way around. Although art historians have done justice to the intertwined biographies of Julio Antonio and Viladrich, and even observed that both men dealt with similar themes in their work,[354] the Lemonier tomb and *My Funeral* have never been brought into relation with each other. Yet *My Funeral* must, at the very least, have had an impact on Julio Antonio's conceptualisation of youthful death, and it could well have suggested the idea of "contemplating himself dead" in a funerary work of his own.

CONCLUSION

Between the deaths of Gayarre (1890) and Julio Antonio (1919), there was more continuity than change in the enthusiastic manner of commemorating the male artistic "genius" following his death. The tomb, in each case, was only one of many forms of produced or projected *commemorabilia*. These included public monuments, death masks, drawn and sculpted likenesses, and cast and real body parts which "preserved" the organ of genius, as well as the texts through which journalists and critics mediated the deaths of the illustrious; and which I have subjected to new critical scrutiny over the course of the last two chapters. However, while the response to Gayarre's death was articulated in terms of religious-artistic divinity, Julio Antonio's demise prompted more classical, or secular, references to the artist as hero or god.

Continuity also describes the relationship between the Gayarre and Lemonier tomb sculptures to a greater extent than either of their authors, and early twentieth-century art critics, would have been willing to acknowledge. Julio Antonio returned to the combination of bronze and marble favoured by his older rival, in a work which was also

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[352] Interview with Viladrich, in *Ribera del Cinca*, Fraga, Oct 11, 1930, reproduced in Tudelilla, "Imágenes sin tiempo," 95.

[353] Interview with Viladrich, in *Ribera del Cinca*, Fraga, Oct 11, 1930, reproduced in Tudelilla, "Imágenes sin tiempo," 95.

[354] For example, Figuerola, "Aproximació Bibliogràfica a l'Obra de Miquel Viladrich,"109-20.

eclectic, and which again used religious allegory to invite coexisting interpretations of the object's meaning, and to create alternative layers of identity for its multiple sculpted bodies. Yet, while the Gayarre tomb was indulged as the product of Benlliure's creative freedom and fertile imagination, the Lemonier tomb was critically portrayed as an object that pandered to the taste and vanity of *others*, the wealthy bourgeoisie, even if it was subsequently infused with autobiographical significance. In this respect, the Lemonier tomb points to the conservatism of funerary sculpture as a genre. It reminds us that, added to the usual artistic constraints placed on the producer of a commissioned artwork, sculptors of funerary works had to contend with the fact that those paying for the memorials were often beset by grief, keen to show it, and preoccupied with religious reflections on the afterlife. On the other hand, the conceptual connections between sculpted bodies and dead ones opened up avenues of potentially rich meaning that were particular to the funerary genre.

What was to be done with a dead author? In the present chapter, I have explored not only how dead sculptors were commemorated through a vast array of permanent and temporary, cheap and expensive, material and immaterial *commemorabilia*; but how the sculptor's death could profoundly alter the way in which his work was received. The favourable critics who monopolised the posthumous reactions to Julio Antonio's death and his final work – who, after all, wanted to speak ill of the dead? – whole-heartedly took on the role of author's accomplice, which Barthes was later to advocate against; and fashioned themselves as the dead man's true allies. Through monuments to the sculptor, and detailed art criticism of his last work, the sculptor's studio assistants and friends set about giving Julio Antonio a posthumous "voice." But how authentic was that voice? While presenting the sculptor as a victim of bourgeois vanity, his supporters and biographers potentially themselves opened up to accusations of vanity of a different kind.

As we saw with the Benlliure memorial banknote, it was the sculptor's own death which freed the Lemonier monument to become a commemorative object for its creator. The Lemonier tomb exhibition in 1919, and its current museum display, is also a lesson in what can happen when a tomb is left without, or separated from, its intended corpse. A body-less tomb, kept outside the cemetery, is liable to be tied to all sorts of other people – real and fictional, Catholic and classical, contemporary and historical – most particularly to the artist who created it.

Part One of this thesis has looked at posthumous funerary memorials to dead individuals, and compared the sculptural commemoration of "great men" inside, and outside, the

cemetery. Delving deeper into the moral problem of funerary distinction, in relation to gender and professional status, Part Two turns to sculptures which men of fortune, rather than fame, commissioned as tombs for themselves and their families, in their own lifetimes.

Part 2.

Memorialising Those Still Living: Self-Commemoration and the Working Man in Catalan Funerary Sculpture.

Chapter 3.

The Return of the Sculpted Skeleton: Mortality, Modernity and Masculinity in Montjuïc Cemetery.

> It is generally thought, perhaps because it was unknown or little-known in antiquity, that the skeleton should be excluded from the sphere of sculpture. This is a big mistake. We see it appear in the Middle Ages, behaving and showing itself with all the cynical awkwardness and all the arrogance of the idea without art. But from then until the eighteenth century, historical atmosphere of love and roses, we see the skeleton flower pleasingly in all the subjects in which its introduction is permitted.[355]

Charles Baudelaire's defence of the sculpted skeleton was prompted by his satisfaction with Pierre-Eugène-Emile Hébert's statuette *And Forever! And Never!* (fig. 3.1), a phantasmagoric evocation of the medieval theme of "Death and the Maiden," exhibited at the Paris Salon of 1859. In the French critic's eyes, not only was the "enchanting" work a welcome return to a valid subject for sculpture, which he implied had been abandoned due to its incompatibility with the eighteenth-century taste for sentimentality, but it was appropriate to the contemporary cemetery, where "executed in larger proportions, [it] could perhaps make an excellent funerary decoration."[356] Tellingly, the funerary adaptation was not made; and it may be argued that it has been precisely in nineteenth-century cemeteries, and in the design and adornment of tombs, that an "atmosphere of love and roses" – aimed at softening death and providing solace for the living – has endured most stubbornly.

This chapter examines the return of the sculpted skeleton in Barcelona's Montjuïc cemetery, where it constituted an unusual and audacious tomb choice, which was adopted by men desirous of fashioning a modern, masculine, professional identity, for

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[355] Charles Baudelaire, *Écrits sur l'Art*, vol. 2 (Paris: Éditions Gallimard et Librairie Générale Française, 1971), 112. "On croit généralement, peut-être parce que l'antiquité ne le connaissait pas ou le connaissait peu, que le squelette doit être exclu du domaine de la sculpture. C'est une grande erreur. Nous le voyons apparaître au moyen âge, se comportant et s'étalant avec toute la maladresse cynique et toute la superbe de l'idée sans art. Mais, depuis lors jusqu'au dix-huitième siècle, climat historique de l'amour et des roses, nous voyons le squelette fleurir avec bonheur dans tous les sujets où il lui est permis de s'introduire."

[356] Baudelaire, *Écrits sur l'Art*, 112. "Charmante;" "pourrait peut-être, exécutée dans de plus grandes proportions, faire une excellente décoration funèbre."

themselves, in their own lifetimes. I focus primarily on the funerary monument which sculptor Rosendo Nobas Ballbé created in 1887-88 for the tomb of Jaime Farreras Framis, and which set a precedent for the second monument I discuss, in lesser detail: the tomb of Nicolau Juncosa Sabaté and his family, created some 25 years later by Antonio Pujol,[357] a marble-mason we have already encountered in the Introduction. Through this extended and comparative approach, I intend to do justice to the polysemic nature of the skeleton motif; to acknowledge that well-known "artists" and obscure "artisans" converged, on a uniquely massive scale, in the cemetery space; and to explore the nature of the supposed divide which existed between them. The fact that the Juncosa tomb was recently reproduced on the front cover of a scholarly book of international scope, *The Gothic and Death* (2017), but was identified only as "cemetery sculpture depicting death" and linked neither to Pujol nor to Spain, further highlights the importance of integrating such art-historically marginalised works into international sculpture studies.[358]

The chapter is grounded in newly discovered archival sources and medical sculptures that shed new light on two sculptures which are hugely popular in digital media, but which critics have under-studied until now.

I. Rosendo Nobas' sculpted skeleton for the tomb of Jaime Farreras Framis.

A meticulously-carved, shrouded, life-size skeleton, lying horizontally on a plain, rectangular slab, is the realist centrepiece of one of Spain's most arresting and unsettling funerary monuments (figs. 3.2-3.7). Carved from a single block of white marble which bears the artist's clear, neat signature, the sculpture is set atop a block of grey stone, the front of which is inscribed in large, angular capitals with the name and profession of the deceased: "Dr. Farreras y Framis" and, just below, "Professor of Anatomy" (figs. 3.3). One of the first monuments erected in Montjuïc cemetery, Farreras' tomb was positioned prominently along the main path which led to the first entrance gate,[359] and could not be missed by the cemetery's early visitors, yet – for reasons I explore later – it attracted virtually no critical attention in the years following its completion (fig. 3.8). Only recently has Nobas' sculpture achieved an almost cult popularity online, in the context of a revival in cemetery tourism and an interest in the macabre, but this popular appeal has not been matched by a corresponding degree of scholarly rigour, and misinformation and

[357] Martí, Marín and Català, *El Cementerio de Montjuïc*, 230.

[358] Carol Margaret Davison, ed. *The Gothic and Death* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017).

[359] The first entrance to the cemetery was via the gate of Santa Eulalia, which was conceived as a side entrance. Martí, Marín and Català, *El Cementerio de Montjuïc*, 37-38.

fabricated accounts of the circumstances of production abound. This state of affairs is due, in large part, to the surprising dearth of scholarship on the once-celebrated and prolific Nobas;[360] and to the equally remarkable obscurity of Farreras within the context of Catalan medical history,[361] particularly in the light of the prominence of his funerary monument. As my analysis of the sculpted Farreras skeleton hinges on the professional intersection between the sculptor and doctor, I begin by revealing essential biographical facts, drawn from previously unknown sources unearthed in the University of Barcelona's historical archive.

ROSENDO NOBAS, ARTISTIC AND ANATOMICAL SCULPTOR

Nobas was an acclaimed, prize-winning sculptor, with his own workshop employing several studio assistants,[362] when he died unexpectedly at the age of 52 (his burial *nicho*, figs. 2.24-2.25, was discussed in Chapter Two). Those who wrote his obituaries remembered him as a well-read man of erudition and taste, if not great wealth, who had risen from his artisan origins – his father was a brazier – to the status of an artist; an avid reader and discerning art collector whose recently-acquired workshop reflected this elegance of mind as did no other sculptor's studio in Barcelona (fig. 3.9).[363] Named by Alfonso as one of the young craftsmen who had begun his sculptural career in Barcelona's cemeteries, and who was to thank for the rebirth of Spanish and Catalan sculpture,[364] the mature Nobas did not turn his back on the applied arts. Underpinning the image of the refined, self-made gentleman-artist was a job which had given Nobas six years of financial stability, and to which his critics referred only in passing:[365] the position of Anatomical Sculptor at the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Barcelona.[366]

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[360] There have been no monographic publications about Nobas, who is discussed only briefly in José Luis Melendreras, "Los Cuatro Grandes Maestros de la Escultura Catalana de Último Tercio del Siglo XIX: Nobas, Atché, Reynés y Fuxá," *Boletín del Museo e Instituto Camón Aznar* 80 (2000): 193-260.

[361] There is a very short entry on Farreras in Josep María Calbet and Jacint Corbella, *Diccionari Biogràfic de Metges Catalans*, vol. 2 (Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau, 1982), 12. He is absent from other publications regarding Catalan doctors of this period.

[362] On Nobas' assistants and students, see Judit Subirachs, *L'Escultura del Segle XIX a Catalunya* (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1994), 81.

[363] Masriera, "Rossendo Nobas," 43; J. Roca, "La Semana en Barcelona," *Vanguardia*, Feb 8, 1891, 5; Antonio García Llansó, "Rosendo Nobas," *Ilustración Artística*, May 25, 1891, 326. For more on photographs of sculptors' studios, see Jon Wood and Stephen Feeke, *Close Encounters: The Sculptor's Studio in the Age of the Camera* (Leeds: Henry Moore Foundation, 2001).

[364] Alfonso, "La Escultura en Barcelona," 116.

[365] Roca, "La Semana en Barcelona," 5; García Llansó, "Rosendo Nobas," 326; Masriera, "Rossendo Nobas," 43; Alfonso, "La Escultura en Barcelona," 118.

[366] For a more detailed account of Nobas' role at the Faculty of Medicine, see Chloe Sharpe and Alfons Zarzoso, "Art at the Service of Medicine: The Anatomical Sculptors at the University of Barcelona, c. 1850-1936," in *Modern Sculpture and the Question of Status*, edited by Cristina Rodríguez and Irene Gras (Barcelona:

University archives reveal that, on 27 January 1879, he was appointed Assistant Anatomical Sculptor, on an annual salary of 750 pesetas, which increased to 1000 pesetas upon his promotion to Anatomical Sculptor on 15 October 1882.[367] In his university role, Nobas produced three-dimensional anatomical models, which functioned as didactic tools for the training of future medical professionals, and were kept and displayed in the Faculty's Anatomical Museum (fig. 3.10). This museum contained the teaching collections of the extinct Royal College of Surgeons of Barcelona, which the Faculty of Medicine had subsumed, as well as sculptures produced by Nobas' immediate predecessors in the post of Anatomical Sculptor, alongside preserved human remains, including numerous skeletons and skulls.[368] Thus, it was probably the only institutionalised space in Barcelona, besides the city's cemeteries and the Official School of Fine Arts, in which the bodily remains of dead people coexisted with sculpted bodies.

The surviving objects created by Nobas – which I have tracked down to the Museu d'Historia de la Medicina de Catalunya, and to which I return later – are life-size, polychrome, plaster representations of fragments of diseased, disfigured and repaired human flesh (figs. 3.11-3.13).[369] While working at the Faculty of Medicine, the sculptor received increasingly high-profile religious and civic commissions for major monuments, and resigned from his university role in 1885 in order to focus on these.[370] When his staff file was closed, it was recorded that he had fulfilled his role with "great enthusiasm and intelligence and to the complete satisfaction of the Vice-Chancellor and the staff of the Faculty of Medicine."[371]

DR. JAIME FARRERAS FRAMIS, ANATOMIST

One of the members of staff whom Nobas must have impressed was Dr. Jaime Farreras Framis, who would go on to commission the skeleton tomb sculpture. Given the efforts to

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Universitat de Barcelona Edicions, 2018), 334-36. The extensive scholarship on medical sculpture around this period includes Roberta Panzanelli, ed., *Ephemeral Bodies: Wax Sculpture and the Human Figure* (Los Angeles: Getty, 2008); Elizabeth Hallam, *The Anatomy Museum. Death and the Body Displayed* (London: Reaktion books, 2016); Thomas Schnalke, *Diseases in Wax: The History of the Medical Moulage* (Berlin: Quintessence Publishing, 1995).

[367] University staff file about Rosendo Nobas, 01/3925, AHUB.

[368] Inventory of the Anatomical Museum of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Barcelona, 1868, 02/4367/1, AHUB.

[369] For a history of the collection, see Alfons Zarzoso, "The Anatomical Collection of the Catalan Museum of the History of Medicine," *Medicina nei Secoli* 21, no. 1 (2009), 141-71. I am grateful to Alfons Zarzoso for his assistance in locating Nobas' medical models.

[370] University staff file about Rosendo Nobas, 01/3925, AHUB.

[371] University staff file about Rosendo Nobas, 01/3925, AHUB. "Con gran celo e inteligencia y a completa satisfacción del Rectorado y del claustro de la Facultad de Medicina."

which he went to immortalise himself, it is ironic that Farreras' name has been misremembered in relation to the funerary monument. The secondary art historical bibliography has consistently identified the deceased as "Dr. *Francesc* Farreras y Framis,"[372] in spite of the fact that, when the tomb was erected in 1888, contemporary sources recorded that it belonged to "Jaime Farreras."[373] Meanwhile, in a period which publically celebrated medical professionals as modern-day heroes and "illustrious men," and in which the majority of Spain's university anatomists had books and articles published, it is striking that Farreras appears to have made almost no mark on Spanish medical history.[374] I address the implications of this later.

Archival files reveal that Farreras was a member of staff at the Faculty of Medicine for the duration of Nobas' employment there.[375] Born in 1845, he completed all of his medical studies at the University of Barcelona and, prior to gaining his doctorate in July 1869, was given permission to teach a "free course on Anatomy" on an unpaid basis.[376] For this course – which was probably attended by local sculptors to complement their art academy training – the Faculty declined to provide cadavers, on the grounds that these were needed for official teaching; and offered him, instead, use of the Anatomical Museum's three-dimensional "artificial" models and of pre-used "natural" preparations (ie. human specimens).[377] After working for several years as a paid assistant in practical classes in the Anatomy Department, in 1882, Farreras was appointed Director of Anatomical Work. The new role included responsibilities in the Anatomical Museum,[378] and must have required

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[372] Carme Riera and Pilar Aymerich, *Els Cementiris de Barcelona* (Barcelona: Edhasa, 1981), 196. The misattribution was repeated in Subirachs, *L'Escultura del Segle XIX a Catalunya*, 266; María Isabel Marín, "El Reflejo de las Corrientes Arquitectónicas y Escultóricas de finales de Siglo XIX en el Cementerio de S. O," Undergraduate diss. (Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 1986), 122; Martí, Marín and Català, *El Cementerio de Montjuïc*, 187; Wifredo Rincón, "Muerte y Amor en la Escultura Española del Siglo XIX," in Alberto Castán and Concha Lomba, eds. *Eros y Thánatos* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2017), 196.

[373] "Barcelona," *Diario de Barcelona*, Nov 1, 1888, 13501; "Nuestras Necrópolis," *Dinastía,* Nov 2, 1888, 1; "Visita á los Cementerios," *Vanguardia*, Nov 3, 1888, 1.

[374] Farreras' recent predecessors, peers and successors in the field of anatomy, including Ignacio Pusalgas, José Letamendi, Carlos Siloniz, Antoni Riera Villaret, Pedro Gonzalez de Velasco and Ángel Pulido, all published books on the subject.

[375] To reconstruct Farreras' career trajectory, I have used the following archival sources: University staff file about Jaime Farreras, 01/1946 EP, AHUB; University student file about Jaime Farreras, 01/1946 EA, AHUB; Staff file about Jaime Farreras, Box 31/15700, AGA. For a discussion of Farreras' career in relation to Santiago de Compostela, see Juan José Fernández, "Ramón Varela de la Iglesia (1845-1922). Positivismo e Histología en Fonseca," PhD diss. (Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 2008), 33-36.

[376] "Curso libre de Anatomía."

[377] The presence of art students at dissections and in anatomical lessons at Barcelona's Faculty of Medicine is recorded in Ignacio Pusalgas, *Pensamientos acerca un Reglamento para los Departamentos de Anatomía Práctica y sus Museos Anatómicos de las Facultades de Medicina del Reino* (Barcelona, Est. Tip. Jaime Jepús Roviralta, 1869), 13. Querol's presence at the Faculty of Medicine around these years is mentioned in Montaña Galán, "Los Pegasos de Agustín Querol," PhD diss. (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 2012), 62.

[378] Zarzoso, "The Anatomical Collection of the Catalan Museum of the History of Medicine," 154.

him to work closely with Nobas, perhaps directing the sculptor's work or even collaborating in the creation of anatomical models, as we shall see.

What stands out most forcefully in Farreras' staff files is his long struggle to climb the career ladder. Apparently determined to become a professor of anatomy, he applied, unsuccessfully, for professorships all around Spain between 1872 and 1888. In 1878, his colleagues supported his request to be made Supernumerary Professor, emphasising that he had substituted the absent Professor of Anatomy, José de Letamendi, and suggesting that he had become an unfortunate victim of a rigid institutional system and his own "excessive modesty."[379] Although, from 1883, commercial directories listed Farreras as the Faculty's Professor of Osteology and Dissection,[380] this seems to have been an honorary title which reflected what he was teaching at this time, as there is no official record of this professorship. In fact, it was not until 1888 that he was officially given the status of supernumerary professor, and remunerated accordingly. This long-awaited recognition enabled him to progress to Professor of Histology and Histochemistry at the University of Santiago de Compostela in 1891; and, by the end of the same year, to transfer internally to the professorship of Anatomy at the same institution.

Farreras neither moved to Santiago, nor actually worked there. Instead, he sent regular notes from his doctor explaining that he had a severe, chronic stomach ailment which prevented him from leaving Barcelona in order to take up either role, although this did not stop him from applying for anatomy professorships in other Spanish cities in 1893. Accusing him of feigning illness in order to shirk his responsibilities, the University of Santiago terminated Farreras' employment in 1894. Also declined were his requests to return to the University of Barcelona, and to regain the professional category of Supernumerary Professor. Farreras continued to appear as a "doctor" in commercial directories until 1906,[381] but his university career had ended in disgrace. Contrary to what his funerary inscription proudly asserted, it appears that Farreras, though highly specialised in anatomy, only notionally held the position of "Professor of Anatomy" for just over two years, between 1892 and 1894, coinciding with an (alleged) downturn in his health and, consequently, professional fortune.

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[379] University staff file about Jaime Farreras, AHUB. "Sobra de modestia."

[380] *Anuario del Comercio, de la Industria, de la Magistratura y de la Administración* **(**Madrid: Bailly-Balliere, 1883), 635.

[381] *Anuario del Comercio, de la Industria, de la Magistratura y de la Administración* **(**Madrid: Bailly-Balliere, 1906), 1315.

THE TOMB PROJECT, FROM ARCHITECTURAL PLANS (1887) TO ERECTION (1888)

Farreras' fraught career trajectory provides essential context for understanding the evolution of the tomb project and the possible motivations behind it. To begin with, the fact that the architectural plans[382] (figs. 3.14-3.15) were signed on 12 May 1887 by Farreras, as well as the architect, discredits Wifredo Rincón's recent claim that the tomb was a posthumous memorial erected in the doctor's memory by his students, showing instead that Farreras was an active participant in the project.[383] While these plans are generally lacking in precision, Nobas' marble skeleton was accurately sketched in detail, suggesting that the monument's centrepiece had been completed by this date. Farreras was teaching osteology and dissection in the 1880s, so that the representation of a skeleton in the horizontal supine pose – the position used in dissections – alluded to both sides of his professional activity.

When the monument was erected in the cemetery the following year (1888), it included elements not in the original design. Unknown stonemasons "rectified" the unusual lack of religious symbolism by adding the Alpha and the Omega to the short sides of the base block, below the head and feet, and placing a tall cross behind the recumbent skeleton (figs. 3.2 and 3.7). Thus, in a pattern with which we are becoming familiar, the tomb's vertical element pointed to heavenly hope, while the stark horizontality of the skeleton encapsulated death. Nobas' sculpture was also shifted backwards in the plot to make room for the crypt access which the original plans had overlooked, and which was marked with a second cross (figs. 3.2 and 3.14).

The tomb's bold textual inscriptions require particular scrutiny in the light of what we know regarding the doctor's career. Since the architectural plans did not include a frontal viewpoint, it is impossible to know what inscription the doctor and architect had in mind in 1887, but one would expect that the tomb included the name, "Dr. Farreras y Framis," when it was completed in 1888. The second line of text, however, alluded to a professional position, Professor of Anatomy, which Farreras did not attain, as we have seen, until 1891. Upon close observation, this appears to have been added after the crypt door was already in place, since the word "de" has been reduced in size in an attempt to make it visible above the protruding arm of the cross adorning the crypt access (see fig. 3.3).

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[382] Architectural plans for the tomb commissioned by Jaime Farreras in Montjuïc cemetery, 1887, Sección Cementerios, 58505.12, AMCB. These plans were partially reproduced in Marín, "El Reflejo de las Corrientes Arquitectónicas […]," 122-28. The architect was Emilio Sala y Cortés.

[383] Rincón, "Muerte y Amor en la Escultura Española del Siglo XIX," 196.

How should we interpret these chronological discrepancies? Perhaps the second inscription was added late in 1888, following the official confirmation of Farreras' supernumerary professorship; the reference to "anatomy" alluding loosely to his area of expertise. Perhaps it was included after he was appointed Professor of Anatomy in Santiago de Compostela (1891), when he felt he had finally achieved the professional recognition he had long fought for, and perhaps believed he was nearing the end of his life. Alternatively, the inscription may have been a retrospective addition after his fall from grace, a way of affirming that he *had* in effect been a Professor of Anatomy in Barcelona for many years, even though it was without official recognition. In any case, apparently engrossed in professional and health-related struggles, Farreras broke an unwritten moral rule about self-memorialisation, at which earlier chapters have hinted: that it is up to others to extol your public and professional achievements once you are dead. The gesture calls into question the "modesty" which his colleagues attributed to him, for there is no doubt that the doctor, aged only 41 when he signed the plans for his own tomb, was instrumental in the construction, control, and adaptation of his funerary-professional self-image.

DOCTORS BEFORE DEATH

The textual inscriptions play a central role in the funerary monument, since they invite cemetery viewers to interpret Nobas' sculpted skeleton in the context of Farreras' medical profession. At this point, we must highlight the difference between the stark, emotionally cold, horizontal skeleton as dead human remains, which we see here; and the tradition of vertical skeletal personifications of animated Death which Hébert's sculpture (fig. 3.1) revived, and which were designed to elicit the emotional reactions of horror, fear or even macabre humour, but never indifference. The innate anonymity of the skeleton as a motif – gender-less and age-less to the untrained eye – meant that Farreras' inscribed name could be attached to the doctor's mortal remains *below* ground; as well as to the sculpted skeletal body immediately *above* it, which gave a unique sort of visibility to the buried body by echoing its final state after decomposition. This must have resulted in a peculiar experience for early viewers of the tomb who knew Farreras was not yet dead, particularly if they were aware that – in spite of what the inscription seemed to indicate – the crypt could accommodate at least six cadavers. At the same time, the text invites us to imagine Farreras standing outside his own tomb, capable of exteriorising his own mortality, and coolly observing a skeleton, which may or may not be his own, with detachment.

The idea of bringing together death and anatomy in a single object may have been inspired by Andreas Vesalius' famous woodcut of a skeleton-as-person contemplating a skull-as-object in *memento mori* fashion (1543) (fig. 3.16). We have already encountered the classic Freudian scenario of contemplating oneself dead in Chapter Two, although in the case of the Lemonier tomb it was the sculptor who did the contemplating. For the vast majority of cemetery visitors who are (or would have been) unaware that didactic skeletons were invariably positioned vertically for the teaching of anatomy, it is also possible to interpret the sculpted skeleton, which was placed roughly at the height of a desk or dissection table, as a teaching aid in an anatomy lesson, taught by the doctor himself (see fig. 3.17). Thanks to the low level fencing and the possibility of close proximity to the object – typical features of cemetery and church monuments but rarely of public statuary – viewers may even imagine themselves standing in the doctor's shoes and, in so doing, becoming a part of a sculptural tableau set in an anatomical amphitheatre.

One consequence of associating Farreras with a skeleton-as-teaching-prop is that attention is potentially drawn to the gulf between the doctor's privileged burial and the indignity of the anonymous human remains which he manipulated on a regular basis and whose final resting place was, in many cases, the display cases and specimen jars of the Faculty of Medicine. The obscure origins of the skeletons exhibited in Spain's anatomical museums was hinted at by a journalist who asked jokingly, after visiting the collection of Madrid anatomist Dr. Pedro González de Velasco in 1882, "where are the parents and children of those whose skeletons are studied in the Museum?"[384] The University of Barcelona's collection included the skulls of foreign sailors and dockworkers, who may have perished when passing through the city's busy port or its infamously insalubrious harbour slums.[385] The question of post-mortem distinction also arises when we notice that the cemetery plot which Farreras selected was located only a short distance from, and along the same path as, the area initially destined for the mass burial of paupers who had died in the University hospital (see fig. 3.8).

While the ambiguity of the sculpted skeleton potentially invites all the associations mentioned above, in the following paragraphs I argue that Nobas' cool, detached, representation of human remains was intended as a statement about mortality from the point of view of a late-nineteenth-century doctor. In their canonical book, *Objectivity*,

[384] José Fernández Bremón, "Crónica General," *Ilustración Española y Americana*, Oct 30, 1882, 250. "¿Dónde estarán los padres y los hijos de aquellos cuyo esqueleto sirve de estudio en el Museo?"

[385] Inventory of the Anatomical Museum of the Faculty of Medicine [...], AHUB.

Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison outline how the concepts of objectivity and subjectivity first appeared in the mid-nineteenth century, and discuss how the former – "first and foremost [...] the suppression of some aspect of the self" – became the goal of doctors and scientists over the following decades.[386] Along these lines, and on the occasion of an All Saints' Day visit to Madrid's cemeteries to locate the tombs of deceased illustrious doctors, anatomist Ángel Pulido wrote in 1882 that, "the doctor, given his delicate and severe mission, belongs to those members of society who least obey the periodic waves of sentiment."[387]

The Spanish anatomical context of the 1880s proves particularly significant for contextualising Farreras' tomb choice. The Catalan anatomist may have had in mind the recent, well-publicised case of the daughter of Spain's most famous anatomist of the period, the aforementioned Velasco. He could have followed the extraordinary true story of the death of the teenage Conchita, and of her embalming, cemetery burial, exhumation, mummification, dressing up, adornment, and exhibition in the family home (located inside his museum); all at the hands of her grief-stricken father, who spoke with his mummified daughter on a daily basis.[388] This intermingling of extreme, abnormal manifestations of paternal love with cutting-edge anatomical techniques – which Velasco had perfected himself – caused consternation at the time, partly for the way in which the doctor had crossed the perceived boundary which separated objectivity from subjectivity. As Fernández Bremón put it in 1882, "the man who dismembered cadavers to study the organism, without seeing in them anything other than a book that one flicks through, keeps the embalmed body of his daughter as a relic."[389] Compared with Velasco's efforts to deny, and prevent, the natural process of decomposition after death, Nobas' sculpted skeleton suggested that Farreras accepted and anticipated the death which awaited him, and that he possessed the modern, scientific ability of suppressing emotions in the face of death. And yet, behind the gesture is an inescapable contradiction: after all, what can be more subjective than commissioning a monument to oneself?

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386 Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2010), 27-36.

387 Ángel Pulido, *De la Medicina y los Médicos* (Valencia: Librería de P. Aguilar, 1883), 179-80. "El médico, por su delicada y severa misión, pertenece á esos miembros de la sociedad que menos obedecen al oleaje periódico de los sentimientos." The text reproduced an article originally published in *El Siglo Médico* in 1882.

388 For a scholarly account of the case, see Luis Ángel Sánchez, *La Niña: Tragedia y Leyenda de la Hija del Doctor Velasco* (Valencina de la Concepción: Editorial Renacimiento, 2017).

389 Fernández Bremón, "Crónica General," 250. "El hombre que deshacía cadáveres para estudiar el organismo, sin ver en ellos nada más que un libro que se hojea, guardaba embalsamado y en calidad de reliquia el cuerpo de su hija."

If the sculpted skeleton was intended as a medical statement about death, it must also be considered in the context of the conceptual relationship between objectivity, masculinity and rationality. The idea that the medical profession was fundamentally masculine was reflected in the title page of Velasco's medical periodical, *El Anfiteatro Anatómico Español* (published Madrid, 1873-75) in which not even the allegories were female (fig. 3.18), and in Antonio Bravo's large-scale painting of an operation observed by medical students, which was created for Madrid's Faculty of Medicine in 1880 (fig. 3.19). The prevalent attitude was exemplified in the prologue to *Historia de la Mujer Contemporánea* (1899), in which Antonio J. Bastiños railed against the new "cult to feminism," and asked with dismay, "Is it not possible for a woman to shine without wearing the gown of the [...] forensic surgeon, studying the human body or the insides of the earth?"[390] For Bastiños, a woman could, indeed should, be an "angel of the home [...] in its anxieties and illnesses," providing spiritual and external care and comfort; but scientific penetration of the human body (or, indeed, the earth, the feminine *tierra*) was the preserve of men.[391] Anatomists such as Farreras had particular claims to "masculinity" given that the penetrative practice of dissection required considerable bravery due to the high risk of contagion from corpses, and the consequent danger of death;[392] and the fact that the more "feminine" medical qualities of compassion and gentleness were apparently deemed less important when a doctor was dealing with dead paupers rather than the living.

In her recent book *The Face of Medicine*, Mary Hunter has shown how the Parisian medical elite of this period was presented as "the paradigm of ideal masculinity," embodying (among other characteristics) bravery, intelligence, rationality and virility.[393] Farreras' skeletal tomb is potentially compatible with all but the last of these qualities. In the pursuit of an exclusively professional, and masculine, self-image, the supposed "Professor of Anatomy" reveals nothing about his family; and if he had a wife or children, they are excluded from the inscriptions, even though the architectural plans and early newspaper

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390 Bastiños, Antonio J. ed., *Historia de la Mujer Contemporánea* (Barcelona: Antonio J. Bastiños, 1899), V-VIII. "Culto al feminismo;" "¿Es que la mujer no puede brillar sino vistiendo la toga [...] del forense, estudiando el cuerpo humano ó las entrañas de la tierra?"

391 Bastiños, *Historia de la Mujer Contemporánea*, V. "Ángel del hogar […] en sus angustias y enfermedades." For a discussion of masculinity and medicine in the French context, see Mary Hunter, *The Face of Medicine: Visualising Medical Masculinities in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015). Surgical penetration is discussed in relation to art forms in Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of its Technological Reproducibility," 35.

392 Pusalgas, *Pensamientos acerca un Reglamento* […], 16; Pulido, *De la Medicina y los Médicos*, 183.

393 Hunter, *The Face of Medicine*, 11.

reports suggest it was actually a family *panteón*. Farreras is the only person visibly memorialised. In this respect, the tomb looks to the practice of the posthumous memorialisation of "illustrious men," and anticipates the way in which many of Farreras' medical contemporaries would later be hailed as modern-day heroes and commemorated, by others, through public monuments across Spain.[394] I return later to the question of whether Farreras was anticipating future fame, compensating for a lack of professional success, or seeking to gain professional or social advantages in his lifetime, through the self-image the tomb projected.

As for the question of "rationality," it is necessary to consider the decision to add overtly religious elements to the tomb design – albeit apparently as an afterthought – since their Catholic symbolism seems to mitigate the "scientific" impact of the skeleton. In general terms, religion was associated with femininity and subjectivity in the conceptual dichotomy between objectivity and subjectivity. It was no coincidence that Velasco's mummified daughter was dubbed a "relic" by journalists. Ironically, the idea that medical science had superseded the superstition of religious belief was visually manifested on the title page of Velasco's periodical, in which an allegorised male doctor was shown, Christ-like, helping a sick or injured boy to walk again (fig. 3.18).

In the Catalan context, religion and medicine were frequently pitted against each other in the graphic art published in Barcelona periodicals. The fatal epidemics which frequently swept through the port city were sometimes depicted in skeletal guise, with religion providing no solution or solace. For example, a cartoon published in the satirical and anticlerical *Esquella de la Torratxa*, in 1883, showed Death killing by typhus fever, and in cahoots with a Jesuit priest, both of whom were sowing evil, the caption warned (fig. 3.20). In 1892, *La Ilustración Artística* reproduced a drawing of a sculpture by José Campeny Santamaría, entitled *Baccilus Vírgula*, the name of the cholera virus, which was shown personified as a skeletal horseman of the apocalypse (fig. 3.21). At the time, the sculpture was interpreted as a criticism of "the scientific controversies of the microbiologists," alluding to the government's decision to prohibit the use of a vaccine against the disease, which Catalan doctor Jaime Ferrán Clúa had developed and applied in the major 1885 epidemic.[395] Taken together, such images reflected a horror of disease

[394] Examples include Pulido, Federico Galí, Bartolomé Robert, Jaime Ferrán and Santiago Ramón y Cajal.

[395] "Nuestros Grabados," *Ilustración Artística*, May 16, 1892, 312-14. "Las controversias científicas de los microbiólogos." See also Lidia Catalá, "Vida i Obra de l'Escultor Josep Campeny Santamaria (Igualada 1858 – Barcelona 1922)," PhD diss (Barcelona: University of Barcelona, 2014), 471.

and death, which medicine could combat, and conveyed a sense that religion could do, or did, little to help.

In the late nineteenth-century Spanish cemetery context, however, the relationship between medicine and religion was, broadly speaking, one of coexistence rather than conflict. The architectural plans for Montjuïc cemetery, signed by architect Leandro Albareda in 1883, illustrate this perfectly (fig. 3.8). Centred around a Catholic chapel, and with non-Catholics relegated to un-consecrated peripheral areas, Montjuïc's design reflected the increased medicalisation of death though the inclusion of an autopsy room, a room for doctors, and a separate chamber for the doctor employed by the cemetery; as well as the (unrealised) space destined for those who had died in the Hospital, as mentioned earlier.[396] In urban centres with a growing bourgeoisie able to pay private physicians, doctors were becoming almost as familiar a presence at the deathbed as priests, and faith was increasingly being placed on medicine, rather than religion, to prevent or delay death.

And yet, religious convention dominated the approach to the afterlife, and the format of funerary monuments, to such an extent that even doctors whom we know to have been atheists or agnostics received religious burials. For example, Velasco's family tomb is located in the cemetery of the Sacramental de San Isidro, Madrid's most exclusive, private, religious cemetery, even though he died a non-believer; and in Chapter Five, I examine the religious tomb of a prominently anticlerical doctor. While it has not been possible to ascertain Farreras' religious beliefs or socio-economic background, it is likely, given his evidently ambitious nature, that he aspired to belong to that Barcelona bourgeoisie which consistently commissioned tombs of a religious character. As we saw in the Introduction, most people had no desire to become social outcasts by choosing to be buried in the non-Catholic periphery of the cemetery; instead accepting the Catholic character of the main space, and conforming to it. Thus, we do not know whether the conventional, generic religious symbolism masons added to Farreras' otherwise highly personalised tomb project was the result of pressure from society, the doctor's family, or the cemetery authorities; or a genuine reflection of the doctor's beliefs or hopes for the afterlife. Irrespective of the reason, the final monument suggests the compatibility between religion and medicine.

[396] Leandro Albareda, *Nuevo Cementerio de Barcelona* (Barcelona: Lit. Sucesores de Ramiro y Cia, 1883).

NOBAS' SCULPTURAL REALISM(S)

The forceful impact of the Farreras tomb as a medical – or semi-medical – statement about death was dependent on the painstaking realism with which Nobas executed his skeletal subject-matter. Hunter has recently shown how realism's association with truth meant that it was considered the ideal style for the pictorial representation of "men of science" in late nineteenth-century Paris;[397] and the Farreras tomb relies on a similar fit between the medical profession and the realist style. The cliché that doctors view the human body with cold, absolute objectivity has become so culturally entrenched that it has entered art historical language itself, permeating even critical approaches to realism as an artistic style. Linda Nochlin's seminal book on *Realism*, for example, employed the terms "clinical" and "surgically detached" to suggest emotional distance in the context of nineteenth-century funerary sculptures with no direct medical connections.[398]

Given that Nobas produced medical and artistic sculpture, his career-long commitment to "realism" merits a more nuanced examination than it has hitherto received if it is to shed light on the meanings of the Farreras tomb.[399] Indeed, the perception of Nobas as a steady "realist," who died without adopting *modernismo* – the variant of art nouveau or symbolism particularly associated with Catalonia and the Catalan cultural revival – may help to explain why he remains understudied in spite of the recent renewal of interest in late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Catalan sculpture. Nochlin points out that one of the enduring myths of artistic realism, which she suggests began in the nineteenth century, was that it reproduced nature so faithfully that it was a "styleless style."[400] A logical conclusion is that it is a style which is difficult to ground geographically, proving resistant, as in Nobas' case, to being harnessed by nationalist or regionalist art histories.[401]

Nobas' contemporaries, however, *were* interested in analysing the nature and degree of his "realism," and took as their point of departure his celebrated portrayal of a bullfighter's death (fig. 3.22), which won medals at the National Fine Art Exhibition in

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[397] Hunter, *The Face of Medicine*, 46 and 89.

[398] Linda Nochlin, *Realism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971), 65 and 84; Getsy, *Body Doubles,* 65 and 84.

[399] For a discussion of the complexities of the concept of realism, see the introduction to Nochlin, *Realism,* 119-42.

[400] Nochlin, *Realism,* 14.

[401] My argument here follows David Getsy's distinction between this wider notion of realism, and "the more common usage of the term derived from French Realist practices (exemplified in the work of Gustave Courbet) in which style and (often working-class) subject-matter were often deployed in consort." Getsy, *Body Doubles*, 123.

Madrid (1871) and the Centennial International Exhibition in Philadelphia (1876).[402] Writing around 1890, Miquel praised Nobas' ability to achieve realism without arousing the viewer's sense of repulsion, implying that deaths in the bullring were particularly gory.[403] Art critic Antonio García Llansó agreed, expanding or paraphrasing Miquel's commentary by attributing to Nobas the artistic philosophy that unpleasant subjects, susceptible to causing disgust *in reality* – whether for moral or aesthetic reasons – should not be chosen as subjects for art.[404] García concluded that, because Nobas did not take nature as it came, but searched for beauty within it, "naturalists *à outrance* were forced to classify him among the idealists."[405] This comment distinguished Nobas favourably from those of his Spanish contemporaries who were beginning to embrace what has been dubbed "anecdotal realism,"[406] the Italian trend for meticulously representing mundane, sometimes distasteful subjects, of which Adriano Cecioni's sculpture of a *Defecating Dog* (1880) was surely the most extreme example.[407]

The notions that it was possible to be excessively realist by choosing undesirable subject-matter, and that the counterpoint of sculptural realism was "idealism," coincide with British attitudes identified by Nochlin and David Getsy in a similar period, suggesting that nineteenth-century critical reactions to sculptural realism may have been more widespread across Europe than has yet been recognised.[408] However, in the Spanish context, the notion of "idealism" – which seems to have escaped the art-historical scrutiny to which "realism" has been subjected – is frequently used to refer to religious or spiritual subject-matter.[409]

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[402] On this exhibition presence, see Leticia Azcue and Chloe Sharpe, "Los Escultores Españoles y las Exposiciones Nacionales, Internacionales y Universales" (unpublished manuscript, Microsoft Word file), Museo Nacional del Prado, 2011-13.

[403] Miquel, *El Arte en España*, 357-60.

[404] García Llansó, "Rosendo Nobas," 326. García attributes the idea to Miquel, but it is unclear, here, whether he is quoting from an unidentified text by Miquel, creatively paraphrasing Miquel's comments, or giving his own interpretation.

[405] García Llansó, "Rosendo Nobas," 326. "Los naturalistas *à outrance* debían forzosamente clasificarle entre los idealistas."

[406] Mikel Lertxundi, "Accidenti!" in *Mariano Benlliure: El Dominio de la Materia*, 156. "Realismo anecdótico."

[407] In the 1880s and 1890s, Spanish followers of this trend included Benlliure, Marinas, and Cipriano Folgueras. For more on this, see Reyero, *La Escultura del Eclecticismo en España,* 182-83 and 209-10.

[408] For more on comparable British attitudes, see Getsy, *Body Doubles*, 123; George Henry Lewes, "Realism in Art," in Stephen Regan, *The Nineteenth-Century Novel: A Critical Reader* (London: Routledge, 2001), 36-39, originally published in *Westminster Review*, 1858 and cited in Nochlin, *Realism,* 35.

[409] See, for example, Mercè Doñate, "Symbolist Sculpture," in *Barcelona and Modernity*, by William H. Robinson et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 74.

When the conceptual division between sculptural realism/naturalism[410] and idealism was brought to the cemetery context more was felt to be at stake. Reporting from Rome for Barcelona newspaper *La Ilustración* in 1882, journalist Manuel Ibo used the example of the extraordinary Capuchin crypt, "decorated" with the skulls and skeletons of dead monks (fig. 3.23), to passionately argue that sculptural "idealism" was necessary, in the cemetery, to hide the horrors of death and awaken religious feeling.[411] The difference which Ibo established between idealism and realism proved to be not one of style, but of subject-matter. Ironically, the sculptures he praised as "idealist" – works by Giuseppe Benetti, Antonio Debarbieri, and others, in Genoa's Staglieno cemetery – have today become quintessential examples of so-called "bourgeois *realism*,"[412] in which members of the new affluent middle classes were meticulously represented dressed in all their contemporary finery, and enacting morally edifying mourning rituals (see, for example, fig. 3.24). These are surely the kinds of sculptures which the 1900 Paris exhibition jury would later describe, as we saw earlier, as "gesturing, grimacing subjects, of exaggerated mimicry: realism, or more accurately, materialism."[413] Meanwhile, conflating the "real" and the representational, Ibo urged followers of "that modern school known as naturalist" to bear in mind the repugnance elicited by what he called the "exaggerated realism" of actual skeletons.[414]

The sense that *sculpted* skeletons may not have been as welcome in nineteenth-century cemeteries as Baudelaire seemed to think, at least in Spain, is suggested by an intriguing comparison between two works by Campeny, whose skeletal allegory of death by cholera we encountered earlier (fig. 3.21). Clearly inspired by Hébert's statuette (fig. 3.1), Campeny's *Death Hastening Youth* (*ca.* 1889) represented a menacing masculinised allegory of Death making away with an inert, naked woman (fig. 3.25). Yet, when a similar composition appeared on the tomb of Eduard Puig Valls, in Montjuïc cemetery (1889-90) (fig. 3.26), it was transformed into a comforting, "idealist" scene of a male angel tenderly carrying a willing young woman – an allegorised human soul – to heaven, in the

[410] The Spanish critics I cite used the words interchangeably.

[411] Ibo, "El Cementerio de Capuchinos de Roma," 498-502. "Idealismo."

[412] "Bourgeois realism" is the term used in the explanatory text panels in Staglieno cemetery.

[413] Liard and Bénédite, *Rapports du Jury International,* 727. "Sujets gesticulant, grimaçant, d'une mimique exagérée: réalisme ou plus justement matérialisme."

[414] Ibo, "El Cementerio de Capuchinos de Roma," 502. "Esa escuela moderna llamada naturalista;" "realismo exagerado."

line of William-Adolphe Bouguereau's paintings (see, for example, fig. 3.27), and the Italian sculptural apotheoses discussed in Chapter One (figs. 1.18-1.22).[415]

Ibo's thinly veiled criticism of contemporary sculptural tendencies cannot have been directed at Nobas' artistic sculpture, since the Farreras tomb was an extraordinary exception to the sculptor's "idealistic" form of "realism." An examination of Nobas' earlier funerary production reveals that he partook fully of the predominant tendency to soften or "idealise" death, through sculptures of generic subjects offering religious comfort.[416] All of Nobas' five documented funerary monuments in the cemetery of Poblenou were centred either on heavenly apotheosis or on pious mourning. For example, he carved an angel pointing heavenward for the tomb of Emelia Torrents and her family (1877) (fig. 3.28); and by around 1883, he had completed the sculptural decoration for the Brugada mausoleum, comprising a Virgin of Sorrows, a relief of a woman embracing two children, and two now severely-deteriorated female saints or religious allegories (figs. 3.29-3.30).[417] Of the remaining three monuments, one featured another Virgin of Sorrows, and the other two angels.[418] Although a shrouded corpse, probably the dead father of the family, appears in the background of the Brugada tomb relief, it is overshadowed by the pathetic family scene, and so discrete that it could easily pass unnoticed (fig. 3.30). It was only with the audacious Farreras tomb, apparently his last cemetery sculpture, that Nobas could have qualified as a "naturalist *a outrance*," by bringing his celebrated realist style to relatively uncompromising subject-matter; but on the subject of the Farreras tomb, his admirers were revealingly silent. Nobas himself died soon after the tomb was erected, and perhaps the ensuing memorial articles preferred to praise his prestigious monuments and conventionally beautiful works, rather than associate him with "unpleasant" artistic representations of death.[419] Unlike the sculptures discussed in Part One, the work did not become a monument to its sculptor upon his death.

At the Faculty of Medicine, the quality of Nobas' anatomical sculptures was judged on very different criteria. My research into the genre suggests that the notions of realism,

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[415] For more on these works, see Catalá, "Vida i Obra de l'Escultor Josep Campeny Santamaria," 208, 410 and 445.

[416] The preference for "spiritual" references over realism in funerary sculpture is briefly addressed in Reyero, "El Realismo en la Escultura Pública," 300-01.

[417] Manuel Ossorio, *Galería Biográfica de Artistas Españoles del Siglo XIX* (Madrid: n.p., 1883-84), 486-87.

[418] Feliu Elías, *L'Escultura Catalana Moderna*, vol. 2 (Barcelona: Barcino, 1928), 146; José Roca, *Barcelona en la Mano* (Barcelona: Enrique López, 1895), 251; Margarida Nadal and Jordi Puyol, *El Cementerio del Poblenou* (Barcelona: Serveis Funeraris de Barcelona, 2000), 133-40.

[419] See, for example, Roca, "La Semana en Barcelona," 5; Masriera, "Rossendo Nobas," 43; García Llansó, "Rosendo Nobas," 326.

realism as a style, and personal artistic style, were virtually absent from late nineteenth-century discourse on anatomical sculpture in Spain.[420] In his university role, Nobas' merit lay not in rejecting repulsive subject-matter, but, instead, in representing whatever medical condition or surgical process the Faculty staff required. As we saw earlier, painted models functioned as simulacra and stood in for real human bodies where appropriate cadavers were unavailable for dissection, or where the medical conditions or processes represented occurred too rarely in nature. While his predecessor in the role of Assistant Anatomical Sculptor, Juan Samsó Lengly, had created representations of generic bodies,[421] Nobas was charged with producing models aimed at the new principle of scientific objectivity: the direct reproduction of reality, supposedly without normalisation or idealisation. In this vein, he produced at least three series, each comprised of three high reliefs, which showed particular patients before, during, and after they had undergone successful operations in the University hospital (figs. 3.11-3.12).

In some of his other university works, Nobas used the technique of casting from life (or death), which was generally frowned upon in the Fine Art context, but was embraced as a reliable and legitimate way of achieving the desired accuracy in the medical context, where it was widely used in this period.[422] Indeed, Daston and Galison have coined the term "mechanical objectivity" to refer to the late-nineteenth-century impulse to "liberate images from human interference" through such "mechanical" procedures as photography and life casting.[423] Nobas' anatomical model of an infant with spinal bifida (fig. 3.13), for example, includes a plaster cloth which bears the imprint of the original fabric, indicating that the whole object was almost certainly cast from a real dissected body. Such works would have required the close collaboration of a dissector, who could well have been Farreras himself, in his role as Director of Anatomical Work.

The art critics who praised Nobas' realism did not discuss any of his anatomical objects, which fell outside the remit of "high" art. Only Masriera sought to reconcile the artistic

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[420] Sharpe and Zarzoso, "Art at the Service of Medicine," 328-45; Chloe Sharpe, "Médicos, Monumentos y Mortalidad" (lecture, Societat Catalana d'Història de la Medicina, Barcelona, Dec 12, 2017); Chloe Sharpe and Alfons Zarzoso, "Médicos, Modelos Anatómicos y Esculturas de Cera," in *Al Servicio de la Salud Humana,* ed. Alfons Zarzoso and Jon Arrizabalaga (Sant Feliu de Guíxols: Sociedad Española de la Historia de la Medicina, 2017), 473-78.

[421] Sharpe and Zarzoso, "Art at the Service of Medicine," 330-33.

[422] For more on life casting in the nineteenth century, see Papet et al., *A Fleur de Peau*; Édouard Papet and Stephen Feeke, *Second Skin: Historical Life Casting and Contemporary Sculpture* (Leeds: Henry Moore Institute, 2002); Naomi Slipp, "Thomas Eakins and the Human Écorché," *Sculpture Journal* 24, no. 3 (2015): 333-50.

[423] Daston and Galison, *Objectivity*, 120-21.

and medical sides of the sculptor's professional activity, presenting his transition between perceived high and low art in a positive light, but without entering into detail:

> The presence of the small did not bother him because he always found a pretext to channel it into something great. In the last years of his short career he was sculptor of the Hospital, for the artistic reproduction of external conditions [involving] deformations.[424]

THE EXTREME REALISM OF NOBAS' SCULPTED SKELETON

The spheres of art and medicine, however, meet and intersect – as we have seen – in a unique manner in Nobas' meticulously-sculpted skeleton. The astonishing exactitude of the anatomical details are revealed when, following the jolt of surprise caused by the initial encounter with the object, viewers abandon the cemetery path and begin to scrutinise it at close range. By looking straight down into the face, it is possible to appreciate the intricacy of the eye and nose cavities, which are carved deeply into the marble skull; while, by crouching, viewers can admire Nobas' precise and accurate rendition of the skeleton's cervical vertebrae (figs. 3.5-3.6). The object's powerful effect is such that viewers may find themselves subjecting the skeleton to the kind of intimate, penetrative scrutiny of the doctor, dissector, surgeon or medical student; whose symbolic place they may be physically occupying in the sculptural tableau.

Yet Nobas' bravura realism did not stop at sculpted bone. Having chosen a "realist" subject verging on the "repulsive" and treated it with a degree of accuracy appropriate to the medical context, Nobas then literally drew the line at the skeleton's head. The rest of the skeletal body – with the exception of a single hand – was covered with a shroud, which provided the sculptor with the chance to show his virtuosity at depicting sculpted drapery, a skill according to which his artistic merit could be judged (figs. 3.3-3.6). The shroud preserved the skeleton's supposed "modesty" in spite of the fact that the genital gender markers would have been lost to decomposition, and served as a reminder that a skeleton lay somewhere on the spectrum between an object and a person. This act of respectful covering, in itself, seemed to suggest that a person stripped literally to the bone constituted a form of extreme nudity. It is poignantly ironic that Nobas' sculpted skeleton was, in this respect, treated with a dignity which was not extended to the real skeletons in the Faculty's Anatomical Museum, which were exhibited uncovered.

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[424] Masriera, "Rossendo Nobas," 43. "La presencia de lo petit no el molestaba perquè trovava sempre motiu per conduhirho a lo gran. En els últims anys de sa curta carrera desempenyava'l càrrach d'esculptor de l'Hospital, per la reproducció plàstica d'afeccios externas deformes."

The extreme realism of the Farreras skeleton was instrumental in conveying a forceful expression of the absolute finality of death. Getsy, in his examination of the sculpted sepulchral corpse of Ford's *Shelley Memorial* (1892), powerfully claimed that "in art historical terms, the corpse is the logical conclusion of realism" and "the most fundamentally realist subject."[425] The implication was that if real bodies inevitably become corpses, to show the sculpted "body double" as dead was the full, natural extension – he uses the phrase "limit case" – of the possibilities of figurative sculpture. At the same time, he probably had in mind the correlation between the immobility of sculpture and that of the corpse. Yet to call a recognisable human corpse the "conclusion" of the human body is to stop at the moment of death, and to overlook the corpse's transitory nature and the rapid onset of putrefaction; states and processes with which both anatomists and anatomical sculptors would have been extremely familiar. Getsy's point may, I believe, more effectively be applied to the *skeletal* body and its sculptural counterpart. Free of all flesh and thus utterly "nude," unmistakeably dead rather than sleeping, strangely "immortal" in its chemical stability and material durability, the (sculpted) inanimate skeleton suggests a degree of finality which a corpse arguably does not. That this stark representation of the end of life took the form of a realist horizontal skeleton rather than an "idealist" floating soul suggested that Farreras, as a doctor, knew and accepted what death had in store for him.

CHROMATIC REALISM AND SCULPTURAL SIMULACRUM

Nobas created the Farreras tomb as an extreme realist sculpture on other grounds, too: those of colour. The sculpted, shrouded skeleton was an astute, even playful, experiment in chromatic realism. White marble was painstakingly carved to simulate naturally white materials: white fabric, on white bone, on a white stone slab; surpassing the formal realism of even the most famous "realist" sculpted corpses of the period, some of which I examine later. In this careful act of chromatic matching, Nobas revealed his sensitivity to the materials of sculpture, and an understanding of white as a colour in itself rather than an absence of pigment.[426] Although not the first sculptor of his generation to exploit the mimetic potential of white marble – British sculptor William Hamo Thornycroft, for

[425] Getsy, *Body Doubles*, 128-34.

[426] On nineteenth-century British attitudes to whiteness in sculpture, see Michael Hatt, "Transparent Forms: Tinting, Whiteness and John Gibson's *Venus*," *Sculpture Journal* 23, no. 2 (2014): 185-96. For a discussion of white in painting and interior design in this period, see Sally-Anne Huxtable, "White Walls, White Nights, White Girls: Whiteness and the British Artistic Interior, 1850-1900," *Journal of Design History* 27, no. 3 (Sept 2014): 237-55.

example, used it to represent *Lot's Wife* (1878), transformed into a pillar of salt – his manner of coupling it with a high degree of stylistic naturalism was highly innovative.

Nobas ingeniously achieved this chromatic mimesis while remaining firmly within the bounds of academic sculpture, or "high" art, since it was a result of monochromy rather than polychromy.[427] Although polychrome sculpture was on the rise across late nineteenth-century Europe, following the dominance of white marble associated with Neoclassicism, there remained a bias against it.[428] This was particularly the case when polychromy was achieved with paint, rather than by combining materials of naturally different colours,[429] or by using transparent tints.[430] However, an exception was made for devotional statuary, at least in Spain. It is well known that the prejudice against colour was partly based on its association with waxworks, by then the quintessential example of "low" art, as we saw in Chapter Two. For theorists of fine art, coloured wax was used not in the pursuit of beauty, but for its suitability for mimicry, and this was why it was favoured by makers of anatomical models. Consequently, it is highly significant that Nobas' chosen medium for the Farreras tomb was white marble, the "noblest" of sculptural materials, and reserved for artistic statuary.

In this context, early viewers of the tomb who were reminded of Nobas' employment at the Faculty of Medicine when contemplating it would, simultaneously, be shown that the artist's skills went far beyond the requirements of medicine. The sculpted skeleton did things that his anatomical models did not: carved marble replaced cast and painted plaster, and bone and textile supplanted skin and flesh as subjects. At the same time, the skeleton's chromatic realism followed the principles of anatomical sculpture, and continued what Nobas had been tasked with at the Faculty of Medicine: the imitation of both form and colour to create a simulacrum which stood in for a real, absent body.

The simulacrum, and its connections with death, must have been on Nobas' mind for other reasons, too. Between 1883 and 1884, while still employed as Anatomical Sculptor,

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[427] The term "monochromy" is more appropriate here than "achromy," which denotes an absence of colour, and which is sometimes used to refer to the opposite of polychromy. See Alex Potts, "Colors of Sculpture," in *The Color of Life: Polychromy in Sculpture from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. Roberta Panzanelli, Eike D Schmidt, and Kenneth D. S. Lapatin, (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2008), 78.

[428] For more on polychromy in sculpture, see Panzanelli, Schmidt, and Lapatin, eds., *The Color of Life*; Andreas Blühm, ed. *The Colour of Sculpture 1840-1910* (Zwole: Waanders Uitgevers, 1996).

[429] Wolfgang Drost, "Colour, Sculpture, Mimesis. A 19th-Century Debate," in *The Colour of Sculpture 1840-1910,* ed. Andreas Blühm (Zwole: Waanders Uitgevers, 1996), 67; Alison Yarrington, "Under the Spell of Madame Tussaud. Aspects of "High" and "Low" in 19th-Century Polychromed Sculpture," in *The Colour of Sculpture 1840-1910*, 83-92; Potts, "Colors of Sculpture," 78.

[430] Hatt, "Transparent Forms," 190-92.

he produced a wooden, polychrome, life-size processional sculpture of the Virgin of Sorrows for the city of Pamplona (fig. 3.31).[431] The figure followed a Spanish tradition of *imágenes de vestir* (dressable images), religious processional figures carved and painted to appear life-like, and then clothed in actual fabrics, so that the real was combined with the realist.[432] In rituals which have continued to the present, devotees respectfully dress and adorn such statues, treating them as "stand ins" for the characters they represent.[433]

The astounding degree of naturalism in Nobas' rendition surpassed many of the older processional figures, in that the Virgin's face appeared less idealised, and more plausibly older, than most. When the sculpture was first revealed in public, the face's convincing expression of the mixed emotions of anguish, sorrow and hope was reported to have profoundly moved those present.[434] The contrasting requirements of religion and science return to the fore when we compare Nobas' carefully-calibrated approaches to realism: while the function of the religious simulacrum was to make the Virgin's emotional turmoil as believable as possible, thus heightening the viewers' empathetic responses, it was the ideal of medical objectivity, and affective neutrality, which lay behind the realism of his anatomical models and – I have argued – his skeletal simulacrum.

ONE MONUMENT, TWO PROFESSIONS

Given Nobas' display of versatility, ingenuity and technical ability when bridging the spheres of artistic and anatomical sculpture, it is clear that the funerary monument which so explicitly references Farreras' job has also benefitted from being considered in relation to the sculptural profession. I now extend this point further by suggesting that the sculpted skeleton invites analogies to be drawn between the professions of both men whose names are inscribed on the front of the monument, and whose intersecting career paths gave rise to it. Sculptors and doctors centred their professional activity on the human body, and on acquiring three-dimensional knowledge of the complex layers that

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431 For more on this sculpture, see Ramón Reta, *La Dolorosa de Pamplona* (Pamplona: R. Reta, 2011).

432 For a nuanced discussion of the distinctions between realness and naturalism in polychrome processional sculpture, see Tomas Macsotay, "Appropriations. Some Remarks on Secular and Religious Responses to Spanish Devotional Sculpture," in *L'Escultura a Estudi: Iniciatives i Projectes*, ed. Cristina Rodríguez, Núria Aragonès and Irene Gras (Barcelona: Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 2016), 27-29. For more on Spanish processional sculpture, see Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain*; Marjorie Trusted, "Moving Church Monuments: Processional Images in Spain in the Seventeenth Century," *Church Monuments* 10 (1995): 55-69; Chloe Sharpe, "Painting Photographed Sculpture: John Singer Sargent's Spanish Photographs and the Boston Public Library Murals," *Sculpture Journal* 26, no. 2 (2017): 175-92.

433 There is a curious medical connection in the case of this sculpture. Munárriz recounts that, for around 40 years, a local ophthalmologist made an annual ritual of inspecting and cleaning the glass eyes of Nobas' Virgin using the products pertaining to ocular surgery. Munárriz, *La Dolorosa de Pamplona*, 249-62.

434 "Gacetillas," *Lau-Buru*, March 20, 1833, 2. Cited in Reta, *La Dolorosa de Pamplona*, 33.

surrounded the skeletal core. It was for this reason that didactic skeletons had also been used, since 1851, in the training of art students at Barcelona's Official School of Fine Arts,[435] where Nobas had studied and where he returned as a teacher (see fig. 3.32). Furthermore, the act of cutting was central to the work of sculptors and anatomists. To achieve the details, cavities and grooves of the marble skeleton's head and drapery, the stone had to be expertly carved with both force and controlled precision; an act which, perhaps, had its parallel in the anatomist's careful incisions in the human body, on the one hand, and in the measured strength applied in amputations and similar operations, on the other.

Moreover, within the Anatomical Department, the division of labour between anatomists and sculptors was much less clear-cut than we might assume. Until at least the 1860s, the role of Director of the Anatomical Museum at Barcelona's Faculty of Medicine overlapped with that of the "conservator-preparer" of anatomical models, which overlapped, in turn with that of the anatomical sculptor. Although, broadly speaking, the "conservator-preparer" – and, in subsequent years, other Faculty doctors – prepared real anatomical specimens, and the sculptor produced artificial models, the objects each produced had the same didactic purpose, and were made in the same space. The collaborative practice of casting from dissected specimens blurred the boundaries even further. In this respect, especially suggestive is the 1858 inventory of the Faculty's anatomical collection, in particular the section entitled "Tools and equipment held in the workshop of the curator-preparer and of the sculptor of anatomical pieces of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Barcelona."[436] The list of tools apparently pertaining to the sculptor – including chisels, saws, hammers, tongs, needles, screwdrivers – does not read very differently from another list, presumably of tools for medical use, which includes hacksaws, knives, blades and levers. Moreover, the tools used in sculptural modelling have a scalpel-like appearance reminiscent of surgical instruments.

Michael Fried's influential reading of the *Gross Clinic* (1875) (fig. 3.33), Thomas Eakins' painting of Dr. Samuel Gross and his surgical team performing an operation, hinged upon a comparable similarity between the tools of surgery and art.[437] Fried argued that "the gleaming scalpel [...], which being hard and sharp, an instrument for cutting, belongs

[435] Cristina Rodríguez, "L'Anatomia Artística a l'Escola de Belles Arts de Barcelona," *Butlleti de la Reial Academia Catalana de Belles Arts de San Jordi* 26 (2012): 66.

[436] Inventory of the Instruments of the Anatomical Cabinet of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Barcelona, 1858, 2944/9, AHUB.

[437] Michael Fried, "Realism, Writing, and Disfiguration in Thomas Eakins's Gross Clinic," *Representations* 9 (Winter, 1985): 33-104.

unmistakeably to the system of writing/drawing," and that it also referred "by means of an irresistible analogy, to that of painting" due to its positioning in Gross' right hand, and the blood it bears on its tip.[438] Curiously, Fried did not explore potential sculptural analogies, a surprising decision given that Eakins was also an anatomical sculptor known for making casts from dissected body parts.[439] Nobas was at least as well placed as Eakins to observe, at first hand, the points of intersection between the professional activities of the sculptor and the doctor. By representing cloth and bone, body covering and body cavities, the Farreras monument seems to allude to a shared preoccupation between doctors and sculptors about the process of passing between surface and depth, exterior and core.

SCULPTURAL SOURCES IN BARCELONA

Medical readings of the sculpted skeleton were, I have argued, encouraged by the textual inscriptions and the extreme, cold realism that was Nobas' chosen style; but this is only part of the story. The monument's audacity as a statement about Farreras' modern, medical ability to view death "objectively" becomes more complex when we consider the sculpture's relationship to various religious and semi-religious sculptural sources.

Nobas' sculpted skeleton clearly alluded to a widespread Spanish baroque sculptural type known as the "lying Christ" (*Cristo Yacente*) – whose most famous exponent was Gregorio Fernández – in which Jesus lay horizontal and dead, his emaciated, tortured body partially covered in draped cloth (fig. 3.34). Contemporary viewers were likely to have recognised, as a specific point of reference, the recent contribution which Nobas' erstwhile teacher, Agapito Vallmitjana, had made to the genre: the acclaimed, award-winning *Dead Christ* of 1872 (fig. 3.35), which substituted the traditional polychromed wood for white marble.[440] Vallmitjana's virtuoso rendition, described by Leticia Azcue as a "synthesis between sentiment and technique,"[441] fulfilled the "idealistic" kind of realism without

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[438] Fried, "Realism, Writing, and Disfiguration in Thomas Eakins's Gross Clinic," 88.

[439] Fried did, however, briefly mention Elizabeth Johns' point that the surgeon's scalpel-wielding hand may have had "kinship" with Velázquez's portrayal of the hand of sculptor Juan Martínez Montañés (*ca.* 1635), who was depicted "drawing," in paint, a sculpture in the air. See Elizabeth Johns, *Thomas Eakins: The Heroism of Modern Life* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), 75, discussed in Fried, "Realism, Writing, and Disfiguration in Thomas Eakins's Gross Clinic," 36. For more on Eakins' anatomical sculptures, see Slipp, "Thomas Eakins and the Human Écorché," 333-50.

[440] Azcue briefly pointed out the similarity between the works. Leticia Azcue, "Agapito Vallmitjana. Cristo Yacente," in *El Siglo XIX en el Prado*, ed. José Luis Diez and Javier Barón (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2007), 397.

[441] Azcue, "Agapito Vallmitjana. Cristo Yacente," 395. "Síntesis entre el sentimiento y la técnica." For more on Vallmitjana's *Dead Christ*, see also Leticia Azcue, "La Escultura Española hacia el Cambio de Siglo y Algunos de sus Protagonistas en el Museo del Prado: Felipe Moratilla y Agapito Vallmitjana," in *Del Realismo al Impresionismo* (Madrid: Fundación Amigos del Museo del Prado, 2014), 380-86; Leticia Azcue, "Escultors

repulsion which we encountered earlier. Anatomically modelled on the body of the painter Rosales, who was again slowly dying of the aesthetically-pleasing TB (see Chapters One and Two), the *Dead Christ* also had a spiritual idealism which many found deeply moving, and which contrasted sharply with the emotional detachment of Nobas' skeleton.

In comparison with the shrouded skeleton of the Farreras tomb, Vallmitjana's *Dead Christ* was less visibly, or less obviously, fully dead. Within the Spanish *Cristo Yacente* tradition, there is a sculptural sub-type known as "Christ in bed" (*Cristo de la Cama*) which represents the moribund or dead Christ on his (death)bed,[442] and is inscribed in the tradition of representing death as sleep, discussed in Chapter Two. With its ambiguous drapery, Vallmitjana's *Dead Christ* – and particularly the 1869 clay model for the work, which Nobas had probably seen (fig. 3.36) – relied on the blurred distinction between loincloths, shrouds and crumpled bed sheets, which characterised many of the works in the sub-type. The *Cristo de la Cama* sculptures had strong funerary associations, since they frequently occupied a key place in Holy Week processions dedicated to the Holy Burial, when they took to the streets, often encased in transparent glass "coffins" (fig. 3.37). Once again, there existed a correlation between function and sculptural material. When Vallmitjana replicated his *Dead Christ* for the funerary crypt of the Marquis of Comillas' palace, he did so in marble; but painted wood was chosen for the version destined for the procession of the Holy Burial in Pamplona (1885-87), where the work joined Nobas' *Virgin of Sorrows* (fig. 3.31) in the city's streets during Holy Week.[443]

Another recent, local work of nineteenth-century sculptural realism which Nobas probably had in mind was also a deathbed representation: the unsigned effigy on the Nadal family tomb, erected around 1868 in Poblenou cemetery (fig. 3.38).[444] In a format inspired by Lorenzo Bartolini's representation of the Countess Zofia Zamoyska for her tomb in Santa Croce, Florence (1837-44) (fig. 3.39), the gaunt, elderly Josefa García Cubera was shown apparently just after the moment of death, propped up in bed, with her eyes closed and her head lolling to one side. The peaks formed by the sheet draped over the figure's feet prefigure those in the Farreras tomb. Based on historical and stylistic

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Catalans del Segle XIX en el Museo Nacional del Prado. Una Primera Aproximació," *Butlletí MNAC* 10 (2009): 114-17.

[442] For more on the *Cristo de la Cama* type, see Macsotay, "Appropriations," 35-39.

[443] On the different versions of Vallmitjana's *Dead Christ*, see Azcue, "La Escultura Española hacia el Cambio de Siglo [...]," 380-86.

[444] For a discussion of the Nadal tomb, see Martí, Català and Marín, *Un Paseo por el Cementerio de Poblenou*, 48 and 107-08.

considerations, I propose that Agapit Vallmitjana, his brother Venancio, or even Nobas himself, are the most likely candidates for its authorship. Although the sculpture arguably had the strongest claim to "realism" within Barcelona's cemetery monuments prior to the Farreras tomb, Reyero's suggestion that it gave a "scientific" view of the cadaver[445] is a slight overstatement. Little of the woman's corpse can actually be seen among the clothing and sheets, and the crucifix resting on her open palm were carefully arranged to convey the idea that she had died a calm, "good," Christian death.[446] Yet the bed setting, and the fact that decomposition had not yet set in, allowed for the remote possibility that she might still wake up. In the context of then-recent, realist, sculptural representations of death in the Barcelona context – the Nadal tomb and Vallmitjana's *Dead Christ* – it is clear that Nobas introduced two innovations by representing a skeleton rather than a corpse. Firstly, realism no longer put forward an obvious Christian meaning; and secondly, death was not to be confused with sleep, but was unequivocal and irreversible.

MODERNISING THE TRANSI TOMB?

Sculpted skeletons as representations of "extreme corpses" were not, of course, new to European funerary art. Housed in the museum of Laon, in north-west France, is the sculpted stone funerary "effigy" of the corpse of Guillaume de Harcigny (*ca.* 1393), court physician to Charles V of France (fig. 3.40). Although posthumously erected in a church, the sepulchre was made following instructions left by the doctor himself[447] – a reminder, in case one is needed, that funerary self-memorialisation had a long history. It is one of the earliest surviving examples of the medieval and renaissance northern European transi tomb tradition, in which the deceased was shown as a corpse: emaciated, partially-decomposed, riddled with worms, or fully skeletal; sometimes with a shroud, and usually recumbent. The Farreras tomb's visual similarity to this funerary genre,[448] added to the circumstantial medical parallels suggested by the Harcigny comparison, are particularly intriguing given that scholars agree that no examples exist in Spain.[449] Although Nobas

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445 Reyero, "El Realismo en la Escultura Pública," 303. "Científica."

446 On the so-called "good death," see Philippe Ariès, *El Hombre ante la Muerte*, trans. Mauro Armiño (Madrid: Taurus Humanidades, 1983), 256. Originally published as *L'Homme Devant la Mort* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1977).

447 Sophie Oosterwijk, "The Cadaver Monument of Guillaume de Harcigny," Church Monuments Society, accessed June 13, 2016, http://churchmonumentssociety.org/Monument%20of%20the%20 Month%20Archive /2010_10.html.

448 The similarity was noted in Calamidad, "Memento Mori: Las Clases de Anatomía del Doctor Farreras i Framis," ¡La Muerte os Sienta tan Bien!, July 28, 2013, http://lamuerteossientatanbien .blogspot.com.es/2013/07/memento-mori-las-clases-de-anatomia-del.html.

449 Kathleen Rogers Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 1-2; Pamela King, verbal communication, 4 June

was well-read, transi tombs – and particularly the most "skeletal" examples (see fig. 3.41) – were little known in the period under study, and there is no record of the sculptor or of Farreras having travelled in Europe, where they could have encountered examples of the genre.

What, then, was the nature of the relationship between the Farreras tomb sculpture and the transi tomb tradition? While scholars agree on which works form the "original" transi canon, they diverge when it comes to delimiting the genre in terms of the weight given to conceptual, formal and chronological considerations, and with respect to determining their specific religious significance.[450] Kathleen Cohen's seminal 1974 book, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, started out with an essentially formal definition – "a representation of the deceased as a corpse, shown either nude or wrapped in a shroud" – and explicitly excluded portrayals in which the dead person appeared to be sleeping and personifications of Death itself; before exploring ways in which they alluded to the Christian afterlife, or functioned as *memento mori*.[451] Some of Cohen's examples invite comparison with the Farreras tomb, such as the transi which Richard Fox (before 1528) commissioned in his own lifetime, and before which he was known to have prayed daily; or that of Richard Fleming (before 1431), which was proudly inscribed with the details of his career.[452] It is clear that, when faced with self-commissioned monuments which represent one's own mortality, disentangling vanity from humility is a recurrent problem with the original transis as well as with the Farreras tomb. Indeed, while the transis generally showed the "humiliation" of the decomposing or decomposed corpse, the Farreras tomb skeleton was, as we have seen, a remarkably dignified one.

In a postscript dedicated to works on the edges of the genre, and which fell outside the timeframe of her study, Cohen identified a "brief revival" of the transi in the nineteenth century. Apparently unaware of the existence of the Farreras monument, she gave as one

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2016. For a brief discussion of the geographical limits of the transi, see Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, 63-66. A small sculptural detail of a seated skeleton on the side of the tomb of Juan Martínez Grajal (*ca.* 1447), in León Cathedral in Spain, has recently been proposed as a Spanish transi. However, it is an unconvincing addition to the canon, as it is substantially different in size and format from the rest of the transis, and doubts remain as to whether it was intended to represent the deceased. See Herbert González and Laura María Berzal, "El *Transi Tomb*," *Revista Digital de Iconografía Medieval* 7, no. 13 (2015): 104.

[450] Slightly diverging accounts are offered in Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol*; Christina Welch, "For Prayers and Pedagogy: Contextualizing English Carved Cadaver Monuments of the Late-Medieval Social and Religious Elite," *Fieldwork in Religion* 8, no. 2 (2013): 133-55; Pamela King, "Cadaver Tombs – Whose Choice?" (paper presented at the Death, Art and Anatomy conference, University of Winchester, June 3-6, 2016); Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 50.

[451] Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol*, 9-10.

[452] Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol*, 87 and 18.

of her examples the bronze funerary effigy of the dead Godefroy Cavaignac on his tomb in the Parisian cemetery of Montmartre in Paris, created by sculptors François Rude and Ernest Christophe in 1847, and erected in 1856 (fig. 3.42-3.43).[453] Nonetheless, she still had misgivings about their inclusion, claiming that nineteenth-century transis used the corpse for "emotional appeal" rather than as "embodiments of the deceased's hopes for salvation." Nochlin had previously made a similar distinction in *Realism*, in which she, too, identified the visual debt of the Cavaignac tomb to the transi tombs, but argued that the former had shed the suggestion of the Christian afterlife which characterised the latter.[454]

The famed Cavaignac tomb, rather than the original transis, should be included among the principal sources which Nobas used and radically reworked. An engraving of the French work appeared in César Daly's book *Architecture Funéraire Contemporaine* (1871), which appears to have circulated among makers of funerary monuments in Spain.[455] Significantly, Daly suggested that contemporary tombs conveyed three main ideas – death, faith, and glorification, sometimes in combination with each other – and he classified the Cavaignac tomb as expressive, exclusively, of "death." In fact, as Suzanne Lindsay has uncovered, Cavaignac's prominent republicanism did not prevent him from being both anticlerical and personally devout;[456] and the side of the tomb which Daly reproduced in his print was visibly inscribed with the words "pray for him" (*priez pour lui*). Visual similarities with the Farreras tomb are particularly close, however, from the other side, suggesting that Nobas had seen another reproduction of the Cavaignac tomb: note, for example, the right hand partially emerging from the deep swathes of the shroud, and the simple, stark, "masculine," capital letters spelling out the deceased's name (fig. 3.43).

Considered highly innovative when it was unveiled,[457] the Cavaignac monument was hugely influential in sculptural representations of dead men in the ensuing decades, in

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[453] Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol*, 185-86. For more on the Cavaignac tomb, see Lindsay, *Funerary Arts and Tomb Cult,* 177-216.

[454] Nochlin, *Realism*, 65.

[455] César Daly, *Architecture Funéraire Contemporaine* (Paris: Ducher et Cie, 1871), plate 6. Daly's influence in Spain was noted, for example, in Francisco J. Durán, Carlos M. Fernández and Jesús Sánchez, "Asilos de la Muerte. Higiene, Sanidad y Arquitectura en los Cementerios Gallegos del Siglo XIX," in *Muerte y Ritual Funerario en la Historia de Galicia*, ed. Antón A. Rodríguez and Domingo L. González (Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 2006), 466. For more on Daly's *Architecture Funéraire Contemporaine*, see Agulhon, "Le Tombeau du 'Grand Homme' au XIXe siècle," 157-64.

[456] Lindsay, *Funerary Arts and Tomb Cult*, 5.

[457] Lindsay, *Funerary Arts and Tomb Cult*, 5.

France.[458] The Farreras tomb could well have been a deliberate response to the French model, one which set out to out-modernize the modern by replacing an emotive corpse with an emotionally cold skeleton. The Farreras tomb's realism was also more extreme, or total, with the addition of the chromatic dimension absent from the bronze French model. Whereas, in relation to the Cavaignac tomb, Lindsay was able to affirm that "the threshold between the effigy's illusion and its material reality remained reassuringly marked,"[459] Nobas' skeletal simulacrum in marble was disquietingly powerful because it broke down the separation between form and material.

In making the transformation from dead body to skeleton, the sculptor created an object which was exceptionally close, in formal terms, to some of the transi tombs; which had, in turn, probably inspired Rude and Christophe in 1847. If this was done unwittingly, then it is ironic that the Farreras tomb, which neither Nochlin nor Cohen apparently knew of, proves a far better candidate than the Cavaignac tomb, on visual grounds, for the alleged nineteenth-century transi "revival." After all, not only did most of the original transis include the chromatic imitation of nature, but through skeletonisation, emaciation, putrefaction, vermin infestation, or stitching of the skin, they left no doubt as to the fact of death. In comparison, viewers could only infer that Cavaignac's sculpted body was a dead one.

OSTENTATION AND HUMILITY

There was another deceptively small, yet conceptually crucial, visual difference between the Cavaignac and the Farreras tomb. The inscription "À Godefroy Cavaignac" made it abundantly clear that the Frenchman's tomb constituted a homage *to* a dead, prominent public man; and reflected its function as an alternative to a public monument in a city square (it was paid for by public subscription).[460] Farreras' tomb inscription could not boast such an "*à*" before the doctor's name. In commissioning a tomb to himself, exclusively in celebration of his own career, Farreras availed himself of one of the opportunities offered by the semi-public cemetery context, but frequently sneered at: the private self-memorialisation of those whose professional achievements were too meagre to warrant a public monument. This generated a moral problem which may go some way to explaining why Nobas' biographers ignored the sculpted skeleton in spite of its

[458] For a discussion of other nineteenth-century French sculptures of dead men, see Caterina Y. Pierre, "The Pleasure and Piety of Touch in Aimé-Jules Dalou's *Tomb of Victor Noir*," *Sculpture Journal* 19, no. 2 (2010): 173-85.

[459] Lindsay, *Funerary Arts and Tomb Cult*, 192.

[460] Lindsay, *Funerary Arts and Tomb Cult*, 188.

technical virtuosity and conceptual ingenuity. The decision to engage the services of an acclaimed sculptor, the witty text-image combination, and the multi-layered artistic references were surely intended to convey professional success, economic means, aesthetic ambition, cultural status, a modern medical outlook – and even, perhaps, the doctor's "humility" in accepting the inevitability of his own death. Yet, even in his own lifetime, Farreras' grand gesture must have misfired on some of these counts, appearing disproportionate, presumptuous and downright misleading to those who were acquainted with his professional obscurity and fall from grace. From a modern perspective, the ingenious parallel which the tomb established between the cemetery and university anatomical practice has potentially troubling ethical undertones, for it denotes distinction. In the context of the textual inscription, the sculpted skeleton highlights – and widens – the gulf between named, privileged, respected corpses and anonymous, objectified, "useful" ones.

II. Antonio Pujol's marble group for the tomb of Nicolau Juncosa Sabaté and family, *ca.* 1913.

Troubling, stark, ambiguous, and perhaps too personal, the Farreras tomb prompted no imitations in Spain's cemeteries. Over the following decades, angels, female mourners and sorrowful Virgins – representative of "ideal," "sweet," comforting death – consolidated themselves as the most popular choices for figurative sculptural tombs in Montjuïc cemetery and across the country; while Nobas' creation remained a unicum for its bleak, deathly horizontality. When the sculpted skeleton finally returned a second time to Montjuïc cemetery, some 25 years later, it was as a phantasmagoric, vertical personification of animated Death. Yet, I now argue, it too emerged in the context of professional self-memorialisation on the part of a man still in his 40s, and similarly employed textual inscription to infuse old motifs with modern meaning.

The tomb commissioned by Nicolau Juncosa (figs 3.44-3.47) is dominated by a striking, life-size marble sculpture featuring the man himself, as a comparison with his photographic portrait confirms (fig. 3.48).[461] Casually seated at an angle, and in contemporary dress, Juncosa rests his cheek on his right hand, his elbow leaning on a closed book, and gazes into the distance, lost in thought. The low relief backdrop of

[461] On the photograph, see Oscar Ciutat, Blanca Giribet and Susanna Muriel, El Daguerre de Sants, 2013-16, accessed 27 August 2016, http://eldaguerredesants.wordpress.com/galeria-dimatges/retrats-individuals. The funerary monument is discussed briefly in Martí, Marín and Català, *El Cementerio de Montjuïc*, 50-51, 114-15 and 193; Reyero, "El Realismo en la Escultura Pública," 311; Mireia Freixa and Montserrat Oliva, "L'Àngel de la Mort," in *Modern Sculpture and the Question of Status*, ed. Rodríguez and Gras, 503-05.

factory chimneys, palm trees, and the distant sea suggest that it is the industrial port city of Barcelona that is the setting for, or subject of, his reflections. A haunting, shrouded skeletal personification of Death has crept up surreptitiously behind him, claiming him by laying a bony hand on his left shoulder. Juncosa's visual predominance within the monument is reinforced by the large tombstone placed immediately in front of the sculptural group, which has the inscription "Family of Nicolau Juncosa," in Catalan, blazoned diagonally across it, and features the names and dates of death of three of his family members in much smaller letters (fig. 3.46). In the bottom left hand corner of the sculpture itself is a separate inscription, which presents the work as deliberately and inherently enigmatic: a blank question – ".....?"– and its answer, "the solution" (fig. 3.47).

NICOLAU JUNCOSA, WINE EXPORTER AND REPUBLICAN POLITICIAN

Outlining biographical facts and examining the architectural plans once again dispels the myth that the monument was a posthumous one,[462] and provides valuable context for interpreting the commission. According to Manel Güell, Juncosa was the manager of the Barcelona-based wine exporting firm owned by Antoni Vendrell Serra, whose daughter he married.[463] He made his political debut as a Republican candidate representing industrial interests in the municipal elections in Barcelona in 1909, which saw him become a deputy mayor of the city until he withdrew temporarily from politics, in 1913, on the grounds that he had too many occupations.[464] These occupations presumably included taking over the ownership of the family firm after the death of his father-in-law on 21 April 1913,[465] and the responsibilities derived from becoming President of the Association of Wine Stockists and Exporters of Barcelona the following month.

Significantly, it was also in the Spring of 1913 – apparently a turning-point in his life – that Juncosa commissioned the funerary monument. It is likely that his father-in-law's imminent death prompted the decision to prepare a family plot, since the architectural plans were dated 18 March 1913, and were approved by the cemetery authorities twelve

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[462] It has been claimed that the sculpture was based on Juncosa's death mask. See Antonio Cardiel, "Cementerio del Montjuïc," Foto-relatos, accessed March 18, 2015, http://www.antoniocardiel.com/?page_id=2272; Manel Güell, "Juncosa i Sabaté, Nicolau," Aug 31, 2015, Els Diputats de la Mancomunitat de Catalunya, accessed Jan 2, 2018, http://diputatsmancomunitat.cat/mancomunitat/content/juncosa-i-sabat%C3%A9-nicolau.

[463] Güell, "Juncosa i Sabaté." See also *Anuario del Comercio, de la Industria, de la Magistratura y de la Administración* (Madrid: Bailly-Balliere, 1909), 1312-13.

[464] Güell, "Juncosa i Sabaté."

[465] Güell, "Juncosa i Sabaté."

days before Vendrell's demise.[466] In these plans, the sculpture consisted of a loosely drawn angel, standing with one arm stretched slightly out, as though blessing the dead or dropping flowers on the grave (fig. 3.49). Extremely widespread across European and American cemeteries, these generic models featured in catalogues by Italian marble-masons destined for the export market, were widely imitated in Spain, and were available for purchase in marble-masons' workshops across the country (see, for example, the statues in fig. 0.4).[467] The sketched angel was so vague and conventional that it may have simply been included in the plans to indicate that a sculpture of some kind would be erected; and, if it did materialise – which seems doubtful – it did not remain in place for long.[468]

When advertising his business in the 1918 directory of the Catalan Architects' Association, marble-mason Pujol used a photograph of the Juncosa tomb, *in situ* in Montjuïc, to show what his workshop was capable of, and it was a radically different design which was revealed (figs. 3.50-3.51).[469] While the architectural elements which delimited the plot – such as the distinctive posts with diamond-shaped reliefs and slanted tops – were maintained from the original architectural plans, the generic, loosely religious sculpted angel gave way, after Vendrell's death, to the menacing skeletal personification of Death we see today. The outstretched left arm remained, but now it lightly touched the shoulder of the unsuspecting male victim.

This victim was not the recently-deceased Vendrell, who was buried in the tomb and memorialised through a discrete inscription,[470] but, as we have seen, Juncosa himself. Vendrell's death may have prompted the existential musings of the sculpted, and real, Juncosa, but the monument visually diminishes the older man. It would appear that, on the pretext or occasion of honouring his dead father-in-law and employer, Juncosa used the definitive funerary monument as a means of asserting his own authority as the new head of the family unit – through the tombstone inscription – and as a preoccupied

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[466] File regarding the tomb commissioned by Nicolau Juncosa tomb in Montjuïc cemetery, 1913-14, Sección Cementerios, 9343/1913, AMCB.

[467] On Italian sculptural models in catalogues and albums, see Sandra Berresford, "Arte Funeraria," in *Carrara e il Mercato della Scultura*, 193-200.

[468] On 1 November 1913, the tomb was reported as finished, but its appearance not described. See L. F. "En los Cementerios de Barcelona," 14622-23.

[469] Advertisement for Antonio Pujol, in Asociación de Arquitectos de Cataluña, *Anuario para 1918*, 69 and corresponding plate.

[470] The other family members whose names were inscribed on the tombstone were Bonaventura Llauradó Bernat de Vendrell (d. 1919), Juncosa's mother-in-law; and Regina Brillas Juncosa (d. 1922), probably his granddaughter. For further details of Juncosa's family, see Güell, "Juncosa i Sabaté," and Death notice of Nicolau Juncosa, *Vanguardia*, Feb 14, 1932, 3.

professional man, beset with responsibilities – through the sculpture. Pujol's marble group not only shows him dressed in a suit and tie as though for bourgeois work, but places him in front of an industrial, port cityscape, with ships; which, in the light of what we now know of his career in 1913, could allude equally to Vendrell's export business which he had just taken over, and to the role of city politician on which he felt obliged to temporarily turn his back. The closed book suggested that his work was of an intellectual or – if taken for an account book – commercial kind.

Ambiguity regarding the precise nature of the sculpted Juncosa's psychological reflections or worries is deliberately generated through the textual inscription of the blank question and its mysterious answer (fig. 3.47). In this inscription, the solution to an unknown question is, literally, "the solution," making Juncosa and Pujol's text-and-image puzzle more explicitly "puzzling," and also less subtle, than the multiple readings of the sculpted skeleton with which Nobas played in the Farreras monument. Viewers are playfully invited to guess what the invisible question might be; before, perhaps, reaching the conclusion that the content of the question is irrelevant because, as the answer seems to indicate, death is always the ultimate result. The idea that one should live life in the light of the inevitability of death and Christian Judgment is at the heart of the *memento mori*, yet the inscription does not sit altogether comfortably within this artistic tradition, as it appears to imply sacrilegiously that Juncosa welcomes the prospect of death as an escapist *solution* to life's doubts and problems, rather than the *conclusion* of them. Moreover, there is a striking absence of any of the usual symbolism indicative of a Christian afterlife. From this perspective, rather than affirming Juncosa's religious faith, the monument seems to call it into question.

MODERNISING THE DANCE OF DEATH

How religious is the Juncosa tomb, and how does its skeletal return relate more specifically to the Christian *memento mori* tradition? Pujol's rendition of personified Death creeping up on an unsuspecting victim has clear origins in well-known artistic representations of the Dance of Death; in particular Hans Holbein's depiction of a seated judge, attacked from behind by Death, as he is about to accept a bribe (1538) (fig. 3.52). When this type of composition resurfaced in Italian cemeteries in the mid-nineteenth century, it shed its *memento mori* meaning by transforming the skeletal allegory into a comforting, benevolent fusion of the classically-inspired Genius of Death with the

Christian angel, thereby losing the allusion to sin and the Fall.[471] For example, the posthumous tomb of Felice Marchesi de S. Tommaso (*ca.* 1843), commissioned by his mother, shows the young man interrupted, while reading, by God's winged messenger, who calls him to the afterlife by gently tapping him on the shoulder (fig. 3.53).[472]

When the predatory allegory of Death returned to European sculpture in the second half of the century, it was frequently through the subgenre of the Dance of Death known as "Death and the Maiden." Hébert and Campeny's renditions exemplify the dark sexual undercurrent which often characterised these works, which took the form of a masculinised skeleton preying on, or allegorically raping, an inert or semi-conscious young woman (figs. 3.1 and 3.25). The subject did not, as we have seen, take off in Spanish cemeteries during the Restoration. In Italy, however, it was adopted by Monteverde for Valente Celle's family tomb (1891-94) (fig. 3.54); and, in a less sexualised and more mysteriously poetic manner, by Cesare Reduzzi for the funerary monument to Teresa Moriondo Franzini (1906-08), in which a fully shrouded Death slowly envelops the young deceased woman (figs. 3.55-3.56).[473]

Pujol is highly likely to have known the former, which was frequently reproduced in the albums and photographic souvenir books about Staglieno cemetery,[474] and may also have seen reproductions of the latter. However, in the period under study, it was particularly in mass-produced graphic art, rather than in sculpture, that the skeletal personification of Death attacking the living became a common artistic motif – so common, in fact, that Sarah Webster Goodwin affirms that "it makes sense to speak of a modern dance of death."[475] In this "modern" version, the original, medieval theological significance almost entirely disappeared, often in favour of humorous or ironic representations.[476] In the Spanish and Catalan context, Juncosa and Pujol would likely have been imbued in the thriving culture of illustrated periodicals in which animated skeletons were frequently

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[471] For more on the Christian appropriation of Thanatos, the classical winged genius of death, as a representative of "sweet death" or "friend death," see Guthke, *The Gender of Death,* 134-58.

[472] Similarly, for the tomb of Giovanni Battista Marchino, also in the cemetery of Turin, S. Butti carved a winged figure coming to take away an elderly man.

[473] On these sculptures, see Berresford et al. *Italian Memorial Sculpture 1820-1940,* 182-83; Patti Uccelli Perelli et al. *Gipsoteca Giulio Monteverde: Guida alla Collezione di Bistagno* (Acqui Terme: Comune di Bistagno, 2004), 25.

[474] For example, *Camposanto de Genova* (Genova: Fratelli Lichino, *ca.* 1920).

[475] Sarah Webster Goodwin, *Kitsch and Culture: The Dance of Death in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Graphic Arts* (New York: Garland, 1988), 3.

[476] Goodwin, *Kitsch and Culture*, 3-9.

employed, particularly around All Saints' and All Souls' Day, for political and social satire (see, for example, figs. 0.9 and 3.20).[477]

The Juncosa tomb could have been informed by any of the artistic examples of the Dance of Death discussed above, but it trod an original path between them. Not only did the adoption of the skeleton motif, in the conservative context of the Spanish cemetery, provide an audacious contrast to the "idealism" of hundreds of benevolent sculpted angels, but Pujol's rendition was neither straightforwardly moralistic, nor sexually predatory, nor humorous, nor grotesque. Crucially, the artist fused allusions to the medieval dance of death with references to recent sculptures famed for their modernity. Aside from the Rodinesque manner of leaving areas of the stone rough and unpolished – an effect which was widely imitated by Spanish sculptors of the period, as we have seen – Rodin's seated *Thinker* (1880) (fig. 3.57)[478] probably inspired the sculpted Juncosa's contemplative pose. The casual positioning of the body and the contemporary clothing, meanwhile, drew on one of Spain's most admired and imitated public monuments to a "great man:" Benlliure's innovative depiction of Trueba (1895), which we encountered in Chapter One (fig. 1.31). If Benlliure's work is today considered "realist," it is less for the artist's (contested) accuracy in rendering Trueba's portrait than for the informality of the attire and pose.[479] This follows an understanding of "realism" based on the practice of French realists such as Courbet, in which the emphasis is on instantaneity and "naturalness," and on conveying the impression that the artist had caught the sitter off-guard.

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[477] The satirical use of the skeletal Death allegory in Spain, particularly in turn-of-the-century Catalonia, merits further study. The periodical *La Esquella de la Torratxa* employed the motif with particular frequency between 1885 and 1904. In spite of apparent correlations of motif, the Juncosa tomb makes no allusion to the events of The Tragic Week *(La Semana Trágica*) of 1909, in which animated skeletons acquired subversive and anticlerical associations. In Barcelona and surrounding towns, between 25 July and 2 August 1909, there was a violent working-class uprising against the Catholic elites, prompted by the calling up of reserve troops to fight a colonialist war in Morocco, and the fact that the wealthy were able to avoid combating by paying large sums of money which the poor could not afford. Anticlerical acts included the burning down of convents and the removal of the mummified and skeletonised bodies of nuns from their coffins, which some of the rioters proceeded to "dance" with. Jiménez interpreted this disinterment and desecration as a "democratic proclamation of radical equality [...] which was precisely the ultimate meaning of the medieval Dances of Death, or a demonstration [...] that beyond death there is nothing," and argued that "above all this sinister trophy [was] raised as a sign of intellectual, social and political liberation with respect to the Church." Jiménez, *Los Cementerios Civiles y la Heterodoxia Española*, 230-31. For a thorough account of these events, see Joan Connelly Ullman, *The Tragic Week: A Study of Anticlericalism in Spain 1875-1912* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1968).

[478] On Rodin's *Thinker*, see Catherine Chevillot and Sophie Blass-Fabiani, "Le Penseur, du Torse du Belvédère à Baselitz," in *Rodin: Le Livre du Centenaire*, ed. Catherine Chevillot and Antoinette le Normand-Romain (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2017), 40-42.

[479] On the monument to Trueba, see María Teresa Paliza, "El Monumento al Poeta Antonio Trueba, Obra de Mariano Benlliure y su Influencia en la Escultura Conmemorativa Vizcaína del Siglo XX," *Ondare* 23 (2004): 437-53; Mikel Lertxundi, "Boceto del Monumento a Antonio de Trueba," in *Mariano Benlliure: El Dominio de la Materia*, 246-48.

It was precisely on these criteria that the authors of the official Montjuïc cemetery guide book characterised the Juncosa tomb as a realist work.[480] However, it is symptomatic of the limitations of stylistic classification that the tomb was defined, instead, as a work of *modernismo* in the cemetery text panel, which is designed to be used in conjunction with the guide book. In effect, Pujol's work was a judicious and technically-skilled fusion of both. Realism was used to represent the contemporary man, while *modernismo,* with its reduced definition and air of vagueness and unreality, was the chosen style for the veiled skeleton. This skeleton, we can infer from Juncosa's biography, did not represent Death greeting a man who had actually died, but death *imagined* by a living man: it showed Juncosa imagining his own future death, the whole filtered through the imagination of the artist.

In Chapter One, I discussed the way in which imagined or dreamed scenes are frequently represented behind the head of the "dreamer," as appears to be the case here. Where Death's semi-transparent veil begins, almost imperceptibly, to envelop the sculpted man, his clothed body starts to lose its definition, and stylistically approaches *modernismo*, as though abandoning the realm of the real. Needless to say, the choice to work in a *modernista* style was itself – as the name indicated – a statement of modernity. At the same time, the combination of two styles was a masterful, still eclectic, display of the versatility and skill of a man who aspired, as we saw in the Introduction, to the professional status of "sculptor marble-mason:" artist as well as "mere" artisan. In this respect, it is possible that the myth that Juncosa's sculpted portrait was based on a death mask[481] derives from doubts regarding Pujol's ability to imitate nature without the "mechanical" assistance of the cast.

What perhaps most distinguished Pujol's modernised Dance of Death from earlier and contemporary examples of the theme was his adaptation of style to subject-matter in order to distinguish the earthly sphere from what lay beyond, *or* – and the incertitude, here, is significant – what belonged in the realm of the imagination. The sculpture, perhaps deliberately, leaves viewers unsure of whether the Juncosa tomb conveys fear, acceptance, or welcoming of death, or merely represents a meditation on it; and equally unclear as to whether religious belief held any sway on the man who commissioned it and whom it represented. Knowledge of the rituals surrounding his actual demise does little to clear up the religious question. By the time the imagined death eventually occurred, on

[480] Martí, Marín and Català, *El Cementerio de Montjuïc*, 193.

[481] Cardiel, "Cementerio del Montjuïc."

31 January 1932, the Republican cause which Juncosa had supported, and represented politically for much of his life, had won. Approved on 9 December 1931, the new Republican constitution established the secularity of the Spanish state. Yet, when Juncosa's death notice appeared in Barcelona newspaper *La Vanguardia*, it was reported that he had received Catholic death rights, and that the Archbishop of Tarragona and the Bishop of Barcelona had "deigned to concede 200 and 50 days of indulgences, respectively, in the customary manner."[482] Even once secularity had become politically acceptable – and could well have become a point of principle for the man in question – Catholic convention dominated Juncosa's death.

Conclusion

Farreras and Juncosa both returned to the medieval motif of the sculpted skeleton to have themselves memorialised, in a professional capacity, in their own lifetimes; and when it already appeared unlikely that they would qualify for a public commemorative monument after their deaths. Whether it took the form of an extreme, semi-medical corpse, or a phantasmagoric allegory of animate Death, the skeleton was an unusual and audacious choice of funerary motif, emerging as a backlash to the sculptural "idealism" which dominated the cemeteries of Barcelona and across Spain. While conventional angels pointing heavenward gave comforting assurance of what followed the moment of death, skeletons were, in many ways, their ambiguous counterparts. Thus, both monuments exploited the innate uncertainties of the skeletal body – religious or unreligious; person or object; allegorical, imagined or real – and intensified the sense of enigma or multiple meaning by juxtaposing sculpture and textual inscription.

Sculpted skeletons were used to project a consciously modern, and specifically masculine, self-image of the men who commissioned them. Auto-commemoration in one's forties provided mature bourgeois men with the opportunity to portray themselves as successful, professionally active career men, and sometimes, in the dominant familial role of *paterfamilias*. More crucially still, the context was propitious to making confident, daring tomb choices, in which the conventional emotions of grief and hope, associated with the feminine, could give way to less sentimental, and more "cerebral" and matter-of-fact approaches to death. This was particularly the case when the prestige of one's line of work depended, as was Farreras' case, upon the principle of scientific objectivity. The

[482] Death notice of Nicolau Juncosa, *Vanguardia*, 3. "S'han dignat conceder 200 i 50 dics d'indulgencia, respectivament, en la forma acostumada."

skeleton would have been a more problematic subject for a posthumous memorial erected in memory of another.

While sculpted skeletons had carried unquestionably religious meanings in medieval and Renaissance tombs, they were manifestly no longer the ideal choice for expressing Catholic faith, hope or humility in the nineteenth- or twentieth-century cemetery context. Yet, as we have seen, the pressure to conform to Catholic convention remained so strong in Spain for the duration of the Restoration that both tombs prove unconvincing as outright expressions of a rejection of belief in the Christian afterlife. The relationship between the architectural plans, the finished sculptures, and the funerary rituals of the men is one of uneasy religious compromise, making the religious motivations of Farreras and Juncosa ultimately difficult to pin down; particularly since they may have been fluctuant for the men themselves. The point at which the sculpted skeletons in Montjuïc cemetery cross the line from *version* to *subversion* of traditional motifs remains tantalisingly ambiguous.

Style has proven as important as subject-matter in shaping the tombs' meanings; with valuable consequences, more broadly, for the interpretation of Spanish sculpture of this period. By resisting the over-simplification of stylistic classification based on periodisation, and engaging critically with the concepts of realism, idealism and *modernismo*, I have shown how, for many critics then as now, style and subject-matter were often inextricable from each other. Moreover, the notions of reality, imagination, objectivity, religious feeling and modernity each came to be loosely associated with particular "styles."

The sculptors who executed each commission skilfully exploited the connotations of these stylistic associations in funerary works which again demonstrated a high level of conceptual and technical ability. In so doing, they ensured that their own professions, in addition to those of their bourgeois clients, came to the fore. Both asserted their artistic selves in relation to the figure of the artisan or craftsperson: Nobas in his astute positioning of the object in relation to his medical models, and to the medical profession; and Pujol – a self-styled "sculptor marble-mason" who was unknown in art circles – by creating a high-quality work whose compositional and conceptual originality surpassed many of the funerary works designed by recognised artistic sculptors.[483]

[483] The sculpted skeleton returned for a third time to Barcelona's cemeteries, in the form of the group known as *The Kiss of Death* (*ca.* 1930), erected in Poblenou cemetery. On this sculpture, see Freixa and Oliva, "L'Àngel de la Mort," 502-03.

Having explored the funerary use of the quintessential motif of death in the present chapter, I now turn to a series of works whose adaptable meanings exemplify the versatility, and mobility, of sculpture in this period. Chapter Four contrasts masculine self-fashioning with the funerary representation of women, in relation to religious and secular notions of theatricality and labour.

Chapter 4.

Staging the Fall: Religious Theatricality and Gendered Absorption in Enric Clarasó's *Memento Homo*.

By the time he died in his mid-80s, Enric Clarasó Daudí had given considerable thought to his artistic legacy, and it was for a funerary sculpture entitled "Remember Man" that the Catalan sculptor wished to be remembered. In his memoirs, first published in 1931, Clarasó declared proudly that *Memento Homo* – Latin for "Remember Man" – was not only his finest work aesthetically and conceptually, but one of the most significant sculptures of his time.[484] He was shown alongside the sculpture in the accompanying illustration, which reproduced the photograph that Francesc Serra Dimas had taken as the representative image of Clarasó, in 1904, for his popular series of postcards celebrating Barcelona's living artists (fig. 4.1).[485]

The sculptor's signature marks the front of the photograph with the auratic, albeit reproduced, trace of his hand.[486] It precedes, in horizontal alignment, the title "*Memento Homo*" which is inscribed on the base of the monument, so that the compounded text reads "E. Clarasó Memento Homo," and viewers are doubly invited to treat the photograph as a piece of *commemorabilia* through which to remember him. Posed as though "at work" on the plaster, Clarasó was captured with his left hand resting on the left hip of his sculptural figure, his eyes raised almost reverentially towards the muscular body.[487] The photograph soon became the standard image of the artist, binding him

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[484] Enrique Clarasó, *Notes Viscudes*, 2nd. ed. (Barcelona: Llibreria Catalònia, 1934), 80. The first edition dates from 1931.

[485] For more on Serra's photograph of Clarasó, see Francesc Serra and Rafel Torrella, *L'Artista al seu Taller: Fotografies de Francesc Serra* (Barcelona: Lunwerg, 1990), 34-35.

[486] For more on signatures in relation to presence, see Jacques Derrida, "Signature Event Context," in *Limited Inc.* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1988), 19-20. For a discussion of the relationship between aura and artistic reproduction, see Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of its Technological Reproducibility," 23-24.

[487] On the staged character of many photographs of sculptors apparently at work, see Geraldine A. Johnson, *"The Very Impress of the Object:" Photographing Sculpture from Fox Talbot to the Present Day* (Leeds: Henry Moore Institute, 1995), 7. For more on sculptors photographed in their studios alongside their works, see Wood and Feeke, *Close Encounters*, 11-12.

further to this particular sculpture.[488] Moreover, in Clarasó's apparently self-published book of mounted photographs of his own sculptures (*ca.* 1925), *Memento Homo* featured not once, but twice: as a marble monument in one of its cemetery locations, and as a plaster statue exhibited inside his studio-house, alongside his female nude, *Eve* (*ca.* 1903-04) (fig. 4.2) and other objects.[489] Even once he had turned the marble versions over to their new owners and they had been installed in cemeteries, Clarasó could not let *Memento Homo* alone: as late as 1921, he wrote to Barcelona's cemetery authorities to request permission to clean a stain which had appeared on his favourite work.[490]

This chapter centres on the different versions of *Memento Homo*: the plaster original, created in 1899 in preparation for the 1900 Universal Exposition in Paris, a key event in this thesis (fig. 4.3); the marble variant carved for a tomb in Barcelona's Montjuïc cemetery in 1901-02 (figs. 4.4-4.7); and the second marble version erected in Zaragoza's Torrero cemetery in 1903 (figs. 4.8-4.9). Minor variations between the plaster which Clarasó held on to (figs. 4.1-4.2) and that exhibited in Paris (fig. 4.3) – namely in the shape of the drapery, and the visibility or otherwise of the casting line around the figure's waist – suggest that a second plaster may have existed. While previous researchers[491] have solidly documented the three confirmed versions, and located and transcribed essential archival material and primary press sources, I elucidate *Memento Homo*'s meanings and explain what made it conceptually special in Clarasó's eyes. My analysis raises broader questions regarding international sculptural exchange, gender representation, and spatial specificity. Focusing again on the significance of place, I argue that Clarasó was especially attuned to the particularities of the cemetery, and keen to adapt the appearance and meaning of his sculptures to fit it. My analysis is sustained and shaped by a wealth of photographic sources, many of which have only recently come to light.

The chapter's title alludes to the specific biblical context – the Fall – within which these meanings are located, and returns to a concept tenaciously present in discussions of

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[488] See, for example, "Barcelona. – Salón Parés. Exposición Rusiñol, Casas y Clarasó," *Ilustracion Artística*, Feb 1, 1915, 95.

[489] Enric Clarasó, *Escultures* (Barcelona: n.p., *ca.* 1925).

[490] File regarding the tomb commissioned by Juan Vial Solsona in Montjuïc cemetery, 1903-21, Sección Cementerios, 1373/1901, AMCB.

[491] Isabel Coll, "Enric Clarasó, Ramón Casas i Santiago Rusiñol, com a Nucli de la Renovació de l'Escultura i la Pintura a Barcelona, en el Trànsit del Segle XIX al Segle XX," PhD. Diss (Barcelona: Edicions Universitat de Barcelona, 1984); Marín, "El Reflejo de las Corrientes Arquitectónicas […]," 359-67; José Antonio Hernández, "Lágrimas de Piedra: La Escultura en los Cementerios Públicos," in *Historia y Política a Través de la Escultura Pública 1820-1920*, ed. Mª Carmen Lacarra and Cristina Giménez (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2003), 119-20; Wifredo Rincón, *Un Siglo de Escultura en Zaragoza (1808-1908)* (Zaragoza: Imprenta Tipo Linea, 1984), 188.

cemetery sculpture, as we have seen: that of theatricality. I weave together religious interpretations of the concept with the more secular approach in Fried's art historical writing, in order to demonstrate that the idea of the theatrical and its various antitheses are key to understanding Clarasó's work. Perhaps surprisingly, it is Fried's *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (1980), rather than his art criticism directed at modernist sculpture[492] or even his analysis of Courbet's painted burial scene,[493] which proves particularly fruitful. Fried's conceptualisation of "absorption" frames the second part of the chapter, which focuses on Clarasó's introspective female funerary figures and their formal and conceptual relationship with *Memento Homo*. More widely, I show how the now-classic dialectic between absorption and theatricality proves singularly useful for unpicking some of the key issues and contradictions involved in viewing sculptures in cemeteries.

MEMENTO HOMO AT THE UNIVERSAL EXPOSITION IN PARIS (1900)

The earliest written reference to the sculpture appeared in art critic Alfred Opisso's monographic article on the sculptor, published in the Barcelona newspaper *La Vanguardia* on 14 April 1899:

> Ever independent and free, Mr. Clarasó, for the Universal Exhibition of 1900, is now thinking up a symbolic work of intense inspiration, strong and powerful in its very simplicity: a single figure – a nude – in which a transcendental concept will be profoundly expressed.[494]

The sculptor's efforts evidently paid off since, ten months later, Opisso was able to report that *Memento Homo* was among the sculptures selected to represent Spain at the 1900 Universal Exposition in Paris (fig. 4.3).[495] Benlliure's monument for Gayarre was another of the chosen works, as we saw in Chapter One. Emphatically, if somewhat obliquely, Opisso also "revealed" the sculpture's mysterious "transcendental concept": it represented, he claimed, "a digger [or gravedigger] who, with the pick-axe raised high, is

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[492] Michael Fried, "Art and Objecthood," *Artforum* 5 (June 1967): 12-23.

[493] Michael Fried, "The Structure of Beholding in Courbet's 'Burial at Ornans,'" *Critical Inquiry* 9 (June 1983): 635-83.

[494] Alfredo Opisso, "Arte y Artistas Catalanes. Enrique Clarasó," *Vanguardia*, April 14, 1899, 4. "Siempre independiente y libre medita ahora el señor Clarasó, para que figure en la Exposición Universal de 1900, una obra simbólica de grandísimo aliento, fuerte y poderosa en su misma simplicidad: una figura sola, – un desnudo – en el que se verá profundamente expresado un trascendental concepto." Isabel Coll pointed out that the description refers to *Memento Homo*. See Coll, "Enric Clarasó, Ramón Casas i Santiago Rusiñol [...]," vol. 2, 245.

[495] Alfredo Opisso, "Bellas Artes," *Vanguardia*, Feb 24, 1900, 5.

opening a hole in the earth, *to which he will return*."[496] The critic's choice of words loosely connected the title of the sculpture to the Latin phrase "Memento homo, quia pulvis es, et in pulverem reverteris" ("Remember man, you are dust, and to dust you will return") which are ritually spoken by clergy, on Ash Wednesday, as they mark the foreheads of believers with ash. We will recall that Benlliure loosely adapted the religious idea of death as a "return" – though, in this case, a return to heaven – in his explanation of the Gayarre tomb. The phrase would have been familiar to Catholics world-wide, and the Latin title reflects the work's uniquely international aspirations, since Catalan was the language which Clarasó consistently chose for the titles of his other sculptures and their corresponding inscriptions. I discuss the religious significance of the biblical words later in this chapter; but for now, it is worth noting that Opisso moved swiftly on to a lengthy formal analysis of the masculine anatomy, perhaps because he was not entirely confident explaining the conceptual aspect in greater detail.

Memento Homo was awarded a gold medal at the Exposition, but there is no evidence to suggest French audiences were struck by the sculpture's conceptual significance. While the Gayarre tomb attracted considerable critical attention at the exhibition, as we have seen, the international jury and French critics had little or nothing to say about *Memento Homo*,[497] and neither the French nor the Spanish versions of the catalogue[498] included any explanatory text of the kind which commonly appeared in the catalogues of the National Art Exhibitions held in Madrid. It is likely that Clarasó's sculpture was appreciated as an emotionally engaging and anatomically accurate contribution to the theme of the male labourer, which was, by then, well-established in European sculpture. In the 1880s and 1890s, sculptors including Vincenzo Vela, Constantin Meunier, Hamo Thornycroft and Alfred Boucher had represented similar, often overlapping, subjects within this theme.[499] Indeed, Meunier's *Blacksmith* of 1886 (fig. 4.10) may have loosely inspired Clarasó's *Thirteenth-Century Catalan Blacksmith* (fig. 4.11), which was exhibited at the Exposición de

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[496] Opisso, "Bellas Artes," 5. "Un cavador, que con el pico levantado en alto, está abriendo un hoyo en la tierra, *a la que volverá*." Italics in the original.

[497] Seven French sources, all of which refer to Spain's sculptural contribution to the exhibition, but none of which mention *Memento Homo*, are discussed in Reyero, "El Triunfo de la Escultura Española en la Exposición Universal de París de 1900," 308-10.

[498] *Comisión Ejecutiva de la Comisión General Española, Exposición Universal de París de 1900. Catálogo de los Expositores de España* (Madrid: Imprenta de Ricardo Rojas, 1900), 44; *Exposition Internationale Universelle de 1900. Catalogue Général Officiel*, vol. 2 (Paris : Imprimeries Lemercier / Lille, L. Danel, 1900), 351.

[499] For more on sculptural representations of labour in this period, see Terry Friedman, Fiona Russell and Dorcas Taylor, "Work and the Image: the Image of the Worker in the Work of the Sculptor," Essays in the Study of Sculpture (Leeds: Henry Moore Sculpture Trust, 1998); Michael Hatt, "Near and Far: Homoeroticism, Labour and Hamo Thornycroft's Mower," *Art History* 26, no. 1 (2003): 26-55.

Bellas Artes e Industrias Artísticas in Barcelona in 1896;[500] where, in turn, Clarasó could have seen Boucher's nude male labourer entitled *To the Earth* (*ca.* 1890) (fig. 4.12), which was favourably received by local critics.[501]

Reyero's suggestion that *To the Earth* influenced *Memento Homo*[502] is entirely convincing, particularly since Clarasó had almost certainly already seen Boucher's sculpture once before, at the Paris salon of 1890,[503] when he was living in the French capital.[504] Partial or complete nudity gave both sculpted males a timeless quality which distinguished them from other works within the labourer theme, in which specific professions were clearly portrayed with their identifying tools and costumes. Furthermore, whereas Clarasó's *Thirteenth-Century Catalan Blacksmith*, which was replete with such accessories, belonged to the "anecdotal realist" trend discussed in Chapter Three, *Memento Homo*'s pared-down simplicity looked instead to Rodin's muscular male nudes, such as *The Age of Bronze* (*ca.* 1876) and the sorrowful, downward-looking *Adam* (1880-81) (fig. 4.13). Indeed, it was in the first decade of the twentieth century that Rodin's influence on Spanish sculptors, which I have highlighted in previous chapters, was most pronounced. Clarasó's speculative contribution to the Paris exhibition thus partook of an international cosmopolitanism dominated by French artistic influences, and was, it would appear, conceived with this context partly in mind.

What sort of labour were discerning exhibition audiences likely to have seen in *Memento Homo*? Given the silence of the French sources, illuminating are the critical comments directed at a sculpture clearly influenced by Clarasó's work. When Catalan sculptor Marcos Coll Gisbert exhibited a nude labourer under an identical title (fig. 4.14) at the National Exhibition in Madrid fifteen years later, J. del C. considered sculpture and title together, and asserted that "here the artist symbolises the fatal law which condemned man to live by his own strength."[505] This interpretation looked to the biblical context from which the "Memento Homo" phrase was originally derived; that is, the part of the Book

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[500] *Catálogo Ilustrado de la Tercera Exposición de Bellas Artes e Industrias Artísticas* (Barcelona: J. Thomas & Cie., 1896), 130.

[501] See, for example, Luis Callén, "Exposición de Bellas Artes é Industrias Artísticas," *Dinastía*, July 28, 1896, 2.

[502] Reyero, "El Realismo en la Escultura Pública," 302.

[503] Clarasó exhibited a portrait bust at the show. See *Explication des Ouvrages de Peinture, Sculpture, Architecture, Gravure et Lithographie des Artistes Vivants Exposés au Palais des Champs-Élysées le 1er Mai 1890*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Paul Dupont, 1890), 283 and 291.

[504] Coll, "Enric Clarasó, Ramón Casas i Santiago Rusiñol [...]," vol. 1, 81. Clarasó's Paris sojourn is briefly discussed in María Soto, "La Formación de los Escultores Españoles en París: El Caso de la Academie Julian (1887-1900)," in *L'Escultura a Estudi*, ed. Rodríguez, Aragonès and Gras, 71.

[505] J. del C., "La Exposición de Bellas Artes," *Correspondencia de España*, July 4, 1915, 6. "Aquí el artista simboliza la ley fatal que condenó al hombre á vivir con sus propias fuerzas."

of Genesis which related God's judgment on Mankind upon discovering the disobedience of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden:

> Cursed is the ground because of you; through painful toil you will eat food from it, all the days of your life. It will produce thorns and thistles for you, and you will eat the plants of the field. By the sweat of your brow you will eat your food, until you return to the ground, since from it you were taken; for dust you are and to dust you will return."[506]

Clarasó's work appears to fall neatly into place when considered in this biblical context, which described the specific punishment reserved for the male sex. The sculpted male may be identified as Adam, the original sinner who is not quite nude because he has covered his genitals in shame after the Fall; but he also stands for Everyman or Mankind, condemned to follow in his footsteps. Using a pick-axe to break up the hard earth, Adam – Man – appears to be toiling in the accursed, uncompromising earth in an attempt to cultivate "the plants of the field" to feed himself.

MEMENTO HOMO *AS A CEMETERY SCULPTURE*

If the above interpretation of *Memento Homo* has never before been put forward by scholars of Clarasó's work, it is because a nuanced distinction between the speculative exhibition plaster and the marble cemetery versions has not been made. Art historians have perhaps too easily accepted the rather different explanation which Clarasó consistently offered, sometimes via critics such as Opisso, to his audiences back in Spain: the sculpture symbolised the "Eternal Gravedigger" digging his own grave, or that of Humanity.[507]

This startling, emphatically funerary explanation drew on the biblical passage cited above – the sculptor's memoirs stated explicitly that the work's Latin title alluded to the phrase, "you are dust, and to dust you will return"[508] – yet it honed in not on the idea of food or agriculture, but rather on the concept of death and of man's body returning to the ground. The result was a male figure who literally embodied the well-known expression, "to dig one's own grave," which exists in Spanish and Catalan as well as English. Man "dug his own grave" – that is, he ensured his own death – by sinning in the Garden of Eden. The

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[506] Genesis 3:17-19 (NIV).

[507] Clarasó, *Notes Viscudes*, 80; Opisso, "Bellas Artes," 5; File regarding Alberto Aladrén Mendivil's acquisition of a funerary plot and the erection of a monument in Torrero Cemetery, Fomento: Cementerio, box 1248, folder 494/1903, AMZ. "Sepulturero Eterno."

[508] Clarasó, *Notes Viscudes*, 80.

gravedigger is "eternal" because generation after generation of men are destined to repeat his labour, which Clarasó powerfully captured in a figure frozen, mid-action, in the "eternal" medium of marble. Although the "Eternal Gravedigger" was not a traditional Catholic personification, this invention by the sculptor appears not to have raised any theological eyebrows in the context of loose religiosity which prevailed at the time (as explored in Chapter One).[509] In this context, it is important to point out that Clarasó's belief was genuine. Art historian Isabel Coll affirms that his religiosity intensified between 1897 and 1904, a period during which he married a devout Catholic and joined Barcelona's Catholic society of artists, the Cercle de Sant Lluc.[510]

The slippage between agriculture and death may even have suggested itself to Clarasó's mind through semantic association, as he absorbed the works of artists and writers encountered during his time in Paris. Boucher's *To the Earth* was understandably compared with a work which Meunier produced the following year, entitled *The Reaper* (*Le Faucheur*, 1891). The feminine form, *La Faucheuse*, translates as "the Grim Reaper," the personification of death who is traditionally represented with another agricultural tool, the scythe. In another possible link, *The Earth* was the title of Émile Zola's 1887 domestic tragedy about a family of agricultural workers, one of whom dies by falling on a sickle.[511] The religious dimension of the harvest had been the subject of Jean-François Millet's influential oil painting *The Angelus* (1857), which represented a rural couple praying over a basket of potatoes (fig. 4.15). Linking agriculture and death, Salvador Dalí was later to claim that this crop symbolised the coffin of the couple's dead child.[512] Agricultural metaphor may even be found in the bible, in the context of divine punishment and the afterlife, in the now-common idiom "a man reaps what he sows"[513] – a phrase not far removed in meaning from the concept of digging one's own grave; and one which could have furnished another religious-agricultural metaphor through which to explain the exhibition plaster.

Insisting on *Memento Homo*'s funerary appropriateness to Spanish audiences was an astute move for a sculptor who had already executed several cemetery sculptures, and

[509] In a similar manner, cemetery angels had, by this time, developed a system of classification of their own, with named types such as the Angel of Silence, Angel of Rest, Angel of Faith and Angel of Meditation, none of which featured in the traditional Catholic hierarchy of angels.

[510] Coll, "Enric Clarasó, Ramón Casas i Santiago Rusiñol [...]," 232. For more on this art circle, see Enric Jardí, *Historia del Cercle Artístic de Sant Lluc* (Barcelona: Destino, 1976); Dolors Besa et al. *Cercle Artístic de Sant Lluc 1893-1993: Cent Anys* (Barcelona, Cercle Artístic de Sant Lluc, 1993).

[511] Émile Zola, *La Terre* (Paris: G. Charpentier, 1887).

[512] Salvador Dalí, *El Mito Trágico del 'Angelus' de Millet* (Barcelona: Tusquets, 1978), 13-15.

[513] Galatians: 6:7.

who was keen to keep the orders coming. A few months after the plaster version of *Memento Homo* was sent to the Paris exhibition, Clarasó was already working on a commission for a marble version to be installed on the circular plot which Juan Vial Solsona owned in Montjuïc cemetery, the plans for which were submitted on 24 January 1901.[514] Two years later, on 28 March 1903, Alberto Aladrén Mendivil submitted a detailed tomb project centred on another marble version of *Memento Homo* for his family plot in the cemetery of Torrero in Zaragoza, some 300 km away.[515] The fact that both men bought their plots very shortly before presenting their respective plans to the cemetery authorities suggests that a desire to own a version of Clarasó's prizewinning sculpture may have been the immediate motivation behind the plot acquisition in each case.

For the installation of *Memento Homo* in both cemeteries, the sculptor devised a radical spatial contextualisation to match the conceptual (re-)framing of the object as a funerary work, and of its protagonist as the Eternal Gravedigger: the cemetery-within-a-cemetery. The first indications of this intended fictional space appeared in the architectural plans of 1901 – signed, according to regulations, by the architect – which included a small, plain cross stuck straight into the ground in simulation of the simplest of graves (fig. 4.16). At this stage, Clarasó clearly envisaged extending the fabric which covered the plaster figure's genitals into more substantial drapery which would run alongside the figure's left leg, and had not yet reached the somewhat awkward solution of introducing a pilaster topped with ample folds of cloth, beneath the left buttock, to give stability to the marble version (see figs. 4.16-4.17). A photograph published on the front cover of *La Ilustració Catalana* in 1904, probably the first to capture the sculpture in its definitive location in Montjuïc, shows the figure apparently still standing among overgrown weeds. Playfully or, more likely, unintentionally, the background scaffolding invites associations between the sculpted man's labour and construction work in the cemetery itself (fig. 4.17).

Nature had been tamed by the time a second photograph was taken. Figure 4.18 shows the full plot, delimited by roughly-hewn boulders and discrete, low fencing, filled with vegetation and rocks, although the cross of the architectural design is no-where to be seen. It is worth underlining how much these photographs taken in the cemetery departed from the representation of the prize-winning exhibition version (fig. 4.3), which followed the predominant photographic tendency of treating exhibition sculptures as stand-alone

[514] File regarding the tomb commissioned by Juan Vial Solsona [...], AMCB. The contents were located by Marín, and summarised and discussed in Marín, "El Reflejo de las Corrientes Arquitectónicas […]," 359-67.

[515] File regarding Alberto Aladrén Mendivil's acquisition of a funerary plot [...], AMZ. The file's contents are discussed in Hernández, "Lágrimas de Piedra," 119-20.

works by isolating them against black, or blacked-out, backgrounds. Photographs taken over subsequent decades show that the plot had the appearance of an increasingly luxuriant garden until at least 1984,[516] and when Marín wrote her dissertation on the cemetery in 1986, the vegetation remained.[517] Today, with the tomb under new ownership,[518] the marble labourer stands starkly stripped of his "natural" contextualisation, the importance of which suddenly becomes apparent (see fig. 4.5). Without it, visitors to the cemetery are faced with a potentially disturbing scene of a man violently hacking away at the concrete which covers corpses.

The idea of placing the Eternal Gravedigger in a cemetery-within-a-cemetery was adopted with greater, and longer-lasting, enthusiasm by the family who commissioned the second marble version. The plans which Aladrén submitted to the cemetery authorities in Zaragoza included an unusually precise description – which undoubtedly originated with Clarasó, not least because it followed precisely the layout of the completed Montjuïc tomb – of how the figure was to be spatially contextualised:

> It must be inside an iron circle or fence; the circle of 5 metres in diameter, and it will be formed of thin bars of 50 cm in height, set into the ground. Inside this fence goes another of 25 to 30 cm high, made of rustic stones placed in a manner that appears artistic, and almost covered with ivy or climbing plants. Near the figure, the start of a hole, on one side an iron cross nailed into the ground with a certain carelessness and the rest of the plot must be uneven, it will be covered with some plants.[519]

It is Clarasó akin to a set designer, or to a landscape gardener, who reveals himself through these instructions. While Opisso had been able to describe approvingly the exhibition plaster as "strictly free of accessories,"[520] the marble cemetery work depended upon the addition of man-made and semi- or pseudo-natural "props," external to the

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[516] See photographs published in Freixa, "La Escultura Funeraria en el Modernismo Catalán," 48-49; Cardiel, "Cementerio del Montjuïc."

[517] Marín, "El Reflejo de las Corrientes Arquitectónicas […]," 261.

[518] The plot is now marked with a stone inscribed "Familia Santacreu Roig," with no reference to the original owner.

[519] File regarding Alberto Aladrén Mendivil's acquisition of a funerary plot [...], AMZ. "Ha de ir dentro de un círculo o cerca de hierro; el círculo de 5 metros de diámetro, y será formado de barritas delgadas, de una altura de 50 c/m empotradas en la tierra. Dentro de esa cerca, va otra de 25 a 30 c/m de alta, hecha con piedras rústicas colocadas de cierta manera que resulte artístico y casi cubiertas por yedra o plantas trepadoras. Próximo a la figura, un hoyo empezado, a un lado una cruz de hierro clavada en la tierra con cierto descuido y el resto del terreno ha de ser desigual, se cubrirá con alguna planta."

[520] Opisso, "Bellas Artes," 5. "Severamente exenta de accesorios."

object itself – and inheritors of a picturesque aesthetic – to assert its funerary meaning. Today, the Aladrén family plot remains faithful to the spirit of Clarasó's design, if not to the circular format initially described (fig. 4.8). Not only have the stones, ivy and other vegetation been maintained, but new crosses, consistently in the same style as the earliest ones, have been added to mark new graves within the plot, so that the tomb has an evolving and organic character. The pilaster retains the Latin phrase "Memento homo, quia pulvis es, et in pulverem reverteris," which only appears in full on this version of the sculpture, and which emphasizes its funerary relevance further.[521]

The deliberate and considered incorporation of real plants set Clarasó's project apart from the numerous tombs which featured sculpted vegetation and flowers. Ordered nature was frequently present in the meticulous imitation of the floral wreaths used in mourning rituals, the use of bronze or marble conferring a sense of permanence to the naturally ephemeral, and thereby suspending mourning in time (see, for example, fig. 4.19). Unbridled nature, meanwhile, could take the form of carved ivy invading the tomb, pre-empting the appearance of real ivy, and subsequently co-existing with it. A perennial plant, ivy thus became a metaphor for the inevitable passage of time, as well as a symbol of eternity (fig. 4.20). Some tombs combined both kinds of sculpted vegetation, and represented plants such as palms and opium poppies, whose funerary symbolism was explained in Barallat's 1885 book on funerary botany (see, for example, fig. 4.21).[522] The cemetery contextualisation of *Memento Homo* did not allow for the duplication of real and represented vegetation. Instead, the marble male constituted the only sculpted element in a purportedly "real" scene, complete with apparently overgrown climbing plants, and a picturesque cross positioned with a contrived "carelessness" which aimed to disguise or negate the input of the "designer." The relevance of the specific vegetation used on the Vial and Aladrén tombs will be addressed later.

STONE ON STONE: CLARASÓ'S FUNERARY FIGURES ON ROCKS

The manner in which the marble male appeared to stand directly on the rocky ground, on virtually the same horizontal plane as cemetery visitors (figs. 4.5 and 4.8), was perhaps the most remarkable aspect of this spatial contextualisation, since it took a popular trend in Western sculpture to extreme lengths. The tendency to which I refer is the gradual disappearance, initially of the plinth and, subsequently, of all visible architectural support

[521] Today, an inscribed plaque covers the original inscription but reproduces the initial text exactly. The original inscription is visible in the photograph published in Clarasó, *Escultures*, n.p.

[522] Barallat, *Principios de Botánica Funeraria*, 13-46.

beneath sculptured figures. With works such as *Adam* (fig. 4.13) presumably in mind, art historian María Luisa Sobrino has credited Rodin with eliminating the plinth, "converting commemorated figures into figures standing on the ground," and thereby triggering the gradual shedding of monumentality in twentieth-century public sculpture.[523] However, the process which ultimately led to *Memento Homo*'s funerary contextualisation began earlier, with the placement of intermediary sculpted bodies on full-scale architectural elements, with which they interacted as though belonging to the realm of the living. As Reyero has explored, Hildebrand dedicated several paragraphs of his *Problem of Form in Painting and Sculpture* (1893) to criticising the tendency, which he considered a pernicious sculptural development initiated by Canova.[524] The German sculptor and art theorist complained that Canova's use of intermediary figures on the steps of the funerary monument to Maria Christina of Austria (1798-1805) (fig. 4.22) turned the object into "a drama acted out" in which the sculpted "figures are real men and women turned to stone;" a detrimental degeneration, it was implied, of art into theatre.[525] It is highly significant that it was a *funerary* work which was identified as the origin of this boundary-blurring trend. What Hildebrand failed to recognise was that intermediary figures such as loyal mourners or heaven-sent emissaries had a long tradition in funerary sculpture. Their position between two realms, the real and the fictive, fulfilled a comforting symbolic function in the funerary context, by softening the boundary between the worlds of the living and the dead; visually evoked, in Canova's work, by an open door.

Given this positive function, and the close collaboration of architects and sculptors in monumentalising cemeteries, it is not surprising that sculpted intermediary figures standing, sitting, or reclining on "real" architecture – constructions which could constitute independent monuments in their own right – became hugely popular in Western cemeteries. Among the many examples in Montjuïc is the Buxeda family monument, which consists of a sculpted angel, by Rafael Atché, standing at the threshold of a real chapel-mausoleum, designed by architect Leandro Albareda (*ca.* 1886-88) (fig. 4.23).[526] In the iconographical line of the works by Fabiani discussed in Chapter One, but with the

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[523] María Luisa Sobrino, "Ciudad y Escultura Pública: Monumentos, Intenciones Iconográficas y Presencia Plástica," in *Humanitas, Estudios en Homenaxe ó Prof. Dr. Carlos Alonso del Real*, ed. Antón A. Rodríguez, vol. 2 (Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1996), 928. "Convirtiendo a los personajes conmemorados en figuras de pie en tierra."

[524] Carlos Reyero, "En los Límites de la Realidad y el Arte. El Ilusionismo Espacio-Temporal en la Escultura Monumental Española en torno a 1900," *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma) 9-10 (1997-98): 387-97; Adolf Hildebrand, *The Problem of Form in Painting and Sculpture*, trans. and rev. Max Meyer and Robert Morris Ogden (New York: G. E. Stechert & Co., 1907), 112-13.

[525] Hildebrand, *The Problem of Form in Painting and Sculpture*, 113.

[526] Marín, "El Reflejo de las Corrientes Arquitectónicas […]," 112.

blurriness characteristic of *modernista* sculpture, Clarasó himself created a marble sculpture of a personified female soul standing on the steps of a monumental cross made of darker stone, for the tomb of Antonio Leal de Rosa (*ca.* 1903) (fig. 4.24).

Most of Clarasó's funerary productions, however, went further than this, not only omitting the plinth which designated sculpture *as* sculpture, but avoiding or disguising any traces of the architect's hand by leaving out visible architecture altogether.[527] In the years prior to *Memento Homo*, the tombs he created for the Rusiñol family (1893), Ernest Niquet (1895) (fig. 4.25), and the Martí Ballés family (1896) (fig. 4.26), all in Montjuïc, demonstrate an increasingly pronounced and daring use of piles of rocks in lieu of a plinth. The rocks upon which the single sculpted figures sit or stand – the drapery of their clothing falling and spreading naturalistically across the surface of the stone – match those used on the walls and internal architectural features of the cemetery, which were quarried from Montjuïc mountain itself. In the first two instances, this yellow-brown "stone as rock" is chromatically distinct from the white marble "stone as sculpture" of the figures themselves. The sense that the sculpted figures were superimposed on rocks, rather than emerging from them, distinguished Clarasó's sculptures from Rodin's most characteristic works; a fact that escaped the attention of Opisso, who wrote on the Niquet tomb:

> The statue of *Sadness* which figures in a *panteón* in our necropolis could not, in itself, be more beautiful; it has everything which can intrinsically be expected of a sculpture [...] but one notices, of course, an innovation: the ample folds of drapery of the marble fall on the rocks and boulders *al natural*, as may be seen in some of Rodin's sculptures, it being of not inconsiderable merit the adaptation of the contours of one material to the other.[528]

In fact, Clarasó was not the first sculptor to place figures on rocks in Montjuïc cemetery, earlier instances being Campeny's tomb for Puig (fig 3.26) and Llimona's tomb for the Llopart family (1891). A comparison between the two cemetery versions of *Memento Homo* reveals one of the techniques which Clarasó used to achieve the virtuoso fit between

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[527] On the non-plinth in later public monuments, see Reyero, "En los Límites de la Realidad y el Arte," 391.

[528] Opisso, "Arte y Artistas Catalanes," 4. "No puede ser, en sí, más hermosa la estátua de la Tristeza que figura en un panteón de nuestra necrópolis; tiene todo lo que intrínsecamente puede exigirse á una escultura: ajustadas proporciones, perfecto encaje, correcto dibujo, sólido modelado, verdad de la expresión, concienzudo estudio de los paños, adecuada pose, pero se advierte desde luego una innovación: los amplios pliegues del ropage de mármol caen sobre las rocas y pedruscos *al natural*, como se vé en algunas esculturas de Rodin, no siendo escaso mérito el de la adaptación de los contornos de un material al otro." Italics in the original.

materials which attracted Opisso's admiration (see figs 4.7 and 4.9). When the Montjuïc version was divested of its meticulously-designed spatial contextualisation sometime after 1986, it was apparently also stripped of an original stone-like layer which had been applied on top of the base marble, accounting for the peculiar elevation of the feet as the sculpture stands today. The lost material was probably artificial stone, a cement-based material which was increasingly used for sculpture in Barcelona during this period.[529]

In the Martí Ballés tomb (fig. 4.26), Clarasó went as far as disguising the headstone among the rocks which formed the large base, as though denying its status as a monument. By visually detaching the object from the family who commissioned it, the winged figure became more than an expression of the hope of eternal life of a specific set of people – it became freer to evoke the angel who announced the resurrection of Christ in his biblical burial-place. Indeed, the tomb's integration in the "natural" environment of the mountain responds, and contributes to, the sense that Montjuïc cemetery was a biblical landscape. The design of the cemetery included ornamental stone grottos (fig. 4.27) that, in this context, evoke the tomb where Christ was buried, which was hewn from a rock.[530] Furthermore, the biblical allusions to Golgotha – the location of the crucifixion and burial of Christ – as a rocky mount with a garden, located near the city but outside its walls,[531] might almost describe Montjuïc itself.

It is significant that while Clarasó was experimenting with the natural integration of his sculptures in Montjuïc, a major Catholic project of outdoor sculptural monumentalisation was underway on Catalonia's sacred mountain of Montserrat (fig. 4.28). Literally meaning "serrated mountain," Montserrat is striking for its distinctive, vaguely anthropomorphic rock formations, and was tangibly associated with figurative sculpture because the miraculous statue-icon of the Virgin of Montserrat, the Patron of Catalonia, was believed to have been discovered in its Holy Cave. It was on the path to the Holy Cave that several Catalan architects and sculptors carried out commissions for fifteen stylistically-distinct monuments showing the Mysteries of the Rosary (1896-1916), some of which were, themselves, set inside caves (fig. 4.29).[532] (I will discuss caves in greater depth in Chapter

[529] Various producers of artificial stone advertised in the directories of the *Asociación de Arquitectos de Cataluña* from 1899 onwards. The sculptural elements of Barcelona's Arco de Triunfo (1888) were made of artificial stone. See Manuel García-Martín, *Estatuaria Pública de Barcelona*, vol. 1 (Barcelona: Catalana de Gas y Electricidad, 1984), 46.

[530] Mark 15:46; Matthew 27: 59-60; Luke 23: 53.

[531] John 19:41; Matthew George Easton, *Illustrated Bible Dictionary*, 3rd ed. (London: Thomas Nelson, 1897), accessed via Bible Study Tools, Jan 1, 2018, https://www.biblestudytools.com/dictionary/golgotha/

[532] On religious caves and grottos, see Naomi Miller, *Heavenly Caves: Reflections on the Garden Grotto* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1982), 8-9.

Five.) This was soon followed by a second ambitious project for the same mountain, the Via Crucis (1904-19), which consisted of sculptures representing the fourteen established narrative episodes of the Passion of Christ, all designed by Eusebio Arnau Mascort, and erected along a mountain path through trees (fig. 4.30).

Catholics travelling both of Montserrat's sculptural-religious paths were essentially carrying out small-scale pilgrimages, in which the physical journey between monuments was also a spiritual one (fig. 4.31).[533] At each monument, devotees were expected to stop, contemplate, and meditate upon the sculpture; and there were specific prayers designed to be said at each station. In this context, Alex Potts' assertion that "the kinaesthetic viewing activated by three-dimensional work brings with it a heightened sense of temporality"[534] becomes particularly appropriate, and meaningful; even though this is not a sculptural genre to which he, or other phenomenologically-informed theorists of sculpture such as Fried or Krauss, have turned their attention. Suggestive similarities emerge, in particular, between the Via Crucis and the cemetery, since both spaces invite visitors to walk around and look at religious sculpture in a meditative exercise centred on death. It is clear then, that, Clarasó's approach to the spatial integration of his sculptures in the cemetery did not develop in isolation, but was related to a broader trend developing within religious monuments in Catalonia.

GARDEN CEMETERIES, NATURE AND HUMILITY

As we have seen, *Memento Homo*'s cemetery contextualisation took Clarasó's experimentation with sculpted figures on rocks a step further, by incorporating real vegetation and crosses to create an innovative fictional space. Crucially, it was a rural or garden cemetery that was evoked. In the Introduction to this thesis, I discussed how the simple graves associated with the garden cemetery model were, by virtue of their perceived humility, unequivocally presented by the Catholic Church as morally superior to ostentatious monumental tombs in expensive materials. Clergyman Pioger, we may remember, reminded his readers that monuments were transitory by warning them that even bronze turned to dust.[535] It is, therefore, significant that the fiction of the cemetery-within-a-cemetery did *not* present the sculpted marble figure as the monument which

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[533] For anthropological perspectives on pilgrimage and tourism, see Ellen Badone and Sharon R. Roseman, eds. *Intersecting Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004); John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow, eds. *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* (London: Routledge, 1991).

[534] Alex Potts, *The Sculptural Imagination: Figurative, Modernist, Minimalist* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 9.

[535] Pioger, *La Vida Después de la Muerte* […], 71-72.

marked each grave. There was, according to the fiction, no monument at all. Instead, the graves were supposed to be simple holes in the ground, marked by one or more rustic, un-individualised, hastily-planted crosses, in the manner of poor or rural cemeteries, or of the simple churchyards which nineteenth-century cemeteries had replaced (fig. 4.32). In the Zaragoza version, there was, it is true, a clearly-marked entrance to a family crypt, but this was not visible from the cemetery's main avenue.

Moreover, the vegetation which was planted, or appeared, on each tomb had specifically humble associations. Not only had Barallat admonished against using potted plants in favour of a "natural" look; but, to symbolise humility, he explicitly recommended encouraging the growth of moss, and planting grass, climbing plants and ivy (see figs. 4.8, 4.9 and 4.18).[536] The latter, which Clarasó specifically mentioned in the project description for the Zaragoza version, was a particular favourite of the writer's:

> Ivy, which symbolises overwhelming and humble affection, covering the slabs of tombs, climbing over the fencing, embracing the adjoining rocks, extends the dominance of the colour green and perfectly denotes the close embrace of […] life and death.[537]

The textual description on the plans for the Zaragoza version make it clear that Clarasó had the Church's position on humility, and its direct association with the "memento homo" phrase, at the forefront of his mind when he devised the spatial context for his sculpture:

> The figure or statue represents the compendium of human life: honours, riches, pride etc., everything is reduced to the same, DUST. It symbolises the Eternal Gravedigger, that is, *the voice of the Church*, with its 'Memento Homo' reminding man [of] the terrible sentence pronounced by God after the first sin, 'until you go back to mixing with the soil from which you were formed, for dust you are and as dust you must return.'[538]

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[536] Barallat, *Principios de Botánica Funeraria*, 53-54 and 17-18.

[537] Barallat, *Principios de Botánica Funeraria*, 18. "La hiedra que simboliza el cariño avasallado y humildoso, cubriendo las losas de las tumbas, trepando por los enverjados, abrazándose á las rocas contiguas, extiende el imperio del color verde y denota perfectamente el estrecho abrazo que […] la vida y la muerte."

[538] File regarding Alberto Aladrén Mendivil's acquisition of a funerary plot [...], AMZ. "La figura ó estatua representa el compendio de la vida humana: homores, riquezas, orgullo, & &, todo se reduce á lo mismo, POLVO. Simboliza el Sepulturero Eterno ó sea *la voz de la Iglesia*, con su 'Memento Homo' recordando al hombre, la terrible sentencia pronunciada por Dios después del primer pecado, 'hasta que vuelvas a confundirte con la tierra de la cual fuiste formado, puesto que polvo eres y en polvo has de volver.'" The italics are mine.

The association of the words "memento homo" with Christian humility was a generalised one. For example, in his article on funerary art as a genre, Manuel Vega wrote in November 1902 that "simple" churchyard burial was "in accordance with the meaning of the *Memento homo*."[539] The following year, columnist and Catholic propagandist María de Echarri presented Ash Wednesday – the first day of Lent, and the day in which the "memento homo" homily was said in church – as a time to reflect upon the "memento homo" and the vanity of the Carnival days that immediately preceded it.[540] In a "fantastical" text of the kind discussed in Chapter One, Echarri imagined Ash Wednesday dawning on a clear, natural landscape, animated by a purifying wind which, literally and metaphorically, swept away the masks and gaudy decorations of Carnival. The Romantic metaphor of the moral cleanliness of nature was thus employed to articulate how the Truth, humility and religious introspection of Lent replaced the innate theatricality – literal and pejoratively metaphorical – of Carnival.

The symbolic juxtaposition of Carnival and Lent was also, as I pointed out in Chapter One, behind the organisational structure and religious message of *Don Juan Tenorio*. Most of the protagonist's sins are committed during the first half, set at Carnival time, while the garden cemetery setting of the second half sees his gradual contrition, moral purification and preparation for death. The month of November, when the play was put on and the ritual of cemetery visiting took place, thus symbolically became a kind of second Ash Wednesday. Zorrilla's play and Echarri's article both attest to the cultural survival of the *theatrum mundi* trope – famously developed in the seventeenth-century Spanish religious drama, Pedro Calderón's *The Great Theatre of the World* – in which human life on earth was allegorised as theatre and illusion, which ended only with death; at which vanity and grandeur disappeared and Truth was revealed. Widely understood as signifying humility over vanity, the words "memento homo" were, then, enmeshed in the related antinomies of nature over theatre, and truth over illusion, which were all part of the wider philosophical dichotomy between reality and appearance.[541]

There is compelling evidence that Clarasó's sculpted *Memento Homo*, in its Montjuïc cemetery setting, was seen and re-presented in terms of this dichotomy, and through the lens of the *theatrum mundi* allegory. In 1919 and 1924 respectively, the periodicals *Niu*

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[539] Manuel Vega, "Arte Funerario," *Arquitectura y Construcción*, Nov 11, 1902, 320. "Simple;" "acorde con la significación del *Memento homo*."

[540] María de Echarri, "El Carnaval," *Dinastía,* Feb 22, 1903, 1.

[541] For a discussion of these dichotomies, and the *theatrum mundi*, see Davis and Postlewait, introduction to *Theatricality*, 9-17.

Artistic and *Joventut Catalana* printed a photograph of the work, *in situ*, alongside a poem in Catalan entitled "November," which was inspired by it (fig. 4.33).[542] Wholeheartedly embracing the idea of the Eternal Gravedigger, the poet opened with the lines,

> Tireless, night and day
> He digs and digs his own grave;
> There is neither pain nor joy
> Which may detain him.
> His sad face
> Bears the stamp of destiny

and went on to describe the solitary figure as "leaving [behind] *the great chimera of the world*."[543] The writer entered into the spirit of Clarasó's fictive contextualisation, since nothing in the poem alluded to the object's objecthood, or to its status as a monument. Moreover, the accompanying photograph was carefully framed to fit the moralistic meaning conveyed by the poem. The spatial boundaries of the burial plot were rendered invisible, accentuating the sense that the Eternal Gravedigger occupied a "natural" setting full of profuse vegetation. In addition, the background inclusion of the large, grand chapel-mausoleum of the Seycher family (1902-06) served, on the one hand, to reinforce the association of *Memento Homo* with the "humble" churchyard burials of the past; and, on the other, to underline the contrast between the ostentation of the mausoleum and the supposedly anti-bourgeois "simplicity" of the labouring man.

In sum, it is my contention that Clarasó's sculpture, in its cemetery location, was intended to convey the ideas of Christian humility and simplicity in the face of death; and that at least some of his contemporaries embraced this meaning. In the context of the moral dichotomy between appearance and reality, the "natural" spatial contextualisation, along with its negation of its own monumentality, aligned the tomb with Christian truth, anti-theatricality and anti-artificiality. Paradoxically, *Memento Homo* and the carefully-designed fictive space of the cemetery-within-a-cemetery symbolised the end of illusion.

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[542] The photograph is by "Carcassona" or "Carcassonne," while the poem is ascribed to different authors in each case. See Joan Casas, "Novembre," *Niu Artistic*, Oct-Nov-Dec 1919, 23; Joan Mas, "Novembre," *Joventut Catalana*, Nov 6, 1924, 18.

[543] Casas, "Novembre," 23. "Infatigable, nit i dia / cava que cava el séu fossar; no hi ha dolor ni hi ha alegría /que son treball pugui aturar. / La seva cara dolorida /porta la empremta del destí." "Deixant *del món la gran quimera*." The italics are mine.

With this reading of the sculpture, the paradox of "ostentatious humility" raises its head again, begging the question: could *Memento Homo*'s message about humility and the superficiality of earthly riches be reconciled with the fact that both funerary commissions were visibly costly endeavours – the figures carved from large blocks of expensive white marble and occupying large plots – available only to the very wealthy? In the case of the Montjuïc version, archival records show that the statue alone cost 7000 pesetas, which was seven times the annual salary of a university-employed anatomical sculptor at that time.[544] Was it possible for "modesty" to trump its antimony, "ostentation," when it came to interpreting the object, or were some viewers likely to remain "undeceived"?

To address these questions, I consider the profiles of the men behind each commission. In the first place, both appear to have worked for their wealth, so that their tombs – on the theme of Christian labour – were most likely the fruits of their own labour. Secondly, the representation of an almost nude man embodying the meaning of humility proves to be singularly appropriate when it is revealed that both apparently owned businesses associated with bodily adornment: Aladrén had a luxury jewellery business[545] and Vial owned a fabric company.[546] While the tombs discussed in Chapter Three alluded explicitly to the professions of the men who commissioned them, the exact opposite is true here, for the sculpture shows a man stripped of professional identifiers, and there is no illuminating textual inscription as in Farreras' case. Taken in the context of the written project description cited earlier,[547] this representation conveys a belief in common humanity, and in the Church's position on death as the ultimate leveller. And yet, again, the monument's materiality and very existence contradicts its iconography, denoting distinction rather than equality. Vial's funeral, in January 1915, can similarly be read in two opposing ways. *La Vanguardia* reported that "representatives of all social classes" were present and that factory workers carried the coffin.[548] Was this a reflection of the

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[544] File regarding the tomb commissioned by Juan Vial Solsona [...], AMCB; Sharpe and Zarzoso, "Sculpture at the Service of Medicine," 334-39.

[545] Francesc Fontbona and José Antonio Hernández, "Memento Homo. Panteón de la Familia Aladrén." Ayuntamiento de Zaragoza: Cultura, accessed March 30, 2015, https://www.zaragoza.es /ciudad/artepublico/detalle_ArtePublico?id=137.

[546] "Registro de Marcas," *Industria e Invenciones*, Oct 22, 1910, 150; "Marcas Concedidas," *Industria e Invenciones*. Jan 22, 1912, 38. I have been unable to confirm that this was already Vial's occupation at the time the sculpture was commissioned.

[547] File regarding Alberto Aladrén Mendivil's acquisition of a funerary plot [...], AMZ.

[548] "Notas Locales," *Vanguardia*, Jan 18, 1915, 5. "Representantes de todas las clases sociales."

dead man's democratic attitudes, or a final, emphatic, paternalistic, assertion of class privilege?

FRIED'S ABSORPTION AND THEATRICALITY

The problem of determining the point at which "humility" is read as "ostentation" shares similarities with some of the questions raised in Fried's discussions of theatricality, to which I now turn my attention. Although he occasionally makes religious allusions, Fried rarely considers religious art in his numerous texts on theatricality, and the Christian understandings of the concept I have discussed over the last few pages are not of primary concern to his more secular approach. Drawing on Diderot's criticisms of Salon paintings, Fried offered an alternative conceptual antithesis to theatricality, which he denoted "absorption." In *Absorption and Theatricality* and subsequent writings, Fried convincingly argued that the two concepts corresponded to distinct conceptual strands associated with specific pictorial devices used in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French painting. The essential point was that a theatrical painting displays its consciousness of a viewer, while an absorptive one appears to be unconscious of being looked at. In spite of Fried's subsequent claims to the contrary,[549] his conceptualisation of theatricality was imbued with long-standing pejorative connotations; not least because the distinction between "Diderot" and "Fried the commentator on Diderot" was not always clear in the book, particularly in relation to the positive connotations attributed to the notion of "de-theatricalizing beholding."[550]

Crucially, the absorptive fiction had to be convincing for the effect not to become theatrical. Herein lies the inescapable "problem" at the core of the dialectic, as Fried recognised: "everything turned [...] on a subjective judgment that by the nature of the case ran to one or the other extreme."[551] The impossibility of objectively drawing the line between the polarised, yet adjacent, concepts caused him to insist later upon the "futility" of the endeavour[552] and to point out that such judgements were historically conditioned.[553] The questions remain, however: when is the absorptive action or state of the figures

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[549] Fried, *Art and Objecthood: Essays and Reviews* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 51.

[550] The term is used in Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality*, 104. It resembles Fried's personal conviction, in relation to modernist sculpture, that "the success, even the survival, of the arts has come increasingly to depend in their ability to defeat theater." See Fried, "Art and Objecthood," in *Art and Objecthood*, 163, first published in *Artforum* 5 (June 1967).

[551] Michael Fried, *Manet's Modernism, or, The Face of Painting in the 1860s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 191.

[552] Michael Fried, "An Introduction to My Art Criticism," in *Art and Objecthood,* 49-50.

[553] Michael Fried, *Courbet's Realism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 14-17.

represented perceived as false, thus transforming an "absorptive" work of art into a "theatrical" one? In other words, at what point, in which works of art, and for what reasons, do viewers see through the fiction that the work of art is unself-conscious?

Memento Homo has all the characteristics of a work which aspires to be "absorptive" according to Fried. In *Absorption and Theatricality,* absorptive effect was often deemed the result of absorptive subject-matter, that is, the "representation of figures absorbed in quintessentially absorptive states and activities;"[554] and the Eternal Gravedigger's repetitive digging is just such an activity. His concentration on the task is emphasised in the tensed muscles around the neck, which result in fleshy folds resembling a double chin, and bring a highly naturalistic note to the otherwise ideal body. This is a man apparently not posing, and unaware that he is being watched (by which I mean, of course, that *I* find his absorption believable). The downcast eyes render eye-contact with viewers impossible, and set him clearly apart from Coll's interpretation of the same theme (fig. 4.14), which featured a man staring straight ahead with none of the same introspection or intensity. Indicative of modesty and shame, eyes facing downwards are also singularly appropriate for representing the Fall; the fall from God's grace that is also, metaphorically, the vertical, gravitational pull of the fall to earth. My point is that the concept of humility which the sculpture was intended to convey depended upon Clarasó's use of such "absorptive" devices in order to be emotionally convincing. The general success of the endeavour seems to be confirmed by the fact that despite – or, more likely, because of – the careful "staging" that went into the "natural" cemetery contextualisation of *Memento Homo*, the sculpture's critics have never "accused" it of being theatrical. Thus, Fried's distinction between theatricality and absorption maps neatly onto the moral dichotomy between ostentation and humility which preoccupied cemetery commentators during the period. In *Memento Homo*, absorption and humility go hand-in-hand.

ABSORPTIVE FUNERARY FEMALES IN FIN-DE-SIÈCLE *SCULPTURE*

Fried's dialectic can also fruitfully be brought to bear on Clarasó's other funerary works, and proves an unexpectedly useful interpretive tool for analysing many sculptures produced in his wider artistic circle. This assertion involves extending the concepts into a period (the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries), a geographical region (Spain and, in particular, Catalonia), and a medium (sculpture) which Fried did not discuss in these terms. However, the conservative nature of the genre of funerary sculpture justifies

[554] Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality*, 107.

the continued applicability of concepts which, Fried has implied, became obsolete in painting with the arrival of "modern" painters such as Manet and Courbet.[555]

Setting aside *Memento Homo* for a moment, it is worth noting how Clarasó's funerary production is dominated by solitary figures whose eyes are averted in numerous ways so as never to encounter the viewer's gaze from any of their viewpoints. Feminised angels looking heavenward or towards the ground gave way, in later works, to downward-looking, mourning, meditative widows, and female personifications of the soul, with closed, hidden or veiled eyes (figs. 4.24, 4.25, 4.34 and 4.35). Clarasó's only funerary male apart from *Memento Homo*, the marble allegory of *Time* on the tomb of the Gómez Arroyo and Sancho Arroyo families, in Zaragoza (1907) (fig. 4.36), stares forward with the *terribilità* of Michelangelo's *Moses* (1513-15), which clearly inspired it; but the figure's elevated position atop another pile of rocks makes it equally impossible for cemetery visitors to meet his eye.

Absorbed women were hugely popular among other Catalan *modernista* sculptors of Clarasó's generation, such as José Llimona; and, more widely still, across *fin-de-siècle* European sculpture. Benlliure's figure of Music, in the Gayarre monument (fig. 1.5), is one such example that we have already encountered, but exhibition catalogues of the period are replete with sculptures entitled Desolation, Solitude, Meditation, Remorse, Regret, and Sorrow, in which women are depicted absorbed in – and simultaneously personifying and allegorising – these emotions. More often than not, the faces and eyes of these women are obscured altogether by their cupped hands, folded arms, flowing hair, and engulfing veils, leaving no doubt as to their supposed introspection. Such figures gradually replaced traditional female allegories, such as the theological virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity, which were more likely to stand forwards with their faces fully visible (see, for example, fig. 1.24).[556]

Yet as they distanced themselves from the abstraction of religious allegories, these new female personifications often adopted, and became fused with, the iconography of Catholicism's most emotionally-demonstrative women: Mary Magdalene and the Virgin, who were meditative and disconsolate by turns. Esquinas has explored this fusion in relation to Llimona, with particular reference to the various versions of a female personification which first appeared, as *Sorrow* (*Dolor*), on the tomb commissioned by

[555] Fried, *Manet's Modernism*; Fried, "The Structure of Beholding in Courbet's 'Burial at Ornans,'" 635-83.

[556] For more on grieving women in nineteenth-century Spanish art, see Carlos Reyero, "Coqueterías de Moribunda," *Quintana* 1 (2002): 113.

Mercedes Casas de Vilanova, in Montjuïc (1903) (fig. 4.37).[557] In the Spanish context, the transition from old to new allegory must have come particularly easily given the immense popularity of sculpted icons of the various manifestations of the distraught Virgin following Christ's death. The Virgin of Sorrows (*Virgen Dolorosa*) and Virgin of Solitude (*Virgen de la Soledad*) were already personifications of emotions to a large extent, so it is easy to see how they might have evolved into what were probably the most recurrent of these fin-de-siècle allegories of spiritually absorbed women: Sorrow (*Dolor*) and Solitude (*Soledad*).

The open-endedness of these themes, and the generic appeal of the beautiful, youthful female figure, made for highly versatile works. Equally attuned to the bourgeois-dominated art market, to opportunities of religious patronage funded by new money, and to the mechanisms through which art received official recognition during this period, sculptures of absorbed women were able to move with unprecedented ease between art exhibitions, private interiors, museum collections, churches and – perhaps most of all – cemeteries.[558] Clarasó's artistic production exemplifies this adaptability. His repertoire of absorbed women included sculptures entitled *Sorrow*, *Meditation*, *Solitude*, *Alone*, and *Resignation*; as well as the more explicitly religious *Prayer*, *Faith*, *Resurrection* and *Soul.* Long after many of these works were erected in cemeteries, Clarasó continued to refer to them publically by their spiritually suggestive titles rather than by the names of the wealthy people who had commissioned the tombs on which they were placed. The Niquet tomb, for example, was titled *Sorrow* (*Dolor*) or *Meditation*,[559] while the Leal de Rosa tomb was called *Soul* (figs. 4.24-4.25).[560] The sculptures thus maintained a sort of artistic – and even moral – autonomy from market forces and bourgeois money; an autonomy to which Opisso was no doubt alluding when he dubbed Clarasó "ever independent and free."[561]

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[557] Esquinas, "Desconsuelo, de Josep Llimona," 379-88; Natàlia Esquinas, "Josep Llimona e il seu Taller," PhD diss. (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2015), 271.

[558] Adaptability was characteristic of nineteenth-century European sculpture, more generally. For a detailed discussion of the functional and material adaptability of the work of British sculptor John Bell, see Gabriel Williams, "Industry and the Ideal: Ideal Sculpture and Reproduction at the Early International Exhibitions," PhD diss. (York: University of York, 2014), 57-65.

[559] Clarasó, *Escultures*, n.p.; Clarasó, *Notes Viscudes,* 80. Opisso referred to the work as *Sadness*, as we saw earlier. See Opisso, "Arte y Artistas Catalanes," 4.

[560] Clarasó, *Escultures*, n.p.

[561] Opisso, "Arte y Artistas Catalanes," 4. "Siempre independiente y libre."

Absorption, in funerary contexts, had unquestionably positive moral connotations, indicating a preoccupation with a profounder reality than the "here and now." It meant the absorption of the living in grief and reflections on mortality, as in the Niquet and Casanovas tombs (figs. 4.25 and 4.35), or the mystical absorption of the soul rising, vertically, to the heavenly realm, as in the Leal de Rosa and Ginés tombs (figs. 4.24 and 4.34). Yet the danger of crossing over into theatricality was, and apparently remains, present. The critical reaction to one of Montjuïc cemetery's most emblematic tombs, the monument commissioned by Augusto Urrutia Roldán in around 1908 (fig. 4.38), shows Fried's dialectic at work, and exemplifies how absorbed figural attitudes do not necessarily equal an "absorptive" work of art. When, in 1986, Marín described the monument as "harmonious, and beautiful at first glance, *but theatrical and excessively affected*," she surely had in mind the pronounced gesturing of the grief-stricken, supposedly disconsolate, sculpted angel, as well as the profusion of decorative detail, and the exuberant Greek-theatre-like backdrop.[562] Moreover, the problem of theatrical absorption in the funerary genre was apparently not new. Adopting Fried's terminology to discuss the marble mourning widows on eighteenth-century British funerary monuments by Jean-François Roubiliac, Bindman and Baker argued that the women's absorption in grief was understood, even by Roubiliac's contemporaries, as having been put on for the benefit of an audience, making it "theatrical" after all.[563]

When the sculpted figure was female, the absorptive pose could also serve the moral purpose of demonstrating that widows *did not have eyes* for other men. Women with averted or hidden eyes, such as the mourners on the Niquet and Casanovas tombs (figs. 4.25 and 4.35), seemed to negate a satirical criticism which was widespread in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and not limited to Spain alone: that widows frequented cemeteries to look for a new husband. [564] The accusation was connected with the equally recurrent theme of widows' feigned or short-lived grief, which was derived from the sexist stereotype of female falsity, and which aligned women with superficiality and illusion in the conceptual dichotomy of appearance versus reality. A comical drawing

[562] Marín, "El Reflejo de las Corrientes Arquitectónicas […]," 502. "Armonioso, y a primera vista bello, *pero teatral y en exceso afectado*." The italics are mine. Montserrat Oliva and Hugo García have recently re-attributed the angel to José Campeny, a proposal which I find convincing. See Oliva and García, "Panteón Urrutia Miró."

[563] Bindman and Baker, *Roubiliac and the Eighteenth-Century Monument*, 35.

[564] See, for example, Verin, "Sentimiento Eterno," 355 (translated from French, as we saw earlier); "Al Tornar de la Necropolis," *Esquella de la Torratxa,* Oct 29, 1909, 706; Blanco Coris, "La Viuda," *Esquella de la Torratxa*, Oct 28, 1892, 709.

in *La Esquella de la Torratxa* revealingly titled *Outcome of the Drama*, in which a respectable widow encounters her younger rival at the scene of her philandering husband's grave, exemplifies how immodesty and brazenness were equated with looking directly at the viewer (fig. 4.39). A cheerful, young *Chic Widow* similarly looked coyly up from another page of the same periodical (fig. 4.40). In this context it becomes apparent that the funerary representation of the virtuous female was built on the premise that looking was non-reciprocal. Cemetery visitors were invited to admire and contemplate, from all angles, a sculpted woman absorbed in an abandonment of exemplary grief; but were she able, magically, to look up, the reaction might well switch to moral censure.

LOOKING AT CLARASÓ'S EVA

Clarasó referred explicitly to the dynamics of seeing and not seeing, being seen and not being seen, when describing, in his memoirs, how he had exteriorised introspective emotions in his sculpture *Eve* (*ca.* 1903-04) (figs. 4.2 and 4.41):

> Doubled over, wanting to hide from the divine gaze, her head low between her outstretched arms, nervously pressing her hands against each other and her hair falling, [Eve] feels the sorrow/pain [*dolor*] of her offense.[565]

The sculptor seems to allude to the childlike sense that if you cannot see someone they cannot see you; that covering or closing your eyes makes you invisible to others – in this case, to God himself. Eve's absorption thus goes further than an innocent lack of awareness of being watched, for it involves a wilful belief in, or at least desire for, invisibility. Significantly, Clarasó defines the guilty emotion which consumes her as *dolor*; that pervasive *fin-de-siècle* sculptural sentiment which, as we have seen, the sculpted widow of the Niquet tomb also personified. The presentation of the female body as the locus of both guilt and grief follows a certain theological logic, for Eve's original sin in the garden of Eden is construed by the Catholic church as the root cause of humanity's mortality, and, thus, the reason why we must mourn. Although common in symbolist and art nouveau sculpture, the loose, flowing hair behind which *Eve* hides her face perhaps serves as a reminder that, according to a long tradition of sexualising female sin, it was her seductiveness which led Adam astray in the first place. The biblical justification for her nudity does nothing to take away from the sensual appeal of the delicately-carved,

[565] Clarasó, *Notes Viscudes*, 78. "Cargolant-se amb ella mateixa, volent amagar-se de la mirada divina, el cap baix entre els braços que té estirats, apretant nerviosament les mans l'una contra l'altra i els cabells caiguts, [Eva] sent el dolor de la seva falta."

curvaceous figure which Clarasó presents to his viewers; inviting them, voyeuristically, to look at a woman who – he expressly tells us – does not want to be seen.

Eve, though not strictly speaking a funerary sculpture, is inextricably bound up with the funerary genre in multiple, and hitherto unnoticed, ways. Clarasó probably drew inspiration from the naked female personification of *Sorrow* (*Douleur*), which Christophe created, in plaster, in 1855; and which was posthumously reproduced in stone for the French sculptor's own tomb in the Cemetery of Batignoles, in Paris (fig. 4.42), in another example of posthumous sculptural citation (see Chapter Two).[566] Christophe's influence on Nobas, via the Cavaignac tomb, was uncovered in Chapter Four. The early date of Christophe's original version of *Sorrow* is worth underlining, for it shows that the subject of absorbed women embodying allegorised sentiments pre-dated, by several decades, the era in which the Catalan *modernistas* chose it as one of their favourite sculptural themes.[567] Moreover, its cemetery placement points to a greater acceptance of the female nude in the French context than in Spain. The controversy caused by Lorenzo Rosselló's *Desolation* (fig. 4.43), when it was exhibited at the National Exhibition in Madrid in 1897, revealed that female nudity could still be polemical in *fin-de-siècle* Spain, particularly if the woman was curled up horizontally in a position potentially suggestive of sexual availability.[568] Where Catholicism prevailed, as it did in cemeteries, the conservatism was even greater. In this context, it is significant that most of Catalonia's *modernista* sculptors – Clarasó, Llimona and Arnau among them – were not only prolific producers of cemetery monuments, but belonged to the conservative Cercle de Sant Lluc, whose rules prohibited the use of nude female models until 1909.[569]

Although *Eve*'s nudity would have made a cemetery location problematic, the plaster model could easily have been modified, and its title altered to *Sorrow*, or something similar, to suit a Spanish funerary context. The practice of dressing and undressing female nudes in different versions of the same work was not unheard of, with Goya's creation of a *Clothed Maja* (*ca.* 1800-07) to complement his *Nude Maja* (*ca.* 1797-1800) the best-known Spanish precedent (figs. 4.44-4.45). Clarasó himself was later to cover the nude torso of his

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[566] Christophe's *Sorrow* was influential across Europe, apparently inspiring Oskar Garvens' *Contrition* (1909) and Edoardo de Albertis' sculpture for the Ammirato tomb in the cemetery of Staglieno (1917). For more on Christophe's tomb, see Le Normand-Romain, *Mémoire de Marbre*, 149-50.

[567] On sculptures of allegorised sentiments in Catalan *modernista* sculpture, and their relationships with the funerary genre, see Doñate, "Symbolist Sculpture," 72-75.

[568] On this controversy, see Reyes Carrasco, "Arte, Moral y Prostitución: Un Asunto Escabroso en la Nacional de 1897," *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma) 9-10 (1997-98): 379-86.

[569] Esquinas, "Josep Llimona e il seu Taller," 66-67.

female allegory entitled *Resurrection* (1915) when he adapted it for the tomb of Jaume Brutau (1919-20) (figs. 4.46-4.47).[570] Llimona, meanwhile, famously followed the reverse process when, in 1907, he reworked his clothed funerary *Sorrow* of 1903 into a free-standing exhibition nude, which he titled *Distress* (figs. 4.37 and 4.48).[571] While Clarasó was probably mindful of *Eve*'s funerary adaptability, he was confident enough that the nude figure would find a buyer that he publically presented the work in the definitive, expensive, medium of marble when exhibiting at the National Art Exhibition in Madrid in 1904. Unfortunately for him, the rules regarding State acquisition at national exhibitions had been tightened the previous year,[572] meaning that *Eve* was not purchased, even though it received a second class medal at the show. It was not until three years later, when Clarasó put the marble up for sale at 10,000 pesestas at the 1907 International Exhibition in Barcelona, that *Eve* was purchased for Barcelona's municipal art museum (now Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya).[573] No cemetery version, clothed or unclothed, was apparently ever created.

Eve was conceived as the counterpart to *Memento Homo*. In 1903, Clarasó must have been working simultaneously on the Zaragoza version of *Memento Homo* and on the preliminary, plaster version of *Eve*, and it was probably as a conceptual and formal pair that he displayed both plasters together in his studio-house years later (fig. 4.2). Having shown, through the figure he dubbed the Eternal Gravedigger, the consequences of the Fall on Adam (Man), Clarasó clearly chose to do the same with Eve (Woman), creating a gendered contrast through the juxtaposition. The author of the "Satirical Catalogue" of the 1904 National Exhibition inadvertently pointed to the difference in male and female representation when he commented sarcastically, "Eve, I recognised you because, as the Scripture says, God condemned you to earn your bread by the sweat of your brow and you're sweating heavily."[574] The point was that Clarasó's *Eve* was ostensibly not at work. In fact, the writer was wrong about the biblical reference, since labouring to produce food

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570 The photograph included in Claraso's *Escultures*, shows the inscription *Resurrectió* on the base of the object, but the title *Despertant a la Llum* (Waking to the Light) on the mount. The less-clothed version was exhibited at the Salón Parés in Barcelona in February 1915. See "Barcelona. – Salón Parés," *Ilustracion Artística*," 96.

571 For more on this work, see Azcue, "Joseph Llimona. Desconsuelo," 424; Esquinas, "Desconsuelo, de Josep Llimona," 379-88.

572 Bernardino de Pantorba, *Historia y Crítica de las Exposiciones Nacionales de Bellas Artes Celebradas en España* (Madrid: Jesús Ramón García, 1980), 188.

573 *Catálogo Ilustrado. V Exposición Internacional de Arte* (Barcelona: Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, 1907), 168; "Eva," Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, accessed Feb 9, 2016, http://www.museunacional.cat/ca/colleccio/eva/enric-claraso/010013-000.

574 Antonio Martínez [El Sastre del Campillo, pseud.], "Catálogo Satírico de la Exposición de Bellas Artes," *Liberal*, May 20, 1904, 3. "Eva, os he reconocido, porque, según la Escritura, os condenó Dios á ganar el pan con el sudor de la frente y estáis sudando á chorros."

was, as we have seen, the fate of men. According to Genesis, the female punishment was dictated by God as follows:

> I will make your pains in childbearing very severe; with painful labour you will give birth to children. Your desire will be for your husband, and he will rule over you.[575]

While the word "labour" does not refer equally to physical work and childbirth in Spanish or Catalan as it does in English, it is highly suggestive that the idea of pain is expressed, in Spanish and Catalan bibles, by that recurring word, *dolor*. A popular choice of title for sculptures, as we have seen, *dolor* means both physical pain *and* mental grief and sorrow; and the bible presents it as the "work" of women, alongside submission to men. It is in this religious light, as well as in the context of the female personifications of sentiments discussed earlier, that Clarasó's disconsolate, cowering, naked *Eve* must be considered. When juxtaposing his two most acclaimed exhibition sculptures in his studio (fig. 4.2), the sculptor presented *Memento Homo* and *Eve* as complementary and contrasting objects which showed the consequence of the Fall for both genders: the lot of women was to be absorbed in grief, sorrow, and submission, while men were absorbed in active labour.

THE SCULPTOR AT WORK

In this context, the representative image of Clarasó "at work" on his sculpture *about* masculine labour (fig. 4.1) merits revisiting before I bring this chapter to a close. Serra's photograph invites viewers to identify the labouring Everyman of the sculpture not with Vial or Aladrén – who are "irrelevant" to, and invisible from, the plaster version – but with Clarasó himself. The bodies of the sculptor and his muscular creation are juxtaposed. Dressed in artist's overalls and holding a metal instrument in his hand, Clarasó is presented as another man absorbed in work, his arm raised in a gesture that echoes the pose of his sculpted figure. The contrast with the photographic presentation of the gentlemanly, intellectually-engaged Nobas, seated in his studio (fig. 3.9), is pronounced. The marble male's metal pick-axe can be read as analogous to the sculptor's tools, particularly since Clarasó's hammer, which rests on the chair, also serves to forcefully break into hard surfaces. Had the figure, instead, been equipped with the spade, shovel or rake with which gravediggers were more commonly represented (see, for example, fig.

[575] Genesis 3:16 (NIV).

4.32), there would have been no such parallel.[576] At the same time, Clarasó's contemplative pose emphasises the cerebral side of the artist's labour, in keeping with the sculptor's stated pride in the conceptual significance of his *Memento Homo*.

Compelling etymological connections emerge when we recall that Adam's biblical labour is potentially just as agricultural as it is funerary. As Miguel Sobrino recently observed, stone carving and agricultural labour have a shared vocabulary in Spanish,[577] so that the word *labrar*[578] refers to both cutting and carving stone *and* to cultivating, toiling and ploughing the earth. This link between sculpture and agriculture joins the association between agriculture and death, which I discussed earlier in this chapter; and the connection between death and sculpture, which I explored in Chapter Two. Clarasó's *Memento Homo* is, thus, at the centre of a conceptual triangle between sculpture, agriculture and death.

In the context of these analogical relationships, *Memento Homo*'s symbolic message that "everything is reduced to the same, DUST"[579] assumes an unlikely relevance, given a sculptor's constant contact with plaster and stone dust in the process of making. Sculptors were well placed to see past the "permanence" of stone sculpture, since they were aware of how easy it was to reduce even marble to dust; making their practical vision unexpectedly close to the doctrinal Catholic view that all monuments turned to dust. As both a sculptor and a Catholic, Clarasó may well have thought about the impermanence of his "Eternal" Gravedigger – and, by extension, about his own (im)mortality. Although the dustiness and general messiness of sculptural labour was not captured in Serra's sanitised photograph of the sculptor's studio, the image does seem to engage with the idea of a never-ending cycle of life and death, of emerging from the earth and returning to it. Clarasó's outstretched arm, touching the Eternal Gravedigger, makes him join the chain of masculine labour and death; while the inclusion of a sculpture of a small boy in the

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[576] Coincidentally, in his discussion of Gustave Courbet's *Burial at Ornans*, Fried argues that "the fictive activity of excavating the grave [...] and the actual activity of painting the Burial were in crucial respects analogous," based upon the idea that the handle of the gravedigger's shovel extends outside the picture plane into the physical space where the painter-beholder's paintbrush would be positioned. Given that Fried's argument is centred on a discussion of viewpoints which is irrelevant to *Memento Homo*, the apparent similarities between Courbet's and Clarasó's gravediggers prove superficial. See Fried, "The Structure of Beholding in Courbet's 'Burial at Ornans,' "666-67.

[577] Miguel Sobrino, "Sombra y Contorno. El Dibujo como Herramienta en la Escultura por Talla Directa," *Tejné: Hacia una Historia Material de la Escultura. III Encuentro Internacional de Museos y Colecciones de Escultura* (paper presented at the III Encuentro Internacional de Museos y Colecciones de Escultura, Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid, Oct 21, 2016).

[578] *Labrar* is etymologically derived, like the English word "labour," from the Latin *laborare.*

[579] File regarding Alberto Aladrén Mendivil's acquisition of a funerary plot [...], AMZ. "Todo se reduce á lo mismo, POLVO."

background completes the sense of a masculine life cycle progressing from infancy, through virility, to death. Fittingly, this second sculpture, entitled *Injured* (*ca.* 1902-03), alludes indirectly to masculine action rather than spiritual feminine sorrow, by showing a glum-looking, downward-gazing toddler with a bandage on his head. Even the complex, multi-layered space of the photographed studio contributes to the sense of a cycle, since the two open doorways strangely seem to lead to the same place, suggesting the possibility of endless circulation in and out of the workshop space; through one door and back in through the other. Moreover, the placement of the plaster male in front of a gaping, dark, grave-shaped doorway has further significance besides the aesthetic advantage of clearly outlining the sculpture's contours.[580] As we have seen with relation to Canova's memorial to Maria Christina of Austria (fig. 4.22) and the trend it inspired (fig. 4.23), open doorways and architectural thresholds were employed symbolically, in funerary monuments, to allude to the passage from life to death. Serra's photograph was, thus, a sophisticated, multi-layered image in its own right, weaving together ideas surrounding labour and death, and relating them to the sculptor at work.

CONCLUSION

Focusing further on the significance of space, I have traced how *Memento Homo* was again contextualised, re-contextualised and de-contextualised in art exhibitions, cemeteries, and in the sculptor's studio; by the sculptor and by others; and often through the photographic lens. Arguing that the sculpture's meaning was more flexible than has previously been recognised, I have shown that this flexibility was partly rooted in the strategic practice – common in the period, and especially so among *fin-de-siècle* Catalan *modernista* sculptors – of creating adaptable works which could shift to and from the cemetery with particular ease.

Memento Homo's singularity lay in the imaginative lengths to which Clarasó went in order to make it conceptually suited to the cemetery space, and in the choice of an absorbed, active male rather than the far more frequent absorbed, passive female for its subject. As with the Farreras and Juncosa tombs, it is no coincidence that this divergence from the convention of representing "ideal" death and "sweet" mourning, via a sculpture which referenced male work, was a *masculine* tomb choice, selected by professional men within their own lifetimes. Moreover, we have seen again how sculptors sometimes used

[580] On the photographic contouring of sculpture, see Geraldine A. Johnson, "Using the Photographic Archive: On the Life (and Death) of Images," in *Photo Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History*, ed. C. Caraffa (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2011), 155.

funerary sculptures to promote their own labour. Besides giving visual form to conservative, biblical notions of gendered labour, the funerary versions of *Memento Homo* appear to re-affirm the perhaps predictable existence of greater freedom among men, in comparison to women, to choose unusual or audacious tomb designs. Moreover, while Clarasó – surely aware of the moral dubiousness which surrounded cemetery sculpture – carefully cultivated a "natural" aesthetic designed to convey the idea of humility in the face of death, simplicity and ostentation remain in constant tension.

In the next and final chapter, I show how Catalan sculpture's integration with nature influenced cemetery sculpture in the Basque city of Bilbao. The main focus of Chapter Five, however, shifts to the *panteón* as property, and as alternative, funerary family residence.

Part 3. Holy Families and Earthly Ones.

Chapter 5.

Housing the Dead: Basque Families and Biblical Bodies in Quintín de Torre's Funerary Tableaux.

> In Barcelona in particular, there are well-off people who would consider themselves the unhappiest people on earth if they did not have a good flat in the Ensanche, a good country house in Sant Gervasi and a good *panteón* in the cemetery.[581]

So quipped journalist P. del O. in an article written for the satirical Catalan periodical, *Esquella de la Torratxa*, in 1897. Substitute Barcelona's new Ensanche (literally, expansion-district of a city) for its fashionable Bilbao equivalent, the recently urbanised area around the Gran Vía (fig. 5.1);[582] and Sant Gervasi for the seaside resort of Castro Urdiales; and this ironic portrayal of the *panteón* as a form of aspirational real estate might as appropriately be directed at Bilbao's bourgeoisie at the start of the twentieth century. *Panteones*, as we have seen, were exclusive funerary monuments destined for the burial of several people, usually members of the same family. Although they generally had a hidden, underground architectural component, it was particularly when they took the external architectural form of chapel-*panteones*, or mausoleums, that such tombs were apt to be portrayed as alternative family homes; fitting neatly into the broader conceptualisation of the cemetery as a "necropolis," or deathly counterpart to the city of the living, which I discussed in the Introduction.[583] Considered more broadly, the journalist's comment reflects the fixation with the home, and with the projection of ideal domesticity, which historians have argued was the focal point of Spain's bourgeois consumer culture in the late nineteenth century.[584]

The burial context of early twentieth-century Bilbao was particularly favourable to the new bourgeoisie who wished to make their mark through the acquisition of a bespoke

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[581] P. del O. "Crónica Mortuoria." *Esquella de la Torratxa*, Oct 29, 1897, 674. "A Barcelona particularment hi ha personas comodadas que 's considerarían las mes infelissas de la terra, si no tinguessen un bon pís al Ensanxe, una bona torre á Sant Gervasi y un bon panteón al cementiri."

[582] For more on the urbanization of Bilbao and the Gran Vía, see Ana Isabel Pardo, *Estudio Histórico-Artístico de la Villa de Bilbao*, vol. 1 (Bilbao: Bizkaiko Foru Aldundia, 2014), 1090-92.

[583] On the family tomb as a counterpart to the home, see Martí, *El Cementerio de Montjuïc*, 122-26.

[584] Cruz, *El Surgimiento de la Cultura Burguesa*, 221-82.

funerary "family home." In 1902, the new cemetery of Vista Alegre was inaugurated on a hillside in Derio, outside the city confines, to supplement the city's old cemetery of Mallona and to gradually substitute it (fig. 5.2).[585] Its name, which translates as "Cheerful View," reflected its bourgeois orientation and aspiration, not only denoting aesthetic pleasure and suburban leisure, but imitating a name commonly given to grand country estates.[586] The town council oversaw the transferral of cadavers from one cemetery to the other, and allocated substitute plots in Vista Alegre, of equal economic value, to owners of plots in Mallona. The newly-wealthy therefore had the opportunity to acquire new plots in prime locations, sometimes embracing the system of plot compensation as an opportunity to reorganise and upgrade existing family graves.[587] Among these were large numbers of *indianos*,[588] recently-returned Spanish emigrants to the Americas, for whom the idea of "home" and of returning to family origins held particular significance.

Offering the possibility of distinction even within the privileged classes, Vista Alegre proposed four kinds of plots destined for *panteones*. These ranged from *grandes panteones*, worth 10,000 pesestas and housing up to ten cadavers, through first-, second-, and third-class panteones; the latter allowing for three corpses and still costing a hefty 1000 pesetas (see fig. 5.3).[589] The higher the class, the fewer plots were available, underscoring the sense of exclusivity.

Through the lens of the tomb as funerary family home, I focus, in this final chapter, on two little-studied, closely-related *panteones* which Basque sculptor Quintín de Torre Berastegui created for Vista Alegre. The first, erected in 1908, sports a prominent, house-shaped metal plaque which reads "Property of Ms. Amalia Ulacia" and occupies a

[585] For a monographic study of this cemetery, see Ana Arnaiz, *La Memoria Evocada. Vista Alegre, un Cementerio para Bilbao* (Bilbao: Servicio Editorial Universidad del Pais Vasco, 1995).

[586] For example, the Palace and Estate of Vista Alegre in Carabanchel, Madrid.

[587] For example, Luis Cámara combined the economic value of the three simple tombs he owned in Mallona cemetery, worth a total of 561 pesetas, and added a substantial supplement of 1,939 pesetas. This allowed him to purchase, in Vista Alegre, a large, expensive, and well-positioned plot destined to contain a second-class *panteón*, for which Torre created a monument. See Registry book of tomb ownership in Vista Alegre cemetery, Bilbao, 1912-1924, page 15, fondo Municipal, Bilbao Libros 0896, AMB-BUA.

[588] Various researchers have noted that *indianos* were responsible for commissioning elaborate tombs during this period, but none have discussed the subjects of the present case study in this context. See María Teresa Paliza, "El Mecenazgo de los Indianos en el País Vasco. Personajes, Sagas y su Vinculación con el Arte y la Filantropía (Siglos XIX-XX)," in *Arte y Mecenazgo Indiano: Del Cantábrico al Caribe*, ed. Luis Sazatornil (Gijón: Trea, 2007), 435-60; María Cruz Morales, "Emigración Asturiana y Mecenazgo: Cuba, México y Argentina," in *Arte y Mecenazgo Indiano*, ed. Sazatornil, 461-86; María Cruz Morales, "El Indiano como Impulsor de Cementerios y Cliente de Arte Funerario," in *Una Arquitectura para la Muerte*, 159-67; Carmen Bermejo, "Concha Heres: Historia de una Mujer en América," in *Arte, Cultura y Sociedad en la Emigración Española a América,* ed. María Cruz Morales and Moisés Llordén (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 1992), 233-69; Martí, *El Cementerio de Montjuïc*, 58-60.

[589] File regarding the transferral of plots from Mallona and San Vicente Cemeteries to the Cemetery of Vista Alegre, 1899-1902, Fondo Municipal, Bilbao Libros 0899/002, AMB-BUA.

"second-class *panteón*" plot worth 2500 pesetas (figs. 5.4-5.8).[590] The second, inscribed "Family of Mr. Pedro Maiz," and occupying a "first-class *panteón*" plot costing 4000 pesetas,[591] was almost certainly created in the decade which followed (figs. 5.9-5.16). By drawing on biographical scholarship from various historical disciplines, and on newly-discovered archival material, I identify both owners as members of Basque *indiano* families, who paid for their tombs with "new" American capital and were distantly related to each other though marriage, and perhaps also blood.

The postcolonial context does not, however, leave an outward mark on the monuments, both of which consciously draw on "home-grown," Spanish artistic traditions, as we shall see. What visibly unites the two *panteones* – and what interests me primarily in this chapter – are their thematic and stylistic affinities, and the distinctive hybridisation of the sculptural and the architectural tomb in three-dimensional tableaux. In both monuments, multiple, life-size, religious characters, exquisitely carved from white marble in a style best described as "idealistic realism" (see Chapter Three), interact with one another within purposely-constructed settings of darker stone: one a pseudo-natural arched cave, the other an architectural "box."

The visual similarity between the Ulacia and Maiz tombs has been recognised in the limited historiography about Torre's funerary production, but loosely articulated, yet again, in terms of a shared "theatricality" or "drama." The latter is deemed to look back to the Spanish baroque, and to Spanish processional sculpture, but authors have not sought to define it more precisely.[592] In a different context, Krauss explained what she saw as the inherent "theatricality" of tableau sculpture, albeit with non-religious, late-twentieth century examples in mind, thus:

> One can think of tableau sculpture [...] as theatrical, though no internal mechanization impels the sculptured actors to 'perform' in time. It is, rather, the viewer's movement as he walks around the sculptural diorama, or takes

[590] Registry book of ownership and history of tombs in Block A of Vista Alegre cemetery, Bilbao, 1901-17, page 77, Fondo Ayuntamiento de Bilbao, C-008903/001, AMB-BUA.

[591] Registry book of tomb ownership and history of the large chapels, *grandes panteones* and first class *panteones* in Vista Alegre cemetery, 1901-78, page 29, Fondo Ayuntamiento de Bilbao, C-008919/001, AMB-BUA.

[592] Soto, "Los Primeros Años de Quintín de Torre," 64-65; Ana Arnaiz, "El Cementerio de Bilbao: Patrimonio Funerario y Memoria (de la Vida) en la Ciudad Contemporánea," in *Bilboko Hilerria*, ed. Jesús Muñiz (Bilbao: Hileta Zerbitzuak, 2008), CD-ROM.

> time to interpret the narrative meaning of the various details of the tableau, that endows these works with dramatic time.[593]

Influenced by a revival of interest in Maurice Merleau-Ponty's writings on phenomenology, including its impact on Fried's art criticism (although not the latter's theorization of theatricality in relation to absorption), Krauss' explanation was based on a linkage of bodily movement to time, and time to theatre, which now feels forced and unconvincing (what, after all, distinguishes "dramatic time" from mere "time"?).[594] Krauss missed the fundamental point that tableau sculpture's more straightforward claim to "theatricality" is based on a close visual resemblance to the stage. Indeed, in the context of nineteenth-century Italian cemeteries, Sborgi has suggested that the "theatrical" effect of many of the monuments derives from "the fact that often the representations attempt to situate themselves in a context that is [...] real in appearance: inside a room, at the threshold of a door [...]," so that they resemble stage sets.[595]

This stage resemblance is what characterises the Ulacia and Maiz tombs. Both monuments are distinguished by the interaction of life-size,[596] three-dimensional human figures who use expressive gestures and facial expressions to "enact" specific narratives; and who do so within purposely-created spaces which belong to these narratives. I show, moreover, that the sculptor displayed an increasingly sophisticated awareness of the presence and movement of the viewing bodies, whose relationship with the tableau format Krauss struggled to resolve convincingly.

I explore these spatially-contained religious narratives in relation to the biographies of the families who commissioned them and were buried in them. In addition, I examine how, and to what extent, the sculptor and the tomb owners responded to the imaginative possibilities of the conceptualisation of the *panteón* as an alternative, or parallel, bourgeois family home; and I consider how parts of each tableau were again presented in urban exhibition spaces. I begin with a shorter discussion of the Ulacia tomb – in which Catalan influences are apparent, and familiar religious and gender-based tensions return to the

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[593] Krauss, *Passages in Modern Sculpture*, 221-29.

[594] And why, if movement is the key, does the word "theatrical" not spring to mind when one walks 360º around the outside of the circular Gándara mausoleum (figs. 1.23-1.24) in order to see its four female allegories, each standing in her own niche?

[595] Sborgi, "La Théâtralisation de la Mort dans la Sculpture Funéraire au XIX siècle," 230. "Le fait que souvent les représentations cherchent à se situer dans un contexte [...] réel en apparence : à l'intérieur d'une pièce, sur le seuil d'une porte [...]."

[596] On the importance of scale in sculpture, in relation to the body, see Hagi Kenaan, "Touching Sculpture," in *Sculpture and Touch*, ed. Peter Dent (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 53.

fore – before moving on to a more in-depth examination of the Maiz tomb. I argue that the Maiz tomb was modelled on the Ulacia monument, but outdid it, possibly deliberately, in terms of cost, compositional complexity and conceptual sophistication.

I. The Ulacia tomb, "Property of Ms. Amalia Ulacia," 1907-08.

My analysis begins with the earlier, and more thematically straightforward, of the *panteones*. Viewers standing in front of the three-figure Ulacia tomb (figs. 5.4-5.5) are faced with a poignant scene of introspective mourning. A descending diagonal line of downcast and closed eyes, drawn from top right to bottom left, structures the composition; playing, again, on the virtuous associations of absorptive grief I discussed in Chapter Four. The standing Saint John the Evangelist, his eyelids lowered in sadness and reverence, is oriented towards the crouching Virgin, who gazes down at her emaciated dead son, lying dead in her arms, his face slightly turned towards the ground. According to the Bible,[597] just before dying, Jesus entrusted his mother to John's care by introducing them as (surrogate) "mother" and "son," making this an intimate, family scene. Faced with this extended and spatially-contextualised *Pietà* – a theme which Julio Antonio was later to adopt for the Lemonier tomb, as we have seen – it is difficult to imagine a stronger compositional contrast from the upward thrust of the triumphal sculptural apotheoses, floating into an open sky, which I explored in Chapter One.

Viewers are excluded from participating in this self-contained chain of sight, or from joining the slightly elevated, cordoned-off biblical figures, who are cocooned by the cave setting. The dark cave contributes to the mood of grief by enclosing the figures and vertically blocking out the sky. Moreover, its entrance is framed by elongated, vertical, pseudo-natural "stalactites": tear-like forms, which drip with rain in Bilbao's wet climate, and pull viewers' eyes downwards towards the sculpted trio. An aperture at the back of the cave – a device which is neither theatrical nor pictorial – provides a secondary source of natural light and serves as a peephole which entices visitors to walk fully around the object in order to observe the sculpted figures from behind (fig. 5.8).

BODIES IN CAVES

The cave setting had conceptual, as well as compositional, significance, as I touched upon in Chapter Four. Barallat wrote in 1885 that "the playful accessories typical of a garden should have no place in the [funerary] park [...] but funerary caves are adequately

[597] John 19: 25-27.

accepted."[598] This perceived acceptability of caves was derived from both their "naturalness" and their Christian relevance. Firstly, as an advocate of the precedence of God's nature over man-made structures in the cemetery space, Barallat evidently recognised that caves (or grottos)[599] occupied a singular position on the scale between the natural and the artificial; for they could be either, and were often both, since natural caves were sometimes adapted for human use. Secondly, Barallat's acceptance of caves in the cemetery space was drawn from their sacred associations.[600] For Catholics, caves were the locus for Marian visions, such as those experienced by Bernadette Soubirous in Lourdes in 1858;[601] the setting for artistic representations of the Nativity, with the stable inside a cave (fig. 5.17); sites where holy icons were miraculously discovered, as was the case of the statue-icon of the Virgin of Montserrat (see Chapter Four); and places where hermit saints retired, and which represented the ultimate in domestic humility.

The specific appropriateness of the "funerary cave" to which Barallat alluded was surely derived from the importance of Christ's cave-tomb, which, according to the New Testament, had been manually cut into the natural rock.[602] Ceded in an act of generosity and devotion by Joseph of Arimathea, who owned it and had planned to be buried in it, Christ's burial cave was potentially a locus of grief *and* hope; a place where he was initially mourned, and where, soon after, the miracle of the resurrection was supposedly first revealed. In Chapter Four, I observed that caves and tombs encased in walls of rocks were incorporated into the architectural design of Barcelona's Montjuïc cemetery, contributing to a sense of a biblical landscape. Torre, however, made the unprecedented decision to represent directly Christ's own cave-tomb, and thus to make the Ulacia monument a contemporary tomb which featured the representation of a biblical tomb. At the same time, the placement inside the burial cave of the kneeling Virgin, doting on her helpless and prostrate son, and guarded by a male protector, poignantly evoked Christ's birth in a cave and functioned as its mournful counterpoint (compare figs 5.4 and 5.17).

Torre represented Jesus' tomb as a rectangular niche in the wall of the cave, surrounded by a border, a frieze of reliefs showing episodes from Christ's life, and a textual

[598] Barallat, *Principios de Botánica Funeraria*, 60. "No deben tener cabida en el parque los accesorios juguetones propios de un jardín […] pero se admiten adecuadamente las grutas funerarias."

[599] While, in English, the work "grotto" is sometimes used to denote an artificial cave, the Spanish terms "gruta" and "cueva" are used interchangeably to refer to the natural structure and its man-made imitation. The etymology is discussed more broadly in Miller, *Heavenly Caves*, 8-9.

[600] On the sacred character of caves, see Miller, *Heavenly Caves.*

[601] The Virgin of Lourdes, set inside a cave, was also the subject of funerary monuments. Examples exist in Vista Alegre and Madrid's San Lorenzo cemetery.

[602] Mark 15:46; Matthew 27: 59-60; Luke 23:53.

inscription (fig. 5.7). These were all created in cement, a material used increasingly in outdoor sculpture around this time, as we have seen. Modelled and drawn into, while still wet, the cement imitated roughly-hewn, primitively-carved stone, which was apparently designed to look authentically historical; even though, ironically, the niche is too small to contain the corpse of Torre's sculpted Christ. The inscription, in incomplete and imperfect Latin, and with a small fragment (deliberately?) chipped off, reads "HUMANI GENERIS RE[ ]DEPTOR SEPULCRUM," which may be loosely translated to mean "the grave [is] the redeemer of humanity."[603] The use of a Latin inscription to give religious gravitas may have been inspired by Clarasó's *Memento Homo* (figs. 4.3), which Torre probably saw when he lived in Barcelona in 1899.[604] The tomb's self-referential character and pseudo-natural cemetery contextualisation may also have looked to Clarasó's sculpture, which the Basque artist could have seen, in Montjuïc, on subsequent trips to the city.[605] When the Ulacia tomb was photographed in around 1987,[606] the exterior of the cave was almost entirely covered in ivy, the climbing plant favoured, as we have seen, both by Clarasó and Barallat.

While Clarasó had created a small-scale cemetery-within-in-a-cemetery, Torre designed a real tomb marked by a fictional, sculptural-architectural tomb. The wall niche format that he chose to represent was not dissimilar to the manner of vertically shelving coffins along the walls of cemetery crypts of the period. Burial records, now in Bilbao's municipal archive, suggest that the Ulacia crypt contained three wall shelves on either side,[607] following the six-shelf layout we saw in the Farreras tomb (fig. 3.15). The monument's self-referential nature was reinforced by fixing Amalia Ulacia's name plaque immediately above the inscription which identified the visible, artistic tomb as Christ's (fig. 5.7), and which stamped the whole monument, Christ's tomb included, as her "property." This juxtaposition and hierarchy undermine the potentially humble associations of the cave setting, and seem particularly daring from a feminist perspective.

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[603] Or, alternatively, "grave of the redeemer of humanity." I am grateful to Leonardo Vilei, Anna Reeve, Leonard Sanderman and Alison Horgan for their assistance with this translation.

[604] *Catálogo de la Exposición General de Bellas Artes, 1899* (Madrid: Hijos de J. A. García, 1899), 143.

[605] Torre is likely to have travelled to Barcelona between 1906 and 1909 to visit the foundry of Feruccio Cescati, to whom I return later.

[606] María Ángela Fernández and María del Mar Zurrunero, "Escultura y Arquitectura en el Cementerio de Bilbao," *Kobie* 4 (1987): 118.

[607] Registry book of burials in the large chapels and *panteones* of all classes [...], page 140, L-006102, AMB-BUA.

THE ULACIA BEITIA FAMILY

To comprehend Amalia's bold possessive gesture, and to consider the relevance of the trio of sculpted biblical figures to her own family, I turn my attention to those who were buried there. In this respect, the tomb plaque initially appeared to be the only remaining trace of Amalia's existence, inviting comparisons with the case of Lemonier, and proving a forceful reminder of how the onus on achievement severely limited the civic "immortalisation" of women and children, and the channels through which they could be memorialised. Amalia would almost certainly have remained an elusive figure were it not for the fact that her brother, the doctor, writer and Basque nationalist politician, Francisco Ulacia Beitia, has been the subject of several short biographies[608] which discuss his family, although never in the context of the funerary monument.

Burial records,[609] scrutinised in conjunction with these biographies, reveal that, on 1 March 1907, Amalia Ulacia Beitia bought the *panteón* plot, which was in a highly visible location just behind the cemetery's porticoed entrance building and chapel (fig. 5.2). Her mother was buried in it three weeks later, suggesting that the imminent death prompted the purchase. This was followed, just a few months later, by the burial of her sister Blanca, whose remains were transferred there from another grave. This context suggests that the choice of a sculpted *Pietà* with St. John was not intended to imply a direct parallel between sculpted, biblical figures and real ones – as would later occur with the Lemonier tomb – but drew a more general analogy between biblical and contemporary grief, while simultaneously constituting a statement of Christian faith in the redemptive power of Christ's death.

Amalia's father was the next to be interred in the *panteón*. Domingo Ulacia Maiz had emigrated to Cuba when it was still a Spanish colony, married there, and had his first four children before returning to Bilbao in 1869, apparently to escape the first of the Cuban wars of independence (1868-78). It is unclear whether his burial took place in September

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608 I have drawn biographical information from the following publications: Manuel Vitoria, "Vida y Obra del Doctor Ulacia," *Asclepio* 25 (1973): 337-50; Elías Amézaga, "Un Médico a la Cura de Almas: Francisco de Ulacia," *Muga* 60-61 (1987): 124-44; José Luis de la Granja, "Francisco de Ulacia. Biografía Política," introduction to *¡Nere Biotza!* by Francisco de Ulacia (Bilbao: El Tilo, 1998), 9-81; Cecilia Arrozarena, "La Novela Cubana de Francisco Ulacia," in *Vascos en Cuba*, ed. William A. Douglass (Vitoria-Gasteiz: Eusko Jaularitzaren Argitalpen Zerbitzu Nagusia, 2015), 239-75; Juan Gondra, "Francisco de Ulacia, Médico, Escritor y Político," *Bilbao*, Aug 2017, 34; Juan Gondra, *Médicos de Bilbao. Siglos XV al XIX* (Bilbao: Museo Vasco de Historia de la Medicina y de la Ciencia, 2005), 277; Jon Juaristi, *El Chimbo Expiatorio (La Invención de la Tradición Bilbaína, 1876-1939)* (Bilbao: El Tilo, 1994), 211-34.

609 Registry book of ownership and history of tombs in Block A [...], page 77, C-008903/001, AMB-BUA; Registry book of burials in the large chapels and *panteones* of all classes in Vista Alegre cemetery, page 140, Fondo Ayuntamiento de Bilbao, L-006102, AMB-BUA.

of 1908 or 1918,[610] but in either case, it appears that the male head of the family was elderly but still alive when his daughter purchased the family plot. One reason for this was probably that Amalia was the youngest of five siblings, and Spanish societal norms at this time encouraged the youngest daughter to remain unmarried in order to care for her aging parents until their deaths, so that Amalia's plot purchase may have been considered an extension of her filial duties. Necessity may also have played a part, since Amalia and Francisco were the only siblings based in Bilbao at this time, and Francisco was a frequent traveller. Their older sister, as we have seen, had died; and their two eldest brothers had settled back in Cuba, in the 1880s, to run sugar mills and plantations, the profits of which sustained the comfortable lifestyle of the rest of the family back in Spain.[611]

Francisco was the next family member to be interred in the *panteón*, on 3 April 1936, and he was joined by Amalia herself in 1960. The funerary monument which Amalia "owned," and which bore only her name was, in fact, the *panteón* of the entire Bilbao-based branch of the Ulacia Beitia family.

THE COMMERCIAL PRE-LIFE OF TORRE'S CEMETERY SCULPTURE

Amalia's was not, however, the first name to be publically tied to the sculptural commission. This becomes clear when we scrutinise a series of newspaper articles published prior to the cemetery installation of Torre's group, and which Soto uncovered in a monographic article on the sculptor.[612] The first of these, which appeared in Bilbao newspaper *El Noticiero Bilbaíno* on 24 August 1907, recommended going to see Torre's recently completed sculptural group, which was destined to be executed in marble and placed in a cave, to adorn the "*panteón* which is being constructed *for the family of doctor Ulacia* in the Cemetery of Vista Alegre."[613] The article explicitly praised the doctor for his enlightened patronage of the artist, and the artist for sculpturally manifesting his own – rather than the patron's – religious faith. The assumption that Torre was profoundly

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[610] Registry book of burials in the large chapels and *panteones* [...], page 140, L-006102, AMB-BUA. The book records the burial as having taken place in the year 1918 but in terms of chronological consistency within the burial list, 1908 seems more logical.

[611] Arrozarena, "La Novela Cubana de Francisco Ulacia," 240-42 and 263-66; Vitoria, "Vida y Obra del Doctor Ulacia," 339. The postcolonial context is worth noting here. According to Arrozarena, labourers who worked in such mills were African slaves until the abolishment of slavery in 1886, after which it was customary for ex-slaves to be kept on in similarly poor conditions and at low salaries. Francisco Ulacia portrayed a sentimentalised view of such plantations, complete with an enlightened paternalistic "master" of Basque-Cuban origin and simple-minded "faithful servants" of African descent, in his "Cuban" novel. See Francisco de Ulacia, *El Caudillo: Novela Cubana* (Bilbao: Imprenta de José Rojas Núñez, 1910).

[612] Soto, "Los Primeros Años de Quintín de Torre," 64-65.

[613] "De Arte," *Noticiero Bilbaíno*, Aug 24, 1907, 1. "Panteón que *para la familia del doctor Ulacia* se está construyendo en el Cementerio de Vista Alegre." The italics are mine.

religious became a staple of artistic criticism during his lifetime; and was addressed, years later, by his grandson, who asserted that the depth of the sculptor's religious feeling was genuine but not out of the ordinary, and that he received religious commissions primarily because he excelled at them.[614]

Further press articles were written on the occasion of the exhibition of the three sculptures, in the definitive material of marble, in the front window of the Mendiluce y Benito tailoring shop and fabric store,[615] in April 1908. Torre had previously exhibited in the windows of another shop in Bilbao, the Espejería de Velasco, which would have sold mirrors, furniture, and decorative items for bourgeois homes.[616] Mendiluce y Benito was located at no. 6 of Bilbao's elegant new main street, the Gran Vía,[617] two doors down from the Ulacia family residence, at no. 2 (see fig. 5.1).[618] The shop, which specialised in menswear,[619] had only recently moved to these premises,[620] and the exhibition of Torre's artistic group must have provided an opportunity to attract customers, publicity and prestige to the new store. At the same time, the display constituted a powerful advertisement for the young sculptor, who had only recently returned to Bilbao after five years in Paris (1901-06). As one journalist put it, the prime location ensured that "all of Bilbao"[621] could encounter the sculptures as they walked down the street. Through the display, Torre presented himself to potential clients as a funerary sculptor by including a small-scale model of how the full cemetery monument was to look, alongside the three marble figures.[622] This model is probably the one visible at the centre of a photograph which captures Torre inside his studio (fig. 5.18).

A closely-cropped photograph published on the occasion of the exhibition shows the sculptures against a completely dark background, and arranged as they would later be in

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614 Conversation with Pedro Torre, reported in Alberto López, *Quintín de Torre. El Últimо Imaginero* (Bilbao: Muelle de Uribitarte, 2006), 59.

615 File regarding a request by Mendiluce y Benito to put up a sign announcing their profession, 1910, Fondo Municipal, Bilbao Primera 0346/085, AMB-BUA.

616 Soto, "Los Primeros Años de Quintín de Torre," 50-55; Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, s.v. "Espejería," accessed June 9, 2017, http://dle.rae.es/srv/search?m=30&w=espejer%C3%ADa.

617 File regarding a request by Mendiluce y Benito to put up an awning outside their new premises, 1908, Fondo Municipal, Bilbao Primera 0320/030, AMB-BUA.

618 Gondra, *Médicos de Bilbao*, 277.

619 *Guía Práctica de Bilbao y Vizcaya* (Madrid: Guías Arco, n.d., n.p.)

620 File regarding a request by Mendiluce y Benito to put up an awning outside their new premises, 1908, Fondo Municipal, Bilbao Primera 0320/030, AMB-BUA.

621 "Notas de Arte," *Gaceta del Norte*, April 18, 1908, 1. "Todo Bilbao."

622 According to López, Torre advertised in the local press as a sculptor specialised in *panteones,* in 1909. López, *Quintín de Torre*, 58.

their cemetery setting (and before they became damaged by weathering) (fig. 5.19). Considering the print alongside other photographs which show the interior and exterior of Mendiluce y Benito (fig. 5.20), we can imagine how the display may have looked in the shop window. The placement of the sculptural group behind a sheet of reflective glass invited a kind of frontal, theatre-like, viewing similar to that of the cemetery cave which would succeed it, with the difference that viewers would have been able to see Torre's life-size figures through their own, transparent, reflections. It is also likely that customers would have been able to view the backs of the sculptures once they had entered the premises.[623] For tailors who specialised in contemporary men's clothing, to display a sculptural group which juxtaposed a painfully-emaciated, near-nude Christ with a generously-draped St. John in historical costume was an elegantly subtle gesture, for it invited viewers to think about the dressing of the male body without directly advertising their own wares. This manner of "offering up" the works to the public in, and by, a commercial space, thus invited associations between funerary sculpture and commerce that were of a different kind to those deemed inherent to the genre, which were derived from their presentation as commodities with prominent price tags attached to them.[624]

By the time the group was exhibited in the shop, journalists were no longer associating the sculptural group with Francisco, but were referring, instead, to the tomb of "the Ulacias"[625] or, specifically, to "Amalia Ulacia."[626] Did this shift constitute a correction on the part of the press, which had first mistakenly assumed that a man must have commissioned the monument? Or did it indicate that Francisco had been involved in the project, perhaps in conjunction with his sister, but had subsequently distanced himself from it? Over the next few paragraphs, I argue that the change in attribution proves revealingly symptomatic of the tension between the individual and the family, the single and the collective, which lies behind many *panteones*.

COLLECTIVE TOMB AND FAMILY COMPROMISE?

Amalia and Francisco, according to the latter's biographers, were extremely close, co-habited and holidayed together; yet held opposing political and religious beliefs. In

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[623] For more on viewing through glass-fronted shop windows, see Isobel Armstrong, *Victorian Glassworlds: Glass Culture and the Imagination 1830-1880* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[624] For a discussion of glass-enclosed sculpture and consumerism in a nineteenth-century British context, see Kate Nichols, "Art and Commodity: Sculpture under Glass at the Crystal Palace," in *Sculpture and the Vitrine*, ed. John C. Welchman (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 23-46.

[625] "De Arte," *Noticiero Bilbaíno*, April 16, 1908, 1; Un aficionado, "El Arte en Bilbao. Quintín de Torre," *Nervión. Edición Especial Ilustrada*, May 24, 1908, 1-2. "Los señores de Ulacia."

[626] "Notas de Arte," *Gaceta del Norte*, 1.

particular, the overtly religious content of the tomb commission, and its timing, merit careful attention in relation to Francisco's career. After training as a doctor at the University of Barcelona (1883-89)[627] – where he was probably taught anatomy by Farreras (see Chapter Three) – Francisco practiced medicine in Bilbao for a few years before turning to writing and politics. From 1901-1903, he was a town councillor for the Basque Nationalist Party, the Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV), and, in this capacity, attended the inauguration of Vista Alegre cemetery.[628] Significantly, the year before the *panteón* plot was bought and Torre's monument commissioned, he wrote what was probably his best-known article, which spoke out against the dominant, religious form of Basque nationalism that had been forcefully promoted by the PNV's founder, Sabino Arana. Signed with his Basque pseudonym *Maiz Tar Franzesko* (or *Frantzesko*)[629] – which adopted his father's second surname, Maiz – the article memorably argued that one did not have to be a "sanctimonious" "candle-sucker" to be a patriot.[630] In this light, it is understandable that the journalist who first reported on the sculptural commission tied its religious feeling to *Torre*'s Catholicism rather than Francisco's. In 1909, Francisco founded a new political party, the Partido Republicano Nacionalista Vasco, as a republican and *secular* alternative to the PNV.[631] In the context of his political beliefs and aspirations, it is highly likely that he wished to outwardly distance himself from the unambiguously religious sculptural commission for his family tomb; and to leave the project, at least officially, in the hands of his younger sister.

There is further reason to believe that the decision to tie the family tomb exclusively to Amalia's name was a strategic one: the fact that Torre worked with Francisco on other "self-commemorative" sculptures at the same time. Besides a lost marble portrait bust of Francisco, which was apparently stolen from Amalia's house during the Civil War,[632] Torre made a bronze bust of the doctor, which survives in the Fundación Sabino Arana (fig. 5.21). The bronze bears the stamp of Ferruccio Cescati, a Milanese businessman who

[627] University student file about Francisco de Ulacia, 01/5742, AHUB.

[628] "Acta inaugural del Cementerio de Vista Alegre," *Nervión. Edición Especial Ilustrada*, Oct 27, 1907, 3.

[629] Elías Amézaga, "Cuarta Entresaca de un Diccionario de Seudónimos," *Revista Internacional de los Estudios Vascos* 42, no. 1 (1997): 217.

[630] Francisco de Ulacia Beitia [Maiz Tar Frantzesko, pseud.], "El Nacionalismo Religioso," *Euskalduna*, Feb 24, 1906, 4-6. "Beatos;" "chupacirios."

[631] De la Granja, "Francisco de Ulacia," 30.

[632] Vitoria, "Vida y Obra del Doctor Ulacia," 344.

ran a successful but short-lived foundry, in Barcelona, from 1906 until his death in 1909.[633] The production of the bust, thus, almost certainly coincided with the execution of the funerary commission (1907-08); which, in turn, coincided with Francisco's increasing public rejection of the influence of the Catholic Church, and the re-formulation of his political ambitions along Republican and secular lines. Though Torre worked for both siblings, probably at once and together, the funerary monument was presented as Amalia's project, while Francisco was the subject of the busts. Portable, versatile and potentially re-usable in a monument to a "great man," a portrait bust was far more in line with Francisco's civic and secular ambitions than a religious tomb.[634]

Amalia, by contrast, was a fervent Catholic; or, at least, she has been presented as such through male sources. In his 1973 biography of Francisco, medical historian Manuel Vitoria relies heavily on his apparent intimacy with the family, and anecdotes provided directly by the siblings' mechanic, to describe her personality and beliefs. Vitoria's sentimental and unscholarly description – revealingly tainted with a continuous and casual sexism with regards to women's roles and qualities, and imbued with the recurrent fixation with property and domesticity – merits being reproduced at length:

> Amalia Ulacia, the little sister, that great woman who stood out as much for her goodness as for her beauty, represented for her brother the home he never had (when his parents died) and the moral support in his hours of need. Of deep religious intransigence, which clashed with the liberalism of her brother, she remained single her whole life in the comfortable house of Castro Urdiales, whose complex construction she directed herself, to the despair of the architect, who did not understand the capricious distribution of the rooms which Miss Amalia came up with each day. She did not use to speak about religion to her brother and tried to avoid, in their conversations [references to] the romantic affairs of Mr. Francisco, whom she loved very much.[635]

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[633] For more on Cescati, see Angelo Bignotti, *Gli Italiani in Barcellona* (Barcelona: Cronaca d'Arte, 1910), 338-40; Silvio Santagati, *La Casa degli Italiani: Storia della Comunità Italiana di Barcellona (1865-1936)* (Barcelona: Mediterrània, 2007), 131.

[634] There is no record of other commissions from either of the siblings to Torre. However, Francisco later became a patron and protégée of fauvist artist Francisco Iturrino (1864-1924), amassing thirteen paintings and three prints, which were inherited by Amalia after his death. On Ulacia's patronage of Iturrino, see Petra Joos, Miguel Zugaza and Juan Manuel Bonet, *Francisco Iturrino (1864-1924)* (Madrid: Fundación Cultural Mapfre Vida, 1996), 168; Enrique López, *Francisco Iturrino, Memoria y Semblanza* (Palma de Mallorca: David Robles Fernández, 2016), 161; Francisco de Ulacia, "Paco Iturrino," *Liberal* (Bilbao), Aug 17, 1930, 1-2.

[635] Vitoria, "Vida y Obra del Doctor Ulacia," 342. "Amalia Ulacia, la hermana pequeña, aquella gran mujer que destacaba tanto por su bondad como por su belleza, representaba para su hermano el hogar que nunca tuvo (cuando murieron sus padres) y el soporte moral en sus horas de crisis. De honda intransigencia religiosa, que chocaba con el liberalismo de su hermano, permaneció toda la vida soltera en el cómodo chalet de Castro

Taking for granted the inherited dichotomy between masculine rationality and subjective, religious femininity, Vitoria's crude presentation of the gender division between the Ulacia siblings shows no signs of having progressed since Bastiños delimited the spheres of female activity in the 1899 text discussed in Chapter Three.[636] Yet behind the condescending presentation of Amalia as fickle and frivolous in technical, if not religious, matters, we may perceive a woman of independent mind and deep faith; someone who directed the building of her own home, and whom readers can imagine enthusiastically supervising the construction and erection of the religiously-themed funerary "home" of her family. Vitoria explicitly asserted that Amalia literally housed her brother for part of the year,[637] making it fitting that he should later have been laid to rest in a tomb marked with a house-shaped plaque bearing her name.

Despite privately having become an atheist, when Francisco died unexpectedly in 1936, his death notice announced that he had received the last rights and apostolic blessings, and included the stock phrase we have already encountered in relation to Juncosa: that the Bishop had "deigned to concede indulgences, applicable in the customary manner."[638] His lover was apparently passed off as his wife; a hasty fabrication which the siblings' great-nephew attributed to Amalia, who supervised the proceedings.[639] This conservative desire to keep up appearances serves as another reminder both that religion was, by cultural default, intrinsic to the rituals surrounding death, and that the living had the last word in funerary matters. Yet the final impression is one of sibling compromise: Francisco was reunited with his family, in death, beneath an incontestably religious *panteón*, from which his name was first disassociated, then literally omitted, probably for the sake of political coherence. As a result, he lost the opportunity for his tomb to become a political symbol and the goal of "secular" pilgrims in search of the tombs of illustrious men, as Arana's one-man grave had become. The fact that Francisco's 1907 memorial poem about

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Urdiales, cuya compleja construcción ella misma dirigió ante la desesperación del arquitecto, que no comprendía la caprichosa distribución de compartimentos que doña Amalia ideaba cada día. No solía hablar de religión con su hermano y procuraba evadir en sus charlas las aventuras sentimentales de don Francisco, a quien quería en grado sumo."

636 Bastiños, *Historia de la Mujer Contemporánea*, V-VIII.

637 Vitoria, "Vida y Obra del Doctor Ulacia," 342.

638 Death notice of Francisco de Ulacia, *Liberal* (Bilbao), April 2, 1936, 1. "Se ha dignado conceder indulgencias, aplicables en la forma acostumbrada."

639 Cecilia Arrozarena, "Biografía de Francisco Ulacia" (unpublished manuscript, Microsoft Word file), citing Carlos H. Ulacia, Francisco and Amalia's great-nephew. I am grateful to Cecilia Arrozarena for sharing this unpublished biography with me. See also Vitoria, "Vida y Obra del Doctor Ulacia," 344.

Arana[640] focused on the auratic force of the dead nationalist leader's tomb suggests that he was probably conscious of what he was renouncing for the sake of family unity.

II. The funerary monument for the "Family of Mr. Pedro Maiz," *ca.* 1909-15.

When Pedro Maiz Arsuaga commissioned Torre to create a funerary monument for his own family, the Ulacia tomb was selected as a stylistic and thematic starting point for a more inventive, personalised and conceptually sophisticated *panteón*. There is no doubt that this constituted a conscious choice, for Maiz had other, very different, *panteón* models to choose from within Torre's oeuvre, including the again eclectic family tomb of Marcelino Ibáñez (1907) (fig. 5.22), which synthesised symbolist, French and neo-Egyptian motifs and styles;[641] or that of Braulio Chavarri (*ca.* 1906?) (fig. 5.23), an extraordinary fusion of sculpture and "nature," which again looked to Rodin, this time in combination with Catalan outdoor sculpture (see Chapter Four).[642]

Occupying a larger and more expensive plot than the Ulacia tomb, the Maiz tableau features the same three biblical characters – the Virgin, St. John and Christ, here represented as a disembodied relief head – and adds two standing characters: a bearded man and a woman, evidently St. Veronica. The dynamics of viewing are different, and more complex, than in the earlier tomb. Viewers are not invited to follow the sculpted figures' gazes along any vertical axes, but rather to witness, and participate in, a sophisticated interplay of expressive gazes at an emphatically horizontal level. The group is structured along two intersecting axes of sight, the first of which is the line going through the architectural "box," connecting forward-facing viewers with the frontally positioned, bearded man, who stands at the back of the structure (fig. 5.9). Torre's placement of the sculpted figures one low step above ground level facilitates a sense of shared space, or spatial continuity, with cemetery visitors, reminiscent of Clarasó's *Memento Homo*, but distinct from the Ulacia tomb, with its raised trio of figures.

A second axis of sight links the left and right sides of the tableau: an emotionally charged line along which the astonished Virgin stares, mesmerised, at the relief representation of Christ's face, her own head in strict profile. For viewers to fully appreciate what the Virgin is looking at, they may wish to position themselves beside her by stepping inside

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640 Francisco de Ulacia, [Maiz Tar Frantzesko, pseud.], "Remember. 25 de Noviembre de 1903," *Euskalduna*, Nov 23, 1907, 4.

641 On the Ibáñez tomb, see Soto, "Los Primeros Años de Quintín de Torre," 64.

642 On the Chavarri tomb, located in Portugalete, see Xabier Sáenz, *Ezkerraldea* (Bilbao: Dirección General de Promoción Turística, 2007), n.p.

the tableau itself; although such a territorial incursion was probably considered the exclusive right of family members. The Virgin's facial expression can, meanwhile, be apprehended frontally from a secondary viewpoint which Torre contrived from the partially open left hand side of the "box," which requires viewers to walk around the exterior of the structure without entering it (fig. 5.11). The Virgin and the disembodied Christ are supported, respectively, by the self-effacing St. John (figs. 5.14) and his compositional counterpart, St. Veronica (figs 5.16), who drop their eyes in modesty and respect, thereby removing themselves from this cross-shaped interplay of gazes.

WHO WAS PEDRO MAIZ?

To understand why the Ulacia tomb was chosen as a model, and to uncover the narrative which connects its interacting characters, upon which its meaning depends, I begin by introducing the man who commissioned it. Pedro Maiz Arsuaga has never, until now, been identified as the owner of the funerary monument. This is surprising given the availability of biographical data published by economic historians interested in the business activities of Basque *indianos*, on which I draw in the following paragraphs.[643]

Born in the Basque country, Pedro Maiz had emigrated to Mexico by 1876, initially joining in business with his Basque-born cousins, Eugenio and Francisco Armendáiz Arsuaga, whose Mexican activities included cotton trading, gold mining and railway investment. Back in Bilbao, Eugenio would later marry Blanca Ulacia, who soon had him confined in a mental institution; spurring a lengthy, acrimonious court case with Francisco Armendáiz over which of the two should have the guardianship of the sick man, and control over his money.[644] This detail is significant, for it indicates rivalry between one branch of Pedro Maiz's family and the second person to be buried in the Ulacia *panteón*, giving a possible clue as to why Pedro may have chosen the latter monument as the model for his own. It is also worth remembering that Francisco Ulacia's pseudonym took up the name Maiz, which was his father's second surname, suggesting that the families may have been distantly related through blood as well as marriage.

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643 Mario Cerutti, "Empresarios Españoles en el Norte de México (1850-1912)," special issue, *Revista de Historia Económica* (1999): 143-89; Jesús María Valdaliso, "Comerciantes e Industriales en México, Banqueros e Industriales en Vizcaya," *Illes i Imperis* 6 (2002): 51-66; Jesús Ruiz de Gordejuela, *Los Vascos en el México Decimonónico, 1810-1910* (Donostia: Real Sociedad Bascongada de los Amigos del País, 2008), 550. For biographical information, see also, Cesar Estornes, "Los Maiz Arsuaga, una Familia de Indianos en México," Blog de Cesar Estornes de Historia y Deportes, Jan 22, 2015, http://memoriasclubdeportivodebilbao.blogspot.com.es/search?q=pedro+maiz; Letras de Luto," *Liberal* (Bilbao), April 1, 1916, 2.

644 File regarding the dispute over the guardianship of Eugenio Armandaiz Arsuaga, 1885-89, Archivo de Corregimiento, JCR 1750/014, AMB-BUA.

Joined in Mexico by his brother Ángel, Pedro set up a family company, Pedro Maiz y Cía,[645] whose commercial activities ranged from soap production to trading houses. In 1883, he co-founded the Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Mining of Monterrey; and CANACO Monterrey, as it is known today, still awards an annual prize in Pedro's honour, with an engraved trophy featuring his only known likeness (fig. 5.24).[646]

Both brothers married before returning, with their growing families and accumulated wealth, to Bilbao in the late 1880s, where they initially lived at the same address. Pedro subsequently moved, with his Mexican-born wife and children,[647] to the fashionable Gran Vía,[648] where he probably had the chance to see the Ulacia tomb sculptures in the window of Mendiluce and Benito. It was also at the start of Gran Via – opposite the Ulacia residence – that the headquarters of the Banco de Vizcaya, the bank which he co-founded in 1901, were located (see fig. 5.1).[649] The brothers founded and invested in a wide range of businesses in the Basque country,[650] while apparently retaining their interests in their Mexican company.

SUMPTUOUS TOMBS FOR SUCCESSFUL BROTHERS

In the burgeoning economic context of turn-of-the-century Bilbao, the bourgeois élite "needed" prominent tombs, and the Maiz Arsuaga brothers set about making burial provisions for themselves, their spouses and descendants; doing so in dialogue with one another. Cemetery records reveal that Pedro purchased plot number 10 of only 60 "first class *panteón*" plots, on 17 March 1902, and that Ángel bought the plot opposite, number 9, the following day.[651] Given the brothers' life-long partnership, it is fitting that they should have chosen to rest near to each other in death. In life, meanwhile, they surely

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645 They were later joined by four younger brothers, and the company name changed to "Maiz Hermanos."

646 "CANACO Monterrey, Segunda Cámara más Antigua del País," CANACO, accessed April 4, 2017, http://www.canaco.net/representacion/Historia.html. My attempts to uncover the origin of the portrait have been unsuccessful.

647 Pedro married Paulina Velarde Calderón, with whom he had at least five children. For more information, see Death notice of Pedro Maiz Velarde, *ABC*, April 3, 1920, 17; Death notice of Paulina Velarde Calderón, *Noticiero Bilbaíno*, Aug 8, 1930, 1; Death notice of Pedro Maiz Arsuaga, *Nervión,* March 30, 1916, 1.

648 Document regarding Pedro Maiz Arsuaga's registered residency in Bilbao, 1908, Fondo Municipal, Administrativo J-01834/045, AMB-BUA.

649 Lartaun de Azumendi, "A Brief History of BBVA," BBVA, Nov 15, 2016, https://www.bbva.com/en/news/arts-culture/history/brief-history-bbva-iii/.

650 Pedro invested his capital in construction, mining, steelworks, and retail trade companies, and was a city councillor from 1897-99.

651 Registry book of tomb ownership and history of the large chapels, *grandes panteones* and first class *panteones* [...], pages 29 and 33, C-008919/001, AMB-BUA.

valued the impact which the duplication of the Maiz name was likely to have in the most exclusive, and expensive, area of the cemetery: the Plaza de Nuestra Señora de Begoña.

The space between the brothers' plots was destined, from the first, to contain a garden with low-level topiary planted in the shape of a cross (fig. 5.2). Besides suggesting brotherly closeness and emotional interdependence, as well as social and economic independence, this manner of separating the tombs ensured that the view from one plot to the other remained unobstructed. This vista was maintained even once the garden became integrated into a major monument which did not feature in the original Vista Alegre ground plans: the collective tomb (1913-16) of the children who had died in a tragic crowd crush at a Bilbao cinema in 1912, with sculptures by Higinio Basterra (fig. 5.25).[652]

Ángel died before he had time to commission a monument for his plot, and it was apparently not until around 1925 that the current marble group, also by Basterra, was installed (fig. 5.26).[653] Regarding Pedro's family monument, previous scholars have – in the absence of biographical or archival information, and without explaining their rationale – proposed dates of *ca.* 1908,[654] *ca.* 1915,[655] and even 1947.[656] However, the wording of the inscription across the lintel of the monument, "Family of Mr. Pedro Maiz," corresponds to a formula used exclusively by men who commissioned *panteones* within their lifetimes. This strongly points to its completion prior to Pedro's death in March 1916.[657]

TORRE THE *IMAGINERO*: *THE MAIZ TOMB FIGURES AND TORRE'S RELIGIOUS EXHIBITION BUSTS*

By chronologically situating the Maiz monument between 1909 and 1915, I date it before a series of highly-finished polychrome busts which Torre exhibited at various art exhibitions, and which are extremely closely related to the funerary commission.

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652 On this monument, see María Teresa Paliza, "El Mausoleo de las Víctimas de la Tragedia del Teatro Circo del Ensanche de Bilbao: Interacciones entre la Escultura Conmemorativa y la Funeraria a Principios del Siglo XX," *Liño* 16 (2010): 115-28.

653 Barrio, Antxia and Molinuevo, "Panteón Maiz Nordhausen," in *Bilboko Hilerria*, ed. Muñiz.

654 Tomás Fernández and Pablo Gómez, "Quintín de Torre," Escultura Urbana, Jan 1, 2011, esculturaurbana.com/paginas/torq.htm. The authors probably had the similarities to the Ulacia tomb in mind.

655 Barrio, Antxia and Molinuevo, "Edículo Maiz," in *Bilboko Hilerria*, ed. Muñiz.

656 López, *Quintín de Torre,* 180-81. This may be a misprint.

657 Death notice of Pedro Maiz Arsuaga, *Nervión*, 1.

On 2 November 1923, a solo exhibition of Torre's sculptures was opened at the headquarters of the Sociedad Española de Amigos del Arte, in Madrid.[658] Thanks to illustrated reviews in the press, it is clear that the show included the painted wooden busts *St. Veronica*[659] (figs. 5.27-5.28) and *St. Peter*[660] (fig. 5.29) which were identical in form to the St. Veronica and the bearded man which appeared in the Maiz tomb. Furthermore, it contained a head of St. John,[661] which probably corresponds to the polychrome wooden figure whose photograph survives in the Sociedad's archive (fig. 5.30),[662] and whose kinship with the Maiz tomb's St. John is similarly unmistakeable. The faces of the tomb characters also reappeared in subsequent years. St. John was to be found again – this time with the stray strands of hair on his forehead reversed, and with the head tilted at an angle to indicate sleep – in the processional sculpture of the *Prayer in the Orchard* of 1924 (fig. 5.31), which was exhibited at Torre's solo exhibition in Madrid's Círculo de Bellas Artes in 1927.[663] As for the bearded figure, he appears to have resurfaced in the busts of St. Peter exhibited in Venice in 1924, and at the National Art Exhibition in Madrid, as late as 1957.[664]

The change in format and material gave the Maiz figures a new mobility and independence from the funerary monument, and facilitated their display in exhibitions in which the only contemporary name to which they were tied was Torre's own. Parallel examples incude Benlliure's re-worked figure of *Music*, and Llimona's freestanding *Distress* (fig. 4.48), discussed in Chapters One and Four respectively. Whereas the funereal destination of the Ulacia tomb sculptures was explicit and well-publicised when they were displayed in the window of Mendiluce y Benito, the busts of *St. Veronica*, *St. John* and *St. Peter* were exhibited in art shows without any allusions to the cemetery commission from which they derived. Indeed, it is ironic that Ángel Vegue stated his preference for Torre the *imaginero* – that is, maker of polychrome religious statuary – over Torre the "portraitist" because he felt that the religious busts of *St. Veronica* and *St. Peter*,

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658 "El Escultor Quintín de Torre," photograph, *Sol*, Nov 2, 1923, 8.

659 Ángel Vegue, "El Escultor Imaginero Quintín de Torre," *Imparcial*, Nov 18, 1923, n.p.

660 "Exposición de Quintín de Torre," *Imparcial*, Nov 11, 1923, n.p.; Antonio Méndez, "El Artista Imaginero Quintín de Torre," *Blanco y Negro,* Dec 2, 1923, 41.

661 Juan de la Encina, "Exposición Quintín de Torre," *Voz*, Nov 13, 1923, 1; Francisco Alcántara, "La Vida Artística. La Escultura Pintada de Quintín de Torre," *Sol*, Nov 9, 1923, 4. The bust belonged to the painter Ignacio Zuloaga.

662 Sociedad Española de Amigos del Arte files, box 6, folder 7, AMP.

663 On this work, see Gabriel Cortezo, "Exposición de un Paso de Semana Santa, Obra de Quintín de Torre," *Arte Español* 8, no. 6 (1927): 223-24 and plates.

664 *Catalogo. XIV[a] Esposizione Internazionale d'Arte della Cittá di Venezia* (Venice: Carlo Ferrari, 1924), 154; *Exposición Nacional de Bellas Artes. Catálogo* (Madrid: Estades, 1957), 107; López, Quintín de Torre, 158.

among others, were "unconnected to commissions and separate from the bourgeois model."[665]

The moral-aesthetic superiority which Vegue and other critics attributed to the religious busts – allegedly uncontaminated by new money, in spite of their bourgeois gallery context and bourgeois tomb source – was felt to be rooted in the sculptor's deep debt to Spanish religious mysticism. The quest to find a national artistic spirit was, as we saw in Chapter Two, a major preoccupation among Spanish art critics of the 1910s and 20s. It was in this context that Torre began to gain his lasting, although unjustly-skewed, reputation as an *imaginero*: a sculptor who continued the traditions of his seventeenth-century Spanish predecessors with skill, sensibility and religious fervour, but sometimes at the expense of originality.[666] Francés, for instance, asserted that Torre did not submit to "Italianising rules" and was "not the artistic apologist of magnates and grand ladies," but rather the "successor of the Spanish *imagineros*, anointed with the same energy, austerity and virile fervour as they were;" adding that his art was suggestive of humility rather than pomp or pride.[667] What is interesting here is the explicit alignment of (inferior) Italianate art with new money and femininity, and Spanish art with superior, "masculine" qualities. Encina, meanwhile, incisively argued that seventeenth-century Spanish sculpture was "one of the sharpest alternatives to the classical concept of harmony and serenity" to be found in Western art, and claimed that it was the national school's characteristics of "expressivity" and "pathos" which Torre had embraced in his religious busts.[668] The consensus among critics, then and now, was that this "national" inspiration looked to Castillian and Andalusian sculptural tradition, rather than to a Basque style, which even passionate defenders of Basque culture broadly conceded did not really exist.[669]

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[665] Vegue," El Escultor Imaginero Quintín de Torre," n.p. "Retratista;" "ajeno al encargo y desligado del modelo burgués."

[666] See, for example, Encina, "Exposición Quintín de Torre," 1; Vegue," El Escultor Imaginero Quintín de Torre," n.p.; José Francés, "Un Imaginero de Hoy: Quintín de Torre," *Año Artístico,* Nov 1923, 172; E. Estevez-Ortega, "La Imaginería Española: Quintín de Torre," *Esfera*, March 1, 1930, 36-37.

[667] Francés, "Un Imaginero de Hoy," 171. "Normas italianizantes;" "no es el apologista plástico de magnates y grandes damas;" "un continuador de los imagineros españoles, ungido de la misma energía austeridad y el viril fervor de ellos."

[668] Encina, "Exposición Quintín de Torre," 1. "Una de las opciones más agudas al concepto clásico de armonía y serenidad;" "expresividad;" "patetismo."

[669] On the question of Basque style, see Margarita Nelken, "La Asociación de Artistas Vascos en Madrid," *Museum* 6, no. 9 (1918-20): 327-34; Juan de la Encina, *La Trama del Arte Vasco* (Bilbao: Editorial Vasca, 1919).

What is particularly striking about the aforementioned accounts of Torre's relationship with Spanish religious sculpture – when centred on these busts – is how it is not religious *theatricality*, but religious *austerity*, which is invoked.

CHARACTERS IN A NARRATIVE SCENE

This leads us to turn our full attention back to the Maiz tomb sculptures. For it was one thing to exhibit the busts as independent objects, and another to make the same characters interact with each other in an elaborate narrative scene, and inside a purpose-built setting; where, by reason of their visual similarity to the stage, they have attracted the description "theatrical." Quite what narrative or "drama" is supposed to be taking place, however, has never been addressed, or its complexity acknowledged. Let us take, for example, the brief and somewhat woolly commentary – complete with art historical name-dropping – offered by Ana Arnaiz, the foremost scholar of Vista Alegre cemetery, who argued that:

> In the tomb of the Maiz family, [Torre] bases himself on the contrast of the neutrality of an open cube which frames the scene of the Veronica in the New Testament without a pedestal, lowering the sculpture *to ground level* (Krauss) and making use of baroque drama.[670]

I will engage with Arnaiz's various claims in the course of the next few pages. Looking afresh at the Maiz tomb requires us to recognise, first and foremost, that not only is St. Veronica an apocryphal figure who does not appear in the Bible, but that there is no precedent in Catholic legend for the scene Torre represented. According to religious tradition, Veronica made her appearance as Christ bore the cross on the road to Calvary, when she used her veil to wipe the sweat and blood from his face, resulting in his facial features being miraculously imprinted on the cloth.[671] (I will examine shortly the significance of the meta-artistic conceptualisation of this instant relic, the "Holy Face.") The narrative episode constituted the sixth station of the Via Crucis (see, for example, Arnau's lost sculpture for Montserrat, figs. 4.30 and 5.32). In Spain, the association with

[670] Arnaiz, "El Cementerio de Bilbao," 13. "En la tumba de la familia Maiz [Torre] se basa en el contraste de la neutralidad de un cubo abierto que enmarca la escena de la Verónica del Nuevo Testamento sin ningún pedestal, bajando la escultura *a pié de tierra* (Krauss) y ayudándose del dramatismo barroco." Italics in the original.

[671] She has also been identified, by some, as the "bleeding woman" whom Christ miraculously healed in the gospels (Mark 5:25–34; Matthew 9:20–22; Luke 8:43–48). For a cultural history of Veronica, see Kuryluk, *Veronica and her Cloth.*

Christ's Passion, and a strong cult following of St. Veronica,[672] made her a relatively common figure in Easter week *pasos*, either as part of a group representing the encounter with Christ, or standing alone and displaying her veil (see fig. 5.33). There was, however, no textual precedent for showing St. Veronica alongside the Virgin and St. John after the death of Christ.

TORRE'S SOURCE: THE VERONICA, *AN OIL PAINTING BY JUAN ANTONIO VERA (1864)*

Although the formal similarities of the Maiz monument to the genre of processional sculpture are unquestionable, the historiographical fixation with Torre's debts to *pasos*, and to Spanish baroque *imaginería* in general, has meant that the monument's primary source for the narrative scene and composition has remained undiscovered until now. I have identified Torre's principal source to be a little-known oil painting entitled *The Veronica*, executed in Madrid in 1864 by Sevillian painter Juan Antonio Vera Calvo (fig. 5.34); which was clearly inspired by Fra Angelico's *Annunciation* (*ca.* 1425-28) (fig. 5.35), which had entered the Museo Nacional de Pintura y Escultura (now Museo del Prado) in 1861. Following its display at the National Art Exhibition in 1864, Vera's work was acquired for the same museum, and was placed on long-term loan at the Council of State in Madrid in 1875.[673] As it was almost certainly not visible to the public, the work was a potentially "safe" source for artists desirous of appearing original. Torre probably encountered it in 1906, when he travelled to the capital for the royal wedding of King Alfonso XIII and María Eugenia of Battenburg in the role of Artistic Collaborator, which could have given him reason to enter the building.[674]

The compositional similarities between Vera's painting and Torre's funerary monument are unmistakeable, particularly when the latter is viewed frontally (figs. 5.34 and 5.9). In both, St. Veronica has just entered the space through a "doorway" on the left, while, on the right, the seated Virgin leans forward in amazement at the sight of Christ's imprinted face. Both women are in perfect profile. Standing protectively behind the Virgin is St. John, although in Torre's rendition he exudes the same gentle sorrow as in the Ulacia tomb, rather than echoing the Virgin's surprise.

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[672] There were specific cults to St. Veronica in Alicante and Jaén, whose cathedral was believed to contain one of the three folds of the original cloth of the Holy Face. See Javier Portús, *Metapintura: Un Viaje a la Idea del Arte* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2016), 41-42.

[673] José Luis Díez, Ana Gutiérrez and Pedro J. Martínez, *Pintura del Siglo XIX en el Museo del Prado. Catálogo General* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2015), 580.

[674] Soto, "Los Primero Años de Quintín de Torre," 60; López, *Quintín de Torre,* 52-53.

Torre even loosely imitated the space represented in Vera's painting, with a paved floor, a vertical architectural division and stone ledges in the dark background, and a frontal light source illuminating the figures. In the monument, the Doric column which sustained the arches became fluted, and was transposed to the left foreground to support the vaulted ceiling and to create the sense of a doorway. In this particular, Torre's rendition harked back to Fra Angelico's representation of a box-like architectural space inside a garden, also calling to mind contemporary commercial interiors, which frequently made use of supportive fluted columns (see, for example, fig 5.20). A window of translucent, deep blue glass at the back of the monument has a similar function to the background arches in both paintings: that of creating a sense of depth beyond the main constructed space. Compared with the glass-free aperture at the back of the Ulacia tomb, the window indicates that this setting is a building, although its shape and colour do not point obviously to a house, church or crypt. In any case, it would appear that Arnaiz mistook ambiguity for neutrality when she described the monument's box-like space as neutral.

Vera was clearly aware that the meaning and setting of his painting were not self-evident, since he provided a detailed explanation of its narrative for the 1864 exhibition catalogue:

> While the Virgin and Saint John are at the house of Saint Martha and Mary, gathering together some objects from the Passion of the Lord, Veronica appears with the canvas on which Jesus' face was imprinted: upon seeing it, the Virgin rises to kiss it, while the others admire and adore him.[675]

Vera's scene effectively invented a narrative context for a type of devotional print, developed in the sixteenth century, in which the Virgin of Sorrows was shown surrounded by the *arma christi* (instruments of Christ's Passion); with the Holy Face given special prominence among these relics (fig. 5.36).[676] It also engaged, compositionally and conceptually, with Fra Angelico's *Annunciation,* in which Christ's appearance was announced by a messenger entering the Virgin's space from the left (fig. 5.35). Given the painting's narrative singularity, it is significant that the canvas was apparently conceived, not for an ecclesiastical space, where greater religious clarity might be expected, but rather with the more secular exhibition context, and State-led patronage mechanisms, in

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[675] *Catálogo de la Exposición Nacional de Bellas Artes de 1864* (Madrid: Imprenta y Litografía del Atlas, 1864), 75. "Estando la Virgen y San Juan en casa de Santa Marta y María, reuniendo algunos objetos de la pasión del Señor, se presenta la Verónica con el lienzo en que estaba impresa la faz de Jesús: al verlo la Virgen, se levanta para besarlo, mientras que los demás le admiran y le adoran."

[676] For more on such devotional images, see Walter Melion, "Pictorial Artifice and Catholic Devotion in Abraham Bloemaert's Virgin of Sorrows with the Holy Face of c. 1615," in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler and Gerhard Wolf (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1998), 319-40.

mind. The Museo Nacional de Pintura y Escultura already owned Vera's painting of *Jesus in the House of Martha and Mary* (*ca.* 1858), and the artist may have hoped that *The Veronica* would be acquired as its pair. When making his sculptural adaptation of the painting, Torre was surely aware that the cemetery space was similarly accepting of "loosely religious" subject-matter, but must, above all, have been struck by the painting's wider funerary potential to represent the universality of mourning, since it represented a group of mourners engaged in the common practice of gathering together objects through which to remember their dead.

If the similarities between Vera's painting and Torre's sculptural-architectural monument point to the former as an unquestionable source for the latter, it is by focusing on the differences that we begin to uncover the meanings of the Maiz tomb. I address later the implications of Torre's choice to drop the other *arma christi* in order to focus only on the Holy Face, as I want to begin by considering the most apparent difference in narrative content: Torre's placement of a bearded middle-aged man standing in the central position occupied by the kneeling figures of Martha and Mary, whose identities had provided the rationale behind the space depicted by Vera. Who was this masculine replacement for the biblical sisters? Why was the replacement made? And if the architectural space no longer represented the house of Martha and Mary, whose house was it?

THE BEARDED MAN AND THE CONSTRUCTED SPACE

The bearded man is the only character in Torre's sculptural group whose identity is far from obvious, and which has consequently been disputed among art historians. Those who have identified him as Joseph of Arimathea or Nicodemus[677] have presumably done so on the basis of the biblical presence of these characters at Christ's burial; Nicodemus because he provided spices with which to embalm the corpse, and Joseph of Arimathea because he relinquished his own tomb to Jesus, as we have seen. Indeed, both characters featured frequently in *pasos* of the Deposition, including Torre's of 1924 (fig. 5.37). The dim, vaguely crypt-like air of the space, as well as the cemetery setting as a whole, makes sense if the central figure is identified as Joseph standing at the centre of the tomb he had donated, and overseeing the action. In spite of the apparent novelty of the narrative scene, viewers might attribute a degree of logic to the grouping together of some of the religious characters most associated with Jesus' burial within a doubly funerary space. Moreover, as a wealthy man whose faith and generosity nonetheless destined him for heaven, Joseph

[677] Xabier Sáenz, *Derioko Kamposantua* (Bilbao: Dirección General de Promoción Turística, 2007), n.p.; Barrio, Antxia and Molinuevo, "Edículo Maiz."

could have served as a comforting example for the moneyed bourgeoisie who originally contemplated the tomb.

An alternative, more compelling, interpretation emerges when the monument is analysed in the context of Torre's wider production. As we have seen, when the bearded figure reappeared at art exhibitions as a polychrome wooden bust, he consistently did so with the title "St. Peter;" and it is worth underlining that St. Veronica and St. John retained their "identities" – if not their funerary genealogy – in their various other sculptural formats. In this light, I contend that Alberto López's identification of the bearded figure as St. Peter is correct in that it reflects Torre's intentions; and, as I argue presently, those of Pedro Maiz.[678] The dignified marble figure fits with the traditional manner of representing St. Peter the apostle as a bearded, older man, even though he is missing the identifying attribute of the keys to Heaven (see, for example, fig. 5.38). St. Peter's claim to a presence in Christ's tomb was a valid one, since the gospels of Luke and John recorded that he was the first person to enter it on Resurrection day, and to confirm that Christ's body had disappeared.[679] However, the architectural setting of the Maiz tomb was almost certainly not intended to suggest Christ's tomb; which, after all, Torre had already represented with far greater historicist "accuracy" in the Ulacia funerary monument.

In the painting upon which the composition was based, the action did not, as we have seen, take place within a tomb either. The imitation of Vera's architectural setting had aesthetic and practical advantages, since it permitted Torre to achieve the strong contrasts of light and dark which silhouetted his sculptures so effectively, and to protect the statues from Bilbao's wet climate, which has since done so much damage to the exposed figures of Christ and the Virgin in the Ulacia tomb.[680] The visual similarity between the box-like space and canopied *pasos* (for example, fig. 5.39) may have been an inadvertent consequence of this imitation, inviting viewers to interpret the monument as a static variant on the processional genre, even though none of Torre's processional sculptural groups feature such canopies.

Yet Torre had another reason – a conceptual one – for adopting Vera's architectural space. As we have seen, the painted scene was set in the house of the biblical sisters, Martha and Mary, who were placed in the centre of the composition, facing the viewers. Torre's

[678] López, *Quintín de Torre*, 58.

[679] Luke 24:12; John 20:3-8.

[680] A simpler stone "canopy" protects the sculpture (*ca.* 1904) which Nemesio Mogrobejo produced for the tomb of his family located in the same cemetery. On Mogrobejo's sculpture, see Pelayo Vizuete, "Artistas Españoles en Roma," *Ilustración Artística*, Feb 15, 1904, 124.

sculpted version kept all of Vera's characters except the homeowners, who were replaced by the bearded man, still forward-facing and centrally positioned. Even allowing for the possibility that the sculptor had not "correctly" interpreted Vera's obscure narrative (or read the explanatory text about it), this substitution must have had particular significance. After all, had the sculptor sought to make an easy cemetery adaptation of the painting, the obvious, tried-and-tested solution would have been to transform the kneeling young women into sorrowful angels.[681]

It is at this point that the significance of the presence of St. Peter becomes apparent. St. Peter was, of course, the namesake of Pedro Maiz, who was the *owner* of this architectural space: a family home of a funerary kind, as the overhead inscription prominently proclaimed. Identification with one's holy namesake was customary in Catholic culture, with people habitually celebrating their *onomástica*, the Feast Day of the saint after whom they had been named, rather than their own birthdays. Torre adapted Vera's composition in order to include a discrete sculptural allusion to the tomb's proprietor in the central male figure. Pedro's stone tomb presented him as the masculine founder of his family and owner of their cemetery "home," just as St. Peter was a father of the Church, and was defined biblically as the "rock" upon which it was built.[682]

It is safe to assume Pedro's complicity in this layering of meaning, but harder to know whether he knew that Torre was using Vera's painting as his source. It is possible that Pedro, who was aged around 60 in 1910, modelled for the figure of St. Peter; although a comparison with his only known surviving portrait – that used by CANACO Monterrey (fig. 5.24) – remains inconclusive in this respect. In either case, the figure's presence calls to mind the traditional practice of representing the donor in religious works of art.

My argument that Pedro/Peter has an earthly, as well as a biblical, dimension fits neatly with Torre's structuring of the monument along the two horizontal intersecting lines of sight which I described earlier. Facing forwards towards Ángel Maiz's *panteón* plot, the sculpted (Saint) Peter is the only figure who is not a participant in the powerful foreground drama. Instead, like the cemetery viewers who encounter him head-on, he is a witness to it. Crucially, this visual and bodily linkage between the viewers and the bearded man – *through* the space between the other sculpted characters, and *past* them – is

[681] Llimona, for example, often added wings to his female figures to adapt them to the cemetery. See Natàlia Esquinas, "La Figura Femenina dins l'Obra de Josep Llimona," Master's diss. (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2009), 83.

[682] Matthew 16:18.

dependent upon a line drawn in the third dimension, and upon the *real* depth of Torre's sculptural cube, as opposed to Vera's painted one.

TRANSLATING FROM PAINTING TO SCULPTURE, AND FROM CANVAS TO MARBLE

In thinking about this transition from two- to three-dimensionality, and the corresponding shift from canvas to marble, I turn my attention to the trio of foreground figures, and their relationship with the disembodied head of a fourth: Christ's Holy Face. At this point, it is worth noting that the apocryphal Veronica was an unprecedented choice of subject for a funerary monument, making it undoubtedly significant that the "original" cloth of the Holy Face was "housed" in none other than St. Peter's Basilica in Rome, the home of the Catholic Church.

By suppressing none of the compositional complexity of Vera's painting, while arguably surpassing it in naturalism, pathos and physical immediacy, the Maiz tomb subtly asserted itself as a sculptural equivalent to History Painting. It challenged – perhaps principally for Torre's own satisfaction, given the relative invisibility of his source – the conclusions of recent art critics who had vigorously revived the *paragone* in relation to nineteenth-century Spanish painting and sculpture, and found the latter to be inferior, particularly wanting in *narrative* potential.[683]

Yet Torre's act of "translation" between media was considerably more multi-layered, and sophisticated, than a defence of sculpture. The funerary monument was a three-dimensional adaptation, in monochrome, of a two-dimensional oil on canvas, which represented a two-dimensional "painting" on canvas, painted to appear three-dimensionally suspended in space: the Holy Face relic. Due to the miraculous manner of its creation, the Holy Face belonged both to the privileged category of the "contact relic" (for it had touched Christ's own body), *and* was considered a true likeness, and self-portrait of sorts, generated by Christ himself, without the intervention of human hands.[684] As Georges Didi-Huberman has put it, "*relic* would say what a 'holy Face' is, *icon* would say that (or what) it represents."[685]

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[683] For more on this *paragone*, see Carlos Reyero, "Paragone entre Pintura y Escultura en el Siglo XIX Español," *Anuario del Departamento de la Historia y Teoría del Arte* (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma) 13 (2001): 133-41.

[684] Nicole Blackwood, "Printmaker as Painter: Looking Closely at Ugo da Carpi's Saint Veronica Altarpiece," *Oxford Art Journal* 36, no. 2 (2013): 169; Hans Belting, *Imagen y Culto: Una Historia de la Imagen Anterior a la Edad del Arte* (Tres Cantos: Akal, 2012), 295.

[685] Georges Didi-Huberman, "Face, Proche, Lointain: L'Empreinte du Visage et le Lieu pour Apparaître," in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation*, ed. Kessler and Wolf, 97. "*Relique* dirait ce qu'est une 'sainte Face,' *icône* dirait (ce) qu'elle représente."

Portraying it artistically was thus uniquely challenging, but it provided an opportunity, ingeniously embraced by numerous artists, to interrogate the very nature of art and authorship.[686] It is surely no coincidence that Veronica and the Holy Face was among the preferred themes of Spanish Golden Age painters fascinated by the meta-pictorial.[687] While these showed remarkably little concern for what the "actual" relic in St. Peter's Basilica "really" looked like,[688] the notion of authenticity remained at the crux of their representations, whether the object was primarily shown as a self-portrait of and by Christ, constituting his "true image" (*vera icona*), as occurred in El Greco's painting (fig. 5.40); or whether it evoked a "real," blurred imprint in blood, as in Zurbarán's *trompe l'œuil* rendition now in the Museo Nacional de Escultura (fig. 5.41).[689] Of course, neither of these representational extremes – which together illustrate what Hans Belting has neatly dubbed "the confusion between trace and face"[690] – was possible in logical terms, as they did not take into account the distortions which would have resulted from a cloth being pressed around a (three-dimensional) face; but the Holy Face's "miraculous" nature got around this impediment. Centuries later, Vera captured the converging aspects of the Holy Face by representing a "blood on canvas" which was a relic of the Passion *and* a faithful portrait which Christ's mother instantly recognised. His careful choice of the word "canvas"[691] to textually describe St. Veronica's veil drew attention to its nature as a picture within a picture.

By translating a painting of the Holy Face into sculpted marble, Torre consciously carved a unique place for himself within this particularly Spanish meta-artistic tradition. Art historical scholarship on the Holy Face has been overwhelmingly focused on the subject's meta-*pictorial* possibilities, in relation to two-dimensional media; and to painters' and printmakers' responses to the fact that the original Holy Face itself was a "flat" piece of fabric which had received an image through a process analogous, or equivalent, to the techniques of painting and/or printing. Yet the particular implications of representing the Holy Face in sculpture have not been explored. Surely the most important observation to

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686 Examples are explored in Blackwood, "Printmaker as Painter," 167-84; Melion, "Pictorial Artifice and Catholic Devotion in Abraham Bloemaert's Virgin of Sorrows with the Holy Face of c. 1615," 319-40.

687 For a detailed study of the Holy Face in relation to metapainting in Spain, see Portús, *Metapintura*, 34-42.

688 The original relic was lost and supposedly "found," although evidence points to two different objects. On the rare occasions when the relic is taken out of its reliquary, it is shown briefly and at a distance. See Belting, *Imagen y Culto*, 294.

689 Portús, *Metapintura*, 34-39.

690 Hans Belting, "In Search of Christ's Body. Image or Imprint?" in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation*, ed. Kessler and Wolf, 4.

691 *Catálogo de la Exposición Nacional de Bellas Artes de 1864*, 75.

make is that, paradoxically, Christ's imprinted face could, in logical terms, only double up as his portrait if that imprint was three-dimensional rather than two-dimensional. The genre of the death mask[692] – which we have encountered in Chapters Two and Three – perfectly exemplifies this duality: both "sculptural" imprint of a disembodied head, and its "true likeness." Indeed, on one conceptual level, the death mask can be understood as the non-miraculous and "man-made" equivalent of the Holy Face: a supposedly authentic object through which the living remember the dead, simultaneously imprint and faithful likeness of the deceased, but created, in this case, *by human hand*.

In practice, the "flatness" of the imprint on the Holy Face relic was taken as a given, and had not proven a problem for centuries of Spanish sculptors, who had predominantly painted their Veronicas. Indeed, most Spanish examples were devotional or processional *imágenes de vestir*, in which representation and "real" objects co-existed (see Chapter Three), so that the Holy Face was not sculpted at all; appearing, instead, as a flat, coloured impression, or painting, on an actual piece of fabric, which was held up in the statue's hands (see fig. 5.33).[693] Thus, in the Spanish context, Torre's transposition of Christ's facial features into white marble was a rare incursion into monochromy and, as an inevitable consequence, three-dimensionality. Determined by the sculpture's outdoor location, the absence of paint distanced it somewhat from the "national" tradition and had a calmer, classicising effect.

The decision to portray the Holy Face in three dimensions, and without colour, involved an artistic choice between line and volume, as exemplified by two adjacent sculptural representations in St. Peter's Basilica. Francesco Mochi, working in 1629-40, used incised lines to show the Holy Face as a two-dimensional, crudely primitive, icon of Christ, which contrasted dramatically with the vigorously three-dimensional cloth upon which it was "printed" (fig. 5.42).[694] Meanwhile, the unknown artist who created the representation immediately above Mochi's sculpture rendered the Holy Face in high relief, with Christ's well-defined, almost lumpy, features emphatically protruding from the veil, as though superimposed on it (fig. 5.43).

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[692] Understood here, and as Marcia Pointon defines it, as either matrix or mould. See Marcia Pointon, "Casts, Imprints and the Deathliness of Things: Artefacts at the Edge," *Art Bulletin* (June 2014): 173.

[693] The boundary between the real and the represented body was sometimes blurred even further, as in the procession of the Holy Burial in Seville. Figure 3.37 shows a female member of the religious confraternity dressed as St. Veronica, and carrying a cloth, in imitation of artistic representations of the subject.

[694] For more on this sculpture, see Estelle Lingo, "Mochi's Edge," *Oxford Art Journal* 32, no. 1 (2009): 1-16.

Torre chose a third solution. He executed Christ's face in a delicately low relief, which became shallower and fainter at the edges, so that the face faded softly into the veil (fig. 5.16). Without lines and almost without depth, this piece of skilful carving relied upon a subtle use of light and shade – achieved through the contrast between the natural light and the darkness of the architectural space, and dependant on St. Veronica's position at the threshold of the "box" – to convey the recognisable face of Christ in a uniquely ethereal manner. Neither incised nor superimposed, and more apparition than icon, Torre's Holy Face was a masterpiece of understatement. The face appeared to push softly through the cloth from behind, yet, rather than suggesting an imprint of a lost face – pressed, death mask-like, through fabric – it was evocative of the metaphor of death as "beyond the veil." Instead of a prosaic "canvas" support, Veronica's cloth became, in Torre's hands, the poetic veil which separates life from death; through which the dead Christ revealed himself to his loved ones.

This deeply suggestive, almost mystical, presentation of the Holy Face was central to the emotional power of Torre's sculptural tableau, for it worked effectively as part of the "idealistic realism" which was the sculptor's chosen style for the group. In case there was any doubt as to Torre's mastery of realism, the artist included a second veil or shroud, meticulously carved with *trompe l'oeil* verisimilitude to appear as though it had been casually dropped onto a stone slab, which belonged on the earthly axis between the viewer and St. Peter (fig. 5.9).

The Holy Face, as a subject, did not lend itself easily to early twentieth-century realism; and not merely because of the dilemma of whether, or how, it should be made to look "real." Artists of Torre's generation – particularly those who, like him, had trained in the French social realist tradition – had to decide whether to continue artistic convention by presenting the Holy Face episode as a glorious moment of relic-making via miracle, or whether to concentrate on the human pathos of the encounter between a frail, suffering Christ and the compassionate Veronica. Arnau's rendition of St. Veronica flaunting her cloth, for the Via Crucis at Montserrat (fig. 5.32), was conservative in this respect, while it was a telling sign of the times that French sculptor Auguste Carli broke with tradition by omitting the Holy Face altogether from his moving *Saint Veronica and Christ*, of 1900 (fig. 5.44).

Vera had recycled the dramatic potential of the Holy Face image by inserting it into an imaginative narrative scene, but there remained an air of relic-revealing triumph to his painted encounter, which – along with the repetitive, and not altogether convincing, expressions of his characters – took away from its potential pathos. Torre, in contrast, maximised the emotional impact. Christ's grieving mother does not recognise a *representation* of her dead son, but it is rather her dead son appearing to her, literally, from beyond the veil; that is, emerging from the stone.[695] The Virgin's amazement during this moment of recognition is perhaps intended to mirror, and encourage, the viewers' astonishment at the artist's rendering of the crumpled shroud, on the other horizontal axis, as well as the monument's masterful naturalism as a whole. Her dramatic facial expression and gesture of surprise are balanced against the calm, languid, understated melancholy of the supporting characters, St. John and St. Veronica, who look down as though not wishing to intrude in this intimate encounter.

A FUNERARY MESSAGE OF PRESENCE IN ABSENCE

The Holy Face powerfully evoked presence in absence, and therein lay its potential for funerary significance. Bermejo and Marcia Pointon are equally justified in their respective claims that the Holy Face motif appears in the cemetery as a symbol of Christ's presence, and that imprints "evoke absences"(the footprint is an obvious example).[696] This duality was reflected in the terminological slippage in Vera's textual explanation of his painting, in which the relic both represented Christ (and his absence), and assured his presence at a time of mourning: "upon seeing *it*, the Virgin rises to kiss *it*, while the others admire and adore *him*."[697] Vera's words also drew attention to the fact that the represented moment was one of limbo: the period between Jesus' death and resurrection, between Christ as person, Christ as "thing" (corpse), and Christ as person (again, in resurrected form). Writing on the conceptual dimension of the Holy Face, Belting has argued that:

> Every image by definition is hand made [...]. As a consequence, the image is lifeless and imitates a body without being a body [...]. To speak of images not

[695] Torre's preoccupation with the image of Christ emerging from rock would benefit from further study. The tomb of Braulio Chavarri included a similar, shallow relief of the face of God. Furthermore, for the tomb of Francisco Pérez and Lucia Yarza (*ca*. 1906-27), Torre created a striking statue of Christ emerging, as though sleepwalking, from a block of stone.

[696] Bermejo, *Arte y Arquitectura Funeraria*, 235; Pointon, "Casts, Imprints and the Deathliness of Things," 178.

[697] *Catálogo de la Exposición Nacional de Bellas Artes de 1864*, 75. "Al ver*lo* la Virgen, se levanta para besar*lo*, mientras que los demás *le* admiran y *le* adoran." The italics are mine.

made by human hands, in fact, is a mere excuse for saying: *this is not an image, but instead a body and [it] behaves like a body*.[698]

Belting's incisive analysis is borne out by Torre's rendition of the Holy Face, which does, indeed "behave like a body," although its literal disembodiment prevents Christ's presence from being complete. Like the painting which inspired it, Torre's peculiar narrative suggested that Christ was present even in his apparent absence. However, the funerary appropriation of the narrative scene must have given the message of "presence within absence" a new, poignant relevance to those real human mourners who saw it when visiting Vista Alegre cemetery. The life-size nature of the figures, and their arrangement horizontally and at ground level, suggested that Christ was present amongst *us*, the cemetery mourners and visitors; able to offer hope of an afterlife in emotionally difficult times.

In this respect, it is important not to overlook the participatory dimension of such *panteones*, and their functional aspect as aids to mourning, particularly for the families who owned them. It is highly suggestive that the background ledge immediately behind the part-earthly, part-biblical St. Peter contains not the *arma Christi* of Vera's painting, but a poignant, terrestrial "equivalent": a weathered, wooden toy of a horse-drawn carriage, probably placed there, long ago, by a family member in memory of a dead child (visible in fig. 5.9). Belonging to the family gave mourners the right to enter Maiz's funerary property – which the Peter/Pedro layering deliberately presented as his alternative home – and to mingle with the life-size biblical mourners which Torre had carved.

In religious terms, the Maiz tomb was preoccupied not with affirming the certainty of heavenward apotheosis, but with reassuring and comforting the living. This was achieved, compositionally, through the horizontal relations between the sculpted bodies, particularly that of St. Peter, and the bodies of cemetery visitors. Yet, at the same time, Torre's Holy Face was a miraculous proof of Christ's divinity and of the "non-finality" of death. Thus, the whole design was also, in a sophisticated and indirect manner, an affirmation of faith and hope – and, inevitably, of the purchasing power of its owner and its durability beyond the grave.

[698] Belting, "In Search of Christ's Body," 5. The italics are mine.

Conclusion.

In this final chapter, I have addressed the conceptualisation of the family *panteón* as "property of" the living, as well as a "memorial to" the dead; exploring its presentation as an alternative family home. Shifting forwards and backwards between the centre of bourgeois city life, the Gran Vía, and the monumental centre of Vista Alegre cemetery, I have shown how Bilbao's new middle class used both spaces to construct their social identities as – among other things – proprietors of real estate. Faced with the Ulacia tomb, a contradictory picture has emerged of funerary visibility and invisibility, one dominated by patriarchal family structures, but in which gender conventions are trumped by political-ideological motivations.

The Maiz tomb takes the self-referential aspect beyond the "home-away-from-home," and the "tomb-upon-tomb," by playing with artistic representation within artistic representation. The monument and its placement engages directly with the idea of the *panteón* as family residence in such a way as to present Pedro Maiz as a *paterfamilias*, as well as a devoted brother, through an ingenious layering of identities and artistic references. With the Maiz tomb, in particular, Torre reveals a degree of technical and conceptual sophistication for which neither he, nor religious Spanish sculpture of this period, have yet been recognised. The long-standing characterisation of cemetery sculpture as peripheral or provincial proves, once again, to be misguided. Torre not only drew inspiration from the art he had seen in Madrid and Catalonia, but, through different exhibiting strategies, secured multiple metropolitan and cosmopolitan, as well as funerary, contexts for his works: a presence in the urban cities of the living, as well as the cities of the dead.

Conclusion.

This thesis has explored cemetery sculpture as a sculptural genre. By paying serious and sustained attention to works hitherto triply marginalised by virtue of their Spanish, religious, and funerary nature, it contributes to nineteenth- and twentieth-century sculpture studies by theorising an under-researched genre which I have shown to be of qualitative, as well as quantitative, importance.

Cemetery sculpture, I have demonstrated, was by no means a peripheral genre in Restoration Spain. Not only did the "cities of the living" employ many of the same sculptors as the "cities of the dead," but the objects themselves frequently enjoyed an unexpected level of mobility before finding their final resting places in cemeteries; frequently "living on" elsewhere in alternative versions, formats and materials, in public and privately-organised art exhibitions, as well as retail spaces, in Spain and abroad. Some were displayed in their entirety or as "fragments," one almost became a public monument, and a great many were "multiplied" and widely circulated by the reproductive means of photography. In none of these cases was there any question that sculpted bodies be accompanied on their travels by the corpses to which they were assigned.

The practice of creating versatile sculptures emerged in new bourgeois contexts across Europe, and has proven decisive in understanding how funerary sculpture was inextricably intertwined with other sculptural genres in the period under study. As we have seen, the most frequent protagonists of cemetery sculpture, winged creatures and women in mournful distress, could be allegorically generic or personalised, religious or secular, classicist or Catholic. This thesis has also revealed hitherto overlooked intermedial links between cemetery sculpture and theatre, painting, print culture, commemorative texts and photography, further undermining historiographical assumptions about the genre and medium's separateness.

Furthermore, I have demonstrated that compartmentalisation of the genre in line with national or regional borders has considerable limitations. Not only have we encountered bourgeois families with Cuban, Mexican and French parentage, but the creators of funerary works absorbed and synthesised a multiplicity of contemporary and historical international influences from Egypt, Greece, Byzantium, France and Italy – and shared themes and preoccupations with their British counterparts – even as they turned to sculptures in other regions of Spain for inspiration. While my focus has not been

predominantly chronological, the chapters on Julio Antonio and Torre suggest that early twentieth-century cemetery sculpture partook of a broader artistic search for national essence by evoking the *imaginería* associated with Spain's golden ages, and by distancing itself from the Italian influences which had been more popular at the end of the previous century. At the same time, Rodin's growing reputation made Paris a new centre of gravity. In addition, however, the transnational influences within cemetery sculpture were bi-directional, in a way that this thesis has not had scope to address. In this respect, the Gayarre tomb's clear but hitherto unnoticed impact on cemetery monuments in Italy, France and even Brazil – works which took up listening angels and twisting figures lifting sarcophagi heavenwards (figs. 6.1-6.4) – would benefit from further research. Also pending further investigation is a comparative examination of cemetery monuments in northern and southern Europe, particularly in relation to Protestantism and Catholicism.

While showing how cemetery sculpture was central to sculptural development rather than separate from it, this thesis has simultaneously examined the specificities of the funerary genre in Restoration Spain; drawing conclusions which are, in many cases, relevant outside the country's borders. At the root of these specificities, I have argued, is the presence or intended presence of corpses. Multiple bodies converge on the tomb in a singular way, since, in the literal encounter between sculpted bodies and viewing ones, and the conceptual encounter with the artist, there are also dead bodies to contend with.

Death is the defining feature and *raison d'être* of funerary sculpture, but its significance for the genre runs deeper: it causes religious and medical contexts to intersect, and, uniquely, brings both to bear on the sculptural object. As we saw in relation to the Farreras tomb, explicit sculptural allusions to the physiological side of death were rare, audacious and highly personalised. We have needed only to scratch the surface, however, for "medical" approaches to come to the fore, whether in the dissection of a "divine" larynx and its relation to sculpture and anatomical models, in the aesthetics of death by tuberculosis, or in the analogous relationship between rigor mortis and petrification. Religion, on the other hand, explicitly and overwhelmingly dominated the iconography of funerary sculpture in Restoration Spain, to the extent that even monuments which hinted at religious doubt used traditional Christian motifs to do so. As I have highlighted throughout, this pervasive sculptural religiosity was specific to its place, time and target audience. Often characterised by a loose, indulgent, comforting brand of Catholicism – and offering alternative, non-religious layers of meaning – cemetery sculptures of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries suited the cosmopolitan bourgeoisie who consumed and commissioned them. Yet, as we have seen, creating religious sculpture in a

so-called "sceptical" age was entirely compatible with technical and conceptual sophistication.

The literal association with dead bodies also accounts for the particular moralising lens through which cemetery sculpture, in contrast to other sculptural genres, was often viewed. Death attracted moralisation and judgment; whether this involved weighing up the deceased person's virtues and sins, assessing the depth or superficiality of a widow's grief by scrutinising her appearance and behaviour, or drawing the line between humility and ostentation in commemorative acts and objects. Crucially, I have argued, the genre itself was seen internationally, and by many *including* the Catholic Church, as inherently morally problematic. Associated with the bourgeoisie and their conspicuous and "excessive" spending habits, monumental tombs were – and, indeed, continue to be – frequently discussed in terms of theatricality, particularly in the pejorative sense of falsity and empty illusion.

In this thesis, I have also demonstrated how the difference between commemorating the illustrious dead, and commemorating oneself or one's family, while still alive, was fundamental within this moralising approach to funerary sculpture. There was an uneasy consciousness that *money*, in the cemetery, could buy what *merit* alone (in theory, at least) could achieve in the city square: a personalised commemorative monument. The complex, and often ethically fraught, nature of the relationships between the commemorator(s) and the commemorated might be derived from the conceptual rivalry between the sculptor's merit and that of the person or people supposedly being memorialised; from the fact that the person paying for the sculpture was frequently "self-memorialising" by doing so; or from the inherent difficulty of commemorating others without becoming the protagonist oneself, as Derrida pointed out in a comparable context.

I have revealed how the moral minefield regarding cemetery monumentalisation sometimes led to imaginative sculptural strategies apparently aimed at counteracting or deflecting potential accusations of self-aggrandizement or self-delusion regarding death: Farreras' suggestion that he calmly anticipated his own death and decomposition, for example, or the pseudo-natural contextualisation which presented *Memento Homo* as a humble non-monument. In discussing the effectiveness, or otherwise, of such strategies, Fried's theorisation of theatricality and absorption has proven particularly useful. The moral dilemma surrounding the cemetery monument was exacerbated when the object was presented not only as *memorial to*, but as *property of*; as expensive funerary real estate with its urban counterpart in the bourgeois districts of the city of the living. Yet the show

of economic power which caused the derision and scorn of some critics continued, as we have seen, to be a motivating factor for many of those who commissioned sculptural tombs.

The context of death, the auratic presence of invisible corpses, and the religious (and sometimes secular) promise of an afterlife, made funerary sculpture singularly well-placed to experiment with the conceptual triangle between death, life and sculpture which has long preoccupied cultures worldwide, as exemplified by the continuing fascination with the Pygmalion and Medusa myths in the Western context. The present study – the first to look carefully at Spanish cemetery sculpture from this perspective – has shown that viewers were frequently invited to look at sculpted funerary bodies as though they were real bodies that were dead, alive, or somewhere in between. In some of the cases we have seen – such as Nobas' extreme, chromatically realist sculpted skeleton, or Torre's representation of the Holy Face that behaves like a body – this "invitation" comes from the sculpture itself, and combines a display of artistic virtuosity with a personalised message about mortality, tailored to the tomb owner. In other instances – such as the pseudo-wake of the Lemonier monument exhibition (fig. 2.36) or the poetic-photographic re-appropriation of Clarasó's *Memento Homo* (fig. 4.33) – it was the physical and spatial contextualisation of the sculpture, and its photographic framing, that suggestively presented the sculpted body as person rather than thing. Conversely, we have also seen how the corpses of sculptors were sometimes treated as though they were sculptures, and how pieces of artists' anatomies became three-dimensional medical/artistic "relics." Ever in the background during the All Saints' period, Zorrilla's *Don Juan Tenorio* reinforced the sense that sculpture, life and death were intertwined in mystical, "fantastical," theatrical and absorbing ways. Black and white photography also sometimes made it difficult to distinguish between real white bodies and sculpted marble ones, as exemplified by the photograph of Querol's wake (fig. 2.22). Research in these areas could be extended, in future, to explore in greater depth the early photography of Spanish sculpture in relation to Pygmalionism, and to examine the use of sculptural ornaments in theatres.

This thesis has also highlighted how cemetery sculpture invariably alludes to the unseen which lies beyond the spatial limits of the object itself. On the one hand, I have shown how viewers' awareness of the presence of a invisible corpse below the monument – or, conversely, knowledge or visual proof of its absence – has the potential to alter radically a sculpture's meanings and even the people to whom it becomes tied; as strikingly exemplified by the re-contextualising and de-contextualising of Clarasó's *Memento Homo*

and the Lemonier monument. Future research could consider the question of invisibility in unsigned or unattributed monuments, and in tombs in which the name of the patron or deceased has been lost.

On the other hand, we have seen how funerary sculptures consistently followed compositional codes in which horizontal forms alluded to the deathliness of the hidden corpse, while vertical ones generally pointed to the promise of the soul's Resurrection to an unseen heaven. The directions and dynamics of sight were exploited for similar effect, with sculpted eyes looking upwards in hope, or downwards in absorbed grief. We have seen how some sculptors, such as Torre, imaginatively extended these compositional conventions by establishing horizontal sight relations between monuments, and between sculpted figures and viewers' bodies.

Finally, this thesis has shown how the conservatism of the funerary genre in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was more nuanced than has hitherto been recognised. With regards to gender, there is little question that cemetery monuments perpetuated the conservative sexist stereotypes which, broadly speaking, characterised bourgeois society in Restoration Spain. Sculpted female figures – including, and perhaps especially, those on tombs paid for by women – showed women as virtuous mourning widows or mothers, or as allegorical personifications of abstract virtues or the human soul. Monuments to men and representing men were, in contrast, more diversified, extolling individualised male professional achievement and, sometimes, presenting the role of the *paterfamilias* in imaginative ways.

In relation to the question of conservatism, it is striking how often Restoration critics used the language of freedom and constraint to discuss funerary sculpture, whether in terms of the liberty of the artistic imagination, the freedom from – or constraints of – bourgeois commissions, or the restrictions allegedly posed by the genre's religious obligations in comparison with the supposedly "freer" genre of the civic monument. What I have shown is that the presence of the *corpse* could be both restrictive and uniquely suggestive, spurring new creative sculptural manifestations within the religious genre, even in spite of the ultimate conservatism of death. Panofsky's dismissal of the genre was, I have argued, too hasty: the funerary sculptors of Restoration Spain still have plenty to say about death, and the story of the cemetery sculptor, far from being over, has only just begun.

As the pressure mounts, in Spain and internationally, for the removal of public monuments to nineteenth- and twentieth-century "great men" who are no longer deemed exemplary or deserving,[699] it will be interesting to see whether their funerary monuments are subjected to comparable ethical scrutiny. The prospect of physical removal seems unlikely given the private ownership of most tombs, and the culturally-entrenched belief that corpses deserve a special kind of respect. However, as the colonial and patriarchal contexts of memorial sculpture come to the fore, we can expect the historiography of bourgeois cemetery sculpture to take new critical directions in the near future.

[699] For an art historian's perspective on recent removals of statues from Barcelona's public spaces, see Luis Sazatornil, "La Incómoda Memoria Colonial de Barcelona," *Diario Montañés*, April 15, 2018, https://www.eldiariomontanes.es/cantabria/incomoda-memoria-colonial-20180415095330-nt.html.