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Elisabetta Maistri

‘La común patria de los artistas’:
the Spanish colony of artists in Rome (1830-1873)

Abstract

Between 1830 and 1873, over one hundred male Spanish male students of painting, sculpture, engraving, and architecture joined the cosmopolitan community of artists active in Rome, ‘la común patria de los artistas’. This is how one Catalan painter Peregrín Clavé, described Rome in 1845 to a friend after an almost fifteen-year sojourn in the Papal city. The members of this group identified themselves as “Romistas” (artists who completed their artistic education in Rome); a few of them are well-known artists today, some were famous at the time but have since been forgotten, whilst others never managed to achieve any recognition. Drawing on perspectives from art history, social history, cultural history, and a substantial body of nineteenth-century periodicals as well as published and unpublished memoirs and letters, my dissertation studies Rome as a *communis patria* and relates it to the case of Spanish artists. A study of these forty years allows us to explore the Spaniards’ engagement with Papal Rome – a period that was considered a second renaissance for the arts in Spain – as well as the early stages of what has been considered a ‘second international season’ for Rome, when Rome emerged as the capital of the new Italian nation-state, and in which Spaniards played an active role. Focused on painters and sculptors, the dissertation discusses the value of Rome for the history of Spanish romanticism and its early contribution to naturalism through the young Spaniards’ journey towards becoming entrepreneurial artists. Examining the role of training, exhibitions and criticism, the dissertation reconstructs the artistic production (both identified works and those which have not yet been traced) and social networks of Spanish artists in Rome between the 1830s and the 1870s, exploring how their work responded to the local and international opportunities afforded by Rome.



School of Modern Languages and Cultures

**‘La común patria de los artistas’:
the Spanish colony of artists in Rome (1830-1873)**

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abbreviations

I have generally avoided the use of abbreviations, except occasionally when referring to museums, academic or archival institutions occurring frequently in the list of figures or footnotes. For these occurrences, I have abbreviated as follows:

AHN: Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid (Madrid)

AHP: Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid (Madrid)

ALB: Archivio Lorenzo Bartolini (Florence)

ANSL: Accademia Nazionale di San Luca (Rome)

ASR: Archivio di Stato di Roma (Rome)

BNE: Biblioteca Nacional de España (Madrid)

MNAC: Museo Nacional de Arte de Cataluña (Barcelona)

MNP: Museo Nacional del Prado (Madrid)

RABASF: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (Madrid)

RACBASJ: Real Academia Catalana de Bellas Artes de San Jorge
(Barcelona)

Declaration

I certify that this work is of my own authorship and that the use of material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged in the text. To the best of my knowledge and belief, this work contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made. Material from published and unpublished work of others which is referred to in the dissertation is credited to the author(s) in question in the text. None of the material included in this work has been previously submitted for a degree in this or any other university. Any assistance provided during the research has been given the appropriate acknowledgements. This document is the result of my own work.

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INTRODUCTION

Despite the existence of a Portuguese Academy in Rome since the 1720s, Bourbon Spain is traditionally considered the second European nation, after France, to create its own academic bursary to Rome, or *pensión para [ir a] Roma*, for painters, sculptors, and architects in 1744.¹ The preparatory committee, which anticipated the foundation of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando (1752),² decided that an academic context would have been set up and the four winners would have joined the painter Francisco Preciado de la Vega and the sculptor Felipe de Castro – both in Rome since 1733. Both had left for Rome at their own expense.³

In 1757 the statutes of the San Fernando Academy organised the otherwise undisciplined management of scholarships, until that point granted by the king, and therefore of varying duration. Six Roman scholarships were given: two to painters, two to sculptors, and two to architects, and each one would have lasted six years.⁴ Until 1758 the General Treasury paid for them, after that year the responsibility fell on the San Fernando Academy.⁵ After 1758, award-holders were put under the guidance of a director of *pensionados* based in Rome, and in 1762 it was also decided what students were expected to send back to their home institution.⁶

The figure of the director of *pensionados* was considered essential because it would have been impossible otherwise for the academy to control the students' behaviour. Also diplomats were involved in this matter, but only after 1757, when the San Fernando Academy began regulating what was

¹ On the Spanish academy in the eighteenth century: Claude Bédât, *La Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (1744 - 1808)* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 1989); On the Portuguese academy in Rome, see Pilar Diez del Corral Corredoira, ed., *Politics and the Arts in Lisbon and Rome. The Roman Dream of John V of Portugal* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2019).

² Francisco Calvo Serraller, 'Las academias artísticas en España', in *Las Academias del Arte*, by Nikolaus Pevsner (Madrid: Catedra, 1982), 219.

³ Bédât, *La Real Academia de San Fernando*, 249.

⁴ Bédât, 252.

⁵ Bédât, 253.

⁶ Bédât, 254–55.

perceived as an uncontrolled presence of Spanish students in the city.⁷ However, a closer look at the conduct adopted by some diplomats – the most famous being José Nicolás de Azara – suggests that their role extended beyond mere bureaucracy, creating a true network of solidarity for young Spanish artists and a collaborative environment between the administration and the artists.

Since its infancy, lack of clarity regarding the funding, poor management, and disruptions characterised the programme.⁸ A symbol of this disorganisation was the non-existent academic venue, a condition that lasted until the 1870s and 1880s. Before such problem, Barrio Gonzalo has proven that the first director ever, Francisco Preciado de la Vega, created a private academy in his own apartment on Piazza Barberini, and Spaniards lived in nearby parishes, converting the area into a Spanish quarter.⁹

The system of the academic studentship was also twice interrupted in the eighteenth century (1769-1778; 1784-1830) due to envy, high maintenance costs, and the belief that Madrid provided models that were just as good as in Rome for students of the arts.¹⁰ During the second of these interruptions, the legacy of the traineeship was kept alive by private studentships funded by King Charles IV, aristocrats such as Carlos Miguel Fitz-James Stuart y Silva, the XIV duke of Alba, and the Catalan Board of Trade. After having introduced the “Pensión de Bellas Artes” in 1822, the duke of Alba even envisioned the opening of a private academy, assigning the direction to Álvarez Cubero.¹¹ This mix of royal, public, and private actors would prove a recurring feature of the Roman bursary scheme throughout the nineteenth

⁷ Bédard, 242; Carolina Brook, ‘Storia di una presenza: gli artisti spagnoli a Roma nella prima metà dell’Ottocento’, *Ricerche di Storia dell’Arte. Scultori nella Roma dell’Ottocento*, no. 68 (1999): 17–30.

⁸ Margarita Barrio, *Relaciones culturales entre España e Italia en el siglo XIX: la Academia de Bellas Artes*, Studi e ricerche, XVII (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1966).

⁹ Maximiliano Barrio Gonzalo, ‘The Quartiere or Neighborhood around the Embassy of Spain in Rome during the 18th Century | El Quartiere o Barrio de La Embajada de España Durante El Siglo XVIII’, *Revista de Historia Moderna*, no. 29 (2011): 229–58.

¹⁰ Bédard, *La Real Academia de San Fernando*, 267.

¹¹ Beatrice Cacciotti, ‘Carlos Miguel Fitz-James Stuart y Silva, VII duque de Berwick y XIV de Alba, viajero, mecenas y coleccionista en Italia’, in *El legado Casa de Alba* (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2012), 30.

century.¹² Even though the Spanish academic programme in Rome might have been re-introduced under royal auspices, it actually was personal initiative what made its survival possible also during the nineteenth century.

Training in Rome during the First French Empire (1804-1814) and the First Restoration (1814-1817)

On 27th March 1807 Charles IV signed the Treaty of Fontainebleau with Napoleon, which allowed the French troops to enter Spain so to invade Portugal. A year afterwards, the king abdicated; on 23rd March 1808 French troops entered Madrid, and the next day Charles IV's son Ferdinand VII was proclaimed King. In April though he, Charles IV, Maria Luisa of Parma, and the former Prime Minister of Spain Manuel Godoy, left for Bayonne where they were placed under Napoleon's guardianship. On 2nd May 1808 a rebellion against the French occupation marked the start of the Peninsular War. On 6 May Napoleon forced both Ferdinand VII and Charles IV to abdicate in his favour. Napoleon then gave the Spanish throne to his brother Joseph Bonaparte. Only some Spaniards, the so-called "Josefinos", supported this change, while most fought against the French occupation. The French were defeated with the support of a British army, led by Arthur Wellesley, by 1814. When Ferdinand VII was reinstated as King of Spain, he restored absolute monarchy in his reign.¹³

Meanwhile his father, Charles IV, had been in Rome since 1812, alongside his wife María Luisa, their exiled court, and Godoy. At the beginning they were installed in the Borghese palace. Two years later they moved to Barberini Palace where they stayed until their deaths: Charles died in Naples in 1818, and María Luisa in 1819.

Spanish scholarship has thoroughly explored the Roman traineeship of the Spanish *pensionados* in Napoleonic Rome (1809-1814) and during the First

¹² Esteban Casado Alcalde, 'Pintores pensionados en Roma en el siglo XIX', *Archivo Español de Arte* 59, no. 236 (1986): 363–85; Esteban Casado Alcalde, 'Los pintores españoles del siglo XIX en Italia', in *Pintura española del siglo XIX del Neoclasicismo al Modernismo* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1992), 24–50.

¹³ Emilio La Parra López, 'La restauración de Fernando VII en 1814', *Historia constitucional: Revista Electrónica de Historia Constitucional* 15 (2014): 205–22.

Restoration (1814-1817).¹⁴ More recently an exhibition on the painter Rafael Tegeo has also uncovered the understudied 1820s, when his Roman sojourn took place.¹⁵ In the early nineteenth century, the first Spanish colony included two Catalan sculptors, Damián Campeny (Fig. Intro. 1) and Antonio Solá, awardees of the Board of Trade of Cataluña.¹⁶ Awardees funded by Charles IV included José de Madrazo, Juan Antonio de Ribera, and José Aparicio, who reached Rome via Paris, where they studied with David and are thus known as the “españoles davidianos”.¹⁷ In Rome, this group of five artists met with the sculptors Ramón Barba, Valeriano Salvatierra, and José Álvarez Cubero.¹⁸

They studied in the Rome of Antonio Canova and of Berthel Thorvaldsen, the great sculptors whose works were internationally coveted, and whose names converted Rome into the international *magistra sculptorum*.¹⁹ They

¹⁴ On this topic see the Works by Casado Alcalde, Reyero Hermosilla, Azcue Brea, and Brook among others. Casado Alcalde, ‘Pintores pensionados en Roma en el siglo XIX’; Javier Jordán de Urríes de la Colina, ‘José de Madrazo en Italia (1803 - 1819)’, *Archivo español de arte*, no. 65 (1992): 351–70; Francesca Antonacci and Damiano Lapicciarella, *José de Madrazo a Roma: la Felicità eterna del 1813*, ed. Francesco Leone (Roma: Officine tipografiche, 2012); Carlos Reyero Hermosilla, ‘Ideología e imagen del artista español del siglo XIX entre París y Roma’, in *El arte español entre Roma y París (siglos XVIII y XIX)*, ed. Luis Sazatornil Ruiz and Frédéric Jiménez (Madrid: Collection de la Casa de Velázquez, 2014), 129–44; Leticia Azcue Brea, ‘Modelli di ritratto aulico a confronto nella tipologia della figura sedente nella scultura neoclassica spagnola: Campeny, Barba, e Álvarez Cubero’, *Stud neoclassici*, no. 4 (2016): 109–22.

¹⁵ Carlos González Navarro and Asunción Cardona Suanzes, eds., *Rafael Tegeo (1798-1856)* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura - Museo del Romanticismo, 2019).

¹⁶ Margarita Barrio, ‘Un escultor español en Roma: Antonio Solá’, *Archivo español de arte* 39, no. 153 (1996): 51–84; Carlos Cid Priego and Anna Riera i Mora, *La vida y la obra del escultor neoclásico catalán Damià Campeny y Estrany* (Barcelona: Caixa Laietana, 1998).

¹⁷ Raúl Angulo Díaz, ‘La disciplina estética en España en el siglo XIX’, *El Basilisco. Revista de Materialismo Filosófico*, no. 44 (2015): 61–75.

¹⁸ Azcue Brea, ‘Modelli di ritratto aulico a confronto nella tipologia della figura sedente nella scultura neoclassica spagnola: Campeny, Barba, e Álvarez Cubero’.

¹⁹ On Rome as the *magistra sculptorum* for Spanish artists, see María Soledad Canovas del Castillo, ‘Artistas españoles en la Academia de San Luca de Roma. 1740-1808’, *Academia: Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*, no. 68 (1989): 153–210; Carolina Brook, ‘Canova e gli scultori spagnoli del primo Ottocento. La figura di Antonio Solá artista “romanizzato”’, in *Il primato della scultura: fortuna dell’Antico, fortuna di Canova*, by Manlio Pastore Stocchi, vol. 2 (Bassano del Grappa: Istituto di Ricerca per gli studi su Canova e il Neoclassicismo, 2004), 293–308; Leticia Azcue Brea, ‘El canon escultórico: de Donatello a Canova’, in *La historia de la belleza: de Fidias a Picasso*, by Francisco Calvo Serraller (Madrid: Fundación de Amigos del Museo del Prado, Galaxia Gutenberg, Círculo de lectores, 2015), 265–90; Leticia Azcue Brea, ‘L’influenza Di Canova e Thorvaldsen sugli scultori neoclassici spagnoli’, in *Canova | Thorvaldsen. La Nascita Della Scultura Moderna*, by Stefano Grandesso and Stefano Mazzocca (Milano: Skira, 2019), 69-76.369,374;

also witnessed the arrival of a group of German students who dropped out from the Fine Arts Academy of Vienna, but whose innovative instances eventually succeeded to attract royal and private patrons. These group members called themselves the Brotherhood of Saint Luke and auspicated a return to the purity of German medieval art and the early Renaissance in Italy; their co-founders were Friedrich Overbeck and Franz Pforr.²⁰ The return of the Spanish *pensionados* to Spain almost coincided with the division of the nazarenes and, as a result, many of them left the Eternal City. Between the late 1810s and 1820s the members of the German group either returned to their home countries, where they carried out projects for the decoration of public buildings, or even died.²¹ Only Overbeck lived in Rome all his life, devoting his career to religious paintings.

In Rome, those Spaniards found themselves in an exceptional situation. The arrival of former King Charles IV and his court beneficial to the group of Spaniards who were financially affected by the Peninsular War, which had brought their funding to an end. To compensate for the lack of a paid studentship, in 1810 Madrazo began making portraits for foreign travelers in Rome, which became an important source of income for him and his growing family - two of his sons were born in Rome, respectively Federico (1815) and Pedro (1816).²²

The former king commissioned several artworks from José de Madrazo. In 1813 Madrazo painted the *Eternal Happiness* for his royal apartments in the

On Rome as a modern capital, see Carlos Reyero Hermosilla, 'La disyuntiva Roma-París en el siglo XIX: Las dudas de Ulpiano Checa', *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte*, no. 2 (1990): 217–28; Carlos Reyero Hermosilla, 'La Academia de Roma y la tardía modernización de la pintura en España (1900-1915)', *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte*, no. 5 (1993): 143–58; Juan Pablo Fusi and Jordi Palafox, eds., *España: 1808 - 1996. El desafío de la modernidad* (Madrid: Editorial Espasa Calpe, 1997); Eugenia Querci, 'Achille Vertunni e Mariano Fortuny: Roma tra arte e mercato nella nuova stagione internazionale', in *Roma fuori di Roma. L'esportazione dell'arte moderna da Pio VII all'Unità (1775 - 1870)*, ed. Giovanna Capitelli, Stefano Grandesso, and Carla Mazzarelli (Roma: Campisano editore, 2012), 209–26.

²⁰ On this group, Cordula Grewe, 'Re-Enchantment as Artistic Practice: Strategies of Emulation in German Romantic Art and Theory', *New German Critique*, no. 94 (2005): 36–71; Cordula Grewe, *Painting the Sacred in the Age of Romanticism* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); Cordula Grewe, *The Nazarenes: Romantic Avant-Garde and the Art of the Concept* (University Park, Pa: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015).

²¹ Lionel Gossman, 'Beyond Modern. The Art of the Nazarenes', *Common Knowledge* 14, no. 1 (2008): 45–130.

²² Urríes de la Colina, 'José de Madrazo en Italia (1803 - 1819)', 129–30.

residence of the monastery of Saint Alessio on the Aventino hill, which he had purchased.²³ In 1814, the Madrazo family settled in Palazzo Albani in Via delle Quattro Fontane no. 21, another of Charles IV's properties.²⁴ He commissioned works from Álvarez Cubero for the Casa del Labrador in Aranjuez in 1804: Antonio Canova was behind these commissions.²⁵ But by the time Cubero, who in 1823 had been appointed Ferdinand VII's *primer escultor de cámara*, actually returned to Spain in 1826, a year before his death in Madrid, the gallery Canova conceived had never become a reality: the sculptures never occupied the place they were intended for.²⁶ Cubero however was not the only Spanish sculptor to work for the king, Barba sculpted a bust of Charles IV and even a sitting Charles IV, both in the fashion of a Roman emperor.²⁷

For their loyalty to Charles IV, Spanish artists in Napoleonic Rome ended up imprisoned in Castel Sant'Angelo; only Antonio Canova's direct intervention could free them.²⁸ However, despite their opposition to the French occupation of Spain, Madrazo and Álvarez Cubero participated in the pictorial and sculptural decorative international project of the Quirinale under Raffaele Stern's direction, possibly thanks to Canova's direct involvement (1812-1814).²⁹ Godoy also purchased buildings in Rome – such as Villa Mattei, and the palace in Via del Corso no. 255 – and financed their decoration.³⁰ Moreover, the arrival of Godoy, along with his collection of Spanish paintings with examples from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, was a true innovation for Rome and the Italian peninsula in general,

²³ Antonacci and Lapicciarella, *José de Madrazo a Roma: la Felicità eterna del 1813*.

²⁴ Carlos González López and Aixela Montserrat Martí, eds., *El Mundo de los Madrazo: colección de la comunidad de Madrid* (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 2016), 34.

²⁵ Angela Windholz, *Et in academia ego: ausländische Akademien in Rom zwischen künstlerischer Standortbestimmung und nationaler Repräsentation (1750-1914)* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2008), 142.

²⁶ Doc. 97, José Álvarez Cubero, Diana the Huntress, in José Luis Díez and Javier Barón, eds., *The nineteenth century in the Prado* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 2008), 389.

²⁷ Ramón Barba, *King Charles IV*, 1815, marble bust, 86,5x67 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado. Ramón Barba, *Sitting Charles IV*, 1817, marble, 180x160 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

²⁸ Antonio d'Este, *Memorie di Antonio Canova scritte da Antonio d'Este e pubblicate per cura di Alessandro d'Este con note e documenti*, ed. Alessandro d'Este (Firenze: Felice Le Monnier, 1864), 180–81; Brook, 'Canova e gli scultori spagnoli del primo Ottocento', 298.

²⁹ Brook, 'Storia di una presenza', 20.

³⁰ Jesús Urrea Fernández, *Relaciones artísticas hispano-romanas en el siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Fundación de apoyo a la historia del arte hispánico, 2006), 230.

where there were few publications on early modern Spanish art, and only a few Spanish artworks could be found in Italian collections. Already in the eighteenth century Spaniards were very much aware of this gap in knowledge in Italy.³¹ After the omission of the Spanish school from the first edition of Michelangelo Prunetti's *Saggio pittorico ed analisi delle pitture più famose esistenti in Roma* (1818), the Spanish *pensionado* Solá was involved in redacting the second edition to incorporate Godoy's collection,³² which was available to visit.³³ The publication preceded the opening of the Royal Museum (1819) and the National Museum of Trinity (1838) in Madrid,³⁴ and even that of the Galerie Espagnole in Paris (1838), the largest collection of Spanish art outside Spain at the time owned by King Louis Philippe, a collector not only of early modern Spanish artists but also of modern ones such as Jenaro Pérez de Villaamil Dughet.³⁵

When Ferdinand VII returned to the Spanish throne in 1814, Antonio de Vargas, Spanish ambassador before the Holy See, was confirmed in his appointment; he assured the Spanish artists' loyalty to the Bourbon Royal Family and recommended that their pensions were reinstated for the

³¹ In the eighteenth century, Jesuits like Antonio Conca contributed to disseminating information about the history of Spain, and of the arts in the peninsula. Antonio Conca, *Descrizione odepórica della Spagna in cui specialmente si dà notizia delle cose spettanti alle belle arti degne dell'attenzione del curioso viaggiatore di don Antonio Conca socio delle reali accademie fiorentina e de' georgofili*, 4 vols (Parma: Dalla Stamperia Reale, 1793).

³² On Godoy's collection, see: Isadora Rose de Viejo, 'La formación y dispersión de las colecciones artísticas demanuel Godoy en Madrid, Roma y París (1792-1852)', in *Manuel Godoy y la ilustración*, ed. Emilio La Parra López and Miguel Ángel Melón Jiménez (Badajoz: Junta de Extremadura, Editora Regional de Extremadura, 2001), 119–38; Federica Giacomini and Fernando Mazzocca, *Vincenzo Camuccini, Manuel Godoy e l'Orazio Coclite ritrovato*, ed. Francesca Antonacci (Roma: AL Fine Art Antonacci Lapicciarella, 2021).

³³ Michelangelo Prunetti, *Saggio pittorico ed analisi delle pitture più famose esistenti in Roma con il compendio delle vite de' più eccellenti pittori ec. ec. ... a sua altezza serenissima D. Emanuele Godoi, Principe della Pace ec. ec.*, 2nd ed. (Roma: Stamperia Salvionni, 1818).

³⁴ For the sake of clarity during the reading of this dissertation, it is relevant to acknowledge the chronological history of the museum's collection and changing names. The Museo Nacional del Prado changed its name three times in total: (1) the Royal Museum (1819–38), (2) the National Museum of Paintings and Sculptures (1838–1920), (3) the Prado National Museum (1920). The nomenclature changed because of the incorporation of the National Museum of Trinity (inaugurated in 1838) into the Prado Royal Museum (inaugurated in 1819) on 22nd March 1872. In 1894 the Museum of Modern Art dedicated to nineteenth-century and twentieth-century artworks, was inaugurated and remained open until 1971 when it was also incorporated into the Prado Museum.

³⁵ On the formation of those museums, see Alisa Luxenberg, *The Galerie Espagnole and the Museo Nacional 1835-1853. Saving Spanish Art, or the Politics of Patrimony* (Hampshire-Burlington: Ashgate, 2008); Javier Portús Pérez, ed., *Museo del Prado. 1819-2019. Un lugar de memoria* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2018).

remainder of their Roman sojourns. In 1816 the studentship was further extended for Madrazo, José Álvarez Cubero and Barba.³⁶ And Madrazo even received commissions from the newly returned king.

While in Spain Francisco de Goya produced drawings and paintings inspired by the horrors of war he witnessed, and the cruelties committed by both sides,³⁷ in Rome the younger generation of Spaniards educated in Paris and Rome relied upon the latest neoclassical language to denounce those horrors. They proved their political militancy by developing a “historical mindedness” early in their work. Álvarez Cubero and Solá chose to sculpt heroic moments of the Spanish resistance against French troops, inaugurating a specific topos that younger generations of Spanish artists would investigate further, namely that of Spanish national martyrs. Álvarez Cubero’s marble *The Defence of Zaragoza* entered the royal collection in 1827, while Solá sculpted the Carrara marble *Dáoiç and Velarde*.³⁸ The group was inspired by the biographies of two heroic leaders of the uprising on 2nd May 1808, which marked the beginning of the Peninsular War. Shipped to Spain in 1831, Solá’s sculptures were praised for the innovative use of contemporary instead of antique clothing, a countertrend decision for the time in which contemporary clothes in sculpture detracted from the nobility and majesty of the sculpture.³⁹

As for paintings, in 1807 José de Madrazo was ready to ship his *The Death of Viriatus* (Fig. Intro.2) to Madrid, a grand composition telling the story of

³⁶ Urríes de la Colina, ‘José de Madrazo en Italia (1803 - 1819)’, 142.

³⁷ I refer to Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *The Charge of the Mamelukes (2nd May 1808)*, 1814, oil on canvas, 266 x 345 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado. Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, *The Executions (3rd May 1808)*, oil on canvas, 268 x 347 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado. Regarding the 82 prints Goya created between the 1810s and 1820s, they were posthumously published in 1863: Francisco de Goya, *Los desastres de la Guerra, Colección de ochenta láminas inventadas y grabadas al agua fuerte* (Madrid: Real Academia de San Fernando, 1863)

³⁸ José Álvarez Cubero, *The Defence of Zaragoza*, 1818-1825, Carrara marble, 280x210 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado. Antonio Solá, *Daoiç and Velarde*, 1830, marble, 160x230x170 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado. The work by Solá was reviewed by Salvatore Betti in the *Giornale arcadico di scienze, lettere ed arti* in 1830. Salvatore Betti, ‘Cav. Antonio Solà, spagnuolo, consigliere e censore dell’insigne e pontificia accademia di S. Luca, professore delle RR. accademie delle belle arti di Madrid, di Firenze ec.’, *Giornale arcadico di scienze, lettere ed arti*, Scultura, no. XLVIII (1830): 204–7; Salvatore Betti, ‘[Dagli] scritti vari. Michele Cervantes. Statua di Antonio Solà di Barcellona’, in *Già pubblicati. Manuale della letteratura italiana nel secolo decimonono compilato da Giovanni Mestica*, ed. Giovanni Mestica, vol. 2 (Firenze: G. Barbèra editore, 1887), 643–45.

³⁹ Barrio, ‘Un escultor español en Roma: Antonio Solá’, 66; Carlos Reyero Hermosilla, ‘El reconocimiento de la nación en la historia: el uso espacio-temporal de pinturas y monumentos en España’, *ARBOR Ciencia, Pensamiento y Cultura*, no. 740 (2009): 1200.

Lusitanians resistance against the Roman domination during the second century BCE.⁴⁰ The outbreak of the Peninsular War though forced Madrazo to keep the canvas in Rome until 1818. The canvas secured Madrazo's admittance into the Madrilenian academy.⁴¹

After Rome, most of these Spanish young artists became part of the Academy, court painters, and elite society. As such, they also were the prime movers behind the reintroduction of the public academic traineeship in Madrid and at Barcelona's Escuela de Bellas Artes. Their support was essential in a country that possessed a highly centralised bureaucracy which anchored the arts to the Ministry of Development and the San Fernando Academy.⁴² The decision of restoring the traineeship came with the appointment of a director of *pensionados*, the idea of setting up a venue in Rome, instructions regarding the scholarship (duration and students' obligations).

The Napoleonic age planted the seeds for the reintroduction of the scholarship during the 1830s, as supported by Brook in her latest publication on Spanish artists' Roman traineeship: *Gli artisti spagnoli a Roma tra Sette e Ottocento. Preistoria di un'accademia*.⁴³ It enriches her prior studies on Spanish artists by structuring her argument around the institutional steps taken towards the founding of the Academia Española in Rome.⁴⁴ Brook presents these steps as a prehistory of the Spanish academy. However, this focus on the neo-classical period and the early years of the first directorship of the *pensionados* under Antonio Solá somehow implies that the neo-

⁴⁰ On *The Death of Viriatus*, see Enrique Arias Anglés, 'Influencias de John Flaxman and Gavin Hamilton en José de Madrazo y nueva lectura de "La muerte del Viriato"', *Archivo Español de Arte*, no. 58 (1984): 351–62.

⁴¹ Doc. IV. 1 in Sandra Pinto, Liliana Barroero, and Fernando Mazzocca, eds., *Maestà di Roma. Da Napoleone all'Unità d'Italia* (Roma: Electa, 2003), 139.

⁴² Oscar E. Vázquez, *Inventing the Art Collection. Patrons, Markets, and the State in Nineteenth-Century Spain* (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 62.

⁴³ Carolina Brook, *Gli artisti spagnoli a Roma tra Sette e Ottocento. Preistoria di un'accademia* (Roma: Viella, 2020).

⁴⁴ Brook, 'Storia di una presenza'; Brook, 'Canova e gli scultori spagnoli del primo Ottocento'; Carolina Brook, 'Gli allievi catalani di Tommaso Minardi', in *Roma fuori di Roma. L'esportazione dell'arte moderna da Pio VI all'Unità (1775-1870)*, ed. Giovanna Capitelli, Stefano Grandesso, and Carla Mazzarelli (Roma: Campisano editore, 2012), 335–48; Carolina Brook, 'La fortuna dei Primitivi italiani nella cultura catalana dell'Ottocento: il caso di Pablo Milá y Fontanals', *Storia della critica d'arte. Annuario della S.I.S.C.A. 2018*, 2018, 343–57.

classical premises were valid also for posterior decades. This dissertation partially refutes this position and argues that the origins of the Academia Española are to be found within and outside an institutional narrative.

Training in Rome during the Isabelline age (1833-1868)

Isabelline Spain was a country undergoing territorial redefinition and political upheaval. On the one hand the once vast Spanish Empire, founded under Isabella I in 1492, was in decline.⁴⁵ To compensate for the gradual loss of overseas territories, the Isabelline government turned its attention towards Spain's historical enclaves in North Africa, Ceuta and Melilla, leading to the Spanish-African War of 1859-60. In addition, the peninsular territories were shaken by the Carlist wars, which broke out in 1833 due to Ferdinand VII's decision to name his infant daughter Isabella as successor to the throne against

⁴⁵ The genesis of the Spanish Empire, also known as the Universal Spanish Monarchy, began in the fifteenth century with the wedding of Isabella I of Castille and Ferdinand of Aragón. The wedding did not lead to the unification of the two crowns, but the couple operated a common foreign policy line, aimed at territorial expansion in Europe and the Mediterranean. As for the Atlantic expansion begun after Christopher Columbus's first travel, this concerned only the crown of Castille. The Treaty of Tordesillas (7th June 1494) between the Catholic Monarchs and King John II of Portugal divided the Atlantic Ocean by means of a line drawn from pole to pole, 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands: the eastern hemisphere to the crown of Portugal and the western hemisphere to the crown of Castile. After the death of Queen Isabella, full rights over the Indies were inherited by her heir, her daughter Juana. However, Castile and its overseas possessions were administered by successive regents in view of the monarch's supposed incapacity. With the death of King Ferdinand (1516), the legitimate heir of Castile and Aragon, Charles, son of Joanna I of Castile and Philip of Hapsburg, installed a new foreign and common dynasty in the kingdoms of Aragon, Castile and the Indies. Despite the Treaty of Tordesillas, Emperor Charles was very interested in gaining influence and, above all, a trade route to New Spain. In Asia, the Philippines were sighted and claimed for the Spanish crown by Ferdinand Magellan, during the first voyage around the world. In contrast to his father's foreign policy, Philip II forged a true Spanish-American empire from the American possessions he inherited and extended to the Portuguese possessions in Brazil as a result of the dynastic union with Portugal in 1580. The death of Philip II (1598) marked the end of the expansion and consolidation phase of the Empire and the beginning of a period characterised by the weakness of the Spanish monarchs. With the dynastic change, under the Bourbons, the overseas territories acquired colonial dimensions as opposed to the previous status under the Habsburgs, in which America was an integral and constituent part of a monarchy. The bibliography on the subject is immense, as starting points one could look at Felipe Ruíz Ruíz, ed., *La Monarquía de Felipe II* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2007); Bartolomé Yun Casalilla, *Los imperios ibéricos y la globalización de Europa (siglos XV a XVII)* (Barcelona: Galaxia Gutenberg, 2019); John H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020).

the will of his brother Carlos María Isidro.⁴⁶ The latter did not accept Ferdinand's promulgation of the Pragmatic Sanction – a decree that had already been approved by the Cortes in 1789 but had never been officially promulgated – that allowed female heirs to access to the throne. Thanks to this, Isabella was proclaimed heir to her father's throne on 20th June 1833. When Ferdinand VII died in September 1833, his wife Maria Cristina acted as Queen Regent for Isabella. The deceased king's brother Carlos María Isidro however invoked the old Salic Law, which prevented female descendants to access the throne. His claims to the throne of Spain provoked the first Carlist War. Other nations in Europe did not all immediately acknowledge the Spanish successor. Pope Gregory XVI refused to acknowledge the liberal government of Isabella II before exploring the reasons why Austria, Prussia and Russia did not recognise the legitimacy of her throne.⁴⁷ On 31st August 1839 the progressive liberal Baldomero Espartero replaced Maria Cristina as the regent of Spain (1840-1843), and Rafael Maroto Yserns, on behalf of the Carlists, signed the Convention of Vergara, the treaty that brought the First Carlist War to an end. Defeated, Carlos María Isidro renounced all claims in favour of his son and fled to France. Isabella II remained Queen of Spain until she was forced to abdicate in 1868.

The director of *pensionados*

The reintroduction of the traineeship was decided at the end of Ferdinand VII's reign. In 1830, the Madrilenian programme confirmed the need for a director as an institutional reference abroad, who eventually acted as administrative catalyst and visible point of reference for the venue-less Spanish programme in Rome. During the 1830s, both the Madrilenian and the Catalan groups of students were placed under the aegis of the director who continued to cooperate with the Spanish ambassador before the Holy See,

⁴⁶ José Ramón de Urquijo y Goitia, 'Las guerras carlistas', in *Historia militar de España*, ed. Hugo O'Donnell y Duque de Estrada, Enrique García Hernán, and José María Blanco Núñez, vol. 4 (Madrid: Laberinto, 2015), 259–318.

⁴⁷ Vicente Carcel Orti, 'Gregorio XVI y España', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 12 (1974): 266.

alongside the agente de Preces (the officer in Rome responsible for collecting the prelates' prayers).⁴⁸ However, after the first cohort had made return to Spain, the usefulness of the director was called into question probably for budgetary reasons, but eventually this institutional figure was retained.

Between 1830 and 1873, the directors were Solá and José de Vilches. The next director of the Roman programme would be chosen for the Academia Española. Initially the name of Eduardo Rosales was brought up, but the painter's premature death demanded a change of plan, and José Casado del Alisal was nominated by the Spanish Republic in 1873.

Solá and de Vilches were both sculptors, although it was not a requirement for the post. The very first director, Francisco Preciado de la Vega, was a painter of Sacred scenes.⁴⁹ Furthermore, when speculation grew regarding the reintroduction of the programme in 1818 and 1819, the name of Madrazo was brought up.⁵⁰ Directors had to be fully-fledged members of the San Fernando Academy.⁵¹ To be eligible, they also had to possess a prior and in-depth knowledge of Rome, in order to help the academy run the programme from distance. Directors were often also artists involved in the Roman cultural environment, and in their official capacity, they received visits from prominent individuals and heads of State.

It was their duty to represent, in their person and activities, a programme that in Rome had no tangible proof other than the *pensionados*' works. Directors were expected to follow the *pensionados*' progress, to help them obtain the permissions needed to gain access to Italian collections, to watch over their welfare, and to send back evidence of their development each year. Beyond their institutional role, both directors formed an active part of their students' social lives; we find references to them mingling with their students, from dinners to excursions.

⁴⁸ Bédât, *La Real Academia de San Fernando*, 13–104.

⁴⁹ Pilar Díez del Corral Corredoira, 'The Beginnings of the Real Academia de España in Rome: Felipe de Castro and Other Eighteenth-Century Pioneers', *The Burlington Magazine* 156, no. 1341 (2014): 805–10.

⁵⁰ Brook, *Gli artisti spagnoli a Roma*, 158.

⁵¹ Esperanza Navarrete Martínez, *La academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando y la pintura en la primera mitad del siglo XIX* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1999), 81–82.

When he was appointed to the role, Solá had almost thirty years of direct experience of Rome and was successful in both Rome and Madrid.⁵² He (Fig. Intro.3) first arrived in Rome in 1803 as a Board-of-Trade-awardee and studied with Thorvaldsen.⁵³ When the Bourbon monarchy was restored, he received a studentship funded by Ferdinand VII. From the 1820s he served as advisor of the sculpture class at the Academy of Saint Luke, together with his former teacher Thorvaldsen.⁵⁴ In 1829 he finished the marble *Daoiz y Velarde*, which he personally accompanied to Madrid, during his sole trip home (1831-1832). This visit coincided with his appointment to the post of director.

In 1834 he was also accepted into the Congregazione dei Virtuosi del Pantheon, a prestigious association of artists active in Rome ever since Pope Paul III authorised it.⁵⁵ Between 1837 and 1840 he was president of the Academy of Saint Luke. As an academic, he produced two discourses titled *Intorno al metodo che usarono gli antichi greci nel servirsi de' modelli vivi per le loro belle opere d'arte* (1836) and *Sull'espressione nelle opere di belle arti* (1838) with which, in the opinion of Spanish painter Federico de Madrazo, he wanted to rectify what Tommaso Minardi's claimed in his own discourse, *Delle qualità essenziali della pittura italiana dal suo Rinascimento fino all'epoca della perfezione*.⁵⁶

⁵² Brook, *Gli artisti spagnoli a Roma*, 162. On Solá, in addition to the already cited works by Barrio, Brook, and Azcúe Brea see: Javier Hernando, 'Escultura y teoría neoclásica: a propósito de un discurso de Antonio Solá en la academia romana de San Luca', *Norba: revista de arte*, no. 11 (1991): 117–26.

⁵³ Regarding Campeny's training, see Brook, 'Canova e gli scultori spagnoli del primo Ottocento', 295.

⁵⁴ Leticia Azcúe Brea, 'Il cavaliere Antonio Solá, escultor español y Presidente de la Academia romana de San Lucas', *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 25, no. 43 (2007): 20.

⁵⁵ Barrio, 'Un escultor español en Roma: Antonio Solá', 60–61.

⁵⁶ Antonio Solá, *Intorno al metodo che usarono gli antichi greci nel servirsi de' modelli vivi per le loro belle opere d'arte / discorso detto agli alunni dell'insigne e Pontificia Accademia Romana di S. Luca [...] dal cavaliere Antonio Solá* (Roma: Tipografia della R. C. A., 1836); Antonio Solá, 'Sull'espressione nelle opere di Belle Arti. Discorso recitato all'Insigne e Pontificia Accademia Romana di S. Luca nella premiazione del 1837 dal Cavaliere Antonio Solá scultore, presidente della medesima Accademia, professore della R. di Madrid e dell'I. e R. di Firenze, socio onorario della Pontificia Romana di Archeologia ec. (traduzione della lingua spagnuola)', in *Giornale Arcadico di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, vol. 220, 221, 222, LXXIV (Roma: Stamperia delle Belle Arti, 1838), 255–67.

Solá predominantly dedicated his mature professional life to the role of director of the *pensionados*. He followed them in their progresses and sent back their annual exercises. As a result of Solá's commitment to his role, his activity as a sculptor slowed down. *The Roman Charity* (Fig. Intro.4) belonged to the later period of his life, the Carrara marble having been completed in 1851.⁵⁷ This group, which unusually found a counterpart in the pictorial version *The Roman Charity* by a little-known Catalan painter named Ignacio Palmerola (Fig. Intro.5), still adhered to the classical canon Solá grew up in and professed,⁵⁸ but also shows signs of a change in direction, with a more faithful adherence to nature, as can be seen in Cimon's body, or the elaboration of Pero's clothes. Azcue Brea has suggested that the subject was picked because of the moralising message that the group told (namely it was an exemplum of filial love) but also because it was useful to show how to represent the human body, especially how the body changes according to age.⁵⁹ However, it is not clear whether Solá used the sculpture for educational purposes since when the cast was done (1846), almost all his students had left Rome.⁶⁰ Furthermore, precisely in the early 1840s, the San Fernando Academy began to have second thoughts about the benefits and convenience of maintaining a director in Rome,⁶¹ and in 1843 Solá's salary was suspended. He asked to be allocated a studio within the Spanish Embassy. It is likely he never left, as his *post-mortem* testament – he died in Rome on 10th June 1861 – placed his last residence and studio in the building.

Solá's half-bust portrait, likely conceived to be kept in private hands and now preserved at the Museo Lázaro Galdiano, at once reveals the triple character of Solá: the Spanish official, the Roman bureaucrat, and the sculptor. Solá's jacket is decorated with the cross of Isabella the Catholic, and what might be the symbol of the pontifical order of Saint Pope Sylvester I and

⁵⁷ Azcue Brea, 'Il cavaliere Antonio Solá', 25.

⁵⁸ Azcue Brea has listed references such as the work by the ceramist Basilio Fumo, director of the Sculpture Workshop at the Buen Retiro Porcelain Factory (Madrid) in the eighteenth century: Basilio Fumo, *The Roman Charity*, 1783-1803, soft-paste porcelain, 64x22 cm. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional.

⁵⁹ Azcue Brea, 'Il cavaliere Antonio Solá', 27.

⁶⁰ See Appendix 1

⁶¹ Barrio, 'Un escultor español en Roma: Antonio Solá', 52; Navarrete Martínez, *La academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando y la pintura en la primera mitad del siglo XIX*, 82.

of the order of Saint Gregory the Great (as identified by Carlos Reyero). The fur and red lapels of his cloak mark him as a member of the Academy of Saint Luke.⁶² His bronze model of *Cervantes* is visible in the painting's background. In 1835 his bronze *Cervantes* was installed on Plaza de las Cortes, in Madrid. The commission to honour the illustrious Spanish author came from Manuel Fernández Varela, Comisario General de Cruzada, with the king's approval.⁶³ The statue was not only conceived in Rome but was also moulded by the Berlin bronze sculptors Wilhelm Hopfgarten and Benjamin Ludwig Jollage, who had been active in the city since 1805. Salvatore Betti, Solá's colleague at the Academy of Saint Luke, reviewed the model from which the bronze was cast, praising his friend for its execution.⁶⁴ Betti saw in his friend's sculpture an indirect homage to Rome itself, as the place of conception, but also to Italy, given the love that Cervantes showed to the peninsula in his writing. In 1836 a complete Spanish translation of Betti's review appeared in *El Semanario Pintoresco Español*.⁶⁵

The portrait has been attributed to a long-time friend of Solá, Juan Antonio Ribera y Fernández, whom he met in Rome after Ribera followed former King Charles IV there in 1812.⁶⁶ However, added to the fact that Solá was not in Spain in 1836, three details would further confirm the hypothesis that Solá was portrayed in his Roman studio, and the authorship might thus be rethought. First, the background of the portrait as the Spanish Embassy to the Holy See had a green room; it might therefore be that the sculptor was portrayed there even though he had no studio in the building at that time. Second, if the *Cervantes* in the background was the final bronze version, the proportion between the sculpture and Solá would seem rather unusual. Thus, the sculpture was most likely the small model listed among Solá's belongings when his inventory was drawn up after his death in 1861.⁶⁷ The third element

⁶² Reyero Hermosilla, 'Ideología e imagen', 133.

⁶³ Barrio, 'Un escultor español en Roma: Antonio Solá', 67.

⁶⁴ Salvatore Betti, '[Dagli] scritti vari. Michele Cervantes. Statua di Antonio Solà di Barcellona', in *Già pubblicati. Manuale della letteratura italiana nel secolo decimonono compilato da Giovanni Mestica*, ed. Giovanni Mestica, vol. 2 (Firenze: G. Barbèra editore, 1887), 643–45.

⁶⁵ Barrio, 'Un escultor español en Roma: Antonio Solá', 67.

⁶⁶ Brook, 'Canova e gli scultori spagnoli del primo Ottocento', 294.

⁶⁷ Enrique Pardo Canalís, 'La casa y biblioteca del escultor Antonio Solá', *Revista de ideas estéticas*, no. 100 (1967): 75–98.

in support of such a hypothesis comes from a portrait at the Museo de Cáceres. The *Cervantes* sculpture on the console in a green room is seemingly the one painted in the background of Carlos Mújica's portrait by his friend Bernardino Montañés, which will be discussed in chapter 7.

José de Vilches

In 1855 the office of director of *pensionados* was officially scrapped, and in April 1856 Solá retired.⁶⁸ As a result, in 1858 the *pensionados* had to ship their works back to Spain themselves, in other words attend to all the bureaucracy that, for over twenty years, had been in the old sculptor's hands.⁶⁹ That same year, however, the San Fernando Academy's decision was reversed, and de Vilches was nominated as the second director. He resumed all the bureaucratic duties that Solá had fulfilled, especially those concerning the envíos, or shipments of artworks back to Spain.⁷⁰ His appointment confirmed the necessity for the position to be held by somebody with direct experience of the city, which de Vilches possessed.

In comparison to his predecessor's directorship, that of de Vilches is an understudied topic. According to Marcos de Suso, the sculptor's relationship with Rome started sometime in the 1840s, with his second trip to the city occurring in 1848.⁷¹ He supposedly could afford the journey thanks to the support from two entrepreneurs, the marquis of Salamanca and Manuel Agustín Heredia. In 1856 the sculptor was in Madrid for the inaugural National Exhibition, and again in 1864.⁷² As Carlos Reyero has pointed out, de Vilches was by then a famous name in Spain.⁷³ But he had also made a name for himself in Rome. In 1855, the *Almanacco romano* located the

⁶⁸ Azcue Brea, 'Il cavaliere Antonio Solá', 27.

⁶⁹ Margarita Barrio, *Relaciones culturales entre España e Italia en el siglo XIX: la Academia de Bellas Artes*, Studi e ricerche, XVII (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1966), 105.

⁷⁰ Brook, *Gli artisti spagnoli a Roma*, 171.

⁷¹ Marcos de Suso, 'El Escultor Malagueño Del Siglo XIX, José Vilches: Informe', *Anuario. Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Telmo de Málaga*, no. 16 (2016): 235.

⁷² Reyero Hermosilla, *La Escultura Del Eclecticismo*, 45.

⁷³ Reyero Hermosilla, 43–46.

sculptor in Via degli Incurabili at no. 10.⁷⁴ That same year, in *Cento lavori moderni di pittura e scultura* Scalchi wrote a terzina inspired by de Vilches' bas-relief *Alexandre taming Bucephalus*.⁷⁵ In 1860, in the account book *Magistrato residente e corrispondente dell'Accademia de' Quiriti*, de Vilches and Arbós were recorded as censors of Spanish literature at the Roman Quiriti Academy.⁷⁶

In 1863 – while he worked on the four monumental statues representing the Catholic Monarchs and Isabella II and the consort king Francisco de Asís, a commission he received from the diplomat Cánovas del Castillo for the church of Monserrato in Rome – the director was honoured by an official visit from Pius IX.⁷⁷ On that occasion, he gifted the pope with a bust of Isabella II, to mark the official nature of the visit.⁷⁸ This gift perhaps formed part of the diplomatic gifts exchanged between Isabella II and Pius IX throughout his pontificate. Their correspondence reveals her support of the Holy See and affection for the pope.⁷⁹ In 1855 she gifted him with a painting, which she claimed had hang on the wall of her private rooms. The painting in question was the *Mystical Marriage of St. Catherine*, which was then (wrongly) attributed to Bartolomé Murillo, one of the most internationally coveted Spanish painters from the seventeenth century.⁸⁰ In response to this

⁷⁴ *Almanacco romano, ossia Raccolta dei primari dignitari e funzionari della corte romana, ec. pel 1855-1860*, vol. 1 (Roma: Tipografia Chiassi Piazza di Monte Citorio n. 119, 1855), 202.

⁷⁵ Luigi Scalchi, *Cento lavori moderni di pittura e scultura illustrati in versi da Luigi Scalchi opera dedicata ai cultori di Belle Arti* (Roma: Tipografia di Gaetano Chiassi, 1855), 108–9.

⁷⁶ “Censori di Letteratura Spagnola: Cav. Manuele Arbos, Par. D. Zaccaria Campos Vice-Rettore della R. Ch. di S. Giacomo e S. Maria di Monserrato, Giuseppe Vilches, Filippo Giove.” *Magistrato residente e corrispondente dell'Accademia de' Quiriti nell'anno MDCCCLX dalla istituzione XXX*, 1860, 29.

⁷⁷ Alessandro Atti, *Della munificenza di Sua Santità Papa Pio IX felicemente regnante per il Sacerdote Alessandro Atti professore di belle lettere dottore in ambo le leggi ec. ec. ec.* (Roma: Fratelli Pallotta Tipografi in Piazza Colonna, 1864), 312.

⁷⁸ Manuel Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX* (Madrid: Imprenta a cargo de Ramon Moreno, 1869), 697.

⁷⁹ Julio Gorricho, ‘Epistolario de Pio IX con Isabel II de España’, *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 4 (1966): 282.

⁸⁰ This painting is a “fake” of the early nineteenth century by an unknown painter. Zevi chooses this term over copy, because of the age of the canvas used by the anonymous painter: it was one-hundred years old. Zevi believes that it is a sign of the painter's intention of creating a fake rather than a copy. Whether Isabella II knew that it was not an original Murillo is unclear, because she accompanied the gift saying that the painting was an original. For a reconstruction of this episode, see Adachiara Zevi, ‘Il caso di “un Murillo”’, *Itálica: Cuadernos de trabajo de la Escuela Española de Historia y Arqueología en Roma*, no. 16

significant gift, in 1856 Pius IX commissioned a mosaic copy of the painting to be sent to Isabella II. In 1862 this mosaic left Rome.⁸¹

Until the 1864 National Exhibition in Madrid, de Vilches was highly prolific but none of his production remained in Rome (the bust of Julián Aquilino Pérez, several sculptures of *Homer*, *Andromache*, *Brutus*, *Cato*, *Phryne*, *Love and Modesty*, and *Cardinal Cisneros*, the only sculpture purchased by the state), not even the four monumental sculptures for Monserrato, which ended up in Madrid.⁸² After his return from the Spanish capital, the sculptor likely stayed in Rome until 1876, but apparently chose a different career path for his final Roman years, that of diplomacy. Unfortunately, the documentation to illuminate this change of career has not yet been located.⁸³

The studentship

During the 1830s the Catalan Board of Trade still funded the Catalan scholarship. Regarding the Roman traineeship at the San Fernando Academy instead, financial responsibilities for payments shifted from the Spanish Ministry of the Interior to the Spanish hospitals of Monserrato and San Giacomo degli Spagnoli, through the San Fernando Academy (in the person of the director of *pensionados* in Rome). This situation in Madrid led to substantial confusion over the students' conditions, the precarious state of Spanish institutions' finances in Rome, and overall management.⁸⁴

The first round of Madrilenian studentships lasted five years (1832-1837), but after that first experiment, the duration was reduced to three years starting from the second call which enabled winning students to arrive in Rome in

(1982): 229–36. On the difference between a copy after a master and a fake, and thus why the painting can be considered a fake and not a copy, also see Carla Mazzarelli, *Dipingere in copia. Da Roma all'Europa 1750 - 1870. Teorie e pratiche*, vol. 1 (Roma: Campisano editore, 2018).

⁸¹ Raffaele Cocchi, Giovanni Ubizi, *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine*, 1856, mosaic, 76 x 95 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado

⁸² Reyer Hermosilla, *La escultura del eclecticismo*, 43.

⁸³ Reyer Hermosilla, 46.

⁸⁴ Barrio, *Relaciones culturales*, 65–69; Angela Windholz, *Et in academia ego: ausländische Akademien in Rom zwischen künstlerischer Standortbestimmung und nationaler Repräsentation (1750-1914)* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2008), 162.

1848. The three-year term became standard in the second half of the nineteenth century, adopted by various funding bodies and academies. Nevertheless, it cannot be considered a crystallised practice because exceptions were made (the most famous certainly being the scholarship given to Mariano Fortuny y Marsal by the Barcelona Provincial Council).

Thanks to the studies of Barrio and Brook for the years between 1830s and 1850s, we have a clearer idea of the recipients who had to send back as proofs of their progresses to either Madrid or Barcelona and of their transition from the neo-classical lessons of their fathers and professors, through a Roman inflection of romanticism - infused with the experience of both Italian and German artists in Rome between the 1830s and 1850s – to naturalism starting from the 1860s.⁸⁵

In the 1830s students of the San Fernando Academy were asked to send back works that proved their study of the antique, copies after early modern painters (such as Raphael, Domenichino, and Reni), examples of their life drawing (to show their ability to draw and paint nude figures), and finally an original piece as their culminating achievement of their stay. For Catalan students instead, there seemingly was more latitude in practice, especially as far as the practice of copy went. The first awardees sent back copies after Raphael or portions of it,⁸⁶ but their fellows also copied after fourteenth-century Italian artists, both canvases and frescos.⁸⁷

Other flaws in the programme, as well as further disruptions and modifications at the national and provincial level, reshaped the bursary until another reorganisation occurred in 1873.⁸⁸ Even the exact details of what was requested from the late 1840s onwards at both the Madrilenian and other provincial academies, has yet to be established. However, based on some of their envoys we know that Spanish painters from the San Fernando Academy, regardless of whether they were founded students or independent travellers,

⁸⁵ Brook, 'Gli allievi catalani di Tommaso Minardi'; Brook, 'La fortuna dei Primitivi italiani nella cultura catalana dell'Ottocento: il caso di Pablo Milá y Fontanals'.

⁸⁶ Barrio, *Relaciones culturales*, 44, 53, 57.

⁸⁷ Brook, 'La fortuna dei Primitivi italiani nella cultura catalana dell'Ottocento: il caso di Pablo Milá y Fontanals'.

⁸⁸ In addition to the other essays by Casado Alcalde cited above, see Esteban Casado Alcalde, 'La academia española en Roma y los pintores de la primera promoción' (Doctoral thesis, Madrid, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1987).

it moved in the same direction as the prior decade. For example, Rosales sent back a copy after *Il Sodoma*, which he studied in Siena⁸⁹; Álvarez Catalá instead copied a canvas by Domenichino in the Vatican.⁹⁰

In 1873, the short-lived first Spanish Republic became the first nation to open a national academy in what was now the capital of a united Italy.⁹¹ It was finally decided to inaugurate a Roman venue of the Spanish academy and to give it a name, that of *Academia Española*,⁹² which offered its artists a new traineeship of three years, where in principle only the first year had to be spent in Rome, as opposed to the previous decades.

The house of *pensionados*

The path towards the opening of an academic venue for Spanish artists was anything but simple. The physical spaces of the Spanish Embassy to the Holy See, the first embassy in Europe established by the Catholic monarchs at Palazzo Monaldeschi on Piazza di Spagna, and of the national churches of Santa Maria del Monserrato and San Giacomo degli Spagnoli, came to be hugely important, not just symbolically but also practically.

The 1830 decree specified that students would live together in a house identified and rented by the Spanish ambassador, with the programme director's assistance.⁹³ The establishment of the Spanish academy in Rome had to be a joint effort between the Spanish ambassador, the agente de Preces, the director of *pensionados*, and the Lugares Píos of the churches of Santa Maria in Monserrato and San Giacomo degli Spagnoli.⁹⁴ The house had to be

⁸⁹ Eduardo Rosales Gallinas, *Saint Catherine of Siena Receiving the Stigmata (copy after Il Sodoma)*, 1862, oil on canvas, 214x134 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado

⁹⁰ Luis Álvarez Catalá, *Communion of St Jerome (copy after Domenichino)*, 1869, oil on canvas, 208x135 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado

⁹¹ *Exposición antológica de la Academia Española de Bellas Artes de Roma (1873-1979): Palacio de Velázquez, Parque del Retiro, Madrid.* (Madrid: Patronato Nacional de Museos, 1979).

⁹² Until the 1870s primary sources speak of *pensión para Roma*, as mentioned in the first page of this introduction.

⁹³ Brook, *Gli artisti spagnoli a Roma*, 163.

⁹⁴ Bédât, *La Real Academia de San Fernando*, 255–66; Brook, *Gli artisti spagnoli a Roma*, 13–104.

named *Real Academia de pensionados españoles*, and suitable to the *pensionados*' use and needs.

Pedro Benito Gómez Labrador, marquis of Labrador and San Salvador, Spanish ambassador to the Holy See, only minimally supported this project, being unsuccessful at obtaining papal permission to establish the academy.⁹⁵ Ramírez de la Piscina, Chargé d'Affaires – who replaced Labrador during an absence – kept Madrid informed about the funding status of the hospitals of Monserrato and San Giacomo degli Spagnoli and tried to obtain papal permission. Equally unsuccessful, he only obtained permission by the papal government for Spanish pensionaries to gather in an inn under the responsibility of their director.⁹⁶ The chargé personally alleviated the problem of a lack of venue by accommodating Spanish students in various Roman inns and paying their pensions at his own expense.⁹⁷ This situation lasted until 1836, when Pedro José Avellá, Spanish Auditor of the Rota, the third personality involved in this project, affirmed that there was no money left.⁹⁸

José Narciso Aparicio, who replaced Avellá, inherited his predecessors' problems with funding the students and finding them a place to live.⁹⁹ At that point, three different projects for a venue were envisioned – one of them contemplating the idea of demolishing San Giacomo and creating houses in its place – but none of them were realised. In December 1837, the secretary of San Giacomo and Monserrato, Esteban Azpeitia, informed the academy that there was no money to establish a “casa de *pensionados*”.¹⁰⁰

As a result of multifactorial circumstances, and despite further attempts to mitigate the situation, the Spaniards remained a colony without an academy throughout the nineteenth century, renting studios scattered across the city.¹⁰¹

⁹⁵ Barrio, *Relaciones culturales*, 67.

⁹⁶ Barrio, 67.

⁹⁷ Barrio, 68.

⁹⁸ Barrio, 67.

⁹⁹ Barrio, 70–71.

¹⁰⁰ Navarrete Martínez, *La academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando y la pintura en la primera mitad del siglo XIX*, 291.

¹⁰¹ On the Spanish district in Rome in the eighteenth century, see Jorge García Sánchez and Cándido De La Cruz Alcañiz, ‘Piazza Barberini: A Spanish Artists’ District in Eighteenth-Century Rome’, *The Burlington Magazine* 152, no. 1291 (2010): 665–70. See Appendix 2 for a list of addresses associated to Spanish artists in Rome during the Nineteenth century.

In 1881 the convent complex of San Pietro in Montorio on the Janiculum hill was converted into the academic venue of the Academia Española.¹⁰²

The historiographical “misfortune of the academy”

While academic art enjoyed world-wide visibility at international exhibitions organised in the West in the second half of the nineteenth century, the hegemony of the fine art academy as an institution began to falter. It was challenged and accused of backwardness and immobilism. By consequence the Prix de Rome, the scholarship awarded to French students by the French Academy of Fine Arts, was relegated to a marginal position in the nineteenth-century.

European fine art academies as privileged sites for cultural-artistic promotion and protection generally suffered from a historiographical neglect between the mid-nineteenth century and the 1970s.¹⁰³ Nikolaus Pevsner’s *Academies of Art, Past and Present* (1940) was a first step towards a serious analysis of the art academy as a phenomenon. He studied the birth and evolution of academic institutions from a transnational perspective through the lens of artists and their relationship with society. For thirty years the book did not enjoy much critical acclaim, despite its place as the first critical study on the foundation, changes, and crisis of academic institutions in Europe between the sixteenth and the twentieth centuries, ending with Bauhaus of Gropius.¹⁰⁴

Academic institutions as part of the socio-cultural system began to be taken more seriously forty years after Pevsner’s essay. Picking up from the essay by Thomas Hess “Some Academic Questions” (1967), which investigated the terms “Academy, Academic and Academism (or

¹⁰² In 1472 the complex had been given to the Franciscan Amadeo Menes de Silva by pope Sixtus IV della Rovere for renovation paid by the Catholic Monarchs, who wanted to sire a male heir, as their ex voto.

¹⁰³ In 1972 Sandra Pinto coined the expression “misfortune of the academia” to define the marginalization and even ignorance that academic art suffered in the nineteenth and throughout the twentieth centuries. Sandra Pinto and Giuseppe Marchini, eds., *Cultura neoclassica e romantica nella Toscana granducale. Collezioni lorenesi, acquisizioni posteriori, depositi* (Centro Di., 1972).

¹⁰⁴ Nikolaus Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present* (New York City: Da Capo Press, 1973).

Academicism)”,¹⁰⁵ in 1975 Carl Goldstein wrote that “one of the most striking developments in the history of art during the last few years has been a preoccupation with academic art.¹⁰⁶ This art has had to be content, within modern art history, with the role assigned to it by the *avant-garde*; it remained in the background as the art against which the most creative artists reacted while our attention concentrated on the results of the reaction. Now, the roles are in some sense reversed.”¹⁰⁷

Goldstein has argued that in order to understand what defines academic art, there was the need to understand “the role that the academy as a teaching institution played in the production of academic works.”¹⁰⁸ Hence, a necessary starting point was to understand how academic teaching was structured, and, in order to do this, Goldstein summarised the guiding principles of any academic training ever since the first institutions were founded. Firstly, students needed to dedicate themselves to the study and drawing of ancient sculptures or their casts. Then they could begin studying the human body in life classes. After mastering the representation of human anatomy, they were expected to choose a subject from the Sacred Scriptures, history and literature for their history canvas and the composition needed to be legible and characterised by unity of time and characters’ psychological depth.

This new scholarly interest in academic art connected Europe to the Americas, a polyphony that led to the publication of several contributions concerning the various national academies which approached what had been an understudied aspect in publications on the social history of art until that point.¹⁰⁹ Among them, crucial contributions came from Albert Boime who reconsidered French art in the nineteenth century in the light of the French Academy of Fine Arts.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ Thomas B. Hess, ‘Some Academic Questions’, in *Art News Annual XXXIII: The Academy Five Centuries of Grandeur and Misery, from Caracci to Mao Tse-Tung*, ed. Thomas B. Hess and John Ashbery (New York: The Macmillian Company, 1967), 8–10.

¹⁰⁶ Carl Goldstein, ‘Definition of Academic Art’, *The Art Bulletin* 57, no. 1 (1975): 102–9.

¹⁰⁷ Goldstein, 102.

¹⁰⁸ Goldstein, 102.

¹⁰⁹ Enrico Castelnuovo, ‘Per una storia sociale dell’arte I’, *Paragone*, no. 313 (1976): 69–72.

¹¹⁰ Albert Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Phaidon, 1971).

In Italy and Spain, a serendipitous coincidence of efforts in both countries during the 1970s, brought the nineteenth century back onto the exhibition scene, generating new academic interest in the matter. This new form of engagement allowed artworks to be recovered from the storerooms and given some of the public interest they had enjoyed in their heyday. The Italian art historian Sandra Pinto, thanks to her several museum positions within the Italian public administration (in Florence, Turin, and Rome), became one of the most influential voices in the reappraisal of nineteenth-century art in Italy: in 1972 she curated *Cultura neoclassica e romantica nella Toscana granducale*,¹¹¹ and in 1973 *Romanticismo storico*.¹¹² With *Cultura neoclassica*, Pinto anticipated the exhibition *Musée du Luxembourg en 1874. Peintures* curated by Geneviève Lacambre and Jacqueline de Rohan-Chabot in 1974 which recovered artworks purchased by the French state during the nineteenth century, and at the time scattered across all France.

Ten years after these research exhibitions were inaugurated, in 1982 – the same year when *Academies of Art, Past and Present* by Pevsner was translated into Italian and Spanish - Pinto published her studies into the relationship between art and power and forms of statal promotion of the arts between the second half of the eighteenth century and the Restoration.¹¹³ Giovanna Capitelli has identified the objects of Pinto's analysis to be: the artists, their production, the techniques they used, their networks of sociability, the patronage, the market, the history of institutions (above all the Academies of Fine Arts), the consumption, history of criticism and restoration.¹¹⁴

In parallel to the work on the fine art academies, scholarship has also recovered nineteenth-century Rome from the European artistic hinterland, thanks to the Italian art historian Stefano Susinno with his essay *La pittura a Roma nella prima metà dell'Ottocento*. The work appeared in the collection

¹¹¹ Sandra Pinto and Giuseppe Marchini, eds., *Cultura neoclassica e romantica nella Toscana granducale. Collezioni lorenesi, acquisizioni posteriori, depositi* (Centro Di., 1972).

¹¹² Paola Barocchi, Fiamma Nicolodi, and Sandra Pinto, eds., *Romanticismo storico*, Catalogo della mostra, Firenze, La Meridiana di Palazzo Pitti, 12/1973-02/1974 (Firenze: Centro Di, 1973).

¹¹³ Sandra Pinto, *La promozione delle arti negli Stati italiani dall'età delle riforme all'Unità*, ed. Giovanna Capitelli (Torino: Piccola biblioteca Einaudi, 2022), XV.

¹¹⁴ Pinto, VII.

edited by Enrico Castelnuovo *La pittura in Italia* alongside other scholars working on the Italian academies between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.¹¹⁵ Susinno's long-lasting model looked beyond the varieties of national schools, to propose papal Rome as a cosmopolitan and supranational destination for artists in the nineteenth century.¹¹⁶ Rome was still the centre for state-commissioned paintings, monumental sculptures, and fresco decorations. There, young artists learnt how to become artists desired by governments, but also artists who could survive on the market, thanks to more commercial genres such as landscape and genre painting.¹¹⁷

In 2003, the landmark exhibition *Maestà di Roma. Universale ed Eterna capitale delle arti* was inaugurated, as a collaborative exhibition between the French Academy of Villa Medici, the Galleria Nazionale d'arte moderna, and the Scuderie del Quirinale. It celebrated Papal Rome (1800-1870) as “the universal, cosmopolitan, cultural capital”¹¹⁸, and generated new research by several prominent Italian scholars such as Capitelli and art market professionals such as Stefano Grandesso, whose work restored the complementarity of exhibition practice and scholarship that was already

¹¹⁵ Stefano Susinno, ‘La pittura a Roma nella prima metà dell’Ottocento’, in *Pittura in Italia*, ed. Enrico Castelnuovo, vol. 1, 1991, 399–430.

¹¹⁶ On Susinno's historiographic model, see Liliana Barroero and Fernando Mazzocca, ‘Arte a Roma in epoca moderna. Il modello storiografico di Stefano Susinno’, in *Maestà di Roma. Da Napoleone all’Unità d’Italia*, ed. Sandra Pinto, Liliana Barroero, and Fernando Mazzocca (Roma: Electa, 2003), 17–37.

¹¹⁷ Stefano Susinno, *La veduta nella pittura italiana* (Firenze: Sansoni, 1974); Gianna Piantoni and Stefano Susinno, eds., *I Nazareni a Roma. Galleria Nazionale d’Arte Moderna, Roma, 22 gennaio - 22 marzo 1981*, trans. Luisa Franchi dell’Orto (Roma: De Luca Editori d’arte, 1981); Stefano Susinno, ‘Napoli e Roma: la formazione artistica nella “capitale universale delle arti”’, in *Cultura e società*, ed. Nicola Spinosa, vol. 3, 1987, 83–92; Susinno, ‘La pittura a Roma nella prima metà dell’Ottocento’; Stefano Susinno, ‘La scuola, il mercato, il cantiere: occasioni di far pittura nella Roma del primo Ottocento’, in *Primo Ottocento Italiano: la pittura tra passato e futuro*, ed. Renato Barilli (Milano: Palazzo reale di Milano, 1992), 93–106; Stefano Susinno, ‘Artisti a Roma in età di Restaurazione. Dimore, studi e altro’, in *Ateliers e case d’artisti nell’Ottocento. Atti del seminario (Volpedo, 3-4 giugno 1994)*, ed. Aurora Scotti Tosini and Lia Giachero (Voghera: Edo Edizioni Oltrepò, 1994), 59–70; Barroero and Mazzocca, ‘Il modello storiografico di Susinno’; Stefano Susinno, ‘Il sistema degli ateliers a Roma’, in *Primato della scultura: fortuna dell’antico, fortuna di Canova* (Bassano del Grappa: Istituto di Ricerca per gli studi su Canova e il Neoclassicismo, 2004), 219–32.

¹¹⁸ See the already cited catalogues of Pinto, Barroero, and Mazzocca, *Maestà di Roma. Da Napoleone all’Unità d’Italia*; Olivier Bonfait, ed., *Maestà di Roma. Da Napoleone all’Unità d’Italia. Da Ingres a Degas: artisti francesi a Roma* (Milano: Electa, 2003).

embodied by Susinno's work.¹¹⁹ Such works have rehabilitated the importance of Papal Rome as a centre of training for new generations of artists and architects coming from all over Europe and across the Atlantic, especially in Napoleonic Rome and in the city during the first Restoration. It has been revealed as a centre for the production of civil, monumental and public art, which was sent not only to Europe but also to the Americas, as a centre for the production of sacred art destined not only for international Catholic circles but also for Protestant ones.

As for Spain, the history of nineteenth-century art was intertwined with the international education of many of its main actors, who found in Rome and Paris the two preferred destinations. Spanish artists' presence in Rome began being unveiled with the first forays into the Roman experiences of artists in the Spanish provinces. Cataluña was the first to be investigated through monographic and collective studies about painters and sculptors.¹²⁰ From Mexico, Moreno authored the first studies into the Catalan painter and sculptor Pelegrín Clavé and Manuel Vilar, who exported the Roman academic model to the Mexican academy.¹²¹ Research into the Spanish provinces received new impetus from the 1990s on, with publications on artists from

¹¹⁹ Stefano Grandesso, *Pietro Tenerani (1789-1869)* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana editore, 2003); Stefano Grandesso, 'Il classicismo more romano alla scultura romantica come natura, sentimento religioso e impegno civile', in *L'Ottocento in Italia. Le arti sorelle. Il Romanticismo*, ed. Carlo Sisi, vol. 1, 3 vols (Firenze: Electa, 2006), 165–95; Giovanna Capitelli, 'La pittura religiosa', in *L'Ottocento in Italia. Le arti sorelle. Il Romanticismo*, ed. Carlo Sisi (Firenze: Electa, 2006), 43–54; Giovanna Capitelli and Carla Mazzarelli, eds., *La pittura di storia in Italia: 1785 - 1870. Ricerche, quesiti, proposte* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana editore, 2008); Francesco Longo, Claudia Zaccagnini, and Fabrizio Fabbrini, eds., *Gregorio XVI promotore delle arti e della cultura* (Ospedaletto: Pacinni, 2008); Giovanna Capitelli, Stefano Grandesso, and Carla Mazzarelli, eds., *Roma fuori di Roma. L'esportazione dell'arte moderna da Pio VII all'Unità (1775 - 1870)* (Roma: Campisano editore, 2012); Giovanna Capitelli, 'L'archeologia cristiana al servizio di Pio IX: la catacomba in fac-simile di Giovanni Battista De Rossi all'Esposizione Universale di Parigi del 1867', in *Martiri, santi, patroni: per una archeologia della devozione. Atti X Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Cristiana (Università della Calabria, 2010)*, ed. Adele Cascarelle and Paola De Santis (Università della Calabria, 2012), 555–66; Stefano Grandesso, *Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770-1884)* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2016).

¹²⁰ In addition to Cirici i Pellicer, on the Catalan artists see Manuel Benach i Torrents, *Pablo Mila y Fontanals, gran figura del romanticismo artístico catalán* (Vilafraca del Panadés: Colección Cosas que fueron, 1958); Barrio, *Relaciones culturales*; Margarita Barrio, 'Un escultor español en Roma: Antonio Solá', *Archivo español de arte* 39, no. 153 (1996): 51–84.

¹²¹ Salvador Moreno, *El pintor Pelegrín Clavé* (México: Instituto de investigaciones estéticas, 1966); Salvador Moreno, *El Escultor Manuel Vilar* (México: Instituto de investigaciones estéticas, 1969).

the Basque country, Aragón (Zaragoza), Valencia (Alicante), and Andalusia who reached Rome during the second half of the nineteenth century, mostly thanks to scholarships funded by the Spanish local councils.¹²²

The first exhibition ever dedicated to Rome as Spaniards' nineteenth-century academic destination was *Exposición antológica de la Academia Española de Bellas Artes de Roma (1873-1979)*, held at the Palacio de Velázquez in Madrid in 1978.¹²³ Following this event, various publications have explained the structure of the Spanish academies, as well as their curricula. Calvo Serraller and Bédat studied the operation of the San Fernando Academy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1982, Calvo Serraller produced an epilogue to the Spanish translation of Pevsner's *Academies of Art* which centred on the institutional place and function of the Spanish academy.¹²⁴ Bédat published a fundamental study on the Madrilenian academy, revealing its authority as a model for art practices in Spain between 1744 and 1808, as well as its role as the promoter of two training programmes abroad: one located in Rome, for painters, sculptors, and architects, and the other more commercially driven, located in Paris, for engravers. In 1999, Navarrete Martínez integrated these previous studies into a rich and insightful work on the San Fernando Academy's school of painting during the first half of the nineteenth century. The year 1999 witnessed the publication of *La Escuela Gratuita de Diseño de Barcelona, 1775-1808* which investigated the

¹²² Manuel Santiago García Guatas and Jesús Pedro Lorente Lorente, 'Pintores pensionados por el Ayuntamiento de Zaragoza', *Artigrama: revista del departamento de historia del arte de la Universidad de Zaragoza*, no. 4 (1987): 235–58; Eugenio de Ruiz and Moreno Iñaki, eds., *Artistas vascos en Roma (1865 - 1915)* (Donostia - San Sebastián: Fundación Kutxa, Caja Gipuzkoa San Sebastián, 1995); Adrián Espí Valdés, 'Notas y documentos sobre pensionados alicantinos de bellas artes en Roma durante el siglo XIX', ed. Enrique Giménez López, Miguel Angel Lozano Marco, and Juan Antonio Ríos Carratalá (*Españoles en Italia e italianos en España: IV encuentro de investigadores de las universidades de Alicante y Macerata, Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 1996*), 77–87; Mikel Lertxundi Galiana, 'Purismo y nazarenismo en los pintores vascos', *Ondare: cuadernos de 13 artes plásticas y monumentales*, no. 21 (2002): 389–97; José Álvarez, *Pintores pensionados de las diputaciones andaluzas [Palacio Provincial de la Diputación de Almería, del 14 de enero al 19 de febrero de 2011]* (Almería: El Ejido, 2011).

¹²³ *Exposición antológica de la Academia Española de Bellas Artes de Roma (1873-1979): Palacio de Velázquez, Parque del Retiro, Madrid.*

¹²⁴ Calvo Serraller, 'Las academias artísticas en España'.

birth, organisation, and functioning of the Escuela de Bellas Artes in Barcelona and the scholarship system funded by the Junta.¹²⁵

During the period in consideration, Spaniards were mostly students from the San Fernando Academy, but they could receive their funding from their council of their city town of origin.¹²⁶ Casado Alcalde wrote a contribution on the multiplicity of funding sources available to Spaniards to leave for Rome, published in the 1992 edition *Pintura española del siglo XIX del Neoclasicismo al Modernismo*. The essay presents Rome as an investment, bringing under the spotlight the numerous Spanish artists who sojourned in Rome, bringing to the fore many names who could boast an exclusive education in Rome. Another key essay in the same book was by Reyero, who identified many painters who were trained either exclusively in Paris (i.e., Carlos Luis Ribera) or in Paris and Rome (i.e., Federico de Madrazo), as part of his broader claims about the different attractions of the two cities.¹²⁷ Both Casado Alcalde and Reyero presented the education abroad also as a private investment.

Even though Amaya Alzaga Ruiz and Juan Antonio Yeves have shown the overall absence of editions of artistic correspondence in the Iberian context,¹²⁸ it is through several publications of artists' correspondence that we gain a better idea of the place that Rome held in their life and art. Private testimonies enable us to study a genesis of works, offer snippets into the artists' lives in Rome, and ultimately explain the value of Rome for a young artist in the nineteenth century. The 1994 publication of a critical edition of Federico de Madrazo's letters and a growing scholarship on Rome in the nineteenth century have helped scholars to re-orient their approach so as to better incorporate Rome into nineteenth-century narratives.¹²⁹ In 1993, Reyero

¹²⁵ Manuel Ruiz Ortega, *La Escuela Gratuita de Diseño de Barcelona, 1775-1808* (Barcelona: Biblioteca de Cataluña, 1999).

¹²⁶ Calvo Serraller, 'Las academias artísticas en España', 219.

¹²⁷ *Pintura española del siglo XIX. Del Neoclasicismo al Modernismo* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1992).

¹²⁸ Carolina Brook, 'Roma 1839 - 1842 nelle lettere tra Federico e José de Madrazo', in *Lettere d'artista. Per una storia transnazionale dell'arte (XVIII - XIX secolo)*, ed. Giovanna Capitelli et al. (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana editoriale, 2022), 96–109.

¹²⁹ José Luis Díez, ed., *La pintura de historia del siglo XIX en España* (Madrid: Consorcio para la Organización de Madrid Capital Europea de la Cultura, 1992); José Luis Díez, ed., *Epistolario: Federico de Madrazo*, Madrid, 2 vols (Museo del Prado, 1994); José Luis Díez, ed., *Federico de Madrazo y Kuntz, 1815 - 1894* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 1994).

proposed that Spaniards overcame the crisis in their nineteenth-century painting through their engagement with France.¹³⁰

The publication of Federico de Madrazo's correspondence was followed by a 1997 exhibition on Montañés' Roman experience.¹³¹ A few years later, this knowledge was deepened by the publication of José de Madrazo's letters.¹³² In 2011, testimonies of Eduardo Rosales' first trip to Rome were published.¹³³ These publications shed light on artists' networks and life. In 2015 the Prado Museum included Rome among the cosmopolitan spaces where Federico de Madrazo built his network of friends and colleagues for the exhibition *Effigies amicorum. Portraits of artists by Federico de Madrazo*.¹³⁴ This dissertation makes use of such an approach to reflect upon the presence of a Roman colony of Spanish artists, most of whom arrived thanks to an academic programme that had no institutional representation in Rome other than the figure of the director de *pensionados*.

The *pensionado* on display

In 2007, the Prado Museum opened a new wing displaying its nineteenth-century holdings, which spurred new questions into the museum's nineteenth-century pieces.¹³⁵ In 2009 the Museum of Romanticism in Madrid reopened (re-named from the Museo Romántico); the recovered visibility of this collection spurred new investigations into the history of the families, as well as the collectors, both male and female, who shaped both the institution and

¹³⁰ Carlos Reyero Hermosilla, *París y la crisis de la pintura española, 1799-1889 del Museo del Louvre a la torre Eiffel* (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1993).

¹³¹ José Antonio Hernández Latas, *Recuerdos de Roma (1848-1867): fotografías de la colección Bernardino Montañés* (Madrid: Instituto Italiano de cultura, 1998).

¹³² José de Madrazo, *José de Madrazo. Epistolario*, ed. José Luis Díez, 2 vols (Santander: Fundación Marcelino Botín, 1998).

¹³³ Luis Rubio Gil, *Eduardo Rosales: primeros años, viaje iniciático, en Roma (1836-1863)* (Madrid: L. Rubio D. L., 2011).

¹³⁴ *Effigies Amicorum. Retratos de artistas por Federico de Madrazo (1815 – 1894)* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2015).

¹³⁵ Díez and Barón, *The nineteenth century in the Prado*; Giovanna Capitelli, 'L'Ottocento nei musei di Amsterdam, Londra, Roma. Riflessioni a margine dei recenti ordinamenti', *Il capitale culturale* 8 (2013): 175–86.

Spanish culture in the nineteenth century.¹³⁶ Another initiative to promote nineteenth-century art worthy of mention is the inauguration of the Museo Carmen Thyssen Málaga in 2011, which devotes considerable space to nineteenth-century Spanish painting.

Not only is the Prado nineteenth-century wing assigned to the permanent display of nineteenth-century works, but some of the rooms are dedicated to temporary exhibitions on an aspect of this collection.¹³⁷ This offers the occasion to investigate the history of pieces celebrated during their time as the finest examples by prominent artists, as well as into the artists' biographies, patrons and collectors, the history of the institutions; concurrently, it has also allowed curators to identify gaps and to invite reconsideration.

The Prado Museum owns most of the artworks discussed in this dissertation. It should however not be understood as a discussion of all the works created in Rome by Spanish artists but rather as an attempt to identify trends and find continuity and disruptions in practice. The paintings under discussion have been selected from the Prado Museum's collection because most of them were purchased by the Spanish government at the National Exhibitions organised every two years in Madrid ever since 1856.¹³⁸ Alternatively, they were later purchases directly from their creator or their relatives.

Even though it has not found a permanent place in current displays at Spanish museums, the Roman traineeship has received some attention in temporary displays, which have moved past the image of Rome as the cradle

¹³⁶ For example, see María Dolores Antigüedad del Castillo Olivares and Amaya Alzaga Ruiz, eds., *Colecciones, expolio, museos y mercado artístico en España en los siglos XVIII y XIX* (Madrid: Editorial Universitaria Ramón Areces, 2011); Tomás Pérez Viejo, 'Géneros, mercado, artistas y críticos en la pintura española del siglo XIX', *Espacio, tiempo y forma*, 2012, 25–48; Pedro J. Martínez Plaza, ed., *El coleccionismo de pintura en Madrid durante el siglo XIX: la escuela española en las colecciones privadas y el mercado* (Madrid: CEEH, 2018).

¹³⁷ On the formation of the Prado's holdings, see Portús Pérez, *Museo del Prado. 1819-2019. Un lugar de memoria*.

¹³⁸ Mercedes Orihuela, 'El Prado disperso. Epílogo', *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 36 (2018): 80.

of the Spanish school of Rome proposed in the late 1980s and 1990s.¹³⁹ For example, the concept of Rome as a *magistra artium* was first explored in relation to individual experiences, in 2009 when Barcelona hosted a monographic exhibition on Solà.¹⁴⁰ In a 2017 Prado exhibition, Rome, along with other sites in Italy, was considered in relation to Fortuny y Marsal's inventiveness and subsequent reputation, an angle that was less explored in 2003 on the occasion of the Catalan artist's monographic exhibition at the MNAC.¹⁴¹ In 2019, the Museo del Romanticismo was the venue for the already cited exhibition on the painter Rafael Tegeo. At the time of writing (autumn 2022), the Prado Museum is hosting a temporary display on the painter Francisco Pradilla, who moved to Rome in 1874, and whose career captured the acme and then the decline of historical painting in Spain.¹⁴²

This Prado Museum's nineteenth-century wing also offers the occasion to reflect on the role of Rome as a *magistra artium* where artists coincided and worked on a production which placed foreign colonies in relation to one another was the focus of a 2012 exhibition at the Prado Museum. The display presented Rome as an innovative centre for religious academic canvases: *Historias Sagradas. Pinturas religiosas de artistas españoles en Roma (1852-1864)* The research benefitted from research on the Papal city conducted in Italy and was particularly inspired by research into scenes from the catacombs by Spanish artists in the reign of Pius IX, which put them in line with what other colonies did at the time.¹⁴³ This exhibition can be seen in relation to that on Antonio María Esquivel, exponent of the *murillistas*, organised at the

¹³⁹ Carlos González López, ed., *Pintores españoles en Roma (1850 - 1900)* (Barcelona: Tusquets, 1987); Carlos González and Martí Monserrat, *Fortuny y los pintores españoles en Roma, 1850 - 1900* (Salamanca: Caja Duero, 1996); Francesca Cagianelli and Dario Matteoni, eds., *L'Ottocento elegante: arte in Italia nel segno di Fortuny, 1860-1890* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana editore, 2011).

¹⁴⁰ Pilar Vélez Vicente, ed., *La belleza ideal: Antoni Solà (1780-1861), escultor a Roma*, Quaderns del Museu Frederic Marès., Exposicions 15 (Barcelona: Ajuntament D. L., 2009).

¹⁴¹ Mercè Doñate, Cristina Mendoza, and Francesc M Quilez i Corella, eds., *Fortuny, 1838-1874. Museu Nacional d'art de Catalunya, Barcelona, del 17 de octubre de 2003 al 18 de enero de 2004*, exh. cat. (Barcelona: MNAC, 2003); Javier Barón, ed., *Fortuny (1838-1874)* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2017).

¹⁴² *Francisco Pradilla (1848-1921), esplendor y ocaso de la pintura de historia en España*, exhibition, 21.03.2022 – 23.10.2022, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

¹⁴³ *Presentación temporal: Historias Sagradas. Pinturas religiosas de artistas españoles en Roma (1852-1864)*, Youtube video (Madrid, 2012).

Prado Museum in 2018, *Antonio María Esquivel (1806-1857), his religious paintings*, displaying canvases that had undergone restoration.¹⁴⁴

Moreover, inaugurated in 1980, the programme “El Prado disperso” (1980-2018) brought some artworks out of the museum’s deposit and hung them on Spanish institutions’ walls.¹⁴⁵ Among these artworks are also those created in Rome. For example, in 2012 the Gravina Museum of Fine Arts (MUBAG) in Alicante received several canvases by Alicante-born painters to whom the Alicante Province had awarded a scholarship for studying in Madrid, France or Italy.

However, we must cross the Atlantic to find an exhibition that looks at Rome as the cosmopolitan ground in which a colony of Mexican artists developed, notably with *Roma en México, México en Roma: las academias de arte entre Europa y el Nuevo Mundo, 1843-1867*.¹⁴⁶ This exhibition catalogue has proved a valuable methodological resource for this dissertation, providing generous insight into the interactions between the Mexican colony of artists and the Roman environment.

Training in the Rome of Gregory XVI Cappellari (1831-1846) and Pius IX Mastai (1846-1878)

The papacy of Gregory XVI and that of Pius IX (1846-1873) coincided with the Isabelline age and the *Sexenio Democrático* in Spain (1868-1874).¹⁴⁷ We are fully immersed in the Age of Nations when Spaniards saw the sunset of papal Rome and the sunrise of Rome as the Italian Kingdom’s capital.

Within this political context, this dissertation studies the Spanish colony active in the city between 1830 and 1873. It intends to do so by investigating (1) Rome as the *magistra artium* for nineteenth-century Spanish artists where

¹⁴⁴ *Antonio María Esquivel (1806-1857), his religious paintings*, exhibition, 09/07/2018-21/04/2019, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

¹⁴⁵ For a history of the programme, see Orihuela, ‘El Prado disperso. Epilogo’.

¹⁴⁶ Giovanna Capitelli and Stefano Cracolici, eds., *Roma en México, México en Roma: las academias de arte entre Europa y el Nuevo Mundo, 1843 - 1867* (Roma: Campisano editore, 2018).

¹⁴⁷ This period began with the Glorious Revolution that brought Isabella II’s reign to an end and culminated with the restoration of the Bourbon family on the Spanish throne. Ángel Bahamonde, *Historia de España. España en democracia: el Sexenio 1868-1874* (Madrid: Historia 16, 1996).

they found a hub for iconographic innovation and theoretical update useful to Spain's official storytelling, and (2) Rome as a cosmopolitan social space, from the perspective of Spanish artists.

The dissertation unfolds in seven chapters, opening with the personal vision of Rome and the Roman artist residency expressed by the academic outsider José Galofre y Coma and culminating with the collective vision of Rome expressed by a colony of artists. The overarching question that ties the seven chapters is: 'What place does Papal Rome between 1830 and 1873 have in the narration on nineteenth-century Spanish art?' This answer will be explored from two angles. The first one looks into written sources, such as Spanish artists' aforementioned correspondence, travelogues, guides, and also academic speeches.¹⁴⁸ The second one analyses their artworks.

Upon the reintroduction of the Roman scholarship, the Spanish artists' initial approach is based on romanticism –the Italian currents of nazarene purism and historical romanticism – and then naturalism; their production was characterised by art often purchased by the government and pieces for the commercial market. This development coincided not only with the death of some of the greatest names in the early-nineteenth-century official art – Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (Paris, 1867), Peter von Cornelius (Berlin, 1867), Friedrich Overbeck (Rome, 1869), Pietro Tenerani (Rome, 1869), and Tommaso Minardi (Rome, 1871)¹⁴⁹ – but also with the skyrocketing career of the Catalan painter Mariano Fortuny y Marsal with his on-and-off presence

¹⁴⁸ Since much of this research was conducted when the world was struggling with the Covid-19 pandemic, archival research has not been possible.

¹⁴⁹ On Fortuny and Rome, see Doñate, Mendoza, and M Quilez i Corella, *Fortuny, 1838-1874*; Begoña Torres González, 'Mariano Fortuny y Marsal. Un pintor entre el coleccionismo y el mercado', in *Colecciones, expolio, museos y mercado artístico en España en los siglos XVIII y XIX*, ed. María Dolores Antigüedad del Castillo Olivares and Amaya Alzaga Ruiz (Madrid: Editorial Universitaria Ramón Areces, 2011), 317–52; Querci, 'Achille Vertunni e Mariano Fortuny'; Eugenia Querci, *La pintura en Italia y en Roma en la época de Fortuny y Pradilla*, ed. María García Soria (Zaragoza: Ayuntamiento de Zaragoza: Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 2013); Eugenia Querci and Francisco Calvo Serraller, 'Tra Parigi, Venezia e Roma: Zuloaga, i pittori spagnoli e l'Italia.' (Madrid, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2014); Eugenia Querci, 'Influenze islamiche e ispano-moresche a Roma, tra arte, collezionismo e architettura', in *Tra Oltralpe e Mediterraneo. Arte in Italia, 1860 - 1915*, by Manuel Carrera, Sarah Kinzel, and Niccolò D'Agiti (Bern: Peter Lang Ag, 2016), 175–88; Carlos Reyero Hermosilla, *Fortuny o el arte como distinción de clase* (Madrid: Cátedra cuadernos arte, 2017); Barón, *Fortuny (1838-1874)*; Gianluca Berardi, 'Fortuny, Portici y la pintura italiana' (Conference, Fortuny (1838-1874, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, 13.03 2018).

in Rome from the 1860s until his death (1874). While a part of this early production was lost and another part is in private hands, a substantial number of artworks are in public collections (mostly in Spain). As already stated, the great majority are part of the Prado Museum's holdings, having become part of the collection already back in the nineteenth century. Other works are kept in other collections, such as that of the San Fernando Academy or the San Jorge Academy in Barcelona. The research also considers works that have only survived in nineteenth-century testimonies, such as Manuel Ossorio y Bernard.

The dissertation's chronology

The dissertation reconsiders the last forty years in Brook's "prehistory of the Academia Española" (1830-1873) as the real prelude to the Academia Española. The forty years analysed in this dissertation are divided into three main blocks, which help to identify turning points along what might otherwise seem a relatively linear trajectory: (1) Solá's lengthy directorship of the *pensionados* (1830-1858); (2) de Vilches' directorship of the *pensionados* (1858-ca. 1873); and more briefly (3) the years that Fortuny y Marsal was under contract with the French merchant Adolphe Goupil (1867-1874). This three-part story metaphorically follows the Spanish artists' transition out of the academy and into the sphere of the private studio, and it allows us to go beyond a study of the genesis of the academy. Instead it lets Rome emerge as as a focus for an institutional and individual investment in nineteenth-century Spain.

Investing in Rome

In this period, Rome goers were born between 1810s and 1840s. The number of Spanish painters and sculptors reaching Rome was impressive, as chart 1 shows, which is derived from a cross-reading of primary sources (e.g., Ossorio y Bernard's *Diccionario biográfico*, letters, newspapers, and

periodicals).¹⁵⁰ They joined a wider milieu of Spanish architects, bureaucrats, clergymen, workers, wives, and relatives, all of whom increased the numbers of the ever-growing Spanish colony.

Most of those artists' names have reached us. Some are consecrated among the greatest names in Spanish nineteenth-century art, whereas others are still waiting for a monograph to be written. This dissertation enriches the Spanish nineteenth-century canon by recovering the early years of figures who have not been the subject of monographic studies, but who were renowned personalities in Spain and Rome. It recuperates them from the margins to which they have been relegated, despite their importance at the time. Their average profile was that of a celibate, young, Catholic man, over eighteen years old and already advanced in their training, but not professionally or financially autonomous.¹⁵¹ Minus the extraordinary case of Paul-Césaire Gariot, a French *pensionado* in Rome who was funded by the Queen Mother Maria Cristina, presumably between 1832 and 1837, all the others were Spaniards.¹⁵²

Generally, more studentships were available to painters than sculptors. Spaniards came to train as historical painters, although they then also practiced other genres to show that they were complete artists. Only three landscapists are recorded in Rome for the period of study, after all the San Fernando Academy in Madrid established its first chair of landscape painting only in 1845.¹⁵³ Fernando Ferrant was the first landscapist to arrive in Rome, thanks to his brother Luis' generosity in 1830.¹⁵⁴ The latter had benefitted from a private studentship from the Infante don Sebastián Gabriel. The second was Domingo Gallego y Álvarez, who worked on landscapes as well as a

¹⁵⁰ See Appendix 1.

¹⁵¹ Barrio, *Relaciones culturales*, 38, 83.

¹⁵² Martínez Plaza, *El coleccionismo de pintura en Madrid durante el siglo XIX*, 202.

¹⁵³ Manuel Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX* (Madrid: Imprenta a cargo de Ramon Moreno, 1869), 110.

¹⁵⁴ 'Esposizione d'opere di belle arti fatta nelle sale del popolo. Articolo II. Pittura di Paese (proseguimento)', *La Pallade. Giornale di belle arti* 1, no. 6 (23 March 1839): 41–42; Società degli amatori e cultori di belle arti in Roma', *Il Tiberino. Foglio edbomadale artistico*, no. 32 (8 June 1839): 128; Grice, Hawks Le, *Walks Through the Studii of the Sculptors at Rome*, vol. 1 (Roma: Puccinelli, 1841), 280; *Almanacco letterario scientifico giudiziario commerciale artistico teatrale ec. ossia grande raccolta di circa 10.000 indirizzi ed altre interessanti notizie utilissime ad ogni ceto di persone* (Roma: Tipografia de' Classici, 1842), 309.

historical genre, *The Death of Emperor Charles V at Yuste*.¹⁵⁵ Regarding the third, the San Fernando Academy, only started funding scholarships for landscapists in 1861.¹⁵⁶ According to Ossorio, the award holder that year was Serafín Avendaño, who participated in the National Exhibitions in 1862, 1864 and 1866 by exhibiting several landscapes, among which was one titled *Autumn in Italy* (untraced).¹⁵⁷

However, a scholarship was awarded to Manuel Arbós, an engraver and watercolourist famous for his copies, showing that engravers could also be considered for study in Rome from the 1830s, unlike in the eighteenth century. In the academy's thinking, young engravers would return and help to build a Spanish market for engravings, so as to counteract the money that Spaniards spent on buying foreign prints.¹⁵⁸ Additionally, it was hoped that engravings could contribute to disseminating knowledge on the contributions of Spanish artists and scientists.¹⁵⁹

Arrivals of Spanish painters and sculptors in Rome (1830-73)

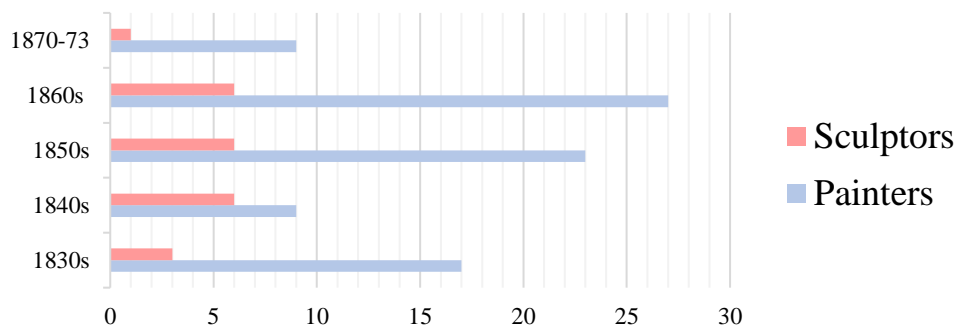


Chart 1

In the 1830s, the Roman award could be obtained by holders (divided between *pensionados* ordinarios who were funded by the government, and *pensionados* extraordinarios funded by the monarch) who passed a special academic contest. At the time, there were very few other sources of funding:

¹⁵⁵ Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 260.

¹⁵⁶ Barrio, *Relaciones culturales*, 106.

¹⁵⁷ Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 52.

¹⁵⁸ Bédât, *La Real Academia de San Fernando*, 274.

¹⁵⁹ Bédât, 273.

the scholarship of the Board of Trade was recovered in the 1830s and financed most Catalan artists' Roman sojourn during that decade, and there were also a small number of private scholarships.

After the 1840s the increase in their arrivals was justified by the duration of the scholarship which lasted only three years, after the first cohort in the 1830s who were funded to sojourn in Rome for five years. The Spanish academy first branded the Roman traineeship for young generations of artists, as evidenced by the eccentric experiences of the many young Spaniards who alone bore the costs of the Roman sojourn since they did not receive any scholarships. Students were willing to travel to the papal city because motivated by their Spanish professors who very often had themselves benefited from a stay in Rome and were eager to see the works they had heard about, and the artworks sent back from the *pensionados*. The validity of a Roman education in the nineteenth century derived from a combination of long-standing prestige that the San Fernando Academy wanted to maintain, and the city's intrinsic characteristics, functional to creative minds. Students counted on the aura of prestige surrounding the Roman traineeship (regardless from the means enabling such sojourn) to aid their career as official artists once back home.

However, the long-standing allure of the city's attractions – constructed, espoused, and popularised by former Rome goers – eventually attracted investment from institutions, private sponsors, and individual artists throughout the rest of the century. Building on the studies of Casado Alcalde for the first three decades of the nineteenth century, the arrivals were made possible thanks to a multiplicity of bursaries during the period investigated: (a) *pensionados* ordinarios, (b) *pensionados* extraordinarios; (c) *pensionados* of Spanish local councils; (d) privately funded students (which included members of the Royal family); and those relying on personal means. This means that, financially, studying in Rome was a substantial commitment that many were willing to make. Stories in the Spanish press, and the direct testimony of former students in Rome, several of whom became academics themselves, further nourished the idea of Rome as the idyllic *magistra artium*, the foremost city to learn how to become an artist.

Dissertation's outline

Chapter 1, entitled *Rome from the outside*, studies the unique perspective that José Galofre y Coma, an academic outsider, had of the Roman traineeship in his authored handbook *El Artista en Italia y los demás países de Europa* (Madrid, 1851). Galofre was an unfunded young student who travelled to Rome in the final years of Gregory XVI's pontificate and lived through the initial years of that of Pius IX. This chapter is interested in describing the Roman environment that Spanish artists, both *pensionados* and independent students, found when the traineeship was reintroduced, as well his perspective on the value of this type of education.¹⁶⁰

Chapter 2, entitled *The reform of Spanish sacred art*, studies the passage from an idealised nazarene purist conception of the Sacred to a historic mindedness associated with the early history of Christianity, which they explored during Pius IX alongside other colonies of foreign artists in the city, but which Spaniards eventually transformed into a 'civic repertoire' of their Roman oeuvre after 1870.

Chapter 3, entitled *The past made present*, focuses on how the Spaniards used their Roman interconnected experience— in Rome Spaniards were exposed to many environments such as the French, Florentine, Venetian, Milanese, and Neapolitan one, to name only a few – to visualise their past and thus discuss their present. Mirroring the tripartite structure of chapter 2, chapter 3 aims to reconstruct the Spanish artists' abandonment of a nazarene purist interpretation of history in favour of non-devotional representations.

Chapter 4, entitled *Episodes of Spanish artistic patronage*, recognises that to make the shift from students to artists, the Spaniards needed an income. The chapter thus looks at episodes of royal, diplomatic, private and statal forms of patronage between Solá's and De Vilches' directorships of the *pensionados*, which not only helped the Spaniards sustain themselves in Rome, but also convinced future Rome-goers that Rome was a worthy investment.

¹⁶⁰ On the revolutions threatening Rome, see Maria Pia Donato, 'Roma in rivoluzione (1798, 1848, 1870)', in *Storia d'Italia, Annali. Roma, la città del papa 16* (Torino: Einaudi, 2000), 907–33.

Chapter 5, entitled *Painting for the market*, is devoted to the second cosmopolitan genre practiced by Spaniards in Rome, namely ethnographic depictions of the People of Rome which brought them in line with what other colonies had been doing until that point and were doing. This was a genre that was relatively easily sold on the market, not only in Rome but also elsewhere (Paris or Madrid, to name a couple of European capitals). After discussing the function of these paintings, the chapter traces the reception they obtained from the 1860s onwards in Spain and internationally, and how this reception affected Spaniards' perception of Rome.

Approaching the dissertation's conclusion, chapter 6, entitled *The great exhibitions' arena*, analyses the Roman training as part of Isabelline Spain's display strategy at international events, in Paris in 1855, in London in 1862, and again in Paris in 1867. In each exhibition, the Roman element, namely the artworks created in Rome, was presented under a different rubric, whilst never abandoning the role it had always played in the Spanish artists' career, namely that of *magistra artium*. In this way, chapter 6 aims to rethink the concept of these participations being associated with fiasco, which stems from the cosmopolitan turn that biased critics' opinions of what constituted Spanish art.

Chapter 7, entitled *The colony of artists*, brings this dissertation to a conclusion. It studies the value that Spanish artists, both funded and unfunded, attributed to a Roman education in the nineteenth century while Paris and London were affirming themselves on the international art scene. On one hand it analyses Rome as a space for boosting artists' careers and on the other it discusses the intrinsic qualities that Rome possessed, and which were beneficial not only to their future, but also to the practice of art itself.

CHAPTER 1

ROME FROM THE OUTSIDE

“Fine arts abound in Rome”¹ and “everybody who dedicates themselves to the fine arts, who are not merely artisans or craftsmen but proper painters, sculptors, architects, and engravers, dream of leaving for Rome.”² The image of Rome contained in these two quotations permeates the small guidebook, *El Artista en Italia y demás países de Europa*, written by the Catalan painter and art critic José Galofre y Coma. The handbook was published in 1851 in Madrid, where the author had likely stayed for the previous three years, having fled the Rome that he had lived in for over a decade until when the declaration of a Republic made his “other home country” unsafe for him and other foreign artists.³ Interested in promoting the value of Rome even among students with no means to travel, Galofre offered a resourceful picture on Rome’s cultural, artistic and commercial physiognomy, as he experienced it, perhaps influenced by other publications circulating in the city at the time such as Nibby’s *Itinerario di Roma e delle sue vicinanze* (1838).⁴

El Artista described nineteenth-century Rome as a school, a market space, and an innovative hub for the arts, where artists could find inspiration and answers for how to become artists coveted by patrons as well as the international market. Intended to be an introduction to the Roman environment in which the Spanish traineeship was reintroduced, this chapter, *Rome from the outside* is set in the Rome of Gregory XVI and the early years of Pius IX. It is organised into four sections: (1.1) the first biographical on Galofre’s little known young adulthood; (1.2) the second covers the academic environment within which we must reconsider the anti-academic label

¹ José Galofre y Coma, *El artista en Italia y demás países de Europa ... obra escrita en Roma* (Madrid: Imprenta de L. García, 1851), 16.

² Galofre y Coma, 11.

³ Galofre y Coma, 72.

⁴ Antonio Nibby, *Itinerario di Roma e delle sue vicinanze compilato secondo il metodo di M. Vasi da A. Nibby pubblico professore di archeologia nell’Università di Roma*, 2 vols, IV (Roma: Pietro Aurelj, 1838).

attached to Galofre; (1.3) the third is on where he believed it was better for artists to study in Rome; and (1.4) the final section recapitulates on the value he attributed to an education in Rome. Though his perspective on Rome is the focus of this chapter, the latter will also offer a more extensive analysis of a fascinating albeit often neglected nineteenth-century source.

1.1 A Spanish artist in Italy and in Europe

The life of Galofre, which I have enriched with further details, has been studied by Arias Anglés whereas *El Artista* by Calvo Serraller.⁵ He lived in Rome for twelve years and this long residence (and long absence from Spain) were used to empower the ideas he expressed in his handbook.⁶

Galofre had presumably arrived in 1837, thus when the first cohort from the San Fernando Academy had finished their training and was about to return home, and before the second arrival from the academy, which took place in 1848. An article published in Madrid in 1842 testifies that in 1840, he was along other Spanish artists active in Rome: Solá, Luis and Fernando Ferrant, Federico de Madrazo, Jimenez, Joaquín Espalter, Pablo Milá, Peregrín Clavé, Manuel Vilar, Francisco Cerdá, Galofre, Juan Amettler, Miguel Cabañas, Luis Vermell, and José Alcayde.⁷ In addition to this incomplete list there were Ignacio Palmarola, Ponzano, and Arbós. Arbós and Ponzano were the only

⁵ Enrique Arias Anglés, 'Ensayo biográfico de José Galofre y Coma, pintor y escritor', vol. 1 (El arte del siglo XIX: II Congreso Nacional de Historia del Arte, Valladolid, 1978), 189–205.

⁶ There is no compilation of his artworks. Thanks to Ossorio we know he painted history canvases such as: *The Neapolitan Coronation of King Alfonso V of Aragon, An Episode of the Conquest of Granada* (taken to the Universal Exhibition in Paris in 1855), *Zoraida perfuming herself in the bath on the Genil river banks* (taken to the National Exhibition in Madrid in 1858), *The Bethrothal of Prince Adalbert of Bavaria* (taken to the National Exhibition in Madrid in 1860), *Second embassy sent by Montezuma to Hernan Cortes on the island of San Juan de Ulua* (1854), *Flora picking up the last rose of May* (taken to the San Fernando Exhibition in 1850), and *Dante* (untraced). As far as religious paintings go, Ossorio records that Galofre painted a *Holy Family* (1841). Furthermore, the Museo Nacional del Prado owns the portraits of *Juan Navarro de Palencia Rojas* and of *Isabella II*. Additionally, Galofre painted at least two versions of a portrait of Pius IX, one of which at Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon. Ossorio also lists a portrait Galofre took to the Universal Exhibition in Paris in 1855, a portrait of a lady he took to the National Exhibition in Madrid in 1858, a portrait of *Leopold O' Donnell*, a portrait of *Antonio Ros de Olano* and *D. J. J. de Mora*. Ossorio also reveals that he painted a *View of the Neapolitan Gulf* and displayed it in 1848 without indicating where.

⁷ Anon., 'Situación de los artistas españoles en Roma', *Gaceta de Madrid*, no. 2736 (7 April 1842): 2.

awardees from the San Fernando Academy to have decided to remain after their funding ended in 1837.⁸

His long sojourn in Rome made Galofre believe to be highly qualified to give advice to prospect Rome goers. In the handbook, he presented himself as an artist's *primus inter pares*, sharing the fruit of his conversations with the leading masters of the time and the direct study of their artworks.⁹ Galofre made it clear that his education depended not only on his conversations but also on his excursions outside Rome and the Italian States, particularly to Germany, France, and Belgium. To ensure that readers profitably lived their dreams, Galofre offered to “hold their hand” while accompanying them through Rome's teaching system.¹⁰

1.1.1 Galofre's training in Rome

By the time the Roman bursary was reintroduced in Spain, Canova and Thorvaldsen, the two neoclassical sculptors who converted Rome into the *magistra sculptorum*, and who had been masters of an older generation of Spaniards, had either died (1822) or returned to Denmark (1818), respectively.¹¹ Among the prominent personalities active in the city there were still Overbeck, some of his fellow German artists, as well as a group of young Italian artists who had both institutional appointments (including being

⁸ Bédat, *La Real Academia de San Fernando*, 266–71.

⁹ “Impulsado por el conocimiento de este deber, he consagrado algunas horas de mi profesión, a reunir las observaciones que me han sugerido, tanto las conferencias con los grandes profesores del Arte, cuanto el examen propio de los sublimes monumentos artísticos y preciosos modelos, que encierran los principales Museos de Europa” Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 1.

¹⁰ “Ruego pues a toda clase de personas que me lean sin prevención, y bajo el único concepto de encontrar reunidas en un solo punto, varias ideas esparcidas en el mundo artístico de nuestra época; pues estas sencillas páginas que las contienen en la forma y plan que más conducentes me han parecido a su mayor claridad, podrán consultarlas así el Artista, que por primera vez visite la Ciudad eterna, como el aficionado que desee enterarse del estado actual de las Nobles Artes. Mi querida patria ante todo me infunde confianza en la empresa.” Galofre y Coma, 10.

¹¹ However, Thorvaldsen kept an on-and-off presence in Rome until 1842. On Canova and Thorvaldsen in Spain, alongside the already cited essays by Brook and Azcue Brea see Azcue Brea, ‘El canon escultórico: de Donatello a Canova’; Leticia Azcue Brea, ‘Un monumento sepolcrale di Canova per la Spagna: il compianto della Contessa di Haro commissionato dalla marchesa di Santa Cruz, Mariana Waldstein, in 1805’, *Quaderni del Centro Studi Canoviani*, no. 10 (2017): 151–81.

professors at the Academy of Saint Luke) and a career as artists, that went beyond Rome and Italy. One of them was Minardi.

According to the archival reconstructions of Ernesto Ovidi (1845-1915) who worked on Rome in the nineteenth century, Minardi's studio was attended by the Catalan artists Espalter, Vilar, Clavé, Milá, and Ponciano Ponzano, a sculptor from Zaragoza.¹² In this list there is no mention to Galofre but this should not be a complete surprise though, since those artists had arrived with a scholarship from the Board of Trade, were put under the aegis of Solá, and attended the Academy of Saint Luke where Minardi taught.¹³

Spaniards also visited Overbeck's studio, but for of them this encounter was "fortuitous and incidental".¹⁴ Only Federico de Madrazo stated that he went to Rome explicitly to meet with Overbeck. Margaret Howitt, a friend of the Hoffmann family (Karl Hoffmann was a German sculptor, friend of Overbeck) who obtained permission to study Overbeck's correspondence, compiled a biography of Overbeck in 1886 and indicated that Madrazo and also Galofre were part of Overbeck's school.¹⁵

Besides this source, Galofre's traineeship as a painter is unknown. Neither Galofre spoke of his own training, but it is clear that where, what, and how he studied in Rome permeated each page of *El Artista* and shaped his ideas. However, even though Galofre never explicitly spoke of his own training, he included Overbeck's *The Triumph of Religion in the Arts* (Fig. 1.1) as the sole contemporary engraving in *El Artista*, in addition to his own composition *The Neapolitan Coronation of King Alfonso* (Fig. 1.2). This inclusion was a true novelty, since reproductions of the nazarenes' artworks had not yet circulated

¹² Ernesto Ovidi, *Tommaso Minardi e la sua scuola* (Roma: Tipografia Pietro Rebecca, 1902); Brook, 'Gli allievi catalani di Tommaso Minardi'.

¹³ For instance, see Paola Picardi and Pier Paolo Racioppi, eds., *Le Scuole Mute e le Scuole Parlanti. Studi e documenti sull'Accademia di San Luca nell'Ottocento* (Roma: De Luca Editori d'arte, 2002); Carolina Brook et al., eds., *Roma - Parigi. Accademie a confronto. L'Accademia di San Luca e gli artisti francesi XVII - XIX secolo* (Roma: Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, 2016); Pier Paolo Racioppi, 'The Men of Letters and the Teaching Artists: Guattani, Minardi, and the Discourse on Art at the Accademia Ai San Luca in Rome in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Art Historiography*, no. 19 (2018): 1-20.

¹⁴ Francesc Fontbona, 'Accademie e nazareni', in *Raffaello e l'Europa*, ed. Maria Luisa Madonna and Marcello Fagiolo (Roma: Istituto poligrafico e zecca dello stato, 1990), 733.

¹⁵ Margaret Howitt and Franz Binder, *Friedrich Overbeck: sein Leben und Schaffen; in zwei Bänden. 2, 1833-1869; mit Overbecks Bildniss, einem Facsimile und 5 Stichen* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1886), 106.

in Spain at the time.¹⁶ This combination might be read as an homage to his master, even though we cannot exclude the possibility of it being Galofre's self-promotional attempt.¹⁷ At the time it was uncommon for Spanish artists in Rome to treat a grand format multifigure Spanish theme, as will be shown in chapter 3.

Galofre cleverly picked a theme whose identification would have been easy for Italians to identify, studying the fifteenth-century fashion for the various characters populating the scene. The structure and the overcrowded appearance of the scene recalls Galofre's study of the German artists' frescoes and canvases, including Overbeck's *The Triumph of Religion in the Arts*. The volcano in the background is unmistakably Vesuvius and the castle on the right is very reminiscent of Castel Nuovo, an important centre of power under king Alfonso. It was in Galofre's interest to make the scene understandable to an Italian public, since the work was intended for the collection of King Carlo Alberto I of Sardinia.¹⁸ He long meditated upon and revised the composition; in fact, he participated in the Brera exhibition of 1846 with a smaller version of the *Coronation*. The one-phrase review of Galofre's works at the Brera exhibition read: "[The artist] compensated for the scarce technique with novelty".¹⁹ In 1848 an anonymous description of this work circulated in Rome, in Italian.²⁰ It cannot be excluded that Galofre himself wrote it, because he intended to build a career in Rome, and a grand composition such as this, which included multiple figures, was an excellent way to do so.

Galofre's name appeared extensively in Italian newspapers in the 1840s, where his works at public exhibitions in Rome, Milan, and Venice were

¹⁶ Amaya Alzaga Ruiz, 'La recepción de pintores alemanes en las publicaciones periódicas españolas del siglo XIX', in *Spanien und Deutschland. Kulturtransfer im 19. Jahrhundert / España y Alemania. Intercambio cultural en el siglo XIX*, ed. Karin Hellwig (Frankfurt am Main-Madrid: Vervuert Iberoamericana, 2007), 199.

¹⁷ *Soggetto del quadro rappresentante l'incoronazione in Napoli d'Alfonso d'Aragona dipinto da Giuseppe Galofre* (Roma, 1848).

¹⁸ José Galofre y Coma, *The Neapolitan Incoronation of King Alfonso*, 1849, oil on canvas, 325x505 cm. Turin, Circolo degli Ufficiali. The canvas is part of Turin's Royal Museum collection.

¹⁹ *Guida critica all'esposizione delle belle arti in Brera scritta dal pittore Giuseppe Elena, anno sesto* (Milano: presso l'editore librario Giuseppe Reina, 1846), 24.

²⁰ *Soggetto del quadro rappresentante l'incoronazione in Napoli d'Alfonso d'Aragona dipinto da Giuseppe Galofre* (Roma, 1848).

reviewed although generally deemed to be poorly done. Nevertheless, and thanks to channels yet to be clarified, Galofre managed to place the aforesaid historical painting into the royal collection of King Carlo Alberto I of Sardinia (1846), and a portrait of Pius IX and cardinals in the collection of King Louis Philippe of France (1847).²¹ Galofre also apparently contributed to the ephemeral decorations organised in Orvieto for Pius IX's brief sojourn into the city.²² In 1847, his studio was even a destination among the famous studio tours in Rome, with the Catalan painter Carlos de Paris accompanying the Argentinean politician Domingo Faustino Sarmiento on an itinerary that dropped in on the artists: Coghetti, Chatelain, Podesti, Galofre, Tenerani, Barba, Benzoni, Galli, Agneni, and Cipolla.²³ After 1848, we lose track of Galofre in Rome and in Italy; it is uncertain when he returned to Madrid between then and 1851.

1.1.2 A handbook for the travelling artist

This brief reconstruction of his Roman years is essential to the reading of *El Artista*. The handbook is a multi-dimensional work in which Rome dominates every chapter. It opens and closes with Galofre's analysis of the Roman traineeship (chapters I-III, XVII-XX). The other chapters were instead devoted to Galofre's ideas about artistic genres, namely the history genre – within a sub-organisation of religious, historical, and mythological subjects (chapters IX-XI) – with the remaining genres (chapter XII) focusing on genre painting (chapter XIII) and on landscape, battles, marine scenes and still lifes with flowers (chapter XV).

Galofre conceived each chapter as a lesson; thus, *El Artista* could be seen as his project for setting up a paper studio where he, the author, was the caring master instructor and his readers the students. For this reason, it is hard to describe the text as a travelogue, since it was not the canonical touristic guide or a book through multiple cities like the *Voyages historiques, littéraires et*

²¹ José Galofre y Coma, *Pope Pius IX*, 1847, oil on canvas, 140x105 cm. Versailles, Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon.

²² Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 60.

²³ Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, *Viajes en Europa, África y América por Sarmiento* (Santiago: Imprenta de Julio Belin, 1849), 232.

artistiques en Italie.²⁴ It is also inaccurate to define it as a critical text, or an autobiography, despite the personal details which were incorporated into the narrative. Galofre wanted *El Artista* to be the “thermometer of the [latest] artistic movements”.²⁵

El Artista is an example of a literary text authored by a Spanish artist.²⁶ It belongs to the publications on European romanticism that emerged during the first half of the nineteenth century but is the only one published by a Spanish artist on Rome in the first half of the century. Other Spaniards had travelled to Rome of course, and they had written accounts – travelogues and even romances – on it, but these largely remained unpublished. For example, the Biblioteca Nacional de España preserves the manuscript on the Italian journey (1819-1820) by Joaquín Villalba.²⁷ We also know of a novel by a Spanish artist in Rome at the same time as Galofre.²⁸ This is an unpublished manuscript by the Catalan José Arrau y Barba, a “Catalan painter of romantic Barcelona” (Fig. 1.3):²⁹ *El juramento de un artista o Juan y Pepita: relato histórico del primer tercio del siglo XIX*.³⁰

²⁴ Antoine Claude Pasquin Valery, *Voyages historiques, littéraires et artistiques en Italie: guide raisonné et complet du voyageur et de l'artiste*, vol. 1 (Paris: Baudry Libraire Aimé André Libraire, 1838).

²⁵ Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 9.

²⁶ Stefano Cracolici, “‘Costoro Non Vogliono Malinconie’: Il Registro Brillante Nelle Lettere d’artista (Primi Sondaggi Su Carteggi Eteroglossi a Base Italiana)”, in *Lettere d’artista. Per Una Storia Transnazionale Dell’arte (XVIII-XIX Secolo)*, ed. Giovanna Capitelli et al. (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana editore, 2022), 35.

²⁷ Unfortunately, I was unable to read this manuscript due to the pandemic. However, I have not found connections between Galofre and the author.

²⁸ The source on Villalba can be found at the Biblioteca Nacional de España: Joaquín Villalba, ‘Viaje por Italia’ (1820 1819), BNE.

²⁹ Arrau was a unique case among Spaniards for having only reached Rome during his second trip to Italy. The first took him to Milan, where he spent a year in 1831 thanks to his connections with the Broccas, a Milanese family of bankers with links to Barcelona. Art amateurs as well as artists, the Broccas name occurred frequently in the letters of Catalan *pensionados* in Rome during the 1830s and 1840s. In Milan, the painter received his first training at the workshop of the painter Giuseppe Molteni, a friend of the Broccas. Josep F. Ràfols, ‘Un donatiu d’obres de Josep Arrau’, *Butlletí dels Museus d’Art de Barcelona* VII, no. 78 (1937): 335. On the Broccas and the Catalans, see the works by Salvador Moreno on Vilar and Clavé. On Arrau i Barba, see R., ‘Una exposició homenatge de Josep Arrau i Barba’, *Butlletí dels Museus d’Art de Barcelona* VI, no. 62 (1936): 211–13; Ràfols, ‘Un donatiu d’obres de Josep Arrau’; Joaquim Folch i Torres, ‘José Arrau i Barba. Pintor barcelonés de la época romantica’, *Destino*, no. 991 (1956): 10–12.

³⁰ Extracts have been published by Cirici i Pellicer in his article on the Catalan nazarenes. Josep Arrau i Barba, ‘El juramento de un artista o Juan y Pepita: relato histórico del primer tercio del siglo XIX’ (Manuscript, 1st half of the 19th century), Catàleg Biblioteca Joaquim Folch i Torres - MNAC.

Furthermore, Galofre's choice of writing a handbook falls in a common practice among artists in Rome, consisting in leaving suggestions to future Rome-goers. For example, the artist Giuseppe Pirovani, known in Mexico as José Perovani, wrote instructions to the group of Mexican pensionaries regarding what to do once in Rome.³¹ In *El Artista* Galofre endowed his words with the authority of his successes, proudly revealing, albeit without giving detailed evidence, that he had been consulted on the establishment of the Chilean academy.³² Whether this was an exaggeration or reality has yet to be confirmed. If true though, Galofre would become another Spaniard with ties to South America. For example, his Catalan peers Clavé and Vilar had been appointed professors to the Mexican academy. At a much later date, the sculptor José González y Giménez, a private *pensionado* in Rome, joined the same group by being appointed director of the Ecuadorian Fine Arts Academy of Quito.³³

Galofre was never granted the same opportunity, in Spain or elsewhere; hence, as an outsider to the fine art academic system, he searched for a unique way to enter the group of foreign nationals helping one another in Rome. This path had already been walked by the sculptors Canova and John Gibson who, after two years in Rome, had unsuccessfully tried to open a British academy in Rome.³⁴ Instead he converted his studio in a pivotal centre for the English-speaking community there.³⁵

³¹ Stefano Cracolici, “‘Para Hacer Honor a Su Patria y al Gobierno’: Mexican Artists in Rome (1825-1835)”, in *35th Congress of the International Committee of the History of Arts*, ed. Marzia Faietti and Gerhard Wolf, vol. 1 (MOTION: TRANSFORMATION, Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2019), 107–11. On Pirovani, also see Isadora Rose-De Viejo, ‘José Perovani, un artista viajero a su pesar’, in *El arte y el viaje*, ed. Miguel Cabañas Bravo, Amelia López-Yarto, and Wilfredo Rincón García (Madrid: CSIC, 2011), 47–60.

³² “Todas estas observaciones, todos esos malos resultados con sus causas y probables remedios, manifesté a un ministro de Chile en Roma, al preguntarme cuál sería el mejor sistema para plantear una Academia en su naciente república.” Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 171.

³³ Ángel Justo Estebaranz, “‘Laureado escultor, perfecto caballero y padre amantísimo’ y pobre: en el centenario de la muerte del escultor José González y Giménez”, *Laboratorio de Arte*, no. 30 (2018): 389–400.

³⁴ On the Canova, see Maria Rodinò di Miglione, ‘Nuove ricerche sui concorsi dell’Accademia di San Luca tra il 1812 e il 1816’, in Picardi and Racioppi, *Le Scuole Mute e le Scuole Parlanti*, 329–38.

³⁵ Stefania Maninchedda, ‘Lo studio di John Gibson’, in *Il primato della scultura: fortuna dell’antico, fortuna di Canova*, vol. 2 (Bassano del Grappa: Istituto di Ricerca per gli studi su Canova e il Neoclassicismo, 2004), 257–67; Anna Rath, *John Gibson: A British Sculptor in Rome* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2017).

Originally, *El Artista* was meant to be published in Italian and in Rome. By choosing Italian as the language, we must presume that Galofre initially intended to address his manual to an international audience. However, due to the author's relocation following the declaration of the Roman Republic in 1849, the publication eventually took place in Madrid.³⁶ Turning this situation to his advantage, Galofre converted *El Artista* into a guide for a Spanish-speaking audience. Despite his alleged contacts with the Hispano-American community in Rome (Sarmiento and probably the Chilean government),³⁷ as well as the possibility that a book written in Spanish could reach a significant number of readers in the Hispanic world, Galofre addressed his book to Spaniards. He wrote:

“My beloved homeland, first and foremost, gives me confidence in the enterprise. Its memory has been the inspiration of my work: although many years have passed since I left it, the desire to be useful to it as far as my strength can reach has never weakened in my soul”.³⁸

However, in Spain the immediate reception of *El Artista* is unclear. Since a copy was purchased for the Bodleian Library in Oxford as early as 1852,³⁹ we must presume that the book had a reception beyond Spain and the wider Spanish-speaking world.

Galofre addressed his handbook to young artists and art amateurs (the *aficionados*, who were a new category of art buyers as Calvo Serraller has noted)⁴⁰ on what to see in museums so as to cultivate a taste for fine arts, and what it was good to collect, although he never explicitly named artists. Nevertheless, it does not seem that these amateurs were his true intended audience. His desired readers seemingly were art students, particularly those who were not *pensionados*, and especially those specialising in painting and

³⁶ Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, n/a.

³⁷ Galofre y Coma, 171.

³⁸ Galofre y Coma, 10.

³⁹ *A Catalogue of Books Purchased for the Bodleian Library with a Statement of Monies Received and Expended during the Year Ending November 8, 1852, 1852.*

⁴⁰ Calvo Serraller, ‘Las academias artísticas en España’, 230.

sculpture. Not alone in expressing his perplexities and perhaps a reader of Leopoldo Cicognara's theoretical works regarding the academies (e.g. *Sulla origine delle accademie di belle arti*), Galofre not only wanted his audience to learn how to become an artist but also to understand that artists had a social function too, that of educating society:

“The artist is not only called upon to delight the eye of society, but also to educate it with their works, to edify it by promoting religious sentiments of devotion and charity, and finally to foster all kinds of virtues with historical facts that can produce in it enthusiasm and excite it to imitation”.⁴¹

1.2 Between classicism and purism

Galofre claimed that the Academy of Saint Luke, “the most famous [academy] in Europe” was divided into two groups: a “purist faction” and “those of the school of the Old Masters like Raphael”. He did not specify who the members of each faction were, but Federico de Madrazo did. He reasoned that such division reminded him of the Parisian scene, divided between romantics and classicists.⁴² The “classicists” were Camuccini, Agricola and Solá, Silvagni, and Podesti. The “purists” were Overbeck, Ingres (director of the Villa Medici between 1835 and 1841), Minardi and Tenerani.⁴³

⁴¹ Galofre y Coma, *El Artista*, 39.

⁴² Doc. 110, Rome, 16th December 1839, in Federico de Madrazo, *Epistolario: Federico de Madrazo*, ed. José Luis Díez, Madrid, vol. 1 (Museo del Prado, 1994), 287.

⁴³ On Ingres' second time in Rome, see Michel Caffort, ‘De la séduction nazaréenne ou note sur Ingres et Signol (Rome, 1835)’, *Bulletin du Musée Ingres ed. par la Société des Amis du Musée Ingres à Montauban*, no. 51–52 (1956): 53–76; *Ingres in Italia (1806-24; 1835-41)* (Roma: De Luca, 1968); Mario Verdone, ‘Il paesaggio romano nei ritratti di Ingres’, *Strenna dei Romanisti* 29 (1968): 361–64; *Rome vue par Ingres* (Montauban: Ed du Musées Ingres, 1973); Marie-Madeleine Aubrun, ‘La vie intellectuelle et culturelle à Rome sous le directorat de monsieur Ingres’, in *Actes du colloque ed. par la Société des Amis du Musée Ingres à Montauban*, 1986, 95–112; Jullian René, ‘La première rencontre d’Ingres avec Rome. La naissance de l’ingrisme’, *Actes du colloque ed. par la Société des Amis de Musée Ingres à Montauban*, 87 1986, 9–15; Georges Vigne, ed., *Il ritorno a Roma di Monsieur Ingres. Disegni e pitture* (Roma: Fratelli Palombi Editori, 1993); Bonfait, *Maestà di Roma. Da Ingres a Degas: artisti francesi a Roma*; Carlo Sisi and Ettore Spalletti, eds., *Nel segno di Ingres* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana editore, 2007); Pier Luigi Berto, Roberto Maria Siena, and Marco Nocca, eds., *Sulle tracce di Ingres. Allievi dell'accademia di belle arti di Roma. Dal 27 apr al 16 mag 2014, Roma, Galleria Porta Latina* (Roma: Accademia Belle Arti, 2014).

One of the aims of *El Artista* is to let the readers grasp the state of Rome's intellectual debate about different artistic styles and factions, and to give them the tools to understand it.⁴⁴ Galofre's approach might have been influenced by Pietro Selvatico – secretary and president of the Venetian Fine Arts Academy, and a champion of purism – who wanted a reform of the Italian academies in 1842. Galofre and Selvatico might have met in Rome in 1840,⁴⁵ where Selvatico reviewed the exhibition on Piazza del Popolo where Galofre displayed his works.⁴⁶ In 1851 the public lecture Selvatico gave in Venice explained what purism was and was not in relation to classicists' accusations, was published.⁴⁷ *El Artista* did something similar, which may not exclude a communion of ideas between the two.

1.2.1 Against classicism

Galofre dedicated chapter VIII to classicism and the demise of the baroque aesthetic.⁴⁸ He believed that “barroquismo” was a term that “seems to come from the painter Federico Barocci, who was one of the first to be noted for his incorrect drawing and the extravagance of forms and light and shade. We owe him, however, the justice that his name did not deserve to remain as a symbol of the perversion of taste; firstly, because there are many of his contemporaries worse than him, and secondly because his works are not without merit for their grace and colouring”.⁴⁹ According to him, barroquismo lasted until neoclassicism took off with Canova who, he

⁴⁴ “[...] encontrar reunidas en un solo punto, varias ideas esparcidas en el mundo artístico de nuestra época [...]”. Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 10.

⁴⁵ Concetto Nicosia, *Arte e accademia nell'Ottocento. Evoluzione e crisi della didattica artistica* (Bologna: Minerva edizioni, 2000), 115.

⁴⁶ Pietro Selvatico, ‘Esposizione di opere di Belle Arti nelle Sale del Popolo in Roma’, *Rivista Europea* II, no. 2 (1840): 63–74.

⁴⁷ Pietro Selvatico, *Del Purismo. Lezione recitata il 1 febbraio 1851 nella scuola d'estetica dell'I. R. Accademia di Belle Arti in Venezia*. (Venezia: Tipografia di Giuseppe Grimaldo, 1851).

⁴⁸ Galofre y Coma, *El artista* 65–72.

⁴⁹ Galofre's idea of what barroquismo is can be found in several places in his book. In chapter VII, Galofre referred to it as “la palabra barroquismo, no sé cómo definirla, pues parece que viene del pintor Barocci que se hizo notar por ser uno de los primeros en la incorrección del dibujo y la extravagancia de las formas y del claro-oscuro. Debémosle, sin embargo, la justicia de que no merecía su nombre haber quedado como símbolo de la perversión del gusto; primero porque hay muchos de sus contemporáneos peores que él, y segundo, porque sus obras no carecen de bastante mérito por la gracia y colorido” Galofre, *El artista*, 57.

believed, turned the artists' and collectors' gaze to Greek and Roman statues and kept promoting an outdated teaching model based on the eighteenth-century academic structure.⁵⁰

Scholars have connected the proliferation of fine art academies to the spread and affirmation of the neoclassical language in Europe, promoted by Winckelmann, and Mengs among others in the eighteenth century.⁵¹ For Galofre a taste for mythology was outdated in the nineteenth century and he even believed that it had only taken hold in Rome, because at the time the city had a limited number of artists within its walls, whose merit was to have succeeded in inaugurating a new fashion in both painting and sculpture.⁵² He contrasted a relativist and plural concept of beauty to the exclusive classicist approach. However, even though he was against their single ideal canon, he never disregarded the study of the Antique. He stated instead that it should be cultivated alongside nature and the other classics (“clásicos”), the three of them being the pillars of Art, not only for painters but also for sculptors and engravers.⁵³ He likely derived his ideas from Lorenzo Bartolini, a fine arts professor of sculpture in Florence and, as demonstrated by a recently discovered series of three letters at the Archivio Bartolini, one of Galofre's friends.⁵⁴

When and where Galofre and Bartolini met is unclear; one hypothesis is through the Roman press, and that from these beginnings, friendship blossomed. The sculptor, famous in post-neoclassical Europe, became the protagonist of an international quarrel, discussed in both Florentine and Roman newspapers. On 4th May 1840, Bartolini challenged the academic establishment by taking a disabled model to a posing session.⁵⁵ The episode

⁵⁰ Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 65.

⁵¹ Antonio Pinelli, 'L'insegnabilità dell'arte. Le Accademie come moltiplicatori del gusto neoclassico' (Ideal und Wirklichkeit der bildenden Kunst im späten 18. Jahrhundert, Frankfurt am Main: Mann, 1984), 193–206.

⁵² Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 65.

⁵³ Galofre y Coma, 19.

⁵⁴ Galofre y Coma, 66; 'Al celebre artista, cav. Bartolini – Florence', 1847, I.1.387 + I.2.353, SERIE I - CORRISPONDENZA - Sottoserie 1: Corrispondenza Varia - Lettere di diversi a Lorenzo Bartolini - Mittente mancante, Archivio Lorenzo Bartolini - Galleria dell'Accademia di Firenze.

⁵⁵ On Bartolini and Spain see Leticia Azcue Brea, 'La escultura italiana del siglo XIX y el coleccionismo privado en Madrid: 1: Adamo Tadolini y Lorenzo Bartolini.', *Academia*:

went almost unnoticed in Florence until late 1840, when Bartolini himself asked the director of the local newspaper *Giornale del commercio* to print the anonymously authored article in Rome, which accused Bartolini of wanting his students to “copy the deformed”. Though a provocative gesture, the invitation of the disabled model was to allow his students to compose the scene *Esopus who tells fables* (ancient sources depicted Aesop as ugly).

Not only did Galofre blame the teaching content, but he also railed against European academies’ administrative and honorary functions which, he believed, replaced its pedagogical function. They were responsible for students’ poor outcomes because the establishment was not interested in even solving managerial problems such as overcrowded classrooms run by the least acclaimed professors because the course leaders were busy with their own professional activity. Galofre diagnosed multiple problems with that model which needed to be either reformed or, if the reform was unsuccessful, abolished.

Galofre’s accusation even included the Academy of Saint Luke. On one hand, he praised it for the quality of teaching comparing it to other academies. He further admitted that its members included “the most acclaimed contemporary artists”, that its statutes were “more independent from government control than in any other country”,⁵⁶ and that this affiliation was very valuable to an artist’s career. On the other hand, he admitted that the affiliation was hard to obtain. For this reason, newcomers to Rome needed to lower their expectations regarding their admission into either the Academy of Saint Luke or even into the internationally prestigious Accademia dei Virtuosi del Pantheon, which had always been linked to artists since being founded in 1542. Among its renowned members were, for example, Pietro da Cortona, Diego Velázquez, and Canova.⁵⁷

Boletín de La Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, no. 106–107 (2008): 83–129; Leticia Azcue Brea, ‘Bartolini and Collectors in Spain [Alba Family] and Portugal’, in *Lorenzo Bartolini, Scultore del Bello Naturale*, by Franca Falletti, Annarita Caputo, and Ettore Spalletti (Firenze: Giunti Editore, 2011), 97–109.

⁵⁶ Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 163–64.

⁵⁷ Tiberia Vitaliano, Anna Lisa Genovese, and Michela Gianfranceschi, eds., *La Congregazione dei Virtuosi al Pantheon da Pio VII a Pio IX* (Galatina: Mario Congedo Editore, 2015); Tiberia Vitaliano, Adriana Capriotti, and Paolo Castellani, eds., *La collezione della Pontificia Insigne Accademia di Belle Arti e Lettere dei Virtuosi al Pantheon. Dipinti e scultura* (Roma: Scripta Manent Edizioni, 2016).

Moreover, Galofre complained that there “teaching is routinary; and in spite of the distinguished reputation of three of its professors (Tenerani, Minardi and Poletti) students do not excel; only those who manage to attend their workshop or the studio of other distinguished Artists and to keep contacts with their master, succeed in achieving the results that cannot achieve at the academy”.⁵⁸ As we will see at the end of this chapter, the individual and personal master-pupil relationship, as it existed in medieval and Renaissance workshops as Galofre said, was irreplaceable for him.

Not only did Galofre accuse the training of being poorly structured, and in need of drastic reform, because it created the wrong expectations in both people and artists and caused the impoverishment of European art, but also, the number of students on a training programme needed to be in line with a country’s financial possibilities to support them.⁵⁹ He accused the European academies of nourishing a false myth about the Roman studentship, which he described as a defining trait of the city. He listed three types of Rome-goers: (1) those who had a governmental studentship (like the French Prix de Rome); (2) students who benefitted from another source of funding (the Catalan *pensionados* funded by the Junta del Comercio); and (3) young artists who relied on their own resources.⁶⁰ He wrote: “during my years of residence in Rome, I never ceased to register the arrivals and departures of French, German, Russian, Belgian and English pensionaries”.

Even if he considered the French traineeship the most structured training programme in Rome, it had several deficits. France sent 24 pensionaries each year to be under the aegis of their director at the “magnificent palace” of Villa Medici, but none of the students had produced remarkable results. One of the reasons why Galofre criticised the French training programme was its practice of copying, as he believed such activity brought no real benefit to the student. We know that the French Minister of Interior, Adolphe Thiers, asked Ingres to occupy his students with a copying campaign for the Musée des Études (1835). Thus, it is likely that when Galofre claimed over “the past four years” some improvements were made, he was not thinking of Ingres’ directorship;

⁵⁸ Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 164.

⁵⁹ Galofre y Coma, 165.

⁶⁰ Galofre y Coma, 12.

unfortunately, since Galofre did not expand on his claim, it is impossible for us to clearly determine which director he referred to.⁶¹

Galofre also blamed the scarce sources of funding available to students for leading both artists and people to erroneously believe that the label “Rome-award holder” was synonymous with excellence and expertise.⁶² We find a practical example of what Galofre said in the theatrical comedy staged in Madrid in 1859. In the text, it was explicitly stated that to become a great painter, a young artist had to be an award-holder in Rome.⁶³ By contrast, *El Artista* illustrated that success was unpredictable. Even former award-holders were either destined to occupy a more advantageous place in the artistic pyramid than those who, like [Jusepe de] Ribera, arrived “with [only] bread and onion in Rome”, or they did not make it at all.⁶⁴

1.2.2 The purist school

Galofre considered the Roman studentship as a sign of the classicist and neo-classical legacy, which he felt was outdated in the context of a new era.⁶⁵ This new age was “rightly and appropriately called the second renaissance” because it brought both barroquismo and neo-classicism to an end.⁶⁶ In this Galofre follows Selvatico, who had spoken in similar terms when describing the early nineteenth century as a period when art had fallen to the ground.⁶⁷

Engines for this turn, Galofre wrote, were France and Germany where new buildings were built, while, curiously, according to him, only Italy followed.⁶⁸ In making his claim, he did not consider the significance of Rome, despite its initiatives at both an academic and exhibiting level for both Italy and Germany.

⁶¹ Galofre y Coma, 175.

⁶² Galofre y Coma, 173.

⁶³ Javier de Ramírez, *La culebra en el pecho. Comedia en tres actos* (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel Galiano, 1859).

⁶⁴ Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 174.

⁶⁵ José Galofre, ‘Del Renacimiento de las artes españolas. Madrid, 13 de Abril de 1854.’, in *Revista española de ambos mundos*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Establecimiento tipográfico de Mellado, 1854), 91.

⁶⁶ Galofre y Coma, *El Arista*, 11.

⁶⁷ Selvatico, *Del Purismo*, 21.

⁶⁸ Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 65, 68.

During the 1810s, the Academy of Saint Luke had undergone several reforms aimed at structuring a coherent, step-by-step teaching plan, promoting young talents, and valorising and protecting the artistic patrimony in Rome, whose unique and exemplary value had been threatened by the pillaging of Napoleon's troops.⁶⁹ In the 1820s the desire for protection was extended to the practice of copying at public and private galleries and churches.⁷⁰

The term purism originated in a literary context during the 1820s and extended to the visual and plastic arts. The presence of the community of German-speaking nazarenes in Napoleonic Rome made late medieval and early Renaissance art (particularly Italian and German) the object of study. Under Gregory XVI and Pius IX Rome became the main centre of the study and practice of purist aesthetics thanks to the Italian and foreign artists mentioned in Spanish sources. Above all, in Spanish letters, the names of Tommaso Minardi, Pietro Tenerani, Friedrich Overbeck were the most frequently mentioned.

It was only in 1823 when Minardi, one of Canova's pupils who returned from Perugia to become professor of figurative drawing at the Academy of Saint Luke (1822-1858), signed the proposal for a reform at the Academy of Saint Luke that we can see purism entering the academy.⁷¹ The reforms were the fruit of his years in Perugia, where he deepened his knowledge of Umbria's patrimony, in particular the Trecento and Quattrocento.⁷² In fact, Cardinal Pacca specifically asked him to inspect the paintings in the Assisi province (churches, parishes, and public spaces) and to inform the government regarding those in need of restoration.

Minardi implemented what was said in the 1817 plan regarding both the didactic tools to be employed and the methodologies to rely upon.⁷³ He wanted artists from the "prima maniera" to be incorporated into the

⁶⁹ Valter Curzi, Carolina Brook, and Claudio Parisi Presicce, eds., *Il museo universale: dal sogno di Napoleone a Canova* (Milano: Skira, 2016).

⁷⁰ Mazzarelli, 172-8.

⁷¹ Racioppi, 'The Men of Letters and the Teaching Artists', 13.

⁷² Ovidi, *Tommaso Minardi e la sua scuola*, 21.

⁷³ Picardi, 'Spazi e strumenti didattici dell'Accademia di San Luca negli anni della Restaurazione', in Picardi and Racioppi, *Le Scuole Mute e le Scuole Parlanti*, 183.

curriculum of the students' traineeship, rather than them just studying the "maniera moderna" (consisting of the Roman Raphael and the artists who followed him).⁷⁴ For Minardi, it was auspicious that the Academy of Saint Luke's plaster gallery had copies of Classical, fourteenth- and fifteenth-century sculptures as well as works by contemporary authors.⁷⁵ This was also the fruit of experience gained while at Perugia's academy, where he also briefly taught sculpture. For those classes, he asked for plaster casts of the bas-reliefs by Nicola e Giovanni Pisano.⁷⁶

Minardi's teaching method was only consolidated years later, in 1834, when he pronounced the discourse *Delle qualità essenziali della pittura italiana dal suo Rinascimento fino all'epoca della perfezione* at the Academy of Saint Luke.⁷⁷ Minardi investigated the roots of a national identity within the history of Italian art that he found in the fourteenth century, but unusually, he left an open window to the artists of the Seicento.

He identified four historical periods in his linear conception of artistic development: Giotto, thus the Trecento (fourteenth century); the Quattrocento (fifteenth century); Raphael; and a fourth period when Old masters were taken as the model, instead of nature.⁷⁸ Minardi traced novel itineraries across central Italy for his students and friends, including Lazio, early renaissance Tuscany, Veneto, and the little known "sacred Umbria".⁷⁹ He encouraged students' to search for new references, inviting them to study medieval painting and early renaissance artworks scattered around the Italian territory, including those that were not necessarily by Italian artists.⁸⁰ In her study on

⁷⁴ Mascia Cardelli, *I Due Purismi: La Polemica Sulla Pittura Religiosa in Italia, 1836 - 1844* (Firenze: Capponi, 2005), 110.

⁷⁵ Villari, 'Dall'antico e dal moderno', Picardi and Racioppi, *Le Scuole Mute e le Scuole Parlanti*, 154.

⁷⁶ Ovidi, *Tommaso Minardi e la sua scuola*, 21.

⁷⁷ Cardelli, *I Due Purismi*, 41.

⁷⁸ Tommaso Minardi, *Delle qualità essenziali della pittura italiana dal suo rinascimento fino all'epoca della perfezione. Discorso del professore Tommaso Minardi, vicepresidente e cattedratico di pittura nell'Insigne e Pontificia Accademia Romana delle Belle Arti denominata di San Luca letto nella solenne adunanza delle Pontificie Accademie di Archeologia e di San Luca il giorno 4 settembre 1834*, 1834, 17.

⁷⁹ Saverio Ricci, 'Da Roma a Perugia, da Perugia all'Europa: Tommaso Minardi. Gli artisti tedeschi e i puristi italiani alla scoperta dell'"Umbria Santa"', in *Arte in Umbria nell'Ottocento*, by Francesco Federico Mancini and Caterina Zappia (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana editore, 2006), 88–99.

⁸⁰ Mazzarelli, *Dipingere in copia*, 1:274.

the practice of copy, Mazzarelli has stressed that Minardi encouraged the study of the Ferrarese, Lombarda, and also Spanish schools as an alternative to the Venetian school to study chiaroscuro.⁸¹ From that point on, students and young artists followed new trajectories in and away from Rome, which are known to us through their albums and notebooks.⁸² In this way, the classicist image of Rome as the primary home of Raphael's greatest artworks was challenged.⁸³

According to our suppositions, Galofre was not in Rome when the acme of the classicist-purist debate was reached, with the discourses pronounced by Minardi and Solá between 1834 and 1838.⁸⁴ Although a direct relationship between Galofre and Minardi has not been found so far, the fact that he adopted a similar approach regarding the artists to be studied in Italy and abroad, suggests at least an awareness of his thinking. More likely, Galofre read *Il purismo* signed by Bianchini, Minardi, Overbeck and Tenerani, considered a "purist manifesto" now.⁸⁵

Il purismo claimed that a happy combination of circumstances brought voices asking for a reformation of the academy from various parts of the peninsula, and that such a reformation found its vector in Roman purism, whose Italian roots were laid in the artists of the first *maniera*. Bianchini disputed the classicists' criticisms, which often alleged that the purists' strict imitation of nature was against the canon represented by Guido Reni,

⁸¹ Mazzarelli, 1:261–63.

⁸² Mazzarelli, 1:271–72.

⁸³ Pietro Paolo Montagnani, *Esposizione descrittiva delle pitture di Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino nelle Stanze Vaticane date alla luce da Pietro Paolo Montagnani* (Roma, 1828); Antoine Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy, *Istoria della vita e delle opere di Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino del signor Quatremere de Quincy voltata in italiano, corretta, illustrata ed ampliata per cura di Francesco Longhena*, trans. Francesco Longhena (Milano: Francesco Sonzogno tipografo-calcografo, 1829); Pietro Odescalchi, *Istoria del ritrovamento delle spoglie mortali di Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino scritta dal principe D. Pietro Odescalchi dei Duchi di Sirmio con l'aggiunta delle notizie aneddoti raccolte dal cav. Pietro Ercole Visconti segretario perpetuo della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia e di una canzone del marchese Luigi Bodi presidente della medesima accademia* (Roma: Antonio Boulzaler, 1833); Pina Magninimi and Gabriele Morolli, eds., *Raffaello: elementi di un mito. Le fonti, la letteratura artisti, la pittura di genere storico* (Firenze: Centro di, 1984); Daniela Sogliani, 'Fortuna e mito di Raffaello nell'Ottocento', in *La morte di Raffaello. Storia di un dipinto di Felice Schiavoni*, by Larisa Bardovskaja (Milano: Skira, 2009), 33–55.

⁸⁴ Antonio Solá, *Intorno al metodo che usarono gli antichi greci nel servirsi de' modelli vivi per le loro belle opere d'arte / discorso detto agli alunni dell'insigne e Pontificia Accademia Romana di S. Luca [...] dal cavaliere Antonio Solá* (Roma: Tipografia della R. C. A., 1836).

⁸⁵ Cardelli, *I Due Purismi*, 36.

Michelangelo, or Correggio, and claimed that the purists were instead focused on the faithful rendering of sentiments. He stated that they wanted to communicate what individuals within a composition communicated, and that there was a correlation between their age and the pictorial representation.⁸⁶ In other words, purist artists were at a crossroad between “romantics’ history and truth” and “Lorenzo Bartolini’s natural beauty”. They studied the “geometric forms, drawings, and paintings of the Trecento and Quattrocento, then moved onto the learning of fifteenth-century chiaroscuro and plasticity and nature”, for which romantics all in all praised them.⁸⁷ Regarding the canonical study of Raphael, they looked at his earlier career, and more in general Renaissance artists, as opposed to at his latest Roman production in which they envisaged the first steps towards the search for ideal beauty, that they contested. Their beliefs made their art suited for religious and funeral commissions, but also for monumental civic commissions.⁸⁸

El Artista presented “purism” as the true novelty of Rome, the fruit of a generational change, that revendedicated their profession as artists.⁸⁹ Similarly to Selvatico, Galofre wrote that a purist was not merely an artist who adopted a linear approach to art history, nor someone who merely exactly copied artworks in both content and execution, nor even an individual who painted, sculpted, or designed a building in the fashion of the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries.⁹⁰

Purism aimed instead to exactly and precisely express the idea of being represented, knowing that artists from earlier centuries never failed this maxim.⁹¹ He said: “beauty in painting, sculpture, and architecture from 1300 to 1600 had three epochs. From all of them a perfect *whole* can undoubtedly

⁸⁶ Antonio Bianchini, ‘Antonio Bianchini. Del purismo nelle arti’, in *Scritti d’arte del primo Ottocento*, ed. Fernando Mazzocca (Milano: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1998), 182–87.

⁸⁷ Paola Barocchi, *Parola. Testimonianze e polemiche figurative in Italia: l’Ottocento dal bello ideale al preraffaellismo* (Messina: Casa Editrice G. D’Anna, 1972).

⁸⁸ For example: Tommaso Minardi, *The Virgin Mary Appearing to Saint Stanislaus Kotska, with the saints Agnes, Cecily, and Barbara*, 1824-1825, oil on canvas, 225x310 cm, Rome, Church of Saint Andrew at the Quirinal. Lorenzo Bartolini, *The Faith in God*, 1833, marble, 93 cm, Milan, Museo Poldi Pezzoli. Pietro Tenerani, *Saint John the Evangelist*, c. 1836, marble, 428x130 cm, Naples, San Francesco di Paola.

⁸⁹ ‘Art Gossip - Art Regeneration in Spain’, *The Artist: A Journal of the Fine Arts, Science and Literature*, 27 January 1855, 91.

⁹⁰ Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 52.

⁹¹ Galofre y Coma, 51.

be drawn; but whichever of the three I take for a model, the Artist can be distinguished; so much so that from a few years ago, the intelligent and lovers of Art have been divided in appreciating one or the other, and this itself forms the beauty and grandeur of the Noble Arts whose inexhaustible richness satisfies the variety of tastes and opinions”.⁹² Purists directly observed nature, understood chiaroscuro, and mastered both history and the history of art thanks to a diversified practice of copy.⁹³

Galofre believed that artists should learn from Raphael,⁹⁴ and diversify their studies. For religious paintings, artists had to look at the artists in Orvieto, Siena, and Florence (Giotto, Duccio, Buffalmacco, Fra Angelico, the first and second Raphael) but also at the Spanish school of art (Murillo, Zurbarán, Coello, or Carducho).⁹⁵ For historical paintings, artists could look at Raphael and Giulio Romano at the Vatican, Titian, Ribera, and Velázquez with *The Surrender of Breda* (1634-1635).⁹⁶ For mythological compositions instead, artists could look at Titian’s *Venus of Urbino* (1538) or Correggio’s *Danae* (1531-1532) among others.⁹⁷ All these prescriptions were essential for those art students interested in pursuing a career as history painters (the preferred academic genre) and had “to respect the character and property of composition and execution of the picture”.⁹⁸ They had to combine theory with practice, and, in order to do this, they needed not only to study historical

⁹² Galofre y Coma, 33.

⁹³ ‘Este nombre, particularmente para algunos apasionados, es objeto de grande odio, y los que no lo son, creen en general que purista, es el que pinta, hace una estatua, o un edificio, por el estilo del 1200 al 1400. Según ellos, los Artistas modernos que se han arrimado al gusto de los cuadros, estatuas, o edificios primitivos del Arte, son los que únicamente deben llamarse puristas, porque purifican el dibujo tan marcadamente que algunas veces cae en seco y duro; anatomizan una estatua, de modo que peca por flaca y descarnada, y construyen un edificio imitando el estilo ojival sin reflexionar si su aplicación corresponde al asunto que representa No, el purismo no merece esta calificación. Debe aplicarse esta palabra, cuando un asunto, tanto para el pintor, como para el escultor y arquitecto exprese exacta y precisamente aquella idea que debe representar. Y como los Artistas del 1200 al 1400 casi nunca faltaron a esta máxima, jamás sus composiciones ni sus figuras dejaban de expresar bien y claramente el asunto, tanto en la propiedad de la composición y expresión de las fisionomías, como en el gusto de los pliegues, distribución y colocación de las figuras; por esto ellos son los que han dado y darán norma al Arte.’ Galofre y Coma, 51.

⁹⁴ Galofre y Coma, 33–34.

⁹⁵ Galofre y Coma, 76–78.

⁹⁶ Galofre y Coma, 86–90.

⁹⁷ Galofre y Coma, 102.

⁹⁸ Galofre y Coma, 55.

artists, but also to be in dialogue with their contemporaries (whom Galofre hardly ever mentioned).

These prescriptions are revealing of Galofre's aim to suggest that their work should diversify so to have more chances to be noticed. At the same time, they should cultivate their "genius" and dedicate their interests to original subjects.⁹⁹ He made the example of an unknown genre painter who was successful in his country but failed in Rome as a history painter because he was unsuitable for that genre or religious painting.¹⁰⁰ Galofre seems to entirely adhere to a characteristic of the romantic artist, that is "the irreconcilable academic spirit with the romantic ideology that considered the artist superior to any objective social norm".¹⁰¹

1.3 The playground of Rome

Three were the reasons convincing foreigners to move to Rome, according to Nibby: "the models", "the originals, perfect for painting, sculpture, and architecture"; and the city was the place where to conduct a nice, tranquil, and intellectually fruitful life.¹⁰²

Clearly conscious of this richness, Galofre wished to accompany his imagined readers on their professional path, because if done prematurely, the journey could be disastrous: they risked trying to do too much and consequently go beyond their possibilities. Instead, if well prepared, they could grow in their skills by studying contemporary practices as well as the history of art, and they could do so even if not admitted to an academy. Furthermore, they would find a place not only where to study and practice art, but also which gave artists plenty of opportunities to manoeuvre in order to build their own professional profile.

Galofre emphasised the centrality of drawing in any training programme to be practiced through copying and observation.¹⁰³ He believed the direct

⁹⁹ "Al mismo tiempo, deberá el pintor cultivar su genio y dedicar su inclinación a los asuntos originales, formando composiciones históricas en dibujos de un palmo lo más [...]"Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 22.

¹⁰⁰ Galofre y Coma, 28–29.

¹⁰¹ Calvo Serraller, 'Las academias artísticas en España', 232.

¹⁰² Nibby, *Itinerario di Roma e delle sue vicinanze*, XIV.

¹⁰³ Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 20.

study of artworks was the core of any profitable training, and necessary to develop a taste for the fine arts. People had to see art, to study it, to admire it, and to be inspired by it. To achieve this goal, they needed to look at artworks in person and to create their own personal album that included various historical periods, from the fourteenth century to contemporary times; only then could artists hope to contribute to society's education.¹⁰⁴ But nothing would be gained if the students were not well versed in the study of the Antique, properly skilled in drawing, familiar with ideal beauty, and knowledgeable in human anatomy. Once again, Galofre took us back to the Renaissance and to what Raphael and Michelangelo whose lesson students of various disciplines had to follow.¹⁰⁵ By giving such suggestions, Galofre presented himself as a pupil of the internationally renowned German school, the nazarenes, whom he applauded for having abandoned the academy and restored a master-pupil practice grounded in mutual help and direct study of the artworks and community practices.¹⁰⁶

1.3.1 Spaces for practice

At Rome's nocturnal academies – crucial centres for Spaniards' progresses and sociability – artists could gain access by paying a small sum in order to study life drawing.¹⁰⁷ Galofre recommended this especially to genre painters, but admitted that all painters, sculptors, and engravers would benefit from attending. There, he said, students discovered the opportunity of studying draperies, clothes, folds, and the nude figure, working on female and male bodies as well as teenagers. Besides, such spaces would enable artists to create the sense of community that was essential to the practice of art, built on mutual observation and discussion, which he believed was not always possible in an academic room, or even at a master's studio.

¹⁰⁴ Galofre y Coma, 59.

¹⁰⁵ Galofre y Coma, 19.

¹⁰⁶ Galofre y Coma, 175.

¹⁰⁷ Galofre y Coma, 10.

El Artista was not one of the (many) lists circulating in Rome that provided the addresses of artists' studios.¹⁰⁸ Galofre rather wanted to describe the studio visit as a valuable practice free-of-charge, and artists should benefit from it while they could.¹⁰⁹ He spoke of them not only as places of display, but also as spaces of marketing and apprenticeship.¹¹⁰ This was not a novel idea at the time, but perhaps he was influenced by Selvatico.

Not all studios were the same though. Galofre explicitly warned his readers that it could have been “troublesome to become familiar with some established artists in Rome” and thus to gain access to their studio. In his dislike for the group of classicists, Galofre possibly had in mind the giant studio of Vincenzo Camuccini in Via de' Greci, which had been honoured with a papal visit in 1825, and which was one of the main touristic destinations.¹¹¹

Perhaps, Camuccini's studio inspired Galofre's argument against a specific type of studio, which he called a “training workshop”, and considered as being not too distant from a busy, overcrowded, academic classroom. This type of study was the least suitable, according to Galofre, to try to gain access. According to Galofre, there were three main reasons for this. First, both academies and studios often welcomed more students than the master could fully engage with.¹¹² Second, the master had too many students and too little time to dedicate to them.¹¹³ Finally, young visitors were not admitted to the more private rooms where the master created his own pieces, and were thus oblivious to the process of creating a great art piece.¹¹⁴ The master, he

¹⁰⁸ One example is the English book in bibliography: Hawks Le Grice, *Walks Through the Studii of the Sculptors at Rome; Il Mercurio di Roma ossia Grande raccolta d'indirizzi e notizie de' pubblici e privati stabilimenti: dei professori di scienze, lettere ed arti; de' commercianti, degli artisti ec. ec. ec.*, 194 (Roma: Tipografia delle Scienze in Via delle Convertite, 1843).

¹⁰⁹ Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 17.

¹¹⁰ See the chapter on Rome in Calipari's doctoral research, Jessica Maria Calipari, 'La rappresentazione dell'atelier d'artista in Italia nel XIX secolo' (Doctoral thesis, Pisa, Scuola Normale Superiore Pisa, 2019).

¹¹¹ Federica Giacomini, 'L'atelier di Vincenzo Camuccini in via dei Greci', in *La pittura di storia in Italia 1785 - 1870. Ricerche, quesiti, proposte*, by Giovanna Capitelli and Carla Mazzarelli (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana editore, 2008), 47–57.

¹¹² Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 17.

¹¹³ Galofre y Coma, 167.

¹¹⁴ Galofre y Coma, 18.

complained, was most interested in showing their latest finished works at their studios rather than explaining how they made the piece.¹¹⁵

By contrast, even without explicitly suggesting a visit to their studios, Galofre commended the personal successes of some of the Academy of Saint Luke's professors (he mentions "the great sculptor Tenerani, the renowned painter and theorist Minardi, and the esteemed architect Poletti").¹¹⁶ The sculptors Tenerani, Luigi Bienaimé, and Gibson, he wrote, took over the market once dominated by Canova and Camuccini.¹¹⁷ Among the works of Tenerani – who after the death of Canova and the definitive return of Thorvaldsen to Copenhagen became the leading Italian sculptor in Rome – Galofre praised his *Deposition from the Cross*.¹¹⁸ It was the marble relief he sculpted around 1844 for the Torlonia Chapel at Basilica di San Giovanni in Laterano which counted as one of the few contemporary artworks he quoted in the text, and which was visible in Rome.¹¹⁹

1.3.2 Spaces for study

Travels were another essential component of the Roman traineeship and museums were crucial spaces for the study of historicised artists.¹²⁰ Galofre understood museums as being essential to any artist, but especially to history painters and sculptors, since an in-depth knowledge of museum collections, in the broadest sense possible, would help them to create their original pieces.¹²¹

¹¹⁵ Galofre y Coma, 17.

¹¹⁶ Galofre y Coma, 164.

¹¹⁷ Galofre y Coma, 184-85.

¹¹⁸ Pietro Tenerani, *Deposition from the Cross*, 1844, marble. Rome, Torlonia Chapel, Basilica di S. Giovanni in Laterano.

¹¹⁹ Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 42.

¹²⁰ "[...] es indispensable hacer excursiones durante la buena estación, a Florencia, Pisa, Siena, Perugia, Asís y Orvieto, ciudades que contienen ininidad de preciosidades muy útiles y conducentes a formar los capitales artísticos referidos. Y es tanta la cantidad de obras maestras que encierran, que cada palacio y cada iglesia es un Museo, de donde han difundido la llama vivificadora del genio, lo hábiles Artistas del 1300 al 1600. Y si se prolonga la excursión por la alta Italia, pasando por Génova, Turín y Milán, y continuando por Parma, Padua, Venecia y Bolonia, hallarán en la Reina del Adriático tantas e infinitas obras maestras de los incomparables coloristas venecianos, que el buen inteligente encontrará por meses y años ocupación agradable de que sacar provecho." Galofre y Coma, 25.

¹²¹ Galofre y Coma, 21.

The word “museum” features forty-six times in the text, together with picture gallery (“pinacoteca”), and sculpture gallery (“gipsoteca”). The word “gallery” appeared twenty-five times, often in reference to private picture collections which visitors could have access to, and which he called *galerías particulares*. Occasionally the word gallery was synonymous with museum. He never used the expression collection, which will be used in this chapter to refer to both museums and galleries.

However, *El Artista* cannot be intended as a museum guide. It did not provide any address or opening hours and often fails to indicate the name of the museum where an artwork is housed and rather indicates the city where it can be found. When he did mention them, the collection was either referred to as the museum of a particular city (for instance “the museum of Paris”), only occasionally by the collection’s name, but it was often not even mentioned (for instance Raphael’s “Madonna della Seggiola in Florence”).¹²²

According to Galofre, museums were not only the newly opened national museums.¹²³ In the age of national-museum building, he stated that in Italy everything was an exhibit worthy of study: “every palace, every church is a museum, from which the skilful artists from the 14th to the 17th centuries diffused the revitalising flame of their genius”.¹²⁴ Instead, Galofre – unsurprisingly given he was an academic outsider – said nothing regarding the academic collections, which themselves served as an important didactic tool in a curriculum. Under Gregory XVI’s papacy, archaeological excavations and public works received new impulses, as opposed to the prior three decades during which painting and sculpture had been highly encouraged. Nevertheless, Galofre made little or no mention of archaeological sites, despite the excavations promoted by Gregory XVI in the area around the Roman forum. Nor was any reference made to the various archaeological museums opened during his pontificate: Museo Gregoriano Etrusco in 1837, Museo Gregoriano Egizio in 1839, and Museo Gregoriano

¹²² Galofre y Coma, 31.

¹²³ Galofre y Coma, 40.

¹²⁴ Galofre y Coma, 25.

Profano Lateranense in 1844.¹²⁵ Perhaps this absence indicates his greater interest in painting.

Rather than inviting his readers to visit specific collections, Galofre often invited them to focus on a specific artwork in a collection and explained his reasons. The latter could vary, a painting had to be studied for good chiaroscuro (Correggio, Rembrandt, Van Dyck, Velázquez, and Raphael for many of his artworks, such as *Madonna della Seggiola* in Florence”), good drawing (“Raphael and his frescos of *Disputation of the Holy Sacrament*, [...] Perugino, Garofalo, Juan de Juanes and Fra Angelico”), good colouring (“Bonifazio Veronese, Palma, Giovanni Bellini, Giorgione and his pupil the great Titian but also Rembrandt and Van Dyck”), good composition or the correct representation of the nude in a religious painting.¹²⁶

Galofre had an eccentric vision of tourism, which from Rome led to European cities. Rome was the necessary point of departure, in his opinion, given the immensity and completeness of Roman collections, as opposed to European national museums such as the Royal Museum in Madrid.¹²⁷ Besides, what Rome lacked could be compensated through etchings that were circulating, and travels elsewhere in Italy, possibly during the summertime when the heat made it unbearable to stay in the city.¹²⁸

It was Italy where artists had to begin their education. Galofre likely drew from his own experience, having visited Venice and Milan (1842), Orvieto (1844) and Turin (1846) when in chapter III he recommended also visiting Florence, Pisa, Siena, Perugia, Assisi, and Orvieto to study the Italian Trecento down to the Seicento,¹²⁹ adding that German artists, who represented an international novelty at the time, inaugurated such a practice.¹³⁰ He also suggested his audience to extend their travels to northern

¹²⁵ Longo, Zaccagnini, and Fabbrini, *Gregorio XVI promotore delle arti e della cultura*; Romano Ugolini, ed., *Gregorio XVI tra oscurantismo e innovazione. Stato degli studi e percorsi di ricerca* (Pisa: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2012).

¹²⁶ Galofre y Coma, 31.

¹²⁷ Galofre y Coma, 12.

¹²⁸ Giovanni Boschi, *L'artistica società di Ponte Molle riunita a festa nelle Grotte del Cervaro, relazione del Dr Giovanni Boschi* (Roma, 1845), 19.

¹²⁹ Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 25.

¹³⁰ Galofre y Coma, 27.

Italy and to stop in Parma, Padua, Venice, Genoa, Turin, Milan, and Bologna; in chapter XVI he also recommended a visit to Ravenna for its mosaics.¹³¹

Galofre praised the “German” artists, as he called them, for understanding better even than the Italians the importance of such excursions.¹³² They “heralded an anti-academic revival of medieval techniques to make visible the contents of speech and thought, introducing indirect narration back into high art”.¹³³ The study of Italian medieval art was therefore vital to their poetics. Yet, according to Ricci’s study (2006), the Italian artist Minardi -who knew Umbria’s artistic treasures very well thanks to the institutional roles he held within the local Academy of Fine Arts - was the one who had advised the German artists to visit central Italy.¹³⁴ Galofre failed to acknowledge Minardi’s role, but this was a minor point in the eyes’ of most and did not affect the international reputation in which the German school was held between the 1810s and the early 1840s.¹³⁵ Galofre's decision to mention them in his handbook suggested the novelty of his words. After all, as Chapter 2 will show, Overbeck and the German school were synonymous with international updating in Madrid in the 1840s, where Galofre published his text in 1851. By consequence, his reference to the German school served to signal his own awareness of being up-to-date with the latest trends, which he himself was following, as a disciple of Overbeck.

As for the presence of European cities in his narrative, we should not forget the handbook’s full title: *El Artista en Italia y los demás países de Europa*. This suggests that Galofre wanted to educate international artists and amateurs on how to become experts in European art, even though he mostly referred to artworks in the Roman and Italian galleries (for example, in Florence, Turin, Naples and Milan). He only occasionally referred to other European collections, especially to the Spanish school on display in Madrid and in Paris. In one of his many attempts at celebrating Spain, he particularly

¹³¹ Galofre y Coma, 142.

¹³² Galofre y Coma, 27.

¹³³ Grewe, *Painting the Sacred in the Age of Romanticism*, 2009, 3.

¹³⁴ Ricci, ‘Da Roma a Perugia, da Perugia all’Europa’.

¹³⁵ Grewe, *Painting the Sacred in the Age of Romanticism*, 2009, 1.

encouraged his Spanish reader to enjoy domestic tourism in Spain, if they were unable to study outside their country.

1.3.3 Spaces for update

Nineteenth-century frescos

Given Galofre's loose concept of what a museum could be, it is not surprising then that for him modern decorations of newly built public spaces that embellished cities, should also have a pedagogic and exemplary value for artists and society.¹³⁶ While museum, private collections, and churches preserved historicised works, some new palaces with their fresco decorations provided artists with evidence of the latest directions taken by modern artists. According to Galofre, such decorations converted any place into a "better space than a museum for teaching people virtuous and heroic exempla".¹³⁷ Thus it was not only canvases and sculptures that were included in the Catalan's social reform of arts, but also frescos.¹³⁸

He pointed to Siena to demonstrate that the fresco was the most suitable technique for representing both civic and Christian subjects. He described the Palazzo Pubblico's fresco cycle *The Allegory of Good and Bad Government* (1338-1339) by Lorenzetti, as "the most relevant monument to fourteenth-century art".¹³⁹ More generally, he remembered the Tuscan city to be "the cradle of Christian arts' thanks to the many artists who in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries worked on the churches' fresco decorations".¹⁴⁰

El Artista directed the readers to frescoes in Rome and Europe.¹⁴¹ In the early nineteenth century, fresco painting had long been out of fashion before the technique was revived in Rome in the 1810s in both public and private settings. By adopting a holistic outlook on the Roman environment in the

¹³⁶ Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 25.

¹³⁷ Galofre y Coma, 90.

¹³⁸ Galofre y Coma, 142–57.

¹³⁹ Galofre y Coma, 54.

¹⁴⁰ Galofre y Coma, 144.

¹⁴¹ On Pius IX's patronage, see Giovanna Capitelli and Ilaria Sgarbozza, eds., *Mecenatismo pontificio e borbonico alla vigilia dell'Unità* (Roma: Fondazione Roma Arte Musei, 2011).

1810s and 1820s, Susinno claimed that what was necessary for the fresco's revival was the fortuitous convergence of artists and patrons, which made Rome in the time of Canova the centre of diffusing this technique.¹⁴² The value of the technique was enhanced by its non-commercial nature, which elevated not only the subject represented but also the commission itself.¹⁴³

The first reference to fresco painting in Rome is found in a letter sent in 1810 by Giuseppe Zauli to his pupil Minardi, where the former illustrated how to paint a fresco.¹⁴⁴ Meanwhile, Consul Giuseppe Tambroni published the treaty by Cennino Cennini's *Il libro dell'arte* where the technique was detailed. The banker Giovanni Torlonia appointed Pelagio Pelagi and Domenico del Frate to work at Torlonia's palace in 1813.¹⁴⁵

The Prussian consul and art connoisseur Jacob Ludwig Salomon Bartholdy made a considerable effort to promote German artists in Rome.¹⁴⁶ He had commissioned a fresco decoration for his sitting room at his residence, Palazzo Zuccari on Trinità dei Monti, from the Prussian students Cornelius, Franz Catel, Wilhelm Schadow, and Philipp Veit.¹⁴⁷ The Lübeck-born Overbeck was only involved in a later phase, when Catel said that his commitment would have been minimal.¹⁴⁸ Unlike the consul, Cornelius had a monumental project in mind, and he eventually succeeded in persuading him to commission a great historical cycle inspired by the Egyptian stories of Joseph.¹⁴⁹ Bartholdy's commission should have been completed by October 1816, but mastering the technique was easier said than done, and the artists meticulously worked at the preparatory cardboards, which were then shipped

¹⁴² Ulrich Hiesinger, 'Canova and the Frescoes of the Galleria Chiaramonti', *The Burlington Magazine* 120, no. 907 (1978): 654-663.665.

¹⁴³ Carlo Sisi, 'Da Roma all'Europa: corrispondenze accademiche', in Sisi and Spalletti, *Nel segno di Ingres*, 23.

¹⁴⁴ Stefano Susinno, 'Introduzione', in *Disegni di Tommaso Minardi (1787-1871)*, ed. Stefano Susinno, vol. 1, 2 vols, exh. cat. (Roma, 1982), 13-31.

¹⁴⁵ Stefano Susinno, 'Gli affreschi del Casino Massimo in Roma. Appunti per un quadro di riferimento nell'ambiente romano', in Piantoni and Susinno, *I Nazareni a Roma*, 369-73.

¹⁴⁶ Robert McVaugh, 'A Revised Reconstruction of the Casa Bartholdy Fresco Cycle', *The Art Bulletin* 66, no. 3 (1984): 442-52.

¹⁴⁷ Frank Büttner. 'Il ciclo di affreschi romani dei Nazareni', in Piantoni and Susinno, *I Nazareni a Roma*, 60.

¹⁴⁸ Benjamin Frank Mitchell, *German Romantic Painting Redefined: Nazarene Tradition and the Narratives of Romanticism* (London - New York City: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017), 26.

¹⁴⁹ Büttner, 'Il ciclo di affreschi romani dei Nazareni', in Piantoni and Susinno, *I Nazareni a Roma*, 60.

to be viewed in Germany. The work was finally completed in 1817, and resulted in a remarkable success for German artists, who received other fresco commissions in Rome.

Meanwhile, Canova asked (and personally funded) Veit and Carl Eggers to work on the fresco decoration of the lunetas at the new Chiaramonti museum in the Vatican (opened in 1808). In February 1817 Marquis Carlo Massimo – who had first asked Minardi, who declined – commissioned a fresco decoration of two rooms of his Casino from Overbeck, Cornelius and the newly arrived Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld.¹⁵⁰ Given the function of the palace, namely a family's suburban villa, the theme chosen was taken from Italian literature. Overbeck picked Tasso and Ariosto, while Cornelius chose Dante. Overbeck completed most of the work in three years, but following an illness he finished only one more fresco, having decided to dedicate himself only to religious art. In 1827 Overbeck's place was taken by the also newly arrived Joseph Führich. Having initially withdrawn for the work, Schnorr went back to decorating the Orlando Furioso room (1823-1827). Veit took Cornelius' place in May 1818, but eventually renounced the project without completing it in 1824. The commission passed onto Joseph Anton Koch who completed the Dante project (1825-1829).¹⁵¹

Galofre spoke of the technique as a travelling medium connecting Rome to Germany, France, Britain, and Spain.¹⁵² The Casino Massimo was the sole contemporary Roman example of fresco that Galofre cited in his handbook. He wrote: “[...] they served as reference for restoring in this second renaissance a technique which reached its acme between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries”.¹⁵³ For Germany, Galofre discussed the fresco by Cornelius, who reintroduced the technique in Germany because it better satisfied artists' desire to serve both the state and the church.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰ Susinno, 'Gli affreschi del Casino Massimo in Roma. Appunti per un quadro di riferimento nell'ambiente romano', in Piantoni and Susinno, 369–73.

¹⁵¹ Büttner. 'Il ciclo di affreschi romani dei Nazareni', 62.

¹⁵² Carlo Sisi. 'Da Roma all'Europa: corrispondenze accademiche', in Sisi and Spalletti, *Nel segno di Ingres*, 23.

¹⁵³ By 'they', he referred to Cornelius and his frescoes in Germany, and Overbeck with his frescoes at the Casino Massimo and at the chapel of Porziuncola in Chiesa di Santa Maria degli Angeli (Assisi). Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 149.

¹⁵⁴ Büttner. 'Il ciclo di affreschi romani dei Nazareni', in Piantoni and Susinno, *I Nazareni a Roma*, 59–61.

Galofre praised frescoes for showing that art was infused with a civic message; when passing by, people could admire the frescoes and recount the episodes of national history with the aim of “teaching viewers and reminding them of their country’s most important heroes”.¹⁵⁵

Public exhibitions

The relative lack of interest in public exhibitions in Spain in the 1830s was a major topic for Galofre.¹⁵⁶ Galofre complained about it because he praised exhibitions as a vector for promoting innovation and reaching new audiences. He believed that they provided the best protection for the fine arts and needed to operate with private societies who would encourage the sales of new work.¹⁵⁷ He strongly advised his readers to attend contemporary shows so as to understand what had been done well and what could be avoided. In fact, exhibitions counted as an important pedagogic moment, as the example of Thomas Couture’s *The Romans in Their Decadence* showed.¹⁵⁸ Galofre believed the composition featured nudes which should not be publicly displayed, but also demonstrated how not to paint a nude; the artists’ technical abilities became background in comparison to content which was “damaging to society”.¹⁵⁹ Even though Galofre praised France for its annual exhibitions in *El Artista*, it is also possible that he also drew on his personal experience of public exhibitions organised in Rome from the 1830s onwards.

When German artists settled in Rome after their deliberate scission from the Austrian academy of Vienna in 1810, Overbeck and Pforr could not count on any official exhibition space.¹⁶⁰ The lack of a structured traineeship prevented them from having an official exhibiting space, as the French pensionaries had at Villa Medici or the students at the Academy of Saint Luke, with academic exhibitions regularly organised. After all, while the

¹⁵⁵ Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 90.

¹⁵⁶ Calvo Serraller, ‘Las academias artísticas en España’, 229.

¹⁵⁷ Galofre y Coma, *El artista* 166.

¹⁵⁸ Galofre y Coma, 12.

¹⁵⁹ Galofre y Coma, 46.

¹⁶⁰ Huber, Huber, ‘Mostre di artisti tedeschi a Roma 1800-1830’, in Piantoni and Susinno, *I Nazareni a Roma*, 65–69.

Frenchmen were in Rome thanks to the traineeship, German artists had left the academy and could count on their only strengths. This was not an obstacle though; they found alternative ways to promote their art. One channel was through exhibitions in the city. They displayed their works at their workshops, at churches, under the Pantheon's arcades, and at their influential compatriots' houses. They organised exhibitions at official venues such as the Caffarelli Palace, home of the Prussian embassy, Zuccari Palace or Venezia Palace, on Germanophone royal visits.

The situation for emerging artists from all nationalities in Rome changed in 1830 when a society that was predominantly set up by international artists created an annual exhibition on Piazza del Popolo.¹⁶¹ Famous artists in Rome, including Camuccini and Minardi who played an active role in the set-up of the Società degli Amatori e Cultori delle Belle Arti,¹⁶² knew that for less experienced artists it was harder to emerge. For this reason, the newly funded Società degli Amatori was formed to offer them the opportunity to stand out in the market. Participation was possible with various genres, from historical painting to landscape.¹⁶³

Galofre recorded the variety of genres he saw in Piazza del Popolo, claiming that “for each history painting, there are twenty portraits, forty small genre paintings mixed up with landscapes or seascapes”.¹⁶⁴ He participated into several exhibitions in Italy and Paris. In 1840 he participated in Piazza del Popolo with a few portraits, which Federico de Madrazo dismissed as poorly done.¹⁶⁵ In August 1842 he took part in the Fine Arts Exhibition in Venice, where he presented a religious episode taken from Luke's Gospel: *Christ who Calmed the Storm at the Sea of Galilee* (untraced). According to one review, the execution was admired for its debt to fourteenth-century artists, but the picture was said to lack a true understanding of the sacred meaning of the scene.¹⁶⁶ In the autumn of 1842, Galofre was in Milan to

¹⁶¹ *Statuto della Società degli amatori e de' cultori delle Belle Arti* (Roma: Antonio Boulzaler, 1830).

¹⁶² Montani, 'La Società degli Amatori e Cultori delle Belle Arti in Roma. 1829 - 1883', 12.

¹⁶³ Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 165.

¹⁶⁴ Galofre y Coma, 130.

¹⁶⁵ Doc. 114, Rome, 13th February 1840, Diez, *Epistolario: Federico de Madrazo*, 296.

¹⁶⁶ 'Esposizione di belle arti in Venezia nell'agosto del 1842', *Rivista Europea. Giornale di scienze, lettere, arti e varietà* V, no. IV (1842): 66.

attend the *Pubblica Esposizione di Belle Arti* in the Brera Gallery. There he exhibited various watercolours, a technique that he considered profitable for the market, as well as an oil of a half-bust angel with a crown of thorns.¹⁶⁷ This angel might be the one referred to by Vilar, together with another painting entitled *Dante Before the Door of Purgatory* (untraced), which Galofre possibly painted between 1837 and 1842.¹⁶⁸ According to what the Broccas told Vilar, however, Galofre's *Dante* determined the painter's overall failure at the exhibition. It would have been better to present only watercolours which were good quality, according to a review on Galofre's watercolours, one of which was *Jesus Christ who Calmed the Storm at the Sea of Galilee*, probably the same picture he presented in Venice. There were also four portraits, two of which were pencil portraits of Raphael and Perugino.¹⁶⁹

The other watercolours were what Galofre called "architectural painting" (untraced).¹⁷⁰ Depictions of architectural interiors and exterior views (from ancient archeological sites to modern buildings and urban views) became a popular subject in nineteenth-century painting,¹⁷¹ both in the format of oil paintings that appealed to international collectors and as stage scenery designed for theatre plays and operas. While the British painter David Roberts tended to embellish his sketches of Spanish landscapes and monuments when transforming them into oil paintings in his studio back in London,¹⁷² Galofre was interested in recording views of the most iconic buildings in Italy, which testify his travels and studies. Scattered primary sources indicate that Galofre painted: (1) the Churches of San Clemente and San Giovanni in Laterano in Rome; (2) the belltower of Santa Maria del Fiore; (3) a lateral wall of the Basilica of San Marco; (4) some Roman ruins; and finally (5) the dome of Orvieto's cathedral during the visit of the pope in the year when the

¹⁶⁷ Luigi Malvezzi, *Raccolta di articoli artistici editi ed inediti di Luigi Malvezzi* (Milano: Tipografia Guglielmini e Redaelli, 1842), 87.

¹⁶⁸ Doc. 20, Rome, 19th November 1842, Moreno, *El Escultor Manuel Vilar*, 120.

¹⁶⁹ 'Belle Arti. Esposizione nell'I.R. Palazzo di Brera in Milano', *Bazar di novità artistiche, letterarie e teatrali* II, no. 76 (21 September 1842): 301–2.

¹⁷⁰ Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 134.

¹⁷¹ Galofre y Coma, 127–41.

¹⁷² Claudia Hopkins, 'Inventing and Popularising the Spanish Pictorial', in *Romantic Spain. David Roberts and Genaro Pérez Villaamil*, ed. Claudia Hopkins (Madrid: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando - CEEH - Instituto Ceán Bermúdez, 2021), 105.

restorations were completed. An etching of Orvieto's façade appeared among the pages of his handbook. In 1843 Galofre again participated in the exhibition on Piazza del Popolo. He presented a religious subject, which Vilar rated as quite good in its composition, and which made a strong impression. Apparently, the work was one of the few commissions from a Spanish client to a compatriot in Rome: it depicted the Virgin of Mercy, who covers some slaves with her cloak (untraced).¹⁷³

The importance that Galofre attached to exhibitions was derived as much from what he knew German artists were doing in the 1810s and 1820s as from what he saw being done in Rome. In Rome and Paris, it was common practice for artists to show their work in academic contexts, public exhibitions, and to set up exhibitions themselves. When *El Artista* was published in the Spanish capital, the San Fernando Academy as well as the Liceo Artístico in Madrid organised public exhibitions as it will be seen in chapter 2, but National Exhibitions were yet to be organised (the first one took place in 1856).

Galofre praised both Paris and Rome for setting a good example by ensuring visibility for both emerging and established contemporary artists, and he appealed to other governments to help the most talented artists in kick-starting their career, as France was doing with the Salons.¹⁷⁴ For Galofre, his experience with International Exhibitions became a further demonstration of the need to improve the state system for the promotion of contemporary art. Governments thus needed to implement such systems, making sure that professional artists who completed their education could find employment before financing the education of next generation.¹⁷⁵

1.4 The value of Rome

El Artista offers a useful survey of Rome's cultural institutions and art market in the first half of the nineteenth century, which constituted the value a Roman-trained Spanish artist attributed to the city. Such value laid in the opportunities the city, and more in general the Italian peninsula, offered for

¹⁷³ Doc. 22, Rome, 23rd September 1843, Moreno, *El Escultor Manuel Vilar*, 124.

¹⁷⁴ Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 166.

¹⁷⁵ Galofre y Coma, 166.

both studying and practicing the arts, which could positively raise an artist's position in society.¹⁷⁶

Scholars have overlooked this richness, because mostly interested in the author's attacks on academic teaching in Spain. Fontbona counted Galofre among the Catalan nazarenes, and Calvo Serraller defined *El Artista* as an example of "militant nazarenism". Both definitions are commonly accepted, but they were attributed to him after 1851, when Galofre became a herald of anti-academism. Entering into a public quarrel with Federico de Madrazo, who assumed the role of defender of the establishment.¹⁷⁷

Was Galofre an anti-academic when he moved to Rome? Probably not, he was rather a man who hoped to be part of the establishment. He reached Rome, from his native Barcelona, as a self-funded artist. In 1841 he unsuccessfully tried to win a scholarship as a painter. It is unclear what kind of scholarship he hoped to obtain but this failure might be a justification for his hostility against the system. Galofre was an outsider when it came to fine arts academies, but he was not an outsider in the academic music sector. He was a composer and a violinist, who studied with the famous Niccolò Paganini.¹⁷⁸ He eventually reaped the fruits of his labour when he won an affiliation to the Roman music Academy of Santa Cecilia as a violinist.¹⁷⁹

His attempt at self-promotion led him to argue that academies and the studentship were not necessary to the glory of the artist and his nation and were no indication of an artist's ability. Ironically, to prove his point, he took the case of the Spanish artists who went to Rome at the beginning of the

¹⁷⁶ Galofre y Coma, 65–72.

¹⁷⁷ Francisco Calvo Serraller, 'Las academias artísticas en España', in *Las Academias del Arte*, by Nikolaus Pevsner (Madrid: Catedra, 1982), 236.

¹⁷⁸ José Galofre y Coma, *La gramática parda: drama en cinco actos, en prosa por D. J. Galofre* (Madrid: Cámara y Noguera, 1868); Giancarlo Conestabile, *Vita di Niccolò Paganini da Genova, scritta ed illustrata da Giancarlo Conestabile* (Perugia: Tipografia di Vincenzo Bartelli, 1851), 169–71.

¹⁷⁹ On Galofre's hopes for a scholarship, see Doc. 17, Rome, 16th May 1841, Moreno, *El Escultor Manuel Vilar*, 117; *Catalogo dei maestri compositori dei professori di musica e socii di onore della congregazione ed accademia di Santa Cecilia di Roma* (Roma, 1840); *Catalogo dei maestri compositori, dei professori di musica e socii di onore della Congregazione ed accademia di Santa Cecilia di Roma residente nel Collegio di San Carlo a Catinari* (Roma: Tipografia Terego Salvioni, 1842); *Catalogo dei maestri compositori, dei professori di musica e dei socii di onore della Congregazione ed Accademia di Santa Cecilia di Roma residente nel collegio di S. Carlo a Catinari* (Roma: Nella tip. di M. Perego-Salvioni, 1845); Conestabile, *Vita di Niccolò Paganini da Genova, scritta ed illustrata da Giancarlo Conestabile*, 168–70.

nineteenth century without a scholarship and managed to excel, receiving the applause of great foreign artists and making an impression thanks to their “genius and industriousness” alone.¹⁸⁰ Galofre likely referred to José de Madrazo, Álvarez Cubero or Solá and clearly tried to draw a parallel between them and himself, believing that none of them had the aid of a studentship. Galofre though was clearly misinformed because, as seen in the introduction of this dissertation, all those artists not only had a scholarship but were well integrated in Spanish social contexts.

In chapter XVII, Galofre wrote: “it is not the (academic) institution that I am criticising but the way in which it teaches fine art, the lack of correct regulations and the abuses in which all the corporations and social establishments are gradually degenerating, unfortunately, because individual interest extinguishes generous sentiments, and sometimes they lack due vigilance to ensure that they fulfil the purpose for which they were created”.¹⁸¹ He complained that the Academy of Saint Luke’s “famous members are only interested in boasting the honorary title; instead they show no interest in organising meetings as it was done once in Athens”.¹⁸² Finally, he accused such institutions of having done nothing to protect historical buildings or of having promoted their “horrible restorations”.¹⁸³

He criticised the proliferation of academic institutions for damaging artists’ interests or for not promoting them, even though they should be responsible for the artists’ training, protection and production.¹⁸⁴ Galofre

¹⁸⁰ “La España misma encontrará un testimonio de esta verdad, tan reciente y luminoso como triste y lamentable es la causa que lo ha producido. Durante la guerra civil, en que las circunstancias del país no permitieron el envío de pensionados, vinieron a Roma como dije anteriormente varios Artistas españoles, sin pensiones, sin más recursos que sus propios esfuerzos ni más protección que la de su celo y constancia; y sin embargo y a pesar de que todos abrazaban el género elevado se han distinguido algunos hasta con admiración y aplauso de profesores extranjeros, dejando gloriosos recuerdos, debidos únicamente a su género y laboriosidad.” Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 174.

¹⁸¹ Galofre y Coma, *El artista* 158.

¹⁸² Galofre y Coma, 164.

¹⁸³ “Otro de los resultados fatales de la negligencia de esas instituciones es el descuido o indiferencia con que las más ven pasar las épocas destructoras de los monumentos antiguos sin levantar su voz con energía y vigor para impedir su ruina. [...] Pero desde que se establecieron las Academias, se ha notado un aumento considerable de esos monstruosos restauros, dirigidos por arquitectos académicos no siempre dignos de serlo por su escasa capacidad.” Galofre y Coma, 161.

¹⁸⁴ “[...] a medida que las Academias se multiplicaban, y crecía el número de alumnos y el de las medianías, disminuían como es natural la afición de los comitentes y desaparecían aún

complained about the state of knowledge with which fine arts students arrived in Rome, which was too limited in his opinion, and also a justification for his own writing. He also complained about the statal and private lack of understanding, and thus of investment, in paying for scholarships.¹⁸⁵ Galofre was in favour of statal intervention to ensure the progress in fine arts, which aligns with the views of other Spanish romantics of his generation.¹⁸⁶ They auspicated what Calvo Serraller called “an educational programme” aimed at stimulating good taste in the country.¹⁸⁷

In the handbook, Galofre was never explicit in his remarks against Spain, he always spoke in generic terms when complaining about the situation he witnessed in Rome. However, in the above passage he referred to the political situation in Spain – alluding to the consequences of the ecclesiastical confiscations during Maria Cristina’s regency and the echoes it had in the city of Barcelona, where a few medieval buildings had been severely damaged.¹⁸⁸

los de peor gusto; de modo que también bajo este concepto las Academias han dañado inmensamente los intereses de los Artistas, o por lo menos no han acertado a promoverlos.” Galofre y Coma, 161.

¹⁸⁵ “Pero esto no es suficiente para sacar provecho de las obras grandes, que ofrece la ciudad inmortal; y no cesaré de repetirlo en obsequio del Arte ... nadie debe emprender aquel viaje sin haber llegado al estado de comprender bien el dibujo, ejercitándolo del natural correctamente; ser práctico en la anatomía; conocer y comprender bien las estatuas antiguas griegas más clásicas; ... Debe ser práctico en el ejercicio material de la paleta, conocer el claro-oscuro dibujando y pintando, y tener una buena idea del colorido. A este fin será bien que el maestro le haya hecho copiar diferentes cuadros antiguos de distintas escuelas y en la forma que se indica en el siguiente capítulo, así para acostumbrarse a comprender y distinguir la diversidad de estilos, como para conocer la inclinación natural del joven, que más tarde desea lanzarse en el vasto campo artístico de Roma para fijar sus inspiraciones y esperanzas en la carrera. ... Ojalá que lleguen a penetrarse tanto los gobiernos como los particulares, de la importancia de enviar a Roma únicamente a aquellos jóvenes que ofrezcan probabilidad de aprovechar con la contemplación y el estudio, las obras maestras que encierran las principales ciudades de Italia y los bellos Museos de otras capitales de Europa! Ellas serán objeto de nuestra observación en las siguientes materias artísticas, que procuraremos tratar con el debido tino y cuidado.” Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 11–15.

¹⁸⁶ Calvo Serraller, ‘Las academias artísticas en España’, 229.

¹⁸⁷ Calvo Serraller, 230.

¹⁸⁸ “Tampoco puede concebirse sin pela abreacción de echar abajo un edificio antiguo para poner otro moderno; y sin embargo sucedió hasta en la ciudad de Barcelona, donde hay la Escuela de Nobles Artes más grandiosa de España y que cuenta en su seno un crecido número de profesores. Acaso no se les pueda inculpar tan severamente como el hecho merece por hallarse precisados en estos últimos años a evitar el odio de los partidos políticos; más de todos modos, desconsuela el haberse visto destruir a la sombra de autoridades artísticas y por arquitectos titulados además de la citada y bella iglesia de Santa Catalina de hermoso ojival español, y la de San Francisco de igual estilo, la mayor parte interior y exterior de la casa del Ayuntamiento del más refinado gótico, viéndose hoy día arrinconados en un patio montones de sus piedras labradas por tallistas del 1400; y cosa increíble ahora que ha pasado la tempestad revolucionaria acaba de proponerse el completo derribo de lo que queda de antiguo

Perhaps, he thought it could have been counterproductive. The *captatio benevolentiae* that he wrote for the Escuela de Bellas Artes in Barcelona seems to denote his desire to be part of the establishment rather than at its margins. He applauded this institution, and the Board of Trade “which watches over it”, for generously supporting students by purchasing the training material and funding Roman studentships. On the other hand, he complained that, despite this generosity no real progress was made in his city and that the arts received no real input.¹⁸⁹

In *El Artista* Galofre opened to the possibility of reforming the academy and only if unsuccessful they should be destroyed. In 1851 he had hopes for the future of the academies, if subjected to a drastic reform, taking as models the teaching structure at the Academy of Saint Luke and the collegiate practice of art developed by the Brotherhood of Saint Luke. Wishing to diverge from what he believed was the classicists’ outdated conception of the academy and art making practices, Galofre promoted the methods of the German and Italian artists. Galofre applauded Germans for being the first to grasp that it was not only teaching problems that afflicted the fine arts academies. He commended their early stages when “they not only kept their distance from the academic routine, but they also tried to close some [academies]”.¹⁹⁰ Once in Rome, they created a community “bounded by serious study and mutual criticism”.¹⁹¹ Theirs was a new form of making art by living and working collectively in the partially abandoned monastery of

... y gracia a la prensa catalana que han levantado el grito en masa contra semejante barbarie se ha decidido su conservación para oprobio eterno de los que no supieron salvar el edificio por entero.” Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 162.

¹⁸⁹ “[...] el crecido gasto de la referida escuela de Barcelona que única en Europa en generosidad ha pagado hasta ahora a los infinitos alumnos, todos los utensilios necesarios para el dibujo, barro y colores al óleo, no menos que un crecido número de premios, que hasta hace poco ha satisfecho un metálico (cosa no muy decorosa) mandando también pensionistas a Roma en los tres ramos de la profesión. Pues bien: a pesar de tantos discípulos que anualmente se renuevan, a pesar del impulso de la Junta de Comercio que vela sobre ella, de la generosidad de sus institutores, y del celo de algunos de los profesores que la dirigen, nada ha mejorado la ciudad en gusto artístico y ningún cuadro de consideración se ejecuta, ni estatua alguna de mérito adorna los salones de los ricos, ni los edificios particulares pasan de los límites de una construcción sólida y económica, recurriéndose a menudo a extranjeros aunque acaso será innecesariamente como ha sucedido con el vasto y cómodo teatro del Liceo exornado por algunos venidos de Paris.” Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 163.

¹⁹⁰ Galofre y Coma, 165.

¹⁹¹ Cordula Grewe, ‘Historicism and the Symbolic Imagination in Nazarene Art’, *The Art Bulletin* 89, no. 1 (2007): 82.

St. Isidoro.¹⁹² Grewe wrote that a deep sense of religiosity and collectivism characterised the life of the early German group, which was determined to innovate in art matters and promote a cultural revolution through piety and the study of the Trecento and Quattrocento.¹⁹³ In the early stages, Overbeck had even painted a device to apply to all their artworks that would indicate the group's approval of the artwork, and each member received a diploma upon admission into the group.¹⁹⁴ This sense of belonging and closed community was reinforced in the original members' attitudes: they despised worldly gatherings such as promenades and balls. Few of them spoke Italian, only two were married to Italian women, and in general they did not reside in Rome for extended periods. They acted as a group even when in the city streets, visibly standing out with their long hair and beards and odd fashion choices (red gowns and big shoes). From this initial closeness, they became a more open community halfway through the 1810s.¹⁹⁵

Galofre praised their intention of sharing a space to converse about and create art, in clear opposition to the formal academies with their hierarchies and ceremonies.¹⁹⁶ He considered their collegiate life as the best way to improve and develop somebody's "genius" because it was the product of a disinterested dialogue among artists.¹⁹⁷ By living and working together, he claimed, nazarenes developed their ideas with dedication and benefit, and by being exempt from all empty celebrations, he reasoned, they could make the most out of the "glorious artworks" Italy offered.¹⁹⁸ Besides, a collegiate approach to art was the remedy against the anonymity of overcrowded academic rooms and thus it offered artists a possibility to improve. Galofre exhorted his contemporaries to return to a direct relationship between a master and their pupils was needed and recommended aspiring painters to attend Rome's private academies and studios, because they represented the best places for mutual observation and correction.

¹⁹² Grewe, *The Nazarenes*, 37–49.

¹⁹³ Grewe, 29–30.

¹⁹⁴ Mitchell, *German Romantic Painting Redefined*, 11.

¹⁹⁵ Metken, 'L'Italia e Roma viste dai Nazareni', in Piantoni and Susinno, *I Nazareni a Roma*, 49–50.

¹⁹⁶ Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 175.

¹⁹⁷ Galofre y Coma, 22.

¹⁹⁸ Galofre y Coma, 175.

Due to his own experience in Rome, Galofre was convinced that institutions needed to abolish the anonymity, to elaborate a newer theoretical methodology (in his words, purism) as the proper teaching method, and to rethink the meaning of being an academic member. They also needed to limit the number of students annually admitted. Furthermore, public exhibitions – perfect occasions for study, comparison, and dialogue – had to be understood as essential to artistic progress.¹⁹⁹ Governments needed to change their mindsets and invest in public commissions as well as in public exhibitions. If the academies embraced such changes, then there would be no need for them to be destroyed.²⁰⁰ Galofre also hoped for the handbook to be a recommendation on how society could do better for the arts. In order to succeed, it was imperative for award-holders to understand that the Roman traineeship was not meant to exclusively celebrate individual merits, but rather it was intended to benefit their country, where they needed to return and become an active agent of change.²⁰¹

However, attempts to label Galofre as a nazarene and an anti-academic could prevent us from seeing that the handbook is in fact an ode to and defence of a traineeship in papal Rome, and Rome itself. As once a young, foreign, self-funded student in a cosmopolitan yet highly competitive environment, Galofre believed in the significance of the Roman education for every artist in a modern society, and wanted the purist ideas about the future of academies to be exported to and welcomed by Spain.²⁰² Ultimately, in *El Artista*, Galofre defended the value of a Roman training against questions such as: “Considering [Rome’s] incredible backwardness in comparison to modern societies’ wellbeing and luxury, it would be easy to wonder: Is this the great city I dreamed of?”²⁰³ Galofre was clear - Rome was not a modern society, but it was a city where an artist could build their career within the official circles of patronage and the commercial art market and learn how to help modern society progress through art.

¹⁹⁹ Galofre y Coma, 165.

²⁰⁰ ‘Por tanto, o refórmense las academias, o destrúyanse como cosa inútil y de poco fruto.’ Galofre y Coma, 164.

²⁰¹ Galofre y Coma, 178.

²⁰² Galofre y Coma, 16.

²⁰³ Galofre y Coma, 16.

CHAPTER 2

THE REFORM OF SPANISH SACRED ART

While *lo español* and the seventeenth-century Spanish masters both attracted foreigners and influenced how English and French painters wrestled with modernity, there was a group of Spaniards who sought the “modern spirit” in foreign lands – Paris and Rome.¹ The two capitals were converted into the engines of the artistic transition from barroquismo to second renaissance. Spaniards were directed to the Paris of Ingres and Delaroche for their historical canvases, and the Rome of Minardi and Overbeck for religious art. However, there was a growing group of artists – and most of the artists discussed in this dissertation are part of this group – who travelled to both destinations which consequently suggests that Spanish artists did not necessarily rank the two cities hierarchically.²

The reintroduction of the academic traineeship was intended to allay the fear that Spanish art was facing a moment of crisis, particularly in terms of religious art.³ The crisis was partly institutional: in 1803 it had been recognised that the San Fernando Academy was inadequate for converting its

¹ On the notion of modernity in a Spanish context, see Javier Fernández Sebastián and Gonzalo Capellán de Miguel, ‘The Notion of Modernity in Nineteenth-Century Spain an Example of Conceptual History’, *Contributions to the History of Concepts* 1, no. 2 (2005): 159–84; Gary Tinterow, Geneviève Lacambre, and Jeannine Baticle, eds., *Manet/Velázquez: The French Taste for Spanish Painting* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003).

² On Paris and Rome, see Canovas del Castillo, ‘Artistas españoles en la Academia de San Luca de Roma. 1740-1808’; Carlos Reyero Hermosilla, ‘Pintores españoles del siglo XIX en la Escuela de Bellas Artes de París: entre el aprendizaje cosmopolita y el mérito curricular’, *Academia: Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*, no. 72 (1991): 377–96; Esteban Casado Alcalde, ‘¿Viajeros o pensionados? Ir a Roma a ver qué sale en el primer tercio del siglo XIX’, in *El arte y el viaje*, ed. Miguel Cabañas Bravo, Amelia López-Yarto Elizalde, and Wilfredo Rincón García (Madrid: CSIC, 2011), 61–78. On Paris and Rome being complementary destinations, see Reyero Hermosilla, ‘Ideología e imagen’, 132, 134; Carlos Reyero Hermosilla, ‘Mirar Italia con ojos franceses: Las raíces cosmopolitas de los pintores románticos españoles’, in *El arte de la era romántica* (Madrid: Galaxia Gutenberg, 2012), 217–18.

³ On the topic of crisis and regeneration, see José Álvarez Lopera, ‘La crisis de la pintura religiosa en la España del siglo XIX’, *Cuadernos de arte e iconografía* 1, no. 1 (1988): 81–120; José Ramos Domingo, ‘En el tiempo de los cenáculos: Aproximaciones a la pintura religiosa del siglo XIX’ (Doctoral thesis, Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca, 2011); José Ramos Domingo, *La pintura religiosa del siglo XIX en España* (Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 2012).

students into artists, and that a new teaching method was required.⁴ It was an aesthetic crisis, because Spaniards felt the legacy of their seventeenth-century school weighing heavily on their shoulders and now under the public eye.⁵ As a result of anticlerical policies (such as Mendizábal's decree promulgated in 1835), artworks from the confiscated nunneries and monasteries in the Castilian provinces of Ávila, Madrid, Toledo, and Segovia became the nucleus for the National Museum. Finally, it was a market crisis: artists lost their main buyer of religious canvases and sculptures, due to the anticlerical policies.

This chapter, *The reform of Spanish sacred art*, focuses on the Roman way of regenerating Spanish contemporary religious art. After all, when the Spanish training in Rome was reintroduced, the city was still the main centre for the production and export of sacred art.⁶ Furthermore, commissions for decorating pre-existing and newly built churches had increased in the 1830s and were mostly given to professors at the Academy of Saint Luke.⁷

Having seen the importance attributed to the Roman education by an academic outsider, chapter 2 turns to how the academy crafted such value and even branded the Roman education at an academic level. In doing this, not only governmental-award-holders, but private-award-holders and independent students alike were convinced to invest in Rome. With the exception of a couple of pieces, religious subjects painted or sculpted by Spaniards in Rome were never entirely destined for devotional spaces,⁸ and not only never ceased to be a sub-genre within academic art but also became part of the academic reform of Isabelline art.⁹ The assimilation of religious

⁴ On San Fernando and the painters' education, see Esperanza Navarrete Martínez, *La academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando y la pintura en la primera mitad del siglo XIX* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1999).

⁵ Navarrete Martínez, 186.

⁶ Capitelli, 'La pittura religiosa', 46.

⁷ Capitelli, 44.

⁸ Reyero has identified the processional paso de Semana Santa, *The Last Supper*, as a work by Juan Santmartín de la Serna, a sculptor from Santiago de Compostela, on whose one-year sojourn in Rome in 1863 there is little scholarship. Reyero Hermosilla, *La escultura del eclecticismo*, 52.

⁹ Tomás Pérez Viejo, 'Géneros, mercado, artistas y críticos en la pintura española del siglo XIX', *Espacio, tiempo y forma*, 2012, 35; José Luis Díez, 'El romanticismo académico en la pintura religiosa isabelina (1830-1868)', in *El arte de la era romántica*, ed. Francisco Calvo Serraller (Madrid: Galaxia Gutenberg, 2012), 275–303; for the Italian context, see Giovanna Capitelli, 'La pittura religiosa', in *L'Ottocento in Italia. Le arti sorelle. Il Romanticismo*, ed. Carlo Sisi (Firenze: Electa, 2006), 43–54.

themes within academic practices was made explicit from 1848, when the academic competition for the Roman scholarship in Madrid required Spanish painters to create an autonomous religious composition.¹⁰ The Roman creations were displayed and reviewed at Academic and National Exhibitions, and canvases either remained at the academy or were purchased for the National Museum, reason why now the paintings are part of the Prado Museum's holdings. Moreover, as they were presented as the latest trend in practices, the paintings inspired by the Roman inflection of sacred art were sent to Universal Exhibitions.

This chapter explores the Roman way of regenerating the Spanish sacred by looking at three different chronological phases. The nazarene purist phase took place during the papacy of Gregory XVI and early years of Pius IX (1846-1849), which gave artists a core method to follow even in the following decades, having been assimilated into Spanish academic practices.¹¹ The second phase was that of the Roman catacombs, which occurred under Pius IX as the last pope king (1850-1870) during which new archaeological discoveries in Rome inaugurated a new phase for Spaniards in the representation of Saint martyrs, grounded in a historic treatment of the history of Christianity. The last phase investigates the assimilation of religious art in Spanish practices. The catacombs became a Spanish-Roman genre to be practiced even after 1873, as well as a source of inspiration for investigating Spain's early Christian past.

2.1 The nazarene purist school

In 2007 the Prado Museum curators felt that the application of the term nazarenism to Spanish artists, in particular Catalans active in Rome during the 1830s (who actually constituted the majority of Spanish artists in the Eternal City at the time), was vague but had been in use ever since Cirici i

¹⁰ See Casado Alcalde's article 'Pintores pensionados en Roma en el siglo XIX' cited in the introduction.

¹¹ Ana María Arias de Cossio, 'El nazarenismo en la pintura española del siglo XIX', vol. 2 (II Congreso Nacional de Historia del Arte, Valladolid: Comité Español de Historia del Arte, 1978), 51-54.

Pellicer's essay *Los Nazarenos catalanes*.¹² The publications of Spanish artists' Roman correspondence prompt us to revise such terminology.

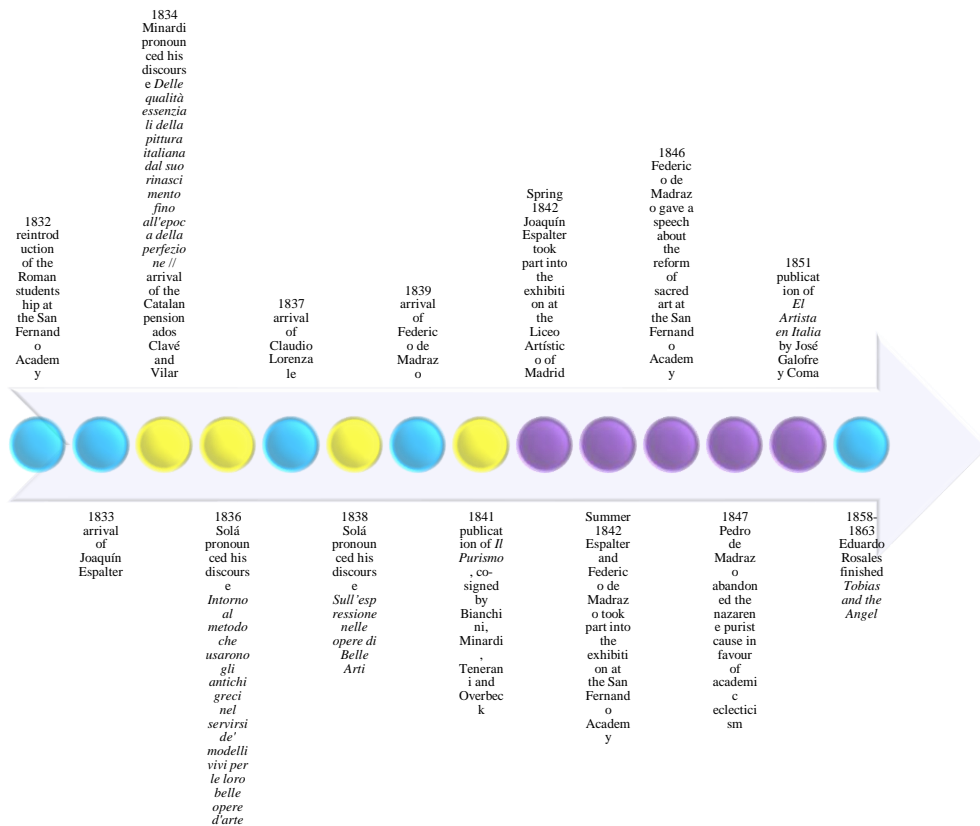


Chart 2

José Caveda y Nava, the first historiographer of the San Fernando Academy, claimed that the fascination for “the school of Overbeck” was inevitable among Spaniards who were familiar with the rich tradition of the Spanish Baroque which had generated great religious artworks. He affirmed:

How could Overbeck's school, characterised by its tender mysticism, not be met with sympathy and applause where the virginal modesty and celestial beauty of Murillo's *Conception* is admired and produces indefinable emotion [...]?¹³

¹² Alexandre Cirici i Pellicer, ‘Los Nazarenos catalanes y sus dibujos en el museo de arte moderno’, *Anales y Boletín de Los Museos de Arte de Barcelona* III, no. 2 (1945): 59–94.

¹³ ‘Cómo pues la escuela de Overbeck realizada por su tierno misticismo no encontrará con simpatías y aplausos donde se admira y produce todavía una indefinible emoción el virginal pudor y la celestial belleza de la Concepción de Murillo [...]?’ José Caveda, *Memorias para la historia de la Real Academia de San Fernando y de las Bellas Artes en España desde el advenimiento al trono de Felipe V hasta nuestros días por el excmo. Sr. D. José Caveda,*

However, by the time Spanish artists arrived in Rome in the 1830s, the German nazarenes' militant phase had already come to an end, and the original group had split.¹⁴ As remembered in the introduction to this dissertation, de facto the Brotherhood of Saint Luke ceased to exist in 1819 and its members shifted from being rebels to part of the academic establishment.¹⁵ That year they organised an exhibition at Palazzo Caffarelli in Rome for the visit of Emperor Francis I and Metternich. Contextually, Crown Prince Ludwig of Bavaria, who was a great supporter of the young group of German artists' plan for "the creation of a new public art", wanted them for his propagandistic plans back home in Munich.¹⁶ In 1819 he invited Cornelius to become director of the Fine Arts Academy in Munich, ten years later Schnorr joined him. Ludwig's juvenile enthusiasm, though, was soon replaced by sourness after he visited Cornelius's finished grand fresco *Last Judgment* for the Church of Saint Ludwig.¹⁷

The remaining German artists began opening up to the Roman academy and its members. It is during the 1820s when Minardi suggested they travelled to Umbria (where they had never been), thereby correcting the nineteenth-century belief that the Germans were the first to have discovered Umbria.¹⁸ Further signs of opening took place after the display of his *The Triumph of Religion*, when Overbeck and those who gravitated around him approached the purist lessons taught by Minardi.

After Pius IX's election (1846), Overbeck became a state artist to the pope.¹⁹ As a result, nazarene purism, as a movement that tried to reconcile the novel academic tradition with the German mysticism, was converted into statal art. As Grewe has explained, Overbeck had "to wrestle Protestantism, to battle the heresies of secularisation and to convert heretics, heathens, and Jews. His series thus fitted squarely into the papacy's broad push against the

consigliario de dicha academia (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel Tello, San Marcos 26, 1867), 149.

¹⁴ Judith Huber, 'Mostre di artisti tedeschi a Roma 1800-1830', in Piantoni and Susinno, *I Nazareni a Roma*, 67.

¹⁵ Grewe, *Painting the Sacred in the Age of Romanticism*, 2009, 21.

¹⁶ Gossman, 'Beyond Modern', 76.

¹⁷ Grewe, 'Historicism and the Symbolic Imagination in Nazarene Art', 82.

¹⁸ Ricci, 'Da Roma a Perugia, da Perugia all'Europa', 23.

¹⁹ Giovanna Capitelli, 'Icône del culto in difesa dell'identità anti-moderna', in Pinto, Barroero, and Mazzocca, *Maestà di Roma. Da Napoleone all'Unità d'Italia*, 249–53.

positivistic and idealistic philosophies of the day; and in the new climate of neo-Scholastic reaction, Overbeck's long-practiced recourse to pre-modern modes of exegesis gained new topicality".²⁰

According to Cracolici, the situation within the group after 1819, and even more so after 1840, overturns any general use of the expression nazarenism for the art produced by German artists after the 1820s. Given the split within the group, the scholar has argued for a necessary terminological, and thus artistic, distinction between Spätnazarener (later nazarenes, term used to define German artists from the School of Düsseldorf who turned to civic art) and Overbeck's followers, who were responsible for the radicalisation of nazarene principles in a purist sense.²¹ For this reason Cracolici has called the art by Overbeck and his direct followers after the 1840s as "nazarene purism with a substantially Roman matrix".²² Such term revendicates the centrality of Rome as the only "spiritual, political and artistic centre" where academic paintings of religious subjects could be practised, after the dissolution of the Brotherhood of Saint Luke.

This section extends the use of the expression "nazarene purism" also to the Spanish case based on the subjects Spaniards painted in Rome by studying the Germans' artworks (above all the angelic transits, the figure of the Virgin Mary and Dante), and their training. As the below pages will show, the information in our possession regarding Spaniards' training support such use even in front of our impossibility of reconstructing many of those artists' early career due to a lack of artworks.²³ Chapter 1 has discussed the personalities that Galofre associated with purism to be Minardi, Tenerani, Ingres and Overbeck. Only somebody who studied in Rome at the time would have been able to grasp the significance of such definition. Thanks to their correspondence and Ovidi's research on Minardi, we know that Spaniards did not attend Overbeck's studios only, but also that of Minardi and Tenerani alongside their connections to Villa Medici and other artists active in the city.

²⁰Grewe, *Painting the Sacred in the Age of Romanticism*, 2009, 58.

²¹ Stefano Cracolici, 'Per il nazarenismo in scultura: Karl Hoffmann in Inghilterra', *Studi di scultura*, no. 3 (2021): 67–68.

²² Cracolici, 68.

²³ Doc. 30, in Díez and Barón, *The nineteenth century in the Prado*, 184.

Besides, scholarship exploring the German-Spanish cultural exchanges in the nineteenth century, has shown that Germany was quite an unusual destination for Spaniards during the 1830s.²⁴ For many, Rome was the only point of contact with German artists; in some cases, the travel to Germany must remain only a hypothesis. Others indeed travelled to Germany but only once their Roman traineeship had ended. This was likely the case for Galofre, but surely that of Federico and Luis de Madrazo.²⁵

2.1.1 1833–1841

The combination of teaching that Rome could offer, caused Catalans to perceive the neoclassical aesthetics as obsolete. In 1838 Solá argued that the Laocoön should be the example to study.²⁶ Artists, he insisted, needed to turn to the Greeks for their understanding of shapes and emotions and how to relate the two: “We have in Laocoön the most sublime example of how Greeks wished their heroes to tolerate their suffering with dignity. The pain their bodies must feel, and the greatness of their soul, are well expressed in each part of their bodies, so much so that the viewer cannot be affected by the hero’s misadventures”. This position was that which Catalan artists would have learnt at Barcelona’s Escuela de Bellas Artes with Solá’s former Roman comrade, Campeny, who can be seen holding Laocoön’s head in his portrait. As the different treatment of the Gospel story of the good Samaritan by Clavé and the Italian Luigi Rubbio shows (Fig. 2.1, Fig. 2.2), though, Solá’s pupils departed from what they perceived to be an outdated teaching by the likes of Solá.

This did not imply their abandonment of the study of the Antique, and the sixteenth-century and the seventeenth-century schools, traditionally part of the Roman education. They rather enriched their study with works from the Italian Middle Ages and Renaissance, and the nazarenes’ works from the late

²⁴ Alzaga Ruiz, ‘La recepción de pintores alemanes’, 199–200.

²⁵ Carlos Reyero Hermosilla, “‘Pero qué guapucos son los alemanes’. El imaginario artístico germánico en la correspondencia de Federico de Madrazo’, in *Spanien und Deutschland. Kulturtransfer im 19. Jahrhundert / España y Alemania. Intercambio cultural en el siglo XIX*, ed. Karin Hellwig (Frankfurt am Main-Madrid: Vervuert Iberoamericana, 2007), 175–93.

²⁶ Solá, ‘Sull’espressione nelle opere di Belle Arti’.

1810s and 1820s (the frescoes at the Casino Massimo or at the Bartholdy Palace), to the nazarene purist artworks by Overbeck and the Germans (their scenes from the Old and New Testaments and the life of Saints), and by Tenerani among others. They also made contacts with the French Academy in Rome by frequenting the Villa Medici (the Academy's venue) not only during Ingres's directorship, but also in posterior dates.²⁷

This section explores the encounter with the nazarene purist school through the Roman activity of Joaquín Espalter and Federico de Madrazo, responsible for the entry of this style and ideas in Madrid. Such reconstruction is in fact more fragmented than the Catalan channel for the diffusion of nazarene purism in Barcelona and Mexico.

In the early phases of their career, Espalter and Madrazo lived parallel lives, even though they did not know one another before coinciding in Rome. Both reached Rome via Paris in 1833 and 1839 respectively and left it early in the 1840s, Espalter in 1841 and Madrazo in 1842. Almost nothing is known about Espalter's life before Rome, as opposed to Madrazo's well documented life. In Rome, they belonged to the same group of friends, made up of Spanish, German, and Italian artists, as Federico de Madrazo's collection of pencil portraits reveals. And they worked on a similar production consisting of religious canvases, in particular holy journeys – angels carrying a soul to heaven – and angelic figures, portraits, and historical scenes.²⁸

At the 1839 Florentine academic exhibition (according to a 1843 Italian source Espalter even had a studio in Florence),²⁹ Espalter displayed *The Melancholy* (untraced), which might be Espalter's *Bice in Rosate Castle* (untraced) described by an Italian reviewer in a Milanese journal.³⁰ This at least the supposition drawn from an 1842 Catalan description of *The*

²⁷ Ernest Hébert, arrived in Rome in 1867, befriended Eduardo Rosales while in Rome whom he described as “a talented Spanish painter”. Isabelle Julia, ‘Echi da Parigi. Prima direzione di Ernest Hébert’, in *Maestà di Roma. Da Ingres a Degas, gli artisti francesi a Roma*, ed. Olivier Bonfait (Milano: Electa, 2003), 133.

²⁸ The expression holy journeys refers to the angelic transit of holy saints. Jörg Traeger, ‘Il transitus divino. “Ave Maria a trasborso di Segantini e il genere devozionale nel XIX secolo”’, in *Pittura italiana nell'Ottocento*, ed. Martina Hansmann and Max Seidel (Venezia: Marsilio, 2005), 279–302.

²⁹ Federigo Fantozzi, *Pianta geometrica della città di Firenze* (Firenze: coi tipi della Galileiana, 1843), 79.

³⁰ *Biblioteca italiana o sia giornale di letteratura, scienze ed arti compilato da vari letterati*, vol. XCVI (Milano: La direzione del giornale, 1839), 254.

Melancholy.³¹ Both the Milanese and Catalan testimonies described a barely adolescent girl dressed according to the fifteenth-century fashion, resting by the window with a half-closed book while she looks at the landscape in front of her. Inspired by fourteenth-century Milanese history, Bice Del Balzo was the daughter of count Del Balzo and had been imprisoned in Rosate castle by Marco Visconti. The latter started a fight with his cousin for her. The two men eventually came to their senses, and Marco gave his permission for his cousin to marry Bice. However, during captivity, the girl had ended her life.

If verified, this supposition would show Espalter's familiarity to Italian northern romanticism. For his Bice Del Balzo, Espalter likely used the acclaimed novel *Marco Visconti* by Tommaso Grossi published in 1834, which he possibly knew thanks to Catalans' connections with the city of Milan.³² The private correspondence of Vilar and Clavé reveal this link with the city thanks to the Brocca family. The latter was a family of businessmen with activities in Cataluña, but also a family of art lovers. Giovanni Brocca, an architect who studied at the Brera Academy of Fine Arts but also practiced painting, was portrayed by Federico de Madrazo, in one of the drawing portraits he made while in Rome.³³

In 1840, Espalter successfully presented his *Dante* at the exhibition on Piazza del Popolo after showing it in Florence in 1839.³⁴ *Dante* was the artist's bid for recognition that stemmed from Espalter's plausible fascination with the frescoes at the Casino Massimo but also from his training with Minardi. The painting was sold for "400 duros" to an unidentified collector in Austrian Trieste, which Vilar deemed to be a miserly sum.³⁵ In 1845 the

³¹ *Folletín del diario de Barcelona de avisos y noticias*, vol. 1 (Barcelona: Imprenta de A. Bruni, 1842), 98.

³² Grossi was born in 1790 in Bellano (Lake Como) but lived in Milan, controlled by the Habsburgs, from where he published a series of literary texts, among which a few telling the story of medieval Milan and its people.

³³ Federico de Madrazo y Kuntz, *Giovanni Brocca*, 1842, pencil on paper, 265x205 mm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, no. inv. D005372.

³⁴ Doc. 120, Rome, 4th June 1840, in Madrazo, *Epistolario*, 1:312; Ludwig Volkman, *Iconografía dantesca. Die bildlichen Darstellungen zur "Göttlichen Komödie"* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1897), 153.

³⁵ Doc. 17 Rome, 16th May 1841, in Moreno, *El Escultor Manuel Vilar*, 117.

work even appeared in the Italian translation of the *Commedia*.³⁶ Madrazo stated, without further elaboration, that Espalter's painting was "beautiful in all meanings of the word".³⁷ Despite the painting's unknown location, we possess a short ekphrasis by Vilar, which partially makes up for this. From Vilar's letter, we understand that Espalter was inspired by the *Canto VIII* of the *Inferno*:

Dante accompanied by Virgil, when they crossed the river Styx that led to Dis city where the wrathful souls were biting [...] this is the painting that gave him [Espalter] fame, and rightly so because there can be no better interpretation of Dante's *Inferno*. If only you could have seen the imagination in the painting: the city on fire, with vapors..., swampy waters with horrible mountains and with the contortions of the wrathful who bite F [Filippo Argenti]... and the boat guided by Charon, and inside the ghost of Virgil, showing the scene to Dante, who takes in the scene of ferocious damned souls – you would have been amazed by the contrast they formed, it was a delight.³⁸

From that time, the second reference to a Catalan working on Dante comes from Galofre, who in autumn 1842 attended the Brera Gallery exhibition, where he exhibited various watercolours – that according to the Broccas, a Milanese family befriended by the Spaniards, were quite good³⁹ - and an oil of a half-bust angel with a crown of thorns.⁴⁰ In one of Vilar's letters we learn that Galofre should have also taken part with *Dante Before the Door of Purgatory* (untraced), but with which he seemingly was unsuccessful according to the Broccas despite the popular romantic subject. Galofre probably hoped to appeal to the market by showing his ability as a history

³⁶ Colomb de Batines, *Bibliografia dantesca ossia catalogo delle edizioni, traduzioni, codici manoscritti e commenti della Divina Commedia e delle opere minori di Dante seguito dalla sere de' biografri di lui*, vol. 1 (Prato: Tipografia Aldina Editrice, 1845), 326.

³⁷ Doc. 120, Rome, 4th June 1840, in Diez, *Epistolario: Federico de Madrazo*, 312.

³⁸ 'El cuadro del Dante acompañado de Virgilio de cuando pasa a río Estigio que conduce a la ciudad de Dite donde están mordiendo a ... amigo de Dante [sic] es el cuadro que ha dado tanta nombradía y con justicia pues no podría interpretarse mejor el infierno de Dante. Si hubieses visto qué fantasía en todo el cuadro, ya de la ciudad toda de fuego, con los vapores que ... aguas empantadas con los montes horribles y con las contorciones de los iracundos que mordían a F ... y con la barca guiada de Caronte remero y dentro Virgilio con aspecto de sombra, enseñando la escena a Dante, cual estaba admirado de ver la ferocidad de los condenados, hubieras quedado admirado de ver el contraste que formaban que era un encanto.' Doc. 17, Rome, 16th May 1841, in Moreno, *El Escultor Manuel Vilar*, 117.

³⁹ Doc. 20, Rome, 19th November 1841. Moreno, *El Escultor Manuel Vilar*, 120.

⁴⁰ Malvezzi, *Raccolta di articoli artistici editi ed inediti di Luigi Malvezzi*, 87.

painter and as a landscapist, since he believed that landscape painting was a genre that sold, and that the *Commedia* allowed the artist to experiment both with a historical composition and with landscape painting.⁴¹

These history canvases, which suggest links to Milan, Florence, and perhaps even Trieste, are a proof of the multifaceted training of Spaniards in Rome, which Galofre recommended his readers to seek. They are also indicative of yet another aspect, the multiple matrixes of their cosmopolitan education. Inspiration for their history and religious canvases potentially had different routes. For his *Moses Carried by Angels* (Fig. 2.3), Espalter clearly looked at the Roman environment. He did not pick a biblical passage but must have relied on a later source. Moses is represented as a bearded elder, identifiable by the two rays of light emanating from his forehead. According to González Navarro, Espalter might have derived the inspiration for this composition from Henri Lehmann's *Saint Catherine of Alexandria* (Fig. 2.4).⁴² But Espalter opted for a less populated scene and, a darker background, which was also used by Federico de Madrazo to highlight the angels' clothes.⁴³ Perhaps we can also see the darker palette typical of the seventeenth-century Spanish school.

Exported from Rome, the angelic transit was a true iconographic innovation in Spanish religious paintings at the time, often practiced by Spanish artists in Rome between the 1830s and early 1860s, although more sporadically towards the end.⁴⁴ In a Roman letter to his father, Federico de Madrazo wrote that he was working on a small painting of an angel carrying a soul to heaven.⁴⁵ Luis Ferrant, in Rome at the time of Federico and Espalter, participated in the 1855 universal exhibition in Paris with *An Infant Carried to Heaven by Two Angels*.⁴⁶ Even though we do not know if Ferrant painted

⁴¹ Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 139.

⁴² Carlos González Navarro, 'Joaquín Espalter en Italia. A propósito de las aguadas y pinturas del Museo del Prado', Hellwig, *Spanien und Deutschland. Kulturtransfer im-19. Jahrhundert - España y Alemania. Intercambio cultural en el siglo XIX*, 151.

⁴³ *Folleto del diario de Barcelona de avisos y noticias*, vol. 1 (Barcelona: Imprenta de A. Bruni, 1842), 98.

⁴⁴ Díez, 'El romanticismo académico en la pintura religiosa isabelina (1830-1868)', 290.

⁴⁵ Doc. 137. Díez, *Epistolario: Federico de Madrazo*, vol. 1, 363.

⁴⁶ Etienne J. Delécluze, *Les Beaux-Arts dans les deux mondes en 1855* (Paris: Charpentier Libraire-Editeur, 1856), 58.

it while in Rome, we cannot exclude such a possibility, or trace it to that period in his life.

In contrast to Espalter and Galofre for whom the encounter with the nazarene painters has been considered accidental, Federico de Madrazo actively engaged with their work. Early in 1839 Madrazo wrote to his father José de Madrazo: “I really want to see some paintings (which I was told would be there) by Cornelius and Overbeck in order to judge the modern German painting, since I do not know these painters except through prints and this is not enough, even though they are very beautiful and of great style”.⁴⁷ That spring, he again stated that he wanted to meet Overbeck in Rome, whose work he knew only through “beautiful prints of paintings and drawings [...]. I really want to meet this painter. I am very sorry to have not seen any of his paintings”.⁴⁸

Once arrived in Rome in autumn of that year, he wrote about the works he was finally able to admire: “I have seen some days ago the fresco paintings at the Villa Massimi [Casino Massimo], painted by the deceased Koch (your friend), Fait [Veit], another German whose name I forgot, and the never over-celebrated Overbeck”.⁴⁹ At the time, Overbeck was working on *The Triumph of Religion in the Arts*, commended by Madrazo for the command of the composition and its immediate legibility.⁵⁰ He believed in fact that Overbeck had a deep knowledge of all aspects of great painting, elevated and grand, profound, as understood by Raphael.⁵¹

Unlike Espalter (whose early works have not been located), Madrazo’s Roman activity is well documented, especially with reference to *The Three*

⁴⁷ ‘Tengo también deseos de ver en esta próxima exposición algunos cuadros (que dicen que habrá) de Cornelius y de Overbeck para juzgar de la pintura moderna alemana, pues yo no conozco de estos pintores más que las estampas y esto no basta, aunque a la verdad son muy bellas y de *grande estilo*.’ Doc. 70, Paris, 18th January 1839, in Madrazo, *Epistolario*, 1:183.

⁴⁸ Doc. 84, Paris, 27th April 1839, in Madrazo, 1:219.

⁴⁹ Doc. 113, Rome 27th January 1840, in Madrazo, 1:292.

⁵⁰ Doc. 113, Rome 27th January 1840, in Madrazo, 1:293–94.

⁵¹ ‘La gran pintura elevada y grande, de sentimiento, como la entendía Rafael, la conoce Overbeck profundamente en todas sus partes.’ Doc. 113, Rome 27th January 1840, in Madrazo, 1:293.

Marys to the Sepulchre (Fig. 2.5), a painting that once in Spain, was purchased by Francisco de Asís as his wedding gift to Isabella II.⁵²

Díez has studied the genesis of this canvas, which the young Madrazo discussed extensively with his father in their correspondence.⁵³ The earliest known testimony about this work dates to 1st May 1829 (Fig. 2.6); he continued working on it in Paris, but by the end of 1839, shortly after his arrival in Rome, Madrazo abandoned the more neoclassical composition visible in his 1829 drawing in favour of a manner reminiscent of Italian medieval fresco paintings and altar pieces. In conceiving the scene, the young Madrazo incorporated a polychrome-marble sarcophagus, which evidences the fact that he studied in the cities he visited in central Italy while on his way to Rome.⁵⁴ He also changed the source (originally, he intended to use Saint Matthew's Gospel) and the composition while waiting for his canvas to be prepared.⁵⁵ The adherence to Saint Luke's gospel seems crucial for Madrazo. He created numerous sketches, studying with Roman models rather than mannequins, and increased the number of figures depicted to seven. This way he could treat the episode more sentimentally, as narrated in Saint Luke's gospel, and could overall better express the characters' different emotions and reactions.⁵⁶ In line with Galofre's prescriptions regarding depictions of emotion by a purist artist, Madrazo succeeded in creating this polyphony of sentiments, perhaps helped by his knowledge of the expressivity in Spanish Baroque religious canvases and sculptures. For all these reasons, Díez has defined this canvas as the synthesis of the "international purist vanguardism" that Madrazo learnt in Paris and Rome.⁵⁷

The work was previewed inside the Spanish embassy before being taken to Piazza del Popolo. All the Spaniards residing in the city, including Solá, saw it and expressed their appreciation. Madrazo personally invited some of

⁵² In 2009 curator González Navarro recognised the improper use of the nazarene label with reference to the Roman canvases by the Catalan painter Joaquín Espalter in light of the lack of knowledge of many of his earlier Parisian works and the Roman oeuvre (in addition to the result of a later trip to Germany). Carlos González Navarro, 'Joaquín Espalter en Italia. A propósito de las aguadas y pinturas del Museo del Prado', 154.

⁵³ Doc. 14, in Díez, *Federico de Madrazo*, 169–74.

⁵⁴ Doc. 14, in Díez, 169.

⁵⁵ Doc. 109, Roma, 3rd December 1839, in Madrazo, *Epistolario*, 1:282.

⁵⁶ Doc. 14, in Díez, *Federico de Madrazo*, 170.

⁵⁷ Díez, 'El romanticismo académico en la pintura religiosa isabelina (1830-1868)', 295.

the most renowned names among the Italian, French, and German artists to come and view it. He told his father that twenty-one artists were present, among whom were Camuccini, Tenerani, Carlo Finelli, Minardi, Jean Victor Schenetz, and Johann Christian Reinhart. Overbeck who saw it twice according to Federico de Madrazo, liked it deeply, as did Tenerani, Reinhart, Ernst Deger and Minardi.⁵⁸ These names would resonate with José de Madrazo, who was familiar with all the personalities his son gravitated around, and in the postscript to his letters he often asked his son to give them his greeting. According to Federico, the greatest success of the picture was among the Germans who, he said, spread the word so that he estimated that over 400 people visited his studio in a week (although this is possibly exaggerated), with some of them coming to the studio more than six times.⁵⁹

Yet the seal of approval among both Germans, Minardi, and Tenerani made Federico de Madrazo fear that the display of *The Three Marys to the Sepulchre* could attach him with the purist label.⁶⁰ His reasons are unclear, but from his letters we understand that he feared that the purist label would cause problems to his affiliation to the Academy of Saint Luke even though the institution had several purist masters among its professors.⁶¹ Personal negative opinions then might have been the potential impediment; Madrazo himself was not immune to such personal antipathies. His letters clearly reveal his personal opinions on prominent Roman artists who belonged to the classicist group; he even extended his individual dislikes to the detriment of the entire group.⁶²

⁵⁸ Doc. 131, Rome, 25th May 1841, in Madrazo, *Epistolario*, 1:344.

⁵⁹ Doc. 132, Rome, 17th June 1841, in Madrazo, 1:346.

⁶⁰ “En cuanto al deseo que V. tiene que se me nombre Académico de Mérito de San Lucas le diré que yo también me alegro mucho de ello y sobre todo para darle a V. esa satisfacción, pero hablándole a V. francamente ya hace tiempo que dejé de tener esa esperanza. Yo estoy seguro que Solá haría todo lo que esté de su parte, pero considerando lo dividida que está en el día la Academia y la techa de purista que algunos me habrán colgado ya y considerando además que Espalter expuso el año pasado un cuadro bellissimo y mejor que todo lo que han pintado en toda su vida los Podestis y Agrícolas y que sin embargo no le hicieron académico ni siquiera hablaron de él por el mismo remusgillo de purista, no tengo como he dicho grandes esperanzas además de que a mí no me gusta hacer la corte ni elogiar a los pintores cuyas obras me son tan antipáticas.” Doc. 132, Rome, 17th June 1841, in Madrazo, 1:348.

⁶¹ Doc. 160, Madrid, 8th May 1841, in Madrazo, *José de Madrazo*, 459.

⁶² “Solá pertenece a uno de los partidos en que está dividida la Academia de San Lucas y los artistas en general, y cree, me parece que, sin fondos, a los Carracci etc etc, pero esto no es cierto, o por mejor decir está mal presentado. En la Academia de San Lucas tuvieron un

Madrazo's fears however were misplaced since in the end he gained the affiliation. Moreover, a review of his work appeared in the Roman newspaper *Il Tiberino* in 1841.⁶³ His father had hoped for such a prestigious recognition of his son, and he encouraged him to send all the eulogies that were published in Roman artistic and literary newspapers, so that he could re-publish them in Madrid.⁶⁴ In 1844 a review in Italian appeared inside the *Galería de españoles célebres contemporáneos*, published in Madrid.⁶⁵ This review, which likely was the one that appeared in *Il Tiberino*, praised the canvas' composition and characters' expressivity which showed "the religious style of the good times".⁶⁶ It further argued for Madrazo to be not a "mere imitator of ultra-purism" (a reference perhaps to the nazarenes) because the painting combined the "most naturalist sentiments of folds with the characters" and the "expressive religiosity as expressed on their faces".⁶⁷ The review also admitted that there were those who did not appreciate the "brushstroke, chastity of drawing and simplicity in composition" in which Overbeck's influence can be appreciated. But there were others who recognised in Madrazo "rare ingenuity, strength of colouring, and softness in rendering draperies".⁶⁸

Contemporary scholarship agrees on considering this painting a proof of the young Madrazo's desire to compare himself with the German artists of the time. He picked a subject that was not new within German circles (for

grande altercado con Mr. Ingres (de cuyas resultas este no volvió a ninguna junta) porque dijo, no aprobando que le propusieron por modelo a los jóvenes las obras de Domenichino, que creía muy mal hecho el que se hiciese copiar a Domenichino en un país donde están las Estancias de Rafael, no pasando Domenichino de ser un pintor de segundo orden y de la decadencia del arte. En esto, creo que Ingres dijo perfectamente y sin embargo Silvagni, Agricola y otros pobres hombres de esta especie le contestaron de un modo poco conveniente y tanto más atendiendo a la inmensa distancia que hay entre estos y el Sr. Ingres. Desde entonces se dividió más y más la Academia y esta división ha ido en aumento, cimentada por los discursos publicados por Minardi y Solá tan opuestos en doctrinas. [...] Cree también Solá de buena fe que Camuccini, Agricola, Silvani y Podesti son los que más se parecen a Rafael: pero me parece que es necesario estar enteramente ciego para pensar tal cosa. Así es que cuando dice "los de la escuela de los grandes maestros como Rafael etc etc" él alude a estos que he nombrado." Doc. 132, Rome, 17th June 1841, in Madrazo, *Epistolario*, 1:347.

⁶³ Doc. 133, Roma, 22nd June 1841, in Diez, *Epistolario: Federico de Madrazo*, 350.

⁶⁴ Doc. 161, Madrid, 16th May 1841, in Madrazo, *José de Madrazo*, 462.

⁶⁵ Nicomedes Pastor Díaz and Francisco Cardenas de, *Galería de españoles célebres contemporáneos*, vol. 5 (Madrid: Boix Editor, 1844), 116–24.

⁶⁶ Pastor Díaz and Cardenas de, *Galería de españoles*, 121.

⁶⁷ Pastor Díaz and Cardenas de, 5:123.

⁶⁸ Pastor Díaz and Cardenas de, *Galería de españoles*, 122.

example Cornelius worked on his *The Three Marys at the Tomb* between 1815 and 1822 while Ludwig Ferdinand Schnorr von Carolsfeld painted *The Three Marys at Jesus's Grave* in 1835).⁶⁹

In contrast with the light backgrounds of the two paintings, Madrazo juxtaposed light and dark colours, which adhered to the Gospel's description of the brilliant effect of the angels' clothes. Such a choice allowed him to be more faithful to the source he used and thus to "successfully translate the biblical (gospel, in our case) story into a discursive image of striking simplicity" to paraphrase Grewe's comment on Overbeck's *Jacob Reproaching Laban for Giving him Leah in Place of Rachel*.⁷⁰

However, the use of light and shadow though is also indicative of Madrazo's painting being a transition from the Spanish Baroque to nazarene purism. On one hand, the painter went back using the chiaroscuro for his dark background, recurring in religious paintings in seventeenth-century Spain, and perhaps he had in mind Spanish Baroque religious sculptures for depicting emotion in the expressive female figures. On the other hand though, he seemingly did what Grewe has noticed in Overbeck's early production too. Regarding a series of drawings done in 1808, she has argued that "the strong interest in the effects of light and shadow, broadly brushed in with dark wash makes Overbeck's 1808 drawing a transitional piece. It shows the struggle of the young artist to free himself of the academy's late Baroque manner".⁷¹

2.1.2 1842–1847

The years between 1836 and 1844 were the acme of the debate concerning paintings of religious subjects in Europe. The return home of both Espalter and Madrazo ignited the Spanish branch of this debate in Madrid, where it saw the opposition between the new internationally educated generation and

⁶⁹ Doc. 14, in Díez, *Federico de Madrazo*, 169.

⁷⁰ *Jacob Reproaching Laban for Giving him Leah in Place of Rachel*, 1807-1808, pen, brush, and ink wash over black chalk on brown paper, 31,4 x 36,5 cm. Lübeck, Museen für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck. Grewe, *Painting the Sacred in the Age of Romanticism*, 2009, 34.

⁷¹ Cordula Grewe, *Painting the Sacred in the Age of Romanticism* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 34–35.

the so-called *murillistas* who gained public consensus within Spanish cultural circles in the 1830s.⁷²

In 1867 Caveda y Nava simplified the artistic panorama of nineteenth-century Spain, explaining that only two groups cultivated the religious genre. One of them were Overbeck's followers, and the other one were the *murillistas*, namely those who cultivated the religious genre by looking at Spanish painters from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁷³

Murillistas, who counted the Sevillian painters Antonio María Esquivel y Suárez de Urbina and José Gutiérrez de la Vega y Bocanegra,⁷⁴ turned to the Sevillian seventeenth-century school, in particular Murillo, for a regeneration of the Spanish sacred, and believed that the international way to reform religious art was at odds with the Spanish way.⁷⁵ *Murillistas* preferred “the truth of nature and the smooth and harmonious colouring” to the cosmopolitan way introduced by a group of younger, internationally educated artists, which they accused of “dry colouring”. In other words, what they really wanted to defend was a national way of making art against foreign influences.⁷⁶

The art critic Pedro de Madrazo, one of José de Madrazo's sons,⁷⁷ was among the chief proponents of the international style, imported by a young generation of artists that included his brother. Scholars tend to read his actions as his desire to promote his family in the Spanish capital, a move that has been described as “theoretical opportunism”.⁷⁸ Family propaganda – which we have found also in José de Madrazo's request to Federico to send him all

⁷² José Álvarez Lopera, ‘1842: Esquivel contra los nazarenos. La polémica y su trasfondo’, *Anales de historia del arte*, no. 6 (1996): 286.

⁷³ José Caveda, *Memorias*, 146–47.

⁷⁴ Antonio María Esquivel y Suárez de Urbina, *Saint Justa and Rufina*, 1844, oil on canvas, 218,5x139,5 cm. Madrid, Museo del Romanticismo. José Gutiérrez de la Vega y Bocanegra, *Allegory of the New Testament*, 1844, oil on canvas, 154x93 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado. José Gutiérrez de la Vega y Bocanegra, *Copy after Murillo's Portrait of D. Andrés de Andrade*, c. 1829, oil on canvas, 200x118 cm. Madrid, RABASF.

⁷⁵ Álvarez Lopera, ‘1842: Esquivel contra los nazarenos’.

⁷⁶ Álvarez Lopera, 286.

⁷⁷ It is relevant to underline that Federico and Pedro de Madrazo had a special connection to Rome. They were two of the sons of José de Madrazo and Isabel Kuntz y Valentini; the couple married in Rome and the two sons were born in Rome, respectively in 1815 and in 1816, before the family went back to Spain.

⁷⁸ Álvarez Lopera, ‘1842: Esquivel contra los nazarenos’, 297.

the eulogies published in Rome – and not only “philosophy of the arts” was at the core of Madrazo’s defence of nazarene purism.

The quarrel between some *murillistas* and the Madrazo family, regained momentum in 1842, after a pause between 1837 and 1841. The reasons for it, as convincingly explained by Álvarez Lopera, were Esquivel’s absence from the Madrilenian exhibiting scene until 1841, the greater visibility acquired by José and Federico de Madrazo on the capital’s artistic scene, and the scarce number of *murillistas*’ history paintings in the exhibitions organised between 1837 and 1841.⁷⁹

In 1842 Madrazo saluted the works by his brother and Espalter as examples of the sublime destiny of the arts. He described his brother as an artist who was famous across Europe and Espalter as the artist who “was nourished in the modern German school and one of the few artists entrusted with the glory of the renaissance of Spanish painting”.⁸⁰ At the exhibition at the Liceo Artístico y Literario of Madrid in spring 1842, Espalter took part with six canvases. At the time he was unknown in the city.⁸¹ The canvases included *Moses Carried by Angels*, *Saint Anne*, and *The Melancholy*, which gave him the label of purist.⁸² In summer 1842, at the exhibition held at the San Fernando Academy, Espalter participated with the three paintings described above plus *A Sinful Woman’s Soul Kidnapped by the Devils*. Pedro de Madrazo used Espalter’s canvas to disprove the *murillistas*’ accusations and show that they had misunderstood the German artists’ moral and social goal.⁸³ He wrote that sacred histories had to sacrifice “form and naturalism” in favour of “religious thinking”.⁸⁴ To understand Pedro de Madrazo’s comment on Espalter “having nourished in the modern German school”, we use Grewe’s studies arguing that “Germans did not paint, they thought. [...] The conceptual art of the nazarenes carved out a novel and uncompromising position within traditional approaches to the relationship of word and image,

⁷⁹ Álvarez Lopera, 288.

⁸⁰ Álvarez Lopera, 293.

⁸¹ Doc. 149, Madrid, 18th July 1840, in José de Madrazo, *José de Madrazo. Epistolario*, ed. José Luis Diez (Santander: Fundación Marcelino Botín, 1998), 422.

⁸² Álvarez Lopera, ‘1842: Esquivel contra los nazarenos’, 289.

⁸³ Álvarez Lopera, 292.

⁸⁴ Álvarez Lopera, 293.

text and picture. [...] They heralded an anti-academic revival of medieval techniques to make visible the contents of speech and thought, introducing indirect narration back into high art”.⁸⁵ Germans’ convictions made their art particularly suited for “the service of religion”, in other words the practices of art and religious overlapped.⁸⁶

At the exhibition at the San Fernando Academy, Federico de Madrazo did not display *The Three Marys to the Sepulchre* which he preferred to show in his Madrilenian studio. He rather brought two portraits and four genre paintings he had worked on while in Rome and which were warmly reviewed in the Spanish press.⁸⁷ Even without his grand composition on display, he triumphed while Espalter received little attention.⁸⁸ Why Federico did not show *The Three Marys to the Sepulchre*, a painting that the Spanish review described as “eminently Christian”,⁸⁹ is unknown. Perhaps he did not want to show a piece,⁹⁰ that might have put “the hegemonic role played by the Madrazo family in Madrid” at risk.⁹¹ Or in making this choice, he was perhaps unconsciously influenced by his father.

Absent from his thinking, but very much present in that of José de Madrazo, was the fear that with his nazarene purist turn his son was betraying the Spanish seventeenth-century school: “I read in all your letters about your admiration for the artworks by Overbeck and the other Germans, whose merits I do not doubt in the slightest, however I am afraid their execution is somehow dry and I would be very sad if you chose this way of painting”.⁹² José recommended that Federico “escape(d) the novel German doctrine”, or to learn only what he generically called the “good maxims”, namely draughtsmanship, expressivity, simplicity, and philosophical sentiments.⁹³ José was sceptical about the conception of art history that the “German artistic

⁸⁵ Grewe, *Painting the Sacred in the Age of Romanticism*, 2009, 2–3.

⁸⁶ Grewe, 4.

⁸⁷ Álvarez Lopera, ‘1842: Esquivel contra los nazarenos’, 290.

⁸⁸ Álvarez Lopera, 290.

⁸⁹ Pastor Díaz and Cardenas de, *Galería de españoles*, 123.

⁹⁰ Doc. 137, Rome, 28th September 1841, in Madrazo, *Epistolario*, 1:363.

⁹¹ Álvarez Lopera, ‘1842: Esquivel contra los nazarenos’, 286.

⁹² Doc. 146, Madrid, 2nd May 1840, in Madrazo, *José de Madrazo*, 413.

⁹³ Doc. 147, Madrid, 28th May 1840 in Madrazo, *José de Madrazo. Epistolario*, 414-6.

metaphysics' proposed.⁹⁴ He considered it anachronistic to paint in the “dry German style [which] had its merits during the renaissance”, since it ignored the subsequent progress of art.

He believed that Italian Trecento could not be compared to the masters from the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, because they lacked all the knowledge acquired in posterior decades.⁹⁵ To his son Federico, José wrote “if you could add to a Raphael painting the truth and beauty of Titian’s colouring, Murillo’s consistency, smoothness and harmony, and Velázquez’s magical effect, what more could somebody ask from the art of painting?”⁹⁶ After all, José believed that in order to be a complete painter, an expert in all genres, his son had to follow Velázquez’s, teaching rather than the precepts of the Germans.⁹⁷ He feared that while in Rome, his son would forget about their national school, and recommended that his son never “forget how Murillo and Velázquez worked, which is not at odds with the beauty of forms, the beautiful style in drawing draperies, the characters’ expressions or sublime thinking”.⁹⁸

José de Madrazo’s positions were also reflected in his personal art collection. Even while claiming to admire the Italian Trecento, he owned no examples in his own collection of Italian painting.⁹⁹ This lack of interest in collecting reflects his conviction that a painter needed to use colours to create light and chiaroscuro by “preserving only the most transparent shadows” as the greatest colourists did, in contrast to the dryness of fresco.¹⁰⁰

Internationally educated, like his sons, and entrusted with prestigious positions at court and in the administration, the elder Madrazo was aware of the market appeal that the seventeenth-century school was gaining. He was worried about the commercial aspect of his son’s training. He envisioned his son’s career mostly as a portraitist of the Spanish wealthy families. Conscious

⁹⁴ Doc. 167, Madrid, 1st November 1841, in Madrazo, 481.

⁹⁵ Doc. 147, Madrid, 28th May 1840, in Madrazo, 416.

⁹⁶ Doc. 146, Madrid, 2nd May 1840, in Díez, 413.

⁹⁷ Doc. 79, Madrid, 10th August 1838, in José de Madrazo, *José de Madrazo. Epistolario*, 233.

⁹⁸ Doc. 146, Madrid, 2nd May 1840, in Díez, 413.

⁹⁹ For the catalogue, see José de Madrazo, *Catálogo de la galería de cuadros del Excmo. Sr. D. José de Madrazo* (Madrid: Imprenta de D. Cipriano Lopez, 1856).

¹⁰⁰ Doc. 146, Madrid, 2nd May 1840, in Madrazo, *José de Madrazo*, 413.

of the favours encountered by *murillistas* in Spain during the 1830s, José de Madrazo – and Pedro too – were clearly concerned about the wide reception of Federico’s work once he returned home. José de Madrazo feared that an internationally informed academic direction might be detrimental for him. In a sense he might have been afraid that his son’s art would not find wide appeal or not become “official”, an art that “aimed at pleasing a heterogeneous public” according to Boime’s definition.¹⁰¹

However, as Mazzarelli has proven, the Spanish artists never abandoned that tradition; they copied the canvases by Murillo and Velázquez at the Roman galleries.¹⁰² Federico de Madrazo did not abandon the exemplarity of the baroque in the Spanish collection either; a copy of Guido Reni’s *The Death of Cleopatra* of the Royal Museum in Madrid was signed and dated by Federico in 1841.¹⁰³

Moreover, Federico de Madrazo was very clear in his mind that civic subjects could borrow from other emulative models, although chapter 3 will show projects for canvases into which he poured his nazarene purist teachings and chapter 4 will discuss his project for a nazarene purist fresco in Rome.¹⁰⁴ Italian Trecento and Quattrocento and German contemporary works were meant to be used as guidelines for religious canvases. In a letter sent to his father in 1841, he stated that the Germans were right to follow Fra Angelico instead of the colourists Raphael, Titian, or Velázquez for their religious paintings.¹⁰⁵ In the nineteenth century, instead, religious episodes had lost their intrinsic capacity to communicate religious sentiments in the fashion of artists before the sixteenth century, in favour of “the natural rendering of a clergyman’s clothing or feet”.

Federico de Madrazo was in favour of a reform of sacred art in a nazarene purist sense and sharpened his idea in an academic speech he gave in 1846 in

¹⁰¹ Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, 15.

¹⁰² Mazzarelli, 1:262; Carla Mazzarelli, ‘Murillo e il dibattito sulle arti tra Italia e Francia nell’Ottocento: monstrueux amour, copie e ricopie’, in *Bartolomé Esteban Murillo y la copia pictórica*, ed. Rafael Japón (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2019), 217–34.

¹⁰³ This copy appeared on the Madrilenian market in 2021: Federico de Madrazo, *The death of Cleopatra after Guido Reni*, 1841, oil on canvas, private collection.

¹⁰⁴ Grewe, ‘Historicism and the Symbolic Imagination in Nazarene Art’, 86.

¹⁰⁵ Doc. 139, Rome, 30th November 1841, in Diez, *Epistolario: Federico de Madrazo*, 368.

Madrid.¹⁰⁶ In his view, the poverty of sacred painting was due to a limited understanding of the message within Christian art. He was convinced that academies needed to ask more from their students, and to return to more inspiring, conceptual, yet easily readable representations of sacred scenes. The Roman lesson gave him the techniques and theoretical knowledge needed to solve the errors and anachronisms that barroquismo brought to religious art.¹⁰⁷ For example, Galofre had expressed a similar concept, when describing Juan de Pareja's *The Calling of Saint Matthew* as an "example of negligence", both for the setting and the excess of characters, who did not belong to the time period nor the episode in question.¹⁰⁸

It was Madrazo's conviction that the main problem stemmed from the secular criteria with which the sacred subject was evaluated.¹⁰⁹ In this sense, Madrazo was very close to Overbeck's concerns.¹¹⁰ For this reason, he encouraged the study of Italian and Spanish frescoes in Florence, Pisa and Toledo, and visits to gothic cathedrals that were understood as a synthesis of meaningful sacred paintings, sculptures, and architecture.¹¹¹ At the time, Italian Trecento was not a particularly well-known period in Spain. Few collections boasted pieces from the Italian Trecento and Quattrocento (except for one in the House of Alba). Neither of the rooms of the Royal Museum in Madrid had examples before Fra Angelico entered the collection in 1861. When Claudio Lorenzale went back to Barcelona, he not only introduced the Roman lesson he learnt, at the Catalan school of fine arts, he also worked towards the promotion of medieval art in Cataluña, a patrimony which, Bonaventura Bassegoda reminds us, had been in use since the eighteenth century.¹¹²

¹⁰⁶ Miguel Herrero Garcia, 'Un discurso de Madrazo sobre el arte religioso', *Arte español*, no. 14 (1943 1942): 13–20.

¹⁰⁷ Díez, 'El romanticismo académico en la pintura religiosa isabelina (1830-1868)', 279.

¹⁰⁸ Juan de Pareja, *The calling of Saint Matthew*, 1661, oil on canvas, 225x325 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado. Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 88.

¹⁰⁹ Herrero Garcia, 'Un discurso de Madrazo sobre el arte religioso', 15.

¹¹⁰ On Overbeck's ideas, see Cracolici, 'Per il nazarenismo in scultura: Karl Hoffmann in Inghilterra', 70–84.

¹¹¹ Herrero Garcia, 'Un discurso de Madrazo sobre el arte religioso', 15.

¹¹² Bonaventura Bassegoda, 'L'apreciació de l'art medieval a les primeres col·leccions catalanes', in *Mercat de l'art, col·leccionisme i museus estudis sobre el patrimoni artístic a Catalunya als segles XIX i XX*, ed. Bonaventura Bassegoda i Hugas and Ignasi Doménech

2.1.3 1847–1866

The first half of Solá's directorship of the *pensionados* witnessed the Spanish fascination with nazarene purism, and the exportation of this language to Spain. Thus, by the time of Galofre's publication of *El Artista*, the acme of this intellectual debate had already been reached in Madrid and the topic lost one of its main defenders, Pedro de Madrazo, who in 1847 had turned his attention to eclecticism in academic practices.¹¹³ In 1857 Joaquín Francisco Pacheco acknowledged this change, when he recognised nazarene purism to be a component of academic eclecticism, not only in Spain but even on an international level, by claiming that "Rome is not purist, Paris is not purist, and neither are England, Belgium, or Spain".¹¹⁴

During the 1860s Overbeckian elements such as their "immobility and frontal stillness" and "predominance of draughtsmanship"¹¹⁵ – disappeared from Spanish production. After his return to Madrid, Germán Hernández Amores painted *Journey of the Virgin Mary* (Fig. 2.7).¹¹⁶ In Rome he had familiarised himself with Overbeck's teachings, and the Prado considers this painting to be Hernández Amores' masterpiece and "an outstanding example of Spanish nazarene painting", as is testified not only by the choice of subject, but also by the bright colour scheme reminiscent of the Italian Trecento and Byzantine mosaics.¹¹⁷ "Journeys of holy people" (as the Prado catalogue labels this iconography) were quite a rarity in nineteenth-century Europe, when German painters reposed them. Perhaps the painter was familiar with the Austrian Karl von Blaas' *The Miraculous Translation of the Body of*

Vives (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 2014), 26.

¹¹³ Álvarez Lopera, '1842: Esquivel contra los nazarenos', 298.

¹¹⁴ Joaquín Francisco Pacheco, *Italia, ensayo descriptivo, artístico y político por don Joaquín Francisco Pacheco de las Reales Academias española y de San Fernando y de la pontificia de San Lucas de Roma* (Madrid: Imprenta Nacional, 1857), 393.

¹¹⁵ Ramos Domingo, *La pintura religiosa del siglo XIX en España*, 66.

¹¹⁶ For a monograph on Hernández Amores, see Martín Paez Burruezo, *El clasicismo en la pintura española del siglo XIX: Germán Hernández Amores* (Murcia: Editora Regional de Murcia, 1995).

¹¹⁷ Doc. 30, in José Luis Díez and Javier Barón, eds., *The nineteenth century in the Prado* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 2008), 184; on the painting also see German Ramallo Asensio, 'German Hernández Amores: aportaciones iconográficas', *Imafronte*, no. 10 (1996/1994): 95–108.

Saint Catherine of Alexandria to Sinai (1860). The Spanish artwork won first-prize at the 1862 National Exhibition and was displayed at the Universal exhibition in Dublin in 1865, the first appearance (although others were to follow) at an international level.¹¹⁸ Yet, in Madrid the nineteenth-century reception divided critics between those who appreciated the draughtsmanship and those who perceived the subject as outdated.¹¹⁹

The last known painting of a holy journey created in Rome in the given timeframe was by Navarro y Cañizares, one of Federico de Madrazo's pupils, with his *Saint Catherine Carried by Angels* (Fig. 2.8). For the composition, he did not look at German artists but rather at Guido Reni, as well as more contemporary depictions of martyrdom such as Jean Victor Schnetz's *Funeral of a Young Martyr in the Catacombs in Rome during the Time of Persecution* in 1847 (Fig. 2.9).¹²⁰ Navarro y Cañizares won the third-class medal at the 1866 National Exhibition for the work, which was purchased for the National Museum.¹²¹

De Vilches's directorship of the *pensionados* loosely coincided with Spaniards' departure from a nazarene purist style; the latest canvas painted in this style being Rosales's first Roman composition *Tobias and the Angel* (1858-1863).¹²²

Nonetheless, the study of the Middle Ages kept being a fundamental component of the Roman training. The reading of Dante's *Commedia* accompanied Rosales during his travels through central Italy, stating that he could not part himself from three books in total, the other two being *The Betrothed* by Alessandro Manzoni, and *Quixote* by Miguel de Cervantes.¹²³ Rosales was not alone; the fascination for Dante the poet and the man, can be envisaged in other Spanish artists during the 1860s. In 1862 Casado del Alisal took part in the International Exhibition in London with a study of the female figure that the painter cleverly converted into a historical composition by

¹¹⁸ Doc. 30, in Díez and Barón, *The nineteenth century in the Prado*, 185.

¹¹⁹ Doc. 30, in Díez and Barón, 186.

¹²⁰ On eclecticism, see Carlos Reyero Hermosilla, *La pintura de historia en España. Esplendor de un género en el siglo XIX* (Madrid: Catedra, 1990), 82.

¹²¹ Carlos González Navarro, 153.

¹²² Eduardo Rosales y Gallinas, *Tobias and the Angel*, 1858-1863, oil on canvas, 198x118 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

¹²³ Cardelli, *I Due Purismi*, 71; Rubio Gil, *Eduardo Rosales*, 2011, 68–69.

adding Dante and Virgil.¹²⁴ The female subject was Semiramis, the Assyrian-Babylonian queen in *Canto V (Inferno)*.¹²⁵

Dante in Thought – naturalistically modelled in 1864 by the sculptor Jeroni Suñol and displayed first in Rome, then at the 1864 National Exhibition in Madrid – inform us of the change in direction adopted by Spanish artists in the 1860s.¹²⁶ Deep in thought, as the wrinkles show, this sculpture shows Dante in his iconic vest and laurel crown, while sitting on a Savonarola chair in a pensive state.¹²⁷ The cast was very well received in Spain; it was bought for 12,000 *reales* in 1865 and transferred to the Instituto General y Técnico. Throughout the 1860s, Suñol worked on several reproductions of his *Dante in Thought*, spanning across mediums, alongside the fourteenth-century and fifteenth-century figures of Petrarch and Masaccio.¹²⁸ Various versions of Suñol's sculpture were placed in official buildings and institutions within and outside Spain, with one at the Real Academia de España in Rome. In 1867 Barcelona's council decided to cast one in bronze, which was taken to Paris in 1869 and Philadelphia in 1876.¹²⁹ Following Fortuny's suggestion, a bronze version was displayed at the Casino del Pincio organised by the Circolo Artistico Internazionale in 1871 and ended up being celebrated in the Roman press.¹³⁰ In 1908 Alejandro Ferrant, the director of the former Madrilenian Museo de Arte Moderno (1894-1971), requested another bronze to be cast.

Academic life awaited many Spanish former-Rome goers (*pensionados* and not) both in Spain and abroad. Federico de Madrazo became the professor of many Rome goers born between 1810s and 1840s, and he incorporated his Roman experience and learning into his teaching methodology. He became the professor of a generation of *Romistas*. This term, common to both

¹²⁴Luis Alberto Pérez Velarde, 'El pintor Antonio Gisbert 1834 - 1901' (Doctoral thesis, Madrid, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2017), 191, 279.

¹²⁵José Casado del Alisal, *Semiramis*, 1855-1862, oil on canvas. Madrid, Facultad de Bellas Artes. Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 127.

¹²⁶ Díez and Barón, *The nineteenth century in the Prado*, 411–13.

¹²⁷ Jerónimo Suñol, *Dante in thought*, 1864, plaster, 84x34x71 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

¹²⁸ Reyero Hermosilla, *La escultura del eclecticismo*, 52–55.

¹²⁹ Díez and Barón, *The nineteenth century in the Prado*, 411.

¹³⁰ Reyero Hermosilla, *La escultura del eclecticismo*, 53.

pensionados and independent students, began being used from the 1850s.¹³¹ It identified an artist who combined “a greater conceptual effort and intellectual education rooted in the knowledge of thematic repertoires, the classical canon, the mastery of draughtsmanship, harmony in composition or simplicity of shapes as the highest expression of romantic artistic ideals”.¹³²

Whether inside or beyond academic circles, those who studied in Rome rather inflected their career with the label “pensionado en Roma” or “[fecit] Roma”. Such terms were synonymous with skilfulness, knowledge, artistic innovation, and prestige several elements within an education grounded in Rome’s exemplary ability to prepare artists to create a work of their invention based on precise draughtsmanship, and on meaningful, learned content. As an 1866 source clearly underlined the prestigious study awaiting students:

to go to Rome means to study the Antique, to go to meet Greek and Roman sculptors and architects, to attend the birth of Christian art, to contemplate progress, to witness the renaissance of the *arte antiguo* and to apply it to modern sentiments, to admire the works by Titans in the history of painting, Michelangelo, and Raphael, and by all the gods and half-gods of the [artistic] Olympus.¹³³

In 1872 Vicente Palmaroli, student in Rome between 1857 and 1866, gave a speech at the San Fernando Academy confirming the theoretical assimilation of nazarene purist teachings in academic teachings, in a moment when Spaniards had moved past such aesthetic in pictorial practices. He created a timeline that led from the Italian fourteenth century to the Spanish sixteenth century: “Guido da Siena, Margaritone, Giunta da Pisa and Cimabue are the main painters that started the resurrection of the arts in Italy during the thirteenth century. [...] Indeed, it was Giotto who began the transition from Byzantine art to modern art. [...] Others continued this path towards independence, among whom were Orcagna, Taddeo Gaddi [...]”.¹³⁴ The

¹³¹ Carlos González Navarro, ‘La Arqueología Sagrada y los pintores españoles pensionados en Roma durante el pontificado de Pio IX’, *Ricerche di storia dell’arte*, no. 110–111 (2013): 82.

¹³² Díez, ‘El romanticismo académico en la pintura religiosa isabelina (1830-1868)’, 227.

¹³³ V. Mélida, ‘Vida y obras de Víctor Manzano’, *El arte en España*, no. 5 (1866): 116.

¹³⁴ *Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia de nobles artes de San Fernando en la recepción pública de D. Vincente Palmaroli y Gonzalez* (Madrid: Imprenta de la biblioteca de instrucción y recreo, 1872), 11.

history of art proceeded with the Italian magisterium until the seventeenth century, when the scene was enriched with the “colouring and chiaroscuro of Rubens in Flemish countries, Velázquez, and Murillo in Spain”.¹³⁵

2.2 The Roman catacombs

The promotion of contemporary arts received new impulse during the papacy of Pius IX. After his election (1846), he granted a limited freedom of press (1847), a state consulate, the civic guard, and a council of ministers. In 1848 he gave the Constitution and appointed a relatively liberal ministry. But when the first War of Italian Independence (23.03.1848-22.08.1849) broke out, Pius IX withdrew from the national movement and after the assassination of Pellegrino Rossi, the Roman Minister of Interior, of Police and Finances (15th November 1848), he fled into exile. The Roman Republic was proclaimed on 9th February 1849. Pius IX sought refuge in Gaeta as a guest of King Ferdinand II and from there he invoked the intervention of the Catholic powers which led to the failure of the Roman Republic. After his return to Rome (1850), the pope championed the idea of incompatibility between Catholicism and the modern world and sought the papacy’s protection of the Virgin Mary and her spouse Saint Joseph.¹³⁶

After the failure of the 1848 uprisings, the whole of Italy was hit by the Second Restoration, i.e., the legitimate sovereigns were restored to the throne, the reforms that had been made in 1846-1847 were cancelled including the idea of a customs union between the various states. The papal statute under Pius IX was reorganised according to the old theocratic-absolutist model, which provided for the persecution of democrats and liberals. In this situation, as Capitelli has noted, the study of Christian cemeteries in the Rome of the Second Restoration, is one of the hallmarks of Rome’s nineteenth-century antiquarian culture: “the catacombs became for Rome the Antiquity of which

¹³⁵ *Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia de nobles artes de San Fernando en la recepción pública de D. Vincente Palmaroli y Gonzalez* (Madrid: Imprenta de la instrucción y recreo, 1872), 15.

¹³⁶ Roberto Rusconi and Daniele Menozzi, ‘Contro la secolarizzazione. La promozione dei culti tra Pio IX e Leone XIII’, *Rivista di storia del Cristianesimo* 2, no. 1 (2005): 4; Daniele Menozzi, ‘Un patrono per la Chiesa minacciata dalla Rivoluzione. Nuovi significati del culto a San Giuseppe tra Otto e Novecento.’, *Rivista di storia cristiana* 2, no. 1 (2005): 42.

to regain possession, the symbolic and material capital to which the Church resorted in order to strategically claim its prestige, its centrality, in the political and spiritual difficulties of today's secularised Europe".¹³⁷

Until 1870 the Papal government relied upon the preservation of the millennial heritage of Rome's classical and Christian canons as a form of cultural resistance against a fast-paced changing world, as well as resistance against wider social forces of secularisation.¹³⁸ The papacy promoted further excavations in Rome and entrusted them to the expertise of Giovanni Battista de Rossi. The latter proceeded with excavations in the catacombs of Saint Calixtus in 1849. He gave a significant boost not only to the field of sacred archaeology, but also to the definition of the Roman paleo-Christian topography that fascinated the growing volume of tourists.¹³⁹

For the papacy the catacombs were a metaphor, a symbol of their Christian history, of the papal nineteenth-century project for the world's re-sacralisation, and of Rome's millenary history under threat.¹⁴⁰ This was made abundantly clear when in 1867, at the Parisian universal exhibition, the papal state pavilion was a facsimile of the Catacombs of Saint Callistus.¹⁴¹ In 1870,

¹³⁷ Giovanna Capitelli, 'Redescendons aux catacombes. Note sulla fortuna dei monumenti cristiani primitivi nella cultura figurativa dell'Ottocento', *Ricerche di storia dell'arte*, no. 110–111 (2013): 45.

¹³⁸ Daniele Menozzi, *La chiesa cattolica e la secolarizzazione* (Torino: Einaudi, 1993); Giuseppe Monsagrati, 'Roma nel crepuscolo del potere temporale', in *Roma, la città del papa. Vita civile e religiosa dal giubileo di Bonifacio VIII al giubileo di papa Wojtyła*, ed. A. Prosperi (Torino: Einaudi, 2000), 1005–58. Giovanna Capitelli, 'Icône del culto in difesa dell'identità anti-moderna', in Pinto, Barroero, and Mazzocca, *Maestà di Roma. Da Napoleone all'Unità d'Italia*, 249.

¹³⁹ On the catacombs, art and tourism in Rome, see Georges Rohault de Fleury, *Visite dans les catacombes de Saint-Calixte sous la conduite de M. Le chevalier de Rossi*, 1866; Philippe Boutry, 'Les saints des Catacombes: Itinéraires français d'une piété ultramontaine (1800-1881)', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen âge, temps modernes* XCI, no. 2 (1979): 875–930; Antonio Baruffa, *Le catacombe di San Callisto: storia, archeologia, fede* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria editrice vaticana, 1992); Giovanna Capitelli, ed., *Il dialogo fra le arti figurative e l'archeologia cristiana a Roma tra Seicento e Ottocento* (Roma: Carocci editore, 2013); Capitelli, 'Redescendons aux catacombes'.

¹⁴⁰ On the catacombs as a symbol of re-sacralisation, see Boutry, 'Les saints des Catacombes'; Philippe Boutry, 'Une recharge sacrale: Restauration des reliques et renouveau des polémiques dans la France du XIXe siècle', in *Reliques modernes: Cultes et usages chrétiens des corps saints des réformes aux révolutions*, ed. Philippe Boutry, Pierre-Antoine Fabre, and Dominique Julia, vol. 1, 2 vols (Paris: Éditions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2009), 121–74; Stefano Cracolici, 'Sotto il segno del Martirio. Roma e l'eredità artistica della fede', in *Vínculos artísticos entre Italia y América: silencio historiográfico* (Santiago de Chile: DIBAM: Museo Histórico Nacional: Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez, Facultad de Artes Liberales: CREA Restauraciones, 2012), 41–54.

¹⁴¹ See the work by Capitelli, 'L'archeologia cristiana al servizio di Pio IX' in bibliography.

the final act in defence of Rome, is represented by the *Esposizione romana delle opere di ogni arte eseguite pel culto cattolico* at the Certosa di Santa Maria degli Angeli e dei Martiri, dedicated to the many Christians who died while building the Baths of the emperor Diocletian in the IV century CE. For artists and tourists, though, the Roman catacombs gave them new sources of inspiration, such as Louis-Hector Leroux's painting (Fig. 2.10).¹⁴²

Spaniards were among those artists who escaped from Rome during the Roman Republic. In 1848 the second cohort of *pensionados* from the San Fernando Academy had reached Rome, shortly before they were forced to leave the city due to the upheavals. Many considered it unsafe to remain in a city when even the head of the state had fled into exile. After the failure of the Roman Republic, Rome began being repopulated again by artists, including Spaniards who returned to Rome in 1850 from the Kingdom of Naples where they had sought refuge. Their return almost coincided with that of Pius IX, and marked the beginning of the second phase in the cosmopolitan academic reform of the Spanish religious art, as Caveda y Nava wrote:

The school was born from where the ruins of the catacombs are and developed under the mockery of ancient Germany, and it undoubtedly aroused the admiration and interest of some of our painters already accredited for their talent. [...] In these manifestations and a few others of the same kind appears the Christian feeling dressed in classical forms, not the religious unction, that pious feeling, that sublime resignation that only the heart deeply possessed by its object can express.¹⁴³

This passage signalled that this second phase was not stylistic but thematic with a transition from the “neo-catholic-purist school of Overbeck” to “the realist religious school”.¹⁴⁴ Federico de Madrazo affirmed that Basque countries’ “sensual green landscapes speak more to the senses than other landscapes”. However, they did not inspire any religious theme, as opposed to the Madrilenian or Roman surroundings, which reminded him of the

¹⁴² Doc. XII.4, in Pinto, Barroero, and Mazzocca, *Maestà di Roma. Da Napoleone all'Unità d'Italia*, 269.

¹⁴³ Caveda, *Memorias*, 150.

¹⁴⁴ Leonardo Romero Tobar, ‘Realismo y otros ismos en la crítica de las Exposiciones Nacionales de Bellas Artes (1856-1899)’, in *Pensamiento y literatura en España en el siglo XIX: idealismo, positivismo, espiritualismo*, ed. Gonzalo Sobeano Esteve and Yvan Lissorgues (Université de Toulouse II-Le Mirail: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 1998), 81.

backgrounds painted by German painters in their biblical scenes.¹⁴⁵ By contrast, the catacombs brought historicity and temporality into the scene in a geographically, historically, and archeologically documented space, contrary to what was practiced just a few years before.

Luis de Madrazo, one of Federico de Madrazo's younger brothers and one of the awardees from Madrid, was the first Spaniard to introduce the catacombs into Spanish academia,¹⁴⁶ thus joining French artists who had participated in Salons with canvases, inspired by the Roman catacombs, since the 1840s.¹⁴⁷ As his *envío de pensionado*, he sent back *The Burial of Saint Cecilia in Rome's Catacombs* (Fig. 2.11).¹⁴⁸ The painter represented the virgin martyr's funeral in the catacombs of Saint Callixtus when she received the benediction from pope Urban I, who was also buried there. The painting respected the academic canons: the treatment of the episode revealed great erudition, incorporated few characters, and other essential requirements for good painting according to academic standards (draperies, draughtsmanship, few figures, and learned content).¹⁴⁹

Given the political connotations these spaces had in Rome, González Navarro has also wondered about the ideological context for Madrazo's choice of the subject.¹⁵⁰ Luis' support for the papal cause though cannot be certain, even considering he picked a martyr that was unmistakably relatable to Rome. Besides, looking at the bigger picture, martyrdom had a tragic nature that went well with what Reyero has noted to be the nineteenth-century Spanish interest in national heroes' sorrowful deaths and the depiction of tragedies. Identified as a feature of nineteenth-century Spanish art, they were believed to open the viewer's engagement with the painting.¹⁵¹

After a year of work, in 1852 Luis revealed *The Burial* at the Spanish embassy. González Navarro has suggested that the canvas might have

¹⁴⁵ Doc. 241, San Sebastián, 4th August 1846, in Madrazo, *Epistolario*, 1:569.

¹⁴⁶ Capitelli, 'Redescendons aux catacombes', 46.

¹⁴⁷ Capitelli, 50.

¹⁴⁸ Carlos González Navarro, 'Luis de Madrazo, pensionado en Italia: *El entierro de Santa Cecilia* y sus dibujos preparatorios en el Museo del Prado', *Boletín del Museo del Prado* XXV, no. 43 (2007): 129.

¹⁴⁹ González Navarro, 'La Arqueología Sagrada', 76.

¹⁵⁰ González Navarro, 76.

¹⁵¹ Reyero Hermosilla, *La pintura de historia en España. Esplendor de un género en el siglo XIX*, 154–5.

influenced William-Adolphe Bouguereau's *The Martyr's Triumph* in 1854 (who became a student of Villa Medici in 1851).¹⁵² Unfortunately, no Italian or French reviews of Madrazo's work have been found. In November 1852, this work was successfully displayed at the Madrid National Museum in an exhibition dedicated exclusively to artworks by *pensionados*. A few months later, Isabella II decided to purchase the canvas from the artist, which was given to the National Museum, a sign of growing respect for the genre in Madrid.¹⁵³ Seeing the canvas in the museum motivated Rosales to leave for Rome, and while there, in 1860, he even worked on a similar composition, although he ultimately never turned this into a canvas.¹⁵⁴

Between the 1850s and 1860s the Spanish reception of the canvas converted the catacombs into a staple of the Spanish-Roman repertoire for religious art, as can be seen from the biographies of both known and lesser-known artists written by Ossorio. One painter was Lorenzo Vallés, who arrived in Rome animated by the desire to gain access to Overbeck's studio.¹⁵⁵ In 1858 he sent *The Corpse of Saint Sinforosa Pulled Out from the River by Her Family* to the National Exhibition. Castillo y Aguado brought an episode inspired by the poem *Los Mártires*, a Spanish translation by the viscount Chateaubriand, to the first National Exhibition in Madrid.¹⁵⁶ Manuel García Hispaleto painted the Roman martyr Saint Agnes (IV century CE) at the moment she appeared to her parents.¹⁵⁷ Other privately funded Spanish painters also sent a scene treating a moment in the biography of a Roman martyr back to Madrid. This may have been a way for them to prove their traineeship since the catacombs had become a repertoire for Spanish artists in Rome. This suggests the canvas by Alejo Vera, who did not have an institutional affiliation at the time. He picked Saint Lawrence, whose tomb is located underneath the Basilica of Saint Lawrence outside the Walls, which

¹⁵² González Navarro, 'Luis de Madrazo, pensionado en Italia', 129.

¹⁵³ González Navarro, 'La Arqueología Sagrada', 78.

¹⁵⁴ González Navarro, 78.

¹⁵⁵ Eugenia Querci and Francisco Calvo Serraller, 'Tra Parigi, Venezia e Roma: Zuloaga, i pittori spagnoli e l'Italia.' (Doctoral thesis, Madrid, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2014), 65.

¹⁵⁶ Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 134.

¹⁵⁷ Manuel García Hispaleto, *Saint Agnes appears to her parents*, 1864-18688, oil on canvas, San Sebastián, Museo Municipal de San Telmo. González Navarro, 'La Arqueología Sagrada', 80.

was an object of restoration, indoor fresco decorations, and urban embellishment at the time (Fig. 2.12). Contrary to previous examples, Vera chose a martyr with Spanish origins. The artist further distanced himself from Madrazo's composition in the way he positioned Lawrence's body and initiated a dialogue with other compositions done in Rome at the time, such as Jules-Eugène Lenepveu's *Martyrs in the Catacombs* (Fig. 2.13). Equally, unlike Madrazo, who opted to have the light illuminate all the characters in the scene, Alejo Vera decided that only saint Lawrence should irradiate light, while the other figures were left more in the catacomb's shadow. The only other source of light is provided by the small light carried by Flavia, a narratological detail indicating that the episode took place during early twilight. The work was a success in Madrid, so much so that Vera twice proposed a Paleo-Christian Roman subject for the Madrilenian National Exhibitions in 1866 and 1871. One of these will be discussed in chapter 6, while the other is the canvas he painted in 1869. That year, Vera worked on a catacomb interior with the monumental *Communion of Ancient Christians in the Roman Catacombs*, which was purchased for the Spanish Senate in 1886 and shows the painter's abandonment of idealisation in favour of a more naturalist conception.¹⁵⁸

The visits to the catacombs are a proof of Spanish artists' great deal of intellectual and cultural engagement with the aestheticised ameliorations and conservation efforts, supported by papal governments. However, it is hard to tell whether the second phase in this visual reform of the Spanish sacred also symbolised Spaniards' participation in Rome's Second Restoration. The consolidation of the martyrs into the Spanish-Roman repertoire suggests instead that they were another way for artists to consider themselves to be students of Rome. How the iconography of martyrdom developed after the capture of Rome (1870) corroborates this hypothesis, that that the subject was seen primarily as an academic genre. Deprived of any possible evangelical meaning, the catacombs and the martyrs were chosen by Eduardo Soler Llopis

¹⁵⁸ Alejo Vera, *Communion of ancient Christians in the Roman catacombs*, 1869, oil on canvas, Madrid, Palacio del Senado. Pilar de Miguel et al., eds., *El arte en el Senado* (Madrid: Raycar, 1999), 314–15.

for his small canvas *Saint Pope Stephen after his Martyrdom in the Catacombs*, painted after seven years in Rome (Fig. 2.14).¹⁵⁹

2.3 The nationalisation of martyrdom

Building on Díez's considerations about the Isabelline reform as well as on Gonzalez Navarro's observations regarding depictions of Roman catacombs, this chapter is a story of the nationalisation of religious canvases from Rome through their assimilation into academic practices (the catacombs became a subject to send back to their home institutions as a proof of their advancements in Rome), inclusion (the religious subjects they picked could have also been found in other foreign artists' Roman oeuvre) and vindication (Spanish artists used religious themes to claim their Roman traineeship).

Spaniards' engagement with Pius IX's Rome eventually inspired Spanish artists to research Spain's early Christian past, including subjects that might well be considered testimonies of romantic historicism. The first painter to take this route upon returning from Rome was Francisco Aznar. A *pensionado* during the 1850s, he painted a canvas inspired by the story of a Spanish martyr executed in Spain in the late VI century CE. His historicised vision of the history distanced the painter from other nineteenth-century representations of Saint Hermenegild, for example José Amador de los Ríos' *Saint Hermenegild* (1842). Aznar worked on the conversion of Saint Hermenegild (Fig. 2.15) by depicting the moment at which the Visigoth prince, Hermenegild, refused the communion from the Arian priest, an action that led to his martyrdom in Terragona.¹⁶⁰ After being taken to the 1860 National Exhibition, Aznar's work was purchased by the government for the National Museum.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ González Navarro, 'La Arqueología Sagrada', 85.

¹⁶⁰ Reyero Hermosilla, *La pintura de historia en España*, 144.

¹⁶¹ Manuel Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Imprenta a cargo de Ramon Moreno, 1869), 56.

CHAPTER 3

THE PAST MADE PRESENT

During the nineteenth century, the city of Rome was associated with Spanish artists' historical canvases in both grand and small format. Until the 1870s Spaniards in Rome predominately worked on historical subjects inspired by their history. Such depictions were almost a Spanish monopoly in Rome, and a majority of the creators were artists funded by the government, or by private individuals. We must bear in mind though that while in Rome, Spaniards found it difficult to obtain historical resources on Spain, which explains why they worked so little on Spanish themes. For example, in 1869 Fortuny wrote to Federico de Madrazo asking for books by Ramón de la Cruz or Moratín, to help him overcome the difficulties of “giving shape to a Spanish painting while away from Spain”.¹⁶² Perhaps he was not alone in this and after 1873 many Spaniards chose to work on subjects inspired by ancient and early modern European history too.

Spaniards mostly represented national rather than provincial episodes, easier for an international audience to read. In fact, during the nineteenth-century the circulation of historical accounts on the history of Spain in French, English and Spanish grew, including operas and plays. Until the nineteenth century, Spanish history, culture, and landscape was a passive field of knowledge for foreigners. For centuries, educated Europeans' knowledge of the country was based on the accounts of Spanish exiles, ambassadors, and a few travellers.¹⁶³ The Peninsular War provided the first occasion for foreigners to study the country first-hand, which converted the Spanish

¹⁶² Doc. MA 13., Rome, 4th February 1869, in Ana Gutiérrez Márquez and Pedro Martínez Plaza, eds., *Cartas de Mariano Fortuny, Cecilia, Ricardo, Raimundo e Isabel de Madrazo*, Epistolario del Archivo Madrazo en el Museo del Prado 1 (Madrid: Fundación María Cristina Masaveu Peterson, Museo del Prado, 2017), 16.

¹⁶³ On the topic of Spanish exiles spreading a pejorative counternarrative on Spain across the century, see Henry Kamen, *Disinherited: The Exiles Who Created Spanish Culture* (London: Penguin Books, 2008). Niccolò Guasti, *L'esilio italiano dei gesuiti spagnoli: identità, controllo sociale e pratiche culturali. 1767-1798* (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2012); Niccolò Guasti, 'I gesuiti spagnoli espulsi e le "élites" italiane di fine Settecento', *Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche* 20 (2013): 147–78.

territory, art, and history into a European discovery in the nineteenth century.¹⁶⁴ Anglophone and Francophone travellers became active agents, whether through uncovering Spanish Catholic history with Prescott's influential studies of the Catholic monarchs, hailing a gateway to the Orient in Andalusia as narrated in Washington Irving's *Tales of the Alhambra*, or supporting a nation in search of political freedom.¹⁶⁵

For the study of romanticism and historical paintings in the middle decades of the century, as well as their foreign influences, Spanish historiography has tended to look at the relationships between Spain and France. Rome as a crucial cultural centre where Spanish national themes were produced has thus often been overlooked. This chapter centres on how Spaniards contributed, from Rome, to the Isabelline visual propaganda and thus to the creation of a national mythopoeia based on invented views of Spain's past.¹⁶⁶ It studies to what extent the Italo-Roman connection apported contributions to the Spaniards' highly political works in their "age of civic struggle", and how this transformed over the years.¹⁶⁷

Mirroring chapter 2's structure, this chapter is divided into three parts, which are organised in an intertwined chronological, and stylistic, order

¹⁶⁴On the topic of invention and discovery, see David Howarth, *The Invention of Spain: Cultural Relations between Britain and Spain, 1770-1870* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007); David Howarth and Claudia Heide, *The Discovery of Spain: British Artists and Collectors. Goya to Picasso* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 2009); Diego Saglia and Ian Haywood, eds., *Spain in British Romanticism. 1800-1840* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

¹⁶⁵ On Prescott, see J. Enrique Ojeda, 'William Hickling Prescott y la literatura española bajo los reyes católicos', ed. Manuel Criado de Val, *Literatura hispánica, Reyes Católicos y descubrimiento: actas del Congreso Internacional sobre literatura hispánica en la época de los Reyes Católicos y el descubrimiento*, 1989, 506–13; Juan L. Lanero Fernández and Secundino Villoria, 'El traductor como censor en la España del siglo XIX: el caso de William H. Prescott', *Livius: Revista de estudios de traducción*, no. 1 (1992): 111–22; Piers Baker-Bates, 'The "Cloister Life" of the Emperor Charles V: Art and Ideology at Yuste', *Hispanic Research Journal. Iberian and Latin American Studies* 14, no. 5 (2013): 427–45; Alberto Rodríguez, 'El historiador William Prescott y su visión de los españoles', ed. Derek Flitter, *Actas del XII Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas: 21-26 de agosto de 1995* 4 (n.d.): 234–40; Jorge Quintana Navarrete, 'El hispanismo de William H. Prescott y la mitohistoria de la conquista de México', in *George Ticknor y la fundación del hispanismo en Estados Unidos*, ed. José Manuel del Pino (Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert - De Gruyter, 2022), 305–25.

¹⁶⁶ This idea of inventing history has been derived from the works of Stephen Bann, among which is the volume Stephen Bann, *The Invention of History: Essays on the Representation of the Past* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).

¹⁶⁷ This concept has been elaborated by Boime in his book Albert Boime, *Art in an Age of Civic Struggle, 1848-1871* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

which metaphorically marked Spanish artists' passage from theology to history. The first part centres on the history of their country's infancy with the iconography inspired by the *Reges* and *Reginae Christiani*, treated through nazarene purism. The proposed examples are all projects created in Rome for canvases that were never realised. The second part chronologically begins in the 1850s and is focused on a historical narration of the Spanish past, which even left room for dissenting narratives that were absent from the Roman oeuvre made in the 1830s and 1840s and which coincided with episodes inspired by the Spanish Middle Ages. This was made possible thanks to the publication of annals on Spanish history in the Spanish language. Finally, the chapter culminates with a glimpse of nineteenth-century events, which deviated from the narration of history until that point with the introduction of naturalism in historical paintings.

3.1 A nazarene purist interpretation of Spanish history

This section focuses on projects with “clear religious-nationalistic intentions”, to paraphrase Reyero, that were created in the 1830s and 1840s and which coincided with the Spanish Middle Ages.¹⁶⁸ The works show that under Gregory XVI, Spaniards had an almost spiritual, or even devotional attitude to conceiving their history.

Nazarene purism taught Spanish artists a novel way to innovate the interpretation of their past, not only through different techniques (e. g. fresco painting, although the only testimony we have resulted in an unrealised project), but also in terms of content. According to Grewe, German artists wanted to “bring history – and specifically the world history laid out in the Bible – into view”.¹⁶⁹ Similarly, Spanish artists, who hardly ever worked on subjects related to the Spanish Empire while in Rome, gave shape to national legends and events concerning the Reconquest in which the protagonists' Christian faith was a fundamental component. The scarce documentation we have concerning this visual interpretation of Spanish history during the 1830s in Rome focuses on celebrating the country's religious, political, and

¹⁶⁸ Reyero Hermosilla, *La pintura de historia en España*, 26.

¹⁶⁹ Grewe, ‘Historicism and the Symbolic Imagination in Nazarene Art’, 87.

territorial unity (and expansion). Unfortunately, since we only possess sketches as evidence of this period, we have no way of knowing whether the artists had a specific destination in mind for such works once finished.

However, at that time, Spanish history, in particular medieval, was only sporadically represented by European artists, as Galofre complained, despite being rich in virtuous episodes.¹⁷⁰ As he told us, historical canvases spoke for and to the nation with the power to elevate society and not just celebrate their national heroes. Such works needed to be located in a space for citizens to see, such as Lorenzetti's *The Allegory of Good and Bad Government*, the contemporary fresco paintings in Munich, or Velázquez's *The Surrender of Breda*, visible at the Royal Museum of Madrid.¹⁷¹ The latter, he said, was the best synthesis of exact and easy-to-grasp storytelling.¹⁷² Such a suggestion was not innovative per se, since Federico de Madrazo had already used the painting as his reference for his first juvenile historical canvas *Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba at the Battle of Cerignola* in 1835 (Fig. 3.1).

Influenced by the Roman environment, Spaniards addressed the element of unity which they found in the monarchy and the Catholic faith, investing the rise of the nation with a spiritual significance. They preferred to represent the Christian kings and the queen Isabella the Catholic, symbols of Spain's monarchy, as an element of territorial and religious unity, and by extension the "mirror of virtues" that Christianity communicated.¹⁷³ Compositions which identified the monarchy and Catholicism as the pillars of Spain's unity were their way to respond to the political difficulties their country experienced.

They identified the figures of Don Pelayo and Isabella the Catholic whose exemplum virtutis was anchored in their Catholic faith, which also led to the country's territorial, societal consolidation and imperial expansion. Don Pelayo began the re-Christianisation of the Iberian Peninsula before Isabella

¹⁷⁰ Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 199.

¹⁷¹ Galofre y Coma, 90.

¹⁷² Galofre y Coma, 91.

¹⁷³ On artists no longer interested in Ancient History or Mythology but rather in Christianity as the mirror of all virtues, see Pietro Selvatico, *Considerazioni sullo stato presente della pittura storica in Italia e sui mezzi di farla maggiormente prosperare* (Milano: Tipografia e libreria Pirota & C., 1837), 55.

I completed it. She was not only responsible for completing Spain's re-Christianisation, for the evangelisation of the Americas. However, this global factor remained marginal in the Spaniards' Roman oeuvre, as it will be also stated in chapter 6.

3.1.1 Don Pelayo

The legend of Don Pelayo, the founder of the Christian kingdom of Asturias, is well known. He was part of the court of Roderick, the Visigoth king whose forces were defeated by a North African army, led by Tariq ibn Ziyad at the battle of Guadalete in 712. While the Muslim army quickly gained control over most of the Iberian peninsula, Pelayo was held captive in Cordoba but escaped in 717. He sought refuge in his native Asturias in northern Iberia, where he secured the first victory over the Muslim army in around 722 CE in Covadonga. His warriors elected him King of Asturias. Subsequently medieval chronicles converted Pelayo into a symbol of Christian resistance and Covadonga in "the cradle of the Reconquest" and the "birthplace of the Spanish monarchy".¹⁷⁴

According to modern historians, the battle could have been nothing more than "a minor skirmish between a small band of Asturian warriors and the Muslim expeditionary force sent to crush their resistance".¹⁷⁵ However, the Asturian dynasty preserved the memory of it, treating it as a source of "their political legitimacy, Christian identity and divinely inspired mission to restore the unity and independence of the Visigothic monarchy".¹⁷⁶ When the Kingdom of León and Castile superseded Asturias as the military and political leader in the Christian north, the legend of Covadonga was kept alive in order to establish its continuity with the kingdom of the Visigoths.¹⁷⁷ In the eighteenth century with the Bourbon dynasty on the Spanish throne, Covadonga became a metaphor for national restoration.¹⁷⁸ During the

¹⁷⁴ Carolyn P. Boyd, 'The Second Battle of Covadonga: The Politics of Commemoration in Modern Spain', *History and Memory* 14, no. 1–2 (2002): 37–64.

¹⁷⁵ Boyd, 37.

¹⁷⁶ Boyd, 40.

¹⁷⁷ Boyd, 41.

¹⁷⁸ Boyd, 41.

Isabelline age, the battle of Covadonga aided the creation of a collective “liberal memory” but unlike in earlier representations, the divine aspect of the event was erased from the “liberal memory” during the second half of the century, as proven by Federico de Madrazo’s 1856 portrait.¹⁷⁹

Ten years prior though, Federico de Madrazo still attributed a religious meaning to the myth. He began reflecting upon don Pelayo in Paris.¹⁸⁰ But it was in Rome that he planned to “vigorously model” it. In fact, having successfully displayed his *The Three Marys to the Sepulchre*, he decided to continue working on Pelayo to demonstrate to the international artistic community there that he could experiment “with genres other than the religious” (Fig. 3.2).¹⁸¹

He found inspiration while in the Roman outskirts of Subiaco, where he decided he wanted to represent Don Pelayo’s arrival in Covadonga, with his sword broken and a bloody right hand, while holding the banner of the cross and looking at the sky as if asking God for grace and the necessary strength to continue. Women and children were visible in the background, and soldiers gathered around him on both sides.¹⁸²

Ultimately Madrazo did not finish his work, but the project he had begun in Rome remained in his studio until his death.¹⁸³ His studies proved crucial for the cycle of paintings of the Spanish monarchs co-ordinated by José de Madrazo and executed by several young artists.¹⁸⁴ Among them there was his youngest son, Luis de Madrazo.

The latter maintained the link between the spiritual and the terrestrial, deployed by his brother, with the figure of the angel. In his own *Don Pelayo King of Asturias* (Fig. 3.3), Pelayo’s eyes look at the holy spirit, while holding a sword in one hand and a cross of victory in the other, as he turns to the people outside the cave. In his other conception of Don Pelayo (Fig. 3.4), this connection was gone, leaving only the cross as the proof of the king’s faith.¹⁸⁵

¹⁷⁹ Boyd, 42.

¹⁸⁰ Javier Barón, ‘El Rey Pelayo y el origen de la Reconquista en la obra de Federico de Madrazo’, *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 25, no. 43 (2007): 142.

¹⁸¹ Doc. 137, Rome, 28th September 1841, in Madrazo, *Epistolario*, 1:363.

¹⁸² Doc. 137, Rome, 28th September 1841, in Madrazo, 1:363.

¹⁸³ Barón, ‘El Rey Pelayo’, 153.

¹⁸⁴ Barón, 154.

¹⁸⁵ Reyero Herмосilla, ‘Mirar Italia con ojos franceses’, 272.

José Pagniucci, Luis' fellow in Rome, favoured a similar conception for his sculpture of *Don Pelayo* (Fig. 3.5). The king is represented as a Christian monarch with a crozier and a sword, with forward movement hinted at by his stance and pointing arm; he holds the cross himself and looks straight into the eyes as if bringing the focus onto earthly matters. His excellence in war, rather than his devotion, was registered by Luigi Scalchi, who included this work in his collection of a hundred poems inspired by paintings and sculptures made in Rome in 1855.¹⁸⁶ Incidentally, Scalchi's testimony counts as one of the last descriptions of a Spaniard's work in Rome, at least as is known to date.

3.1.2 Isabella the Catholic

The figure of Isabella I is what best represents the idea of the past made present, given that her figure was highly politically connoted in Isabelline Spain. As discussed in the introduction, during her regency (1833-1839), the Queen Mother Maria Cristina feared the threats posed to her daughter's throne and promoted a propagandistic image of Queen Isabella the Catholic and queenship.¹⁸⁷ Maria Cristina understood the powerful messages that images could express and used them to validate her role of pious wife and to glorify her daughter's reign. Thanks to their homonymy and what she achieved in her life, Isabella the Catholic became an instrumental figure who was mobilised to celebrate nineteenth-century Isabella.¹⁸⁸ It was imperative for the Spanish monarchy to historically legitimise Isabella II's throne, and to celebrate territorial cohesion during a time of factionalism and the erosion of

¹⁸⁶ 'Con la tua spada valida / più di dorato scettro, / toglier sapesti al eretro / l'insaguinato spettro, / e la corona iberica / fulse superba ancor. / Salve o campion magnanimo! / Salve d'Iberia onore / Fosti di pace altore, / accetta l'umil cantico / che a te scioglieva il cor.' Luigi Scalchi, *Cento lavori moderni di pittura e scultura illustrati in versi da Luigi Scalchi opera dedicata ai cultori di Belle Arti* (Roma: Tipografia di Gaetano Chiassi, 1855), 127–31.

¹⁸⁷ On this topic, see José Luis Díez and María del Carmen Iglesias, eds., *La pintura isabelina: arte y política. Discurso leído el día 6 de junio de 2010 en el acto de su recepción por Excmo. SR. D. José Luis Díez García y contestación por Excmo. D.a Carmen Iglesias* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2010).

¹⁸⁸ José Güell y Renté, *Paralelo entre las reinas católicas Doña Isabel 1ª y Doña Isabel 2ª* (Paris: Imprinta de Jules Claye, 1858).

imperial territories. During Isabella II's reign, the propaganda continued in the direction begun by her mother.¹⁸⁹

Between the 1830s and 1840s, we find only three references to Spaniards having worked on Isabella the Catholic from Rome: Madrazo, Galofre, and Clavé. Galofre and Clavé created pieces destined for international consumption.¹⁹⁰ Nothing is known of Galofre's piece, whereas the private destination may explain why Clavé opted for a terrestrial narrative of Isabella I's biography.¹⁹¹

Seeking to revive "the style done in the heyday of painting", as he wrote, Federico de Madrazo worked instead on a more spiritual treatment of the theme. Perhaps inspired by the paintings he had seen in Florence on his way to Rome and the frescos at Casino Massimo (perhaps Philipp Veit's *The Empyreum* (1817-1827) and surely by Overbeck's *The Triumph of Religion in the Arts*,¹⁹² Madrazo worked on a Sacred conversation featuring the Virgin with Child, enthroned, and surrounded by Saint James, Saint Ferdinand, Don Pelayo, and Isabella the Catholic (Fig. 3.6).¹⁹³ He told his father to have discussed this composition with Overbeck, although it is unclear until what point the German provided him with some guidance: "Overbeck really liked it. The other day he told me again that he would love it if I painted it as a grand composition".¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁹ Gonzalo Álvarez de Castrillón and Carmen Manso Porto, eds., *Isabel La Católica y el arte* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2006); Díez and Carmen Iglesias, *La pintura isabelina*, 33.

¹⁹⁰ Moreno, *El pintor Pelegrín Clavé*, 59.

¹⁹¹ In Milan in 1843, Josefa Flauger, daughter of a banker and wife to the Catalan banker Jaime Ceriola, commissioned two oils from Clavé, who was there to attend the exhibition in Brera. One, *Isabel the Catholic in Avila, Declining the Crown the Archbishop of Toledo Offered Her in 1468* was displayed in Rome in 1845. That same year, Ossorio saw this small oil when displayed in Madrid, but he attributed this commission to Mr Ceriola, one of the powerful bankers and financial administrators in Isabelline Spain. In 1855 the painting was then taken to Paris. Doc. VIII.2 in Capitelli and Cracolici, *Roma en México, México en Roma*, 308. Vázquez, *Inventing the Art Collection*, 189–200.

¹⁹² Federico greatly admired the frescos at Casino Massimo, in a letter to his father wrote "He visto hace muchos días las pinturas al fresco que adornan el pequeño palacio de Villa Massimi, ejecutadas por el difunto Koch (amigo de V.), por Fait [Philipp Veit] (no sé si se escribe así), por otro alemán de cuyo nombre no puedo acordarme y por le nunca bastante celebrado Overbeck." Doc. 113, rome 27th January 1840, in Díez, *Epistolario: Federico de Madrazo*, 292.

¹⁹³ Doc. 133, Rome, 22nd July 1841, in Díez, 350.

¹⁹⁴ Doc. 133, Rome, 22nd July 1841, in Díez, 350.

Conceived as an altar piece, his work was an attempt at celebrating what the nineteenth century believed to be Spain's role in saving the world through evangelisation during the reign of Isabella I. To his father, Madrazo explained his choice of saints, which were all linked to the grand national narrative of the 'Reconquista': Saint James, who had begun "the great work of the restoration of Spain", Saint Ferdinand (Ferdinand III, the thirteenth-century king of Castile and León, canonized in 1671, who had conquered major cities from Muslim rulers, such as Burgos, Córdoba and Seville, significantly shrinking al-Andalus),¹⁹⁵ and Isabella the Catholic, who had completed the Reconquest in Spain and "contributed to the Christianisation of the Americas, enabling Columbus to start his journey".¹⁹⁶ Madrazo never realised his ambition to convert the drawing into a canvas (Fig. 3.7) but used the preparatory sketches for another religious canvas he painted later in his life, the *Immaculate* for Martín García de Loygorri, in which he merged Murillo's delicacy with his Italian studies on Italian Quattrocento (Fig. 3.8).¹⁹⁷

One of Madrazo's pupils, Vincente Palmaroli, succeeded in creating an altar piece while in Rome, the only example by a Spaniard known in Rome in the period investigated, which he completed in 1862. He depicted a Sacred conversation with Saint Ildefonso, with the archbishop of Toledo in the middle, Saint Pius V (winner of the battle of Lepanto) on the left, along with Saint Francis (the patron saint of Francisco de Asís), and on the right Saint James, and Saint Isabel of Hungary (patrons of Spain), along with Pius IX (Fig. 3.9). Francisco de Asís commissioned the work, which was destined for

¹⁹⁵ Federico de Madrazo was familiar with the book *Memorias para la vida del santo rey Don Fernando III* by Miguel de Manuel Rodríguez was published in Madrid in 1800.

¹⁹⁶ "Esto es una composición por el estilo a las que se hacían en el buen tiempo de la pintura. A la derecha de la Santísima Virgen con el Niño Dios está Santiago, patrón de España y a la izquierda San Fernando Rey. Arrodillados delante de la Virgen, al lado de Santiago, Pelayo el que empezó la grande obra de la restauración de España, al lado de San Fernando, su nieta Doña Isabel la Católica en cuyo tiempo se concluyó el mando de los moros en España, habiendo además contribuido no poco a que en las Américas se adore la Cruz, facilitando los medios para que Colón emprendiese su viaje. Si a V. no le disgusta esta composición tendría mucho gusto de ejecutarla del tamaño natural, a mi vuelta a España llevando de aquí más estudios posibles" Doc. 133, Rome, 22nd June 1841, in Díez, *Epistolario: Federico de Madrazo*, 350.

¹⁹⁷ Doc. 58. *Inmaculada Concepción*, in Díez, *Federico de Madrazo*, 278–79.

a devotional space: it hung in the consort king's private oratory.¹⁹⁸ Although Palmaroli had abandoned the purist style, preferring blurry lines and coloured spots instead of a defined graphic line, its conception was still indebted to the renaissance tradition, whose study had become a consolidated practice by the 1860s. The fruit of a royal commission rather than the artist's own intention, the canvas is the latest example of a visual conception of world history through the Catholic faith painted by a Spaniard in Rome.

3.2 Romantic historicism

Romantic historicism is a label that describes the art produced in the wake of the Risorgimento and tells of episodes in the Italian peninsula's history that aided the creation of a national conscience. Artists were generally free to choose the theme, when not commissioned by a patron.¹⁹⁹ While exalting regional diversity, Italian subjects served to unify the peninsula socially, culturally, and politically.²⁰⁰ The most common subjects were episodes from the history of crusades, the life and works of Dante, foreign invasions, heretics prosecuted by Catholic dogmatism, *The Betrothed* by Alessandro Manzoni, illustrious and genius Italian men, the history of cities or territories, and civic histories.

Since the Roman canvases played a crucial role for the visualisation of Spain's national myths, the section borrows this label for grouping the history works of the Spanish *pensionados* in the second half of the century. This term describes canvases that speak of the Spanish nation through concepts of territorial and religious unity, sacrifice, and monarchy in which the storytelling became more important than any religious overtone previously seen. Spaniards worked towards a staged composition, ever careful of the

¹⁹⁸ Carlos Reyero Hermosilla, "“Los cinco santos” de Vicente Palmaroli: una “sacra conversazione” a modo de “conversation piece” para el rey Francisco de Asís”, *Reales Sitios: Revista del Patrimonio Nacional*, no. 205 (2016): 40.

¹⁹⁹ Sandra Pinto, 'Il soggetto storico dalla Restaurazione all'Unità', in *Romanticismo storico* (Firenze: Centro Di, 1973), 13.

²⁰⁰ On the topic see for example, Isabella Marelli, ed., *Brera mai vista. Il Romanticismo storico. Francesco Hayez e Pelagio Pelagi*, Catalogo della mostra, Milano, Pinacoteca di Brera, Sala XXXVII, 12/2001-02/2002 (Milano: Electa, 2001); Vanessa Gavioli, Elena Marconi, and Ettore Spalletti, eds., *Giuseppe Bezzuoli (1784-1855): un grande protagonista della pittura romantica* (Firenze: Giunti, 2022).

historical correctness of the representation (space, time, costumes etc.) while dominating draughtsmanship and colours.²⁰¹ The literary narration was enriched by details such as the landscape, objects, and images, which had a historical-artistic function.²⁰² Having been exposed in cosmopolitan Rome to Italian and French influences, Spanish artists absorbed the novel tendencies in historical painting that came from there. They familiarised themselves with the art by Italian academic painters from other academies, such as Bezzuoli and Ussi, despite not being unequivocally confirmed by sources.

This was made possible thanks to the increased number of historiographic sources available to artists, which enabled artists to create canvases with “an ideological value in themselves”.²⁰³ As a result of this, Spaniards abandoned prior legendary conceptions of Spanish history in favour of an almost didactic narration, rich in descriptive elements, which gave centrality to the earthly and secular matters the painting narrated. After the 1840s, the divine element (such as the Virgin) disappears from the works by Spanish artists in Rome, even though the theme of Christian triumphalism was never really abandoned because it was functional to Isabelline Spain’s national mythopoeia, which was based on Spain being a Catholic country.²⁰⁴

In addition to the “imperial humanist history”,²⁰⁵ the nineteenth century witnessed a rise in historiographic sources, both in Spanish and foreign languages. In the first half of the century, English texts represented the main source of reference for any artist interested in treating a Spanish theme. From the 1850s onwards, texts such as *Historia general de España* by the sixteenth-century Jesuit Juan de Mariana, or *Las vidas de españoles célebres* by M. D. Quintana, were joined by the monumental work by Modesto Lafuente.²⁰⁶ The latter gave artists a new source from which to draw their inspiration, his

²⁰¹ Paola Barocchi, ‘Il campo storiografico’, in *Romanticismo storico* (Firenze: Centro Di, 1973), 121.

²⁰² Reyero Hermosilla, *La pintura de historia en España*, 41.

²⁰³ The definition has been extrapolated from Reyero Hermosilla, 26.

²⁰⁴ Claudia Hopkins, ‘The Past as a National Fantasy’, in *Romantic Spain. David Roberts and Genaro Pérez Villaamil*, ed. Claudia Hopkins (Madrid: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando - CEEH - Instituto Ceán Bermúdez, 2021), 316.

²⁰⁵ Thomas James Dandeleit, *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 165.

²⁰⁶ Reyero Hermosilla, *La pintura de historia en España*, 39.

Historia general de España (1850-1866).²⁰⁷ The book was one of the primary sources in Spanish for the modern painter of the historical genre, and responded to a necessity that Selvatico had already auspicated for an Italian context in 1842.²⁰⁸

With new sources to derive their inspiration from, the creation of National Exhibitions in Madrid – an important venue for the promotion of Isabelline themes – gave new purpose to artists in Rome, who finally had a platform to show their works in Spain, and in the government a potential buyer for works on the right subject, as shown in chapter 4.²⁰⁹ National history was now displayed before large audiences, disentangled from the circle of direct official or private commissions, and was promoted by the exhibitions themselves.²¹⁰ Far from merely being a step in their career, the Roman canvases discussed in this section were purchased almost exclusively by the government or the crown and placed either in the monarchs' collection, in institutional spaces where they still reside, or at the National Museum. Alongside being a means towards *Romistas'* recognition in Spain, they became instrumental to the government's institutional use of history and contributed to the affirmation and triumph of the historicist model in Spanish art practices, which lasted in Spain until “the crisis of the historicist model” occurred in the late 1880s.²¹¹

3.2.1 A new Reconquest

Benito Soriano Murillo arrived in Rome in 1847 thanks to a scholarship funded by Lorenzo Francisco Fernández de Villavicencio Cañas y Portocarrero, III duke of San Lorenzo de Valhermoso. When the duke died,

²⁰⁷ On Lafuente the bibliography is vast; for references to purely his historiographic model, see Francisco de Asis López Serrano, ‘Modesto Lafuente como paradigma oficial de la historiografía española del siglo XIX: una revisión bibliográfica’, *Boletín de la Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo*, no. 83 (2007): 433–42; Mónica Fuertes-Arboix, ‘El discurso mítico de la Edad Media en la “Historia General de España” de Modesto Lafuente’, *Lectura y signo: revista de literatura* 12, no. 1 (2017): 275–87.

²⁰⁸ Pietro Selvatico, *Sull'educazione del pittore storico odierno italiano. Pensieri* (Padova: Tipi del Seminario, 1842), 318–19.

²⁰⁹ Díez and Carmen Iglesias, *La pintura isabelina*, 86–87.

²¹⁰ Reyero Hermosilla, *La pintura de historia en España*, 34.

²¹¹ Reyero Hermosilla, ‘El reconocimiento de la nación en la historia’, 1205.

he possessed a few paintings by his protégé: two portraits of the monarchs, an *Albanesa*, and a sketch of *The Sigh of a Moor*.²¹² After returning to Madrid, the painter displayed a grand composition of the same subject and the National Exhibition in 1856 (Fig. 3.10).

Soriano Murillo decided to narrate an episode from the end of the Reconquest in 1492, the fall of Nasrid Granada to the Catholic Monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella. The War of Granada brought to an end ten years of seasonal campaigns between the weak Nasrid dynasty's Emirate of Granada ruled by Sultan Muhammad XII (also popularly known as Boabdil) and the Catholic Monarchs. Ever since their marriage agreement signed by Fernando on 7th January 1469 “the war against the Moors, enemies of the holy Catholic faith” was a priority for them, particularly for Isabella.²¹³ After extenuating years in which the emirate had been left alone by the rest of the Muslim world, the capitulation of Santa Fe, town built by the Catholic armies besieging Granada, was signed in both Castilian and Arabic on 25th November 1491, stipulating the conditions under which the city should have been handed over to the Catholic Monarchs. On 6th January 1492 the Catholic Monarchs entered into Granada. What resulted to be a Castilian conquest of Granada, ended the last Muslim enclave in Western Europe.²¹⁴

Rather than showing any episode of the Catholic side of this story, Soriano Murillo focused on a touching moment for Muhammad XII. According to legend, travelling away from Granada with his entourage, Muhammad XII turned toward the city and sighed, mourning his loss, while his mother Aixa la Horra, reproached him “for crying like a woman over what you could not defend like a man”. Moving away from the academic requirement of representing few characters within a picture, the painter included other auxiliary poignant scenes within this main episode. Each group of characters illustrated a sentimental anecdote, from the mother holding her crying boy, to a blind old man led by the young who might be his son, with the intention of marking the end of the Reconquest. Moreover, as seen in chapter 2 with the

²¹² Martínez Plaza, *El coleccionismo de pintura en Madrid durante el siglo XIX*, 152.

²¹³ Joseph F. O’Callaghan, *The Last Crusade in the West. Castile and the Conquest of Granada* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 123.

²¹⁴ On the stages of this war, see Joseph F. O’Callaghan, *The Last Crusade in the West. Castile and the Conquest of Granada* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

catacombs, the 1850s saw a change in the way Spaniards treated the space within a composition. Setting the scene in the place where the event took place, the painter represented Granada's outskirts with the profiles of the Alhambra and Sierra Nevada in the background, which at the time represented a true innovation for a Spanish artist educated in Rome.²¹⁵

Soriano Murillo chose not to show either Isabella or Ferdinand, but rather Boabdil and his mother. Aixa la Horra's legendary words have been read as a metaphor for the severe consequences suffered by a people due to the weakness of its ruling class, which had pleased the romantics.²¹⁶ The painter very cleverly chose a subject, the fall of Granada, that on one hand had been popularised in European and American romantic literature and on the other pleased the official narrative of the monarchy, which constantly recalled the age of Isabella I. The parallelism between the two queens was even the subject of a publication of a book *Paralelo entre las reinas* 1858 by José Güell y Renté.²¹⁷ One aspect that brought the queens together in nineteenth-century propaganda was their relation with the Andalusí past. For example, the Real Alcázar of Seville – a building that underwent renovations under the reign of Isabella I and which saw the birth of her son John, Prince of Asturias (1478-1497) - was used for Isabella II's own representations, for example it served as the background for Galofre's portrait of Isabella II, painted after his return to Spain.

It is also important to note that three years after this grand canvas was finished, the Hispano-Moroccan war (1859-1860) broke out between the Spain of the Liberal Union governments under Isabella II and the Sultanate of Morocco under Sultan Mawlay Muhammad.²¹⁸ The conflict was triggered after a series of border disputes around Spain's enclaves in northern Morocco, the cities of Ceuta and Melilla, which had suffered incursions by groups from the Rif region. The war ended with the Treaty of Wad-Ras (26/04/1860),

²¹⁵ This is the third type of space identified by Reyero as a possible choice among Spanish artists. Reyero Hermosilla, *La pintura de historia en España*, 57.

²¹⁶ María Teresa del Préstamo Landín, 'Reescrituras decimonónicas del siglo XV español: el Suspiro del Moro en la narrativa de Manuel Fernández y González', *Lectura y signo: revista de literatura* 11, no. 1 (2016): 12, 15.

²¹⁷ See note 188 in this chapter.

²¹⁸ Esther Collado Fernández, 'En el nombre de la Reina: la imagen de Isabel II durante la Guerra de Africa (1859-1860)', *Historia constitucional*, no. 20 (2019): 607–21.

which declared Spain the victor and imposed various cessions and indemnities to be paid by Morocco.

3.2.2 Spanish national martyrs

Reyero has claimed that it is hard to draw a standard profile of Spanish Rome-goers' political views.²¹⁹ The only artist whose ideas were unambiguous was the painter, Antonio Gisbert. As a young student, he worked on a couple of paintings around the topic of the Spanish national martyrs from the early modern age. These broke with the requirement of not picking episodes that could cast doubt on either Spain's past or future or be overly disrespectful to the monarchy's reputation. This at least was what José de Madrazo had once recommended Federico in his letters.²²⁰ With his canvases Gisbert advertised his liberal ideals, a position which eventually granted him the post of director at the National Museum of Painting and Sculpture (how the Prado Museum was known after the suppression of the Museum of the Trinity in 1872 and the union of the two collections, that of the Royal Museum and that of the Trinity) during the regime of the Sexenio Liberal (1868-1874).²²¹

We owe the Spanish recovery of the deathbed scenes in Rome, abandoned after José de Madrazo, to Gisbert, who conceived the *Death of Don Carlos* (Fig. 3.11). Carlos was the son of Philip II and Maria Manuela of Portugal. Carlos was meant to marry the French princess Isabel of Valois. But, when Philip II was widowed from his second wife Mary Tudor, the king chose to marry the young princess instead. However, between the two there grew a strong relationship, which led to further rumours after Isabel's death. The latter occurred only a few months after Carlos' own death, which occurred in the palatial apartments in which Philip II was said to have locked him, for his son's fragile mental health condition.

²¹⁹ Reyero explores this idea in the already cited article 'Ideología e imagen' in bibliography.

²²⁰ Doc. 34, Madrid, 7th April 1838, Madrazo, *José de Madrazo*, 176–77.

²²¹ Adrián Espí Valdés, *Vida y obra del pintor Gisbert* (Valencia: Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1971), 19; Carlos Reyero Herмосilla, 'El reconocimiento de la nación en la historia: el uso espaciotemporal de pinturas y monumentos en España', *ARBOR Ciencia, Pensamiento y Cultura*, no. 740 (2009): 1200.

As his first experiment in the Spanish historical genre, Gisbert proclaimed the Roman origin of this painting with the signature “ANTONIO GISBERT/ROMA 1858” which was likely intended to give prestige to the canvas, rather than just make a claim about Gisbert’s training. The Roman element is visible in the draughtsmanship, but his sources for the composition were French and Spanish authors. Gisbert incorporated the lessons of Paul Delaroche (a critic who claimed that “the head of the prince is worth that of Delaroche”).²²² The same critic wrote that the treatment of the friars reminded him of Zurbarán or Carducho.²²³

With *Don Carlos*, Gisbert had picked a shocking episode, the tragic death of King Philip II’s son, but he did so very cleverly.²²⁴ In 1787 Friedrich Schiller authored the drama *Don Karlos, Infant von Spanien* (1787). In 1863 Louis Prosper Gachard finished one of his most famous works, *Don Carlos et Philippe II*. In 1867 Giuseppe Verdi’s *Don Carlos* was performed for the first time in Paris.²²⁵ Given that the canvas was painted while abroad, we cannot exclude the possibility that Gisbert hoped it would capture international attention. When his artwork made its first public appearance at the National Exhibition in 1858, it won a first-class medal. However, despite responding to the technical requirements that an academic canvas had to meet, it was not purchased by the state; Díez has speculated that this was due to the emotional elements and the controversial subject that Gisbert’s scene proposed, as it investigated a darker episode in monarchical history.²²⁶ Instead, Isabella II eventually bought the canvas.

The other historical canvas Gisbert painted in Rome was *The Comuneros* (Fig. 3.12), another problematic subject for Spain’s nation-building narrative, which was also affirmed as a Roman work: “ANTONIO GISBERT Y PÉREZ/HIZO EN ROMA/AÑO 1860”. The canvas belonged to the genre of

²²² On the influence of Delaroche and Gisbert, see Reyer Hermosilla, *La pintura de historia en España*, 95. For Ossorio’s quote, see Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 296.

²²³ Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 296.

²²⁴ On the history of Don Carlos, see Gerardo Moreno Espinosa, *Don Carlos: el príncipe de la leyenda negra* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Ediciones de Historia, 2006).

²²⁵ Luis Alberto Pérez Velarde, ‘El pintor Antonio Gisbert 1834 - 1901’ (Doctoral thesis, Madrid, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2017), 193–6.

²²⁶ José Luis Díez, ‘Los Comuneros, de Gisbert. Un gran cuadro de historia sobre un pasado cuestionable’ (Conference, Madrid, 19 June 2019).

“execution by decapitation” or its immediate aftermath, scenes made popular since Delaroche’s *Cromwell with the Coffin of Charles I* (1831) or *Execution of Lady Jane Gray* (1834). Gisbert’s scene represented the notorious execution of the Castilians Juan Bravo, Padilla and Maldonado, founders of the Jura Santa to defend Castilian freedom against king Charles I of Spain (Emperor Charles V). The execution took place on 24th April 1521 in Villalar de los Comuneros (close to Valladolid), which Gisbert unmistakably recreated, making the scene understandable as a Spanish landscape for both Spanish and foreign audiences.²²⁷

The painter adopted a triangular composition that, besides sympathetically inviting the viewer into the scene, seems reminiscent of the scenes of martyrdom that a young student from the San Fernando Academy would have surely been all too familiar with.²²⁸ Gisbert, who portrayed himself in the scene in a renaissance gesture of self-recognition, is one of the viewers watching “Padilla staring at his beheaded friend [Maldonado] with Christian sublime resignation and the fortitude of a martyr with a holy cause, while near him there is the basin, another symbol of his impending similar doom”.²²⁹ However, it cannot be excluded that, since Florence was a destination in Spaniards’ Roman sojourn, he was familiar with Tuscan contemporary works such as Giuseppe Bezzuoli’s canvas *The Murder of Lorenzino de’ Medici in the Square of Santi Giovanni and Paolo in Venice* (1840), commissioned by Niccolò Puccini. The two compositions are similar in their triangular composition, the position of the Lorenzino de’ Medici being similar to that of Maldonado, and the precision in describing the surrounding setting.²³⁰

²²⁷ For interpretations of the Comuneros, see Enrique Berzal de la Rosa, *Los comuneros: de la realidad al mito* (Madrid: Silex, 2008).

²²⁸ José Luis Díez, ed., *La pintura de historia del siglo XIX en España* (Madrid: Consorcio para la Organización de Madrid Capital Europea de la Cultura, 1992), 56.

²²⁹ ‘Gisbert tiene imaginación, sentimiento, buen estilo, correcto dibujo y en general honda noción del arte que profesa y de sus recursos. El suplicio de los Comuneros con ser flor primeriza de su ingenio honraría a un Robert y a un Delaroche; es imposible crear figura más arrogante y majestuosa que la de ese Pradilla cruzado de brazos, contemplando con la sublime resignación del cristiano y la entereza del mártir de una santa causa a su amigo descabezado, junto al pilón que le aguarda para recibir igual muerte.’ Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 296.

²³⁰ Giuseppe Bezzuoli, *The murder of Lorenzino de’ Medici in the square of Santi Giovanni and Paolo in Venice*, 1840, oil on canvas, Pistoia, Museo Civico.

The problematic meaning which the painting communicated meant that, although the work was a medal winner, the Isabelline state declined to purchase the canvas, which was eventually bought by Congress. Nevertheless, this canvas granted Gisbert an extension of his studentship so he could complete his studies in Paris.²³¹ Moreover, the painter was asked to repeat this subject four further times, consolidating his reputation as the defender of freedom and the success of the subject in Spain.²³²

3.2.3 Royal dynasties

In 1864 the National Exhibition in Madrid welcomed canvases inspired by Ferdinand and Isabella, presented not as devoted Catholics but rather as heads of state. Among them, Rosales chose to portray the end of their marriage with a canvas that forever bonded his name and fame to Isabella the Catholic: *Queen Isabella the Catholic Dictating her Will* (“E. ROSALES/ROMA 1864”) (Fig. 3.13).²³³ The painting won a first-class medal and was purchased for the National Museum.²³⁴ It was the fruit of at least a year of study in Rome in 1863, and although he was looking at Velázquez, Rosales opted for a deathbed scene for his first “cuadro grande”, possibly surfing the wave of Gisbert’s success. The scene was set in Medina del Campo, where a dying Isabella I dictated her will on 12th October 1504 to Gaspar de Gricio while at his desk.²³⁵ As Salas has underlined, in order to give a natural representation of a dying woman, and a monarch, Rosales kept his distance from purist composition and forms.²³⁶ The distance was in terms of both style and content. The painting broke with the canvases made by Rosales until that point, which surprised his friends Palmaroli and Vera, “who wanted him to

²³¹ Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 296.

²³² For the four versions of this painting, see Pérez Velarde, ‘El pintor Antonio Gisbert 1834 - 1901’, 536-7, 544. On the Comuneros being a symbol of freedom, see Reyero Hermosilla, *La pintura de historia en España*, 134–36.

²³³ Doc. 37 in Díez and Barón, *The nineteenth century in the Prado*, 205–11.

²³⁴ Manuel Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX* (Madrid: Imprenta a cargo de Ramon Moreno, 1869), 178.

²³⁵ José Luis Díez, ‘Eduardo Rosales y la conquista del realismo por los pintores españoles en Roma (1855-1875)’, in *Del realismo al impresionismo* (Madrid: Círculo de Lectores - Galaxia Gutenberg, 2014), 87.

²³⁶ Xavier de Salas, ed., *Exposición de la obra de Eduardo Rosales (1836 - 1873)* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 1973), 13–14; Díez, ‘Eduardo Rosales y la conquista del realismo por los pintores españoles en Roma (1855-1875)’, 81.

keep painting religious paintings from the fifteenth century, and in seeing his change they did not like it; however, time proved Rosales was right and they were eventually convinced”.²³⁷

Throughout the rest of his Roman years, Rosales kept following this secular direction in historical compositions both great and small, with a decorative rather than historical function.²³⁸ For example, in 1869 he painted two small canvases for Eduardo de Carondolet, 3rd duke of Bailén, 1st marquis of Portugalete, an art collector who purchased pieces by Goya, Rosales’ friend Palmaroli, Soriano Murillo, Gisbert, and Casado del Alisal, among others. One painting concerned Charles V. Rosales recurred to the sham of an Italian setting for a Spanish theme on the other small canvas he painted in Rome, representing Don Juan being presented to his father, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V in Yuste (Fig. 3.15). The emperor retired in Extremadura in 1557 and died there in 1558 without revealing that he was father of Don Juan; instead, Philip II disclosed the fact a year after their father’s death.²³⁹ For this composition, Rosales set the scene in a space which merged his sketches of the Constantine room at the Vatican (Fig. 3.15) with those at El Escorial (Fig. 3.16). For the figures, Rosales recycled sketches he made for another project, namely the visit of Charles V to Francis I, and for Charles V he clearly looked at the emperor’s portraits by Titian at the Prado Museum. With this, Rosales anticipated a trend in Spanish history canvases of the late nineteenth century, which frequently represented a moment of the royal retirement in Yuste.²⁴⁰

Díez has described Rosales as the Spanish painter who “sought to give a modern, entirely pictorial interpretation to reality”.²⁴¹ Rosales inaugurated a new research line for Spanish artists in Rome who wanted to devote themselves to historical scenes; however, the scholar has also claimed the necessity of not considering Rosales’ choice an isolated case but rather part

²³⁷ Martín Rico y Ortega, *Recuerdos de mi vida* (Madrid: Imprenta Ibérica, 1906), 84.

²³⁸ Reyero Hermosilla, *La pintura de historia en España*, 47.

²³⁹ Piers Baker-Bates, ‘Spanish Painting: Recreating a Perceived “Golden Age”’, in *Representing the Past in the Art of the Long Nineteenth Century. Historicism, Postmodernism and Internationalism*, ed. Matthew C. Potter (London - New York City: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2022), 117.

²⁴⁰ Díez, *La pintura de historia del siglo XIX en España*, 57.

²⁴¹ Díez, ‘Eduardo Rosales y la conquista del realismo por los pintores españoles en Roma (1855-1875)’, 82.

of a group, which in this case Díez has considered to be the Spaniards' Roman group, as will be addressed in chapter 5.²⁴²

After Rosales' success with *Isabella the Catholic*, the painting became the reference for Lorenzo Vallés' grand canvas *The Madness of Joanna of Castile* (Fig. 3.17).²⁴³ The two works in fact are currently displayed next to each other in the room at the Prado. Vallés signed his composition as a Roman work: "L. VALLES ROMA 1866"; whether the marquis was implied in the choice of this subject is unclear.²⁴⁴ It is likely that Vallés chose this subject because it was "Spanish and dramatic", according to the adjectives used by Casado del Alisal when giving suggestions to Pradilla's choice of the same subject.²⁴⁵ Joanna was the second daughter of Isabella and Ferdinand the Catholic who married Philippe the Fair, son of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I. But when her elder brother died, she became presumptive heir to the thrones of her parents. In 1504, upon her mother's death, she became queen of Castille. Vallés represented Joanna's desperation: with Philip the Fair on his deathbed half protected by the curtain in the background, Joanna in the foreground asks the men behind her to maintain silence. In her mind, her husband was asleep, not dead. Philippe in fact died a few months after her coronation. Left in a state of sorrowful grief, Joanna developed a morbid obsession with Philip the Fair's corpse, which was eventually stolen by one of the guardians and taken to the royal chapel in Granada. The painting shows several points in common with Rosales' composition, from the setting to the choice of colours, the loose brushstrokes, and the models. All of these aspects were appreciated by critics, but the composition's overall "character" was not.²⁴⁶ Nevertheless, the painting was purchased for the National Museum in 1866 and was taken to be shown at universal exhibitions in Vienna (1873) and Philadelphia (1876).

3.3 Contemporary history

²⁴² Díez, 82, 90.

²⁴³ Prado curators chose to display the two paintings in the same room dedicated to Rosales.

²⁴⁴ Reyer Hermsilla, *La pintura de historia en España*, 31.

²⁴⁵ Reyer Hermsilla, 36.

²⁴⁶ Manuel Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX* (Madrid: Imprenta a cargo de Ramon Moreno, 1869), 264.

Unlike what chapter 2 has shown for sacred art, a nazarene purist approach to Spanish history was deployed only minimally based on the testimonies in our possession. The fact that most drawings remained just that – projects – suggests that it was an unsuccessful conception of global history. The almost theological understanding of Spanish history was abandoned when painters adopted an almost archaeological approach – symbolised by the arrival of Spanish landscape – to the visualisation of Spanish history. In line with what was happening in Spain, this second approach triumphed among the Spaniards in Rome, and corresponded with the emergence of the catacombs in their practice. The passage is clear in the representations of the Reconquest: no longer was Isabella the Catholic the monarch bringing the process to an end, but rather the last Nasrid ruler of the Emirate of Granada, portrayed as the one who lost the city.²⁴⁷

In line with what happened in Spain, the life of monarchs was told through the earthly actions of kings and queens, but also through their private lives and that of their children (Don Carlos, Joanna, or Don Juan).²⁴⁸ Gisbert's national martyrs cannot be considered a deviation from the course either, as the numerous depictions of Álvaro de Luna (c.1390-1453), favourite of John II of Castile, suggest.²⁴⁹ All in all, this chapter has sought to study the Spaniards' treatment of historicism – “a vast patriotic-commercial operation” – from Rome.²⁵⁰

Everything suggests that the Roman canvases done in the second half of the century were not a narrative from the margins; the subjects moved within the lines of the political propaganda, or more accurately what did not compromise the Spanish image abroad. After all, the Roman traineeship received a great deal of support and motivation from the establishment, which

²⁴⁷ Carlos Reyero Hermosilla, ‘La historia pasada como historia presente: Rosales, Casado y Gisbert o la política en el Prado’, in *Historias inmortales*, 2002, 331–51.

²⁴⁸ Reyero Hermosilla, *La pintura de historia en España*, 34.

²⁴⁹ For example, Eduardo Cano de la Peña, *Burial of the Constable Don Álvaro de Luna*, 1858, oil on canvas, 243x295 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado. José María Rodríguez de Losada, *Sad end of Don Álvaro de Luna*, 1866, oil on canvas, 272x320 cm. Madrid, Palacio del Senado.

²⁵⁰ Sofía Rodríguez Bernis, ‘Coleccionismo e historicismo: gusto y comercio’, in *Colecciones, expolio, museos y mercado artístico en España en los siglos XVIII y XIX*, ed. María Dolores Antigüedad del Castillo Olivares and Amaya Alzaga Ruiz (Madrid: Editorial Universitaria Ramón Areces, 2011), 83.

makes it hard for scholars to draw the artists' political profile through their choice of subjects. Moreover, the claim of artworks' Roman origins, visible in many signatures, not only lends lustre to the canvas, but also suggests that Rome itself was not conceived as a city on the margins at all, but rather a hub to learn how to properly visualise the story of Spain.

Contrary to what was shown in the introduction with neoclassical artists, in the forty years investigated here, no space was given to episodes of contemporary history, and in fact such a direction was not widely explored even after 1873.²⁵¹ A unicum is represented by Fortuny y Marsal, who broke with this past-as-present tradition with a battle scene, a genre which was hardly ever represented by the Spaniards in Rome.²⁵² Barcelona's council commissioned him to produce an episode of Catalan history to create during his second year of studentship. Spain's foreign politics offered the artist the perfect source of inspiration. On 22nd October 1859, Leopoldo O'Donnell's government declared war on the Moroccan empire. On 30th December 1859, Barcelona's council decided that Fortuny would travel to Africa, and pictorially document what he saw as a war reporter.²⁵³ The young painter obliged. On 4th February 1860, Catalan volunteers supported the Spanish army as they entered Tétouan. Returning to Rome, he and Vallés were among the group of Spaniards who visited the *Esposizione italiana, agraria, industriale e artistica* in Florence in 1861.²⁵⁴ The two apparently unrelated circumstances proved decisive for the Catalan painter. In fact, his direct experience in Africa, combined with the visit to the event, are remembered by Barocchi as the moment that brought romantic historicism to an end in Italy, and gave Fortuny the perfect ingredients for his canvas.²⁵⁵ As opposed to the historicised treatment reserved for canvases in the 1850s and 1860s, the canvas Fortuny wanted to create was based on being an eye-witness to facts

²⁵¹ The National Museum of Fine Arts in Buenos Aires preserves a small oil by Federico de Madrazo, representing a scene that Díez believes to have happened in Spain during the War of Independence due to the presence of the Herculean pillars on the background. Díez, *Federico de Madrazo*, 53.

²⁵² Mariano Fortuny y Marsal, *Battle of Tétouan*, 1860-74, oil on canvas, 300x972 cm. Barcelona, MNAC.

²⁵³ Reyero Herмосilla, *Fortuny o el arte como distinción de clase*, 57.

²⁵⁴ Querci and Calvo Serraller, 'Tra Parigi, Venezia e Roma: Zuloaga, i pittori spagnoli e l'Italia.', 2014, 63.

²⁵⁵ Barocchi, 'Il campo storiografico', 124.

and a naturalist treatment of the subject.²⁵⁶ The canvas was a lengthy process that he never finished. In 1863 the council extended his scholarship for another two years. In 1870 his *Battle of Tétouan* was still unfinished, and his studentship was cancelled. After his death, the painting was sold at a Parisian auction, and the council managed to purchase it; the painting arrived in Barcelona in the spring of 1875.²⁵⁷ This commission deviated from the usual path that saw national subjects being chosen by artists, corroborating their independence from the logistics of patronage.

²⁵⁶ Fortuny's naturalist, eye-witness approach was the same adopted by Palmaroli for his canvas inspired by O'Donnell's actions in Africa. In 1868 the 3rd Duke of Fernán-Núñez organised a public competition where he asked painters to commemorate Leopoldo O'Donnell, 1st Duke of Tetuán, who died in 1867. He publicised this contest in *La Gaceta*, in which Spanish painters were asked to create a patriotic canvas featuring the General-in-Chief of the Spanish army during a battle or an episode in the Moroccan war. Rosales was among the twenty painters who presented their sketches, and eventually the Duke picked Palmaroli and, which is interesting for our argument, paid for his on-site research trip to Morocco. The painting was completed in 1870. José Antonio Vígara Zafra, 'New Strategies in Art Collecting amongst the Spanish Nobility in the Later Nineteenth Century: The Case of the 3rd Duke and Duchess of Fernán Núñez', *Journal of the History of Collections* 30, no. 3 (2017): 425.

²⁵⁷ Reyero Hermosilla, *Fortuny o el arte como distinción de clase*, 64–66.

CHAPTER 4

EPISODES OF SPANISH ARTISTIC PATRONAGE

Having seen paintings coveted by the government in chapter 3, this chapter, entitled *Episodes of artistic patronage*, looks at various cases of individual patronage from which Spanish artists benefitted during their time in Rome and their increase during the forty years under study. Based on primary sources, in particular private letters and newspaper articles published in the nineteenth century, this chapter chronologically follows how the patronage changed for Spanish artists in Rome.

The first section focuses on episodes of minor patronage (1830s-1840s), a period generally perceived as disappointing by Spanish artists in Rome. In particular, it looks at two members of the royal family, the Infante Sebastián Gabriel of Spain and Portugal and the Queen Mother Maria Cristina and attempts to reconstruct their patronage during their time in Rome, critically evaluating the reasons for their Roman commissions' shortcomings.

The last section picks up on what was stated in the dissertation's introduction by illustrating the increased forms of patronage available to Spanish artists in Rome during de Vilches' directorship of the *pensionados*, a precondition for the Spaniards' change in how they perceived themselves that will be explored in the dissertation's final chapter.

These two sections serve to frame the brief Roman presence of Julián Villalba García (Zaragoza, 1785 – Rome, 1843), which were the last three years of his life, and which he spent in Rome. This central section reconstructs this diplomat's patronage in Rome by centring on his private and public commissions, but also his affinity towards and interest in the Spaniards' work, which became the benchmark used by Spanish artists to judge their compatriots' actions, or lack thereof. Villalba's time in Rome is an understudied episode, which caused González Navarro to wish for an in-depth study into such a meaningful figure on the Spanish artists' Roman lives, even

aside from his residency being significant to the Spaniards' fascination for nazarene purism.¹

As the capital of the Catholic world, Rome had always been on the minds of Spanish monarchs as part of the country's nation-building process. Traces of "Spain in Rome"² were in some sense a form of national art, which Spain used to assess its role of Catholic power in Rome. The nineteenth century may have lacked such drive, but diplomats tried to make up for it with what appears to be a personal commitment to the arts. Thus, the study of Villalba's residence culminates with the analysis of an unrealised purist fresco for the Spanish national church of Santa Maria in Monserrato in Rome.

4.1 Unsatisfactory patronage, 1830–1856

As a result of the Spanish state not buying many artworks during the 1830s,³ many young artists sought for more profitable markets abroad, particularly in Paris.⁴ Not even the recipients of the Roman scholarship while in Rome, however, were immune to a sense of frustration and dissatisfaction in their government, monarchs, and people. The Roman letters of Vilar, Clavé and Madrazo, written between the 1830s and early 1850s tell us about their dissatisfaction with their wealthy countrymen visiting Rome who generally failed to show interest in them.

In 1842 an anonymous author published an article in the *Gaceta de Madrid* about the *pensionados* in Rome, which denounced the situation of Spanish artists in Rome presumably between the late 1830s and early 1840s and argued that "an artistic taste does not exist amongst the rich and wealthy of

¹ Carlos González Navarro, 'Joaquín Espalter en Italia. A propósito de las aguadas y pinturas del Museo del Prado', 149. Villalba as a patron appears in the research by Wilredo Rincón García on a Spanish sculptor in Rome, Wilfredo Rincón García, 'Ponciano Ponzano. Un escultor aragonés en la corte (1813-1877)', in *El siglo XIX el arte en la corte española y en las nuevas colecciones peninsulares*, ed. María Carmen Lacarra Ducay (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico; Excma. Diputación de Zaragoza, 2020), 205–48.

² On this topic, see Thomas James Dandeleit, *Spanish Rome, 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); Adrián Fernández Almoguera, 'A partir de la antigüedad: la arquitectura en la correspondencia artística entre los pensionados españoles en Roma y la Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (1747-1815)', in *Il carteggio d'artista. Fonti, questioni, ricerche tra XVII e XIX secolo*, ed. Serenella Rolfi Ožvald and Carla Mazzarelli (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana editore, 2019), 201–15.

³ Calvo Serraller, 'Las academias artísticas en España', 230.

⁴ Hopkins, 'Inventing and Popularising the Spanish Pictoresque', 122.

Spain; they prefer buying bad quality prints instead of possessing something valuable or aiding their countrymen”.⁵ This diagnosis captured the mood of Federico de Madrazo in his letters. He felt personal distress in 1842 when, despite the significant number of Spaniards arriving in Rome that year, none visited his studio, in contrast to the many curious foreigners, not least the king of Bavaria.⁶ For his part, Vilar also complained in his private correspondence that many Spaniards had no manners. He referred to when he made a bust for the marquis of Alfarrás for which, Vilar said, the aristocrat unashamedly paid only half its asking price, and had the arrogance to request the sculptor give 15 drawing classes to his goddaughter.⁷

Notably, around 1840 almost all the large and small collectors of the Ferdinandine period had died, even those who had accorded some protection to the *pensionados*.⁸ For example, Arbós had been supported by José Negrete Cepeda, V count of Campo Alange, until his death in 1836.⁹ Until his premature death, José María Queipo de Llano y Ruiz de Sarabia (1786-1843), VII count of Toreno, travelled to Rome personally and sponsored Ponzano for two years, with the promise that the sculptor made two sculptures and three drawings for him.¹⁰ Juan Domingo Balmaseda (†1845) purchased only copies of Italian paintings and frescos by Clavé, Francisco Cerdá, and Arbós. Scholars have argued that the copies by Clavé and Cerdá were possibly either

⁵ ‘[...] los españoles todo lo contrario, ni mandan a buscar obras, ni mandan hacerlas, ni las toman cuando vienen aquí, y mucho menos ni se dignan a visitar sus estudios como hacen los otros viajeros sin preguntar siquiera si los hay. Tal es el estado del gusto en España y el ejemplo siguiente afirmará cuanto digo. [...] Que el gusto artístico en España no existe en los ricos y poderosos, que en vez de comprar malas estampas podrían tener cosa que les hicieran honor y diese utilidad a sus ciudadanos.’ Anon., ‘Situación de los artistas españoles en Roma’, 1-2.

⁶ Doc. 143, Rome, 9th April 1842, in Madrazo, *Epistolario*, 1:381.

⁷ Doc. 17, Rome, 16th May 1841, in Moreno, *El Escultor Manuel Vilar*, 116.

⁸ Pedro J. Martínez Plaza, ed., *El coleccionismo de pintura en Madrid durante el siglo XIX: la escuela española en las colecciones privadas y el mercado* (Madrid: CEEH, 2018), 78.

⁹ Martínez Plaza, *El coleccionismo de pintura en Madrid durante el siglo XIX*, 229–30.

¹⁰ One of these was Ponzano’s *The Flood*, which represented a son trying to save his mother from the flood, which received the approval of the acclaimed artists Tenerani, Finelli and Solá. Wilfredo Rincón García, ‘Ponciano Ponzano. Un escultor aragonés en la corte (1813-1877)’, in *El siglo XIX el arte en la corte española y en las nuevas colecciones peninsulares*, ed. Maria Carmen Lacarra Ducay (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico; Excma. Diputación de Zaragoza, 2020), 52.

repayment or an acknowledgement for the protection the two painters had received from Balmaseda viz-a-viz their studies.¹¹

Though individuals might have given the Spanish artists grounds for complaint, the young Spaniards were the most disappointed by the behaviour of the royals between the 1830s and 1840s. The two Spanish royals likely responsible for the Spanish artists' complaints were the Infante Sebastián Gabriel of Spain and Portugal and Queen Mother Maria Cristiana. Spanish artists, such as Federico de Madrazo perhaps hoped for the presence of royals in Rome to be a fruitful opportunity for commissions, as it had been for the Spanish artists in Rome during the exile of former King Charles IV. However, we probably need to nuance their rancorous comments, given the circumstances in which their arrivals occurred and the royals' relatively brief presence in Rome.

According to both the article in the *Gaceta* and to Galofre's words,¹² Spanish artists hoped to find a great patron who could perhaps not only give them commissions while in Rome but also summoned them back home. They likely observed what happened in other colonies, such as the Germans, the Dutch, and the French, who received commissions from monarchs – such as the Bavarian king Ludwig I, William I, king of the Netherlands (who purchased paintings from Dutch artists active in Rome, before he abdicated in October 1840)¹³ – aristocrats, and the state.¹⁴ Moreover, possibly through their contacts in Paris, Spaniards in Rome were informed that both King Louis Philippe and Leopold I, king of Belgium, were purchasing paintings by their colleagues, notably Villaamil.¹⁵

¹¹ These copies were Clavé's *Diana's Head* after Domenichino and *Bella* after Titian, Cerdá's *The school of Athens* after Raphael and Arbós' *Madonna della Seggiola* after Raphael. Martínez Plaza, *El coleccionismo de pintura en Madrid durante el siglo XIX*, 331.

¹² Galofre, 'Del Renacimiento de las artes españolas', 89.

¹³ Godefridus Joannes Hoogewerff, 'Artisti olandesi a Roma nell'Ottocento', *Roma. Rivista di studi e di vita romana* 8 (1934): 339–400.

¹⁴ Information regarding the commissions French artists received, see for example Bonfait, *Maestà di Roma. Da Ingres a Degas: artisti francesi a Roma*.

¹⁵ Paintings by Villaamil were purchased by Baron Isidore Taylor for King Louis Philippe who sent him to Spain in autumn 1835 where Baron Taylor had to purchase as many paintings as he could for Louis Philippe's Museum of Spanish art to be housed at the Louvre. On the works by Villaamil acquired by Baron Taylor, please see the catalogue contained in the volume Enrique Arias Anglés, *El paisajista romántico Jenaro Pérez Villaamil* (Madrid: CSIC, 1986); Hopkins, 'Inventing and Popularising the Spanish Pictoresque', 119.

Instead, during most of Solá's directorship of the *pensionados*, Spaniards in Rome were actually excluded from such dynamics.¹⁶ Besides, particularly during the 1830s they were confirmed in their belief by the lack of an official residency waiting for them upon their arrival, something that particularly in the 1830s was object of complaint, and the irregularity in receiving the scholarships.

Things began to change after 1848 when Spaniards in Rome were involved in the first commission ever given by the government during Solá's early years of directorship of the *pensionados*.¹⁷ The episode is well-known and involves the exterior decoration of the Palace of the Congress of Deputies in the Carrera de San Jerónimo in Madrid designed by Narciso Pascual Colomer, built between 1843 and 1850. Once the building was completed, the triumphalist decoration – celebrating the Spanish national history through exalting scenes of military victories, conquests, and key personalities – had many artists involved over the years, notably the two international educated painters Federico de Madrazo and Carlos Luis de Ribera after their return home. Other former Rome-goers, such as Espalter, were also involved after their sojourn abroad was over.

The aspect of this commission to be interesting for this section's chronological timeframe, concerns the building's exterior decoration, namely the pediment with allegorical relief *España* by the sculptor Ponzano. He sent his project in September 1848 while still in Rome. Shortly after, the San Fernando Academy organised an exhibition displaying the various projects, which was visited by Isabella II in 25th October 1848.¹⁸ On October 31st it was announced that Ponzano was entrusted with the work. He returned to Madrid in February 1849.¹⁹

¹⁶ "... más los españoles todo lo contrario, ni mandan a buscar obras, ni mandan hacerlas, ni las toman cuando vienen aquí, y mucho menos ni se dignan visitar sus estudios, como hacen los otros viajeros, sin preguntar siquiera si los hay. Tal es el estado del gusto en España, y el ejemplo siguiente afirmará cuanto digo." Anon., 'Situación de los artistas españoles en Roma', 1.

¹⁷ Mercedes Agulló y Cobo, ed., *Madrid en sus diarios. II. 1845-1859*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Instituto de estudios madrilenos, 1965), 326.

¹⁸ Agulló y Cobo, 2:327.

¹⁹ Agulló y Cobo, 2:244.

Although exploring the decoration of this palace is not part of this dissertation, the involvement of artists with an international education in Rome and/or Paris corroborates the importance attributed to such a training, and therefore the idea that going to Rome could boost a young artist's career. These commissions marked the beginning of a shifting perception of the value of Rome as a training destination, which as early as 1851 Galofre also registered. He did not mention any particular commission but nonetheless applauded Isabella II overall for her efforts in promoting the arts in the country. This attitude, which he clearly perceived as antithetical to her father's, reminded Galofre of that of the Spanish Habsburgs, great collectors and patrons of their time.²⁰

4.1.1 The Infante Sebastián Gabriel of Spain and Portugal

The first royal to arrive in Rome was the Infante Sebastián Gabriel of Spain and Portugal, a relative of King Charles III (Fig. 4.1). He was the grandson of the Infante Gabriel of Spain, Charles III's son. In 1832 he married the Neapolitan princess Maria Amalia of the Two Sicilies. After the ratification of the Pragmatic Sanction (1833), Ferdinand VII imposed that the oath of allegiance be sworn to the Princess of Asturias in the Church of San Jerónimos. The Infante originally proclaimed his loyalty to Isabella II. However, after Ferdinand VII's death, his political ideas changed, and he adhered to Carlism. Early in 1835 the Infante and his wife reached Italy and he divided his time between Italy and Spain.²¹ He was in Spain in 1837 (he contributed to the Carlist victory in the Battle of Oriamendi 15th-16th March 1837), but in 1839 he had made return to Italy, living in Rome and Naples.

The infante was an amateur painter, art writer, art collector, and an avid reader. When he was declared an exile, his art collection, which he had assembled since 1828, was confiscated.²² It was only returned to him after he proclaimed his loyalty to Isabella II and returned to Madrid in 1859. By 1867

²⁰ Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 191.

²¹ Martínez Plaza, *El coleccionismo de pintura en Madrid durante el siglo XIX*, 192.

²² Mercedes Agueda, 'La colección de pinturas del Infante Don Sebastián Gabriel', *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 3 (1982): 102–17.

his collection, made up of old Italian and Spanish masters, was described as among the must-see galleries in the Spanish capital.²³ Aside from his interest in the established national schools, he also collected eighteenth-century and contemporary Spanish and Italian artists such as José Aparicio, Juan Galvez, Bernardo López, Juan and Carlos Ribera, and Rafael Tegeo. During his years spent fighting for the Carlist cause, he purchased several pieces, whose chronology ranged from the Italian fourteenth century to Filippo Palizzi, who became his *pintor de cámara*.²⁴ His will, drawn up in 1887, listed no less than seventy-seven canvases by the Neapolitan painter.²⁵

The infante's name hardly ever appeared in the Spanish artists' Roman correspondence, possibly due to his itinerant life and political affiliation. In December 1839 he was in Rome as Madrazo saw him painting at Luis Ferrant's studio.²⁶ Luis Ferrant was the infante's protégé; in fact, he and his brother Fernando were able to reach Rome thanks to the studentship the infante gave to Luis, who received the funding for ten years.²⁷ The good relationship between the two continued throughout their lives, so much so that the infante eventually possessed thirty-nine works by Luis.²⁸ Throughout his life, the prince was on good terms also with the other two Ferrant brothers, acquiring ten works by Fernando and six by Alejandro.²⁹

The works Luis made for his patron ranged from historical canvases to portraits of his patron, as well as genre scenes and sketches. Some of these were likely made during the painter's Italian sojourn. Several history canvases dealt with religious subjects, although there are references to a *Mercury Playing Flute* or *The Discovery of the Strait of Magellan*.³⁰

²³ Gustav Korner, *Aus Spanien* (Frankfurt, 1867), 8-15.

²⁴ Oscar E. Vázquez, *Inventing the Art Collection. Patrons, Markets and the State in Nineteenth Century Spain* (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 146; Martínez Plaza, *El coleccionismo de pintura en Madrid durante el siglo XIX*, 190.

²⁵ See 'Inventario de pinturas de Sebastián Gabriel de Borbón y Braganza, Infante de España, dado en 14 de abril de 1887, ante el notario José García Lastra'.

²⁶ Doc. 109, Rome, 3rd December 1839, in Madrazo, *Epistolario*, 1:284.

²⁷ Manuel Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Imprenta a cargo de Ramon Moreno, 1869), 242.

²⁸ Ossorio y Bernard, 243; Amaya Alzaga Ruiz, 'El Infante Sebastián Gabriel de Borbón, Rafael Tegeo y los artistas de su tiempo', in *Rafael Tegeo (1798-1856)*, ed. Carlos González Navarro and Asunción Cardona Suanzes (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura - Museo del Romanticismo, 2019), 81.

²⁹ Martínez Plaza, *El coleccionismo de pintura en Madrid durante el siglo XIX*, 196.

³⁰ Agueda, 'La colección de pinturas del Infante Don Sebastián Gabriel', 111-12.

Furthermore, in line with what was happening in early nineteenth-century European culture, where artists and writers exalted personalities that they considered key figures in their national histories, the infante had sketches of key figures from the Spanish and Italian sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century history: *King Philip IV, his Family and Countrymen Visiting Diego Velázquez's Studio while He Showed the Portrait of Baltasar Carlos as a Hunter*,³¹ *Cervantes Imprisoned and Taken to Algiers*,³² and *Michelangelo Meeting with the Pope outside Rome's Gate*. Completing this picture are at least a couple of genre scenes of the popular theme of the People of Rome by Luis Ferrant: *Neapolitan Pipers* and *Italians in Prayer*.³³

Madrazo did not elaborate on what the infante painted when he saw him at Luis' studio. However, according to Ossorio, the majority of canvases the infante worked on were devotional works for churches in the Kingdom of Naples.³⁴ One stand-out work was a triptych that the infante likely made for the Chiesa della Santissima Trinità degli Spagnoli.³⁵ The church still preserves a triptych narrating such an episode, but the authorship is not confirmed. Furthermore, he painted a large-scale canvas featuring the baptism of Jesus Christ, which was placed on the main altar in Mondragone; a canvas, *Immaculate Heart of Mary*, for the cathedral of Sorrento; and the *Martyrdom of Saint Filomena* for a church in Mugnano del Cardinale.³⁶

Possibly influenced by Fernando Ferrant, while in Rome the infante also experimented with landscape painting (Fig. 4.2), a genre that he also

³¹ Howarth has reconstructed that the appreciation of Velázquez as a portraitist did not happen overnight. According to him one of the reasons was the collection of said portraits, most of which hung on the Royal Museum's walls and before 1819 had been invisible to the public. Besides, King Louis Philippe of France purchased a copy of portrait of Baltasar Carlos, the beloved son of Philip IV and Queen Isabel de Bourbon, for his collection. Perhaps, such a portrait of Prince Baltasar Carlos as a Hunter, originally done by Velázquez for the Torre de la Parada, was the Infante Sebastián Gabriel's way of claiming he belonged to the Spanish Royal Family and at the same time of belonging to a larger group of international collectors interested in purchasing Velázquez. Howarth, *The Invention of Spain*, 158.

³² The sketch made reference to when Miguel de Cervantes - who had participated in the naval Battle of Lepanto (1571) between the Holy League and the Ottoman Turks who wanted to acquire Cyprus, part of the Republic of Venice's territories - was imprisoned by pirates and brought to Algiers where he was held captive for five years.

³³ Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 243.

³⁴ Ossorio y Bernard, 85-87.

³⁵ Ossorio y Bernard, 85-86.

³⁶ Ossorio y Bernard, 86.

collected.³⁷ Ferrant died in 1856, after a laudable *cursus honorum* which started in Rome, where he worked at a rich and varied production.³⁸ It ranged from forested landscapes to palaces' interiors (1840, exhibition in Piazza del Popolo) and villages (1841, exhibition in Piazza del Popolo), which he then brought back to Madrid.³⁹ During his years in Rome, Fernando Ferrant embraced open-air techniques. In 1834 Vilar told his brother that Ferrant spent several months in the city's outskirts, sketching views of all the places he saw, and for one of these, Vilar commented: "I saw a landscape he copied from nature which I liked very much, you could see the talent he has for the genre".⁴⁰ In 1839 an anonymous Italian dialogue published in the journal *La Pallade*, made reference to Fernando Ferrant's *The Alleys of Tivoli*, the painting having been presented at the exposition in Piazza del Popolo that year.⁴¹

In parallel to these studies, the infante managed to provide some small commissions to other Spaniards in Rome, even though their significance was not up to the standard of royal commissions like those mentioned in the introduction. Perhaps the general resentment towards the "Spanish millionaires" who did not recognise the importance of the arts was also addressed to the infante.⁴² In 1841 the infante requested a drawing each from Madrazo, Clavé, Vilar, and Solá for his album.⁴³ The Spanish press only revealed his project to assemble an album with contributions from various

³⁷ An analysis of the infante's Italian production is beyond the scope of this research, however there are reasons that would justify placing his production, especially as far as landscape painting went, into the wider, thus not only Spanish, network of landscapists active in Rome at the same time as he was.

³⁸ Upon his return to Spain, he participated in many exhibitions organised by the academy of San Fernando. In 1846 a landscape by Ferrant was purchased by Isabella II for 2.000 *reales de vellón*, together with another landscape for the same price by Angeles Freixas. Furthermore, Fernando taught King Francisco de Asís painting, entered the academy of San Fernando, and was made *pintor de cámara* in 1848. Lastly, in 1855 he became professor of landscape at San Fernando.

³⁹ *Revista de Madrid. Segunda época*, vol. III (Madrid: Imprenta de la sociedad literaria y tipografica, 1844).

⁴⁰ Doc. 1, Rome, 28th May 1834, in Moreno, *El Escultor Manuel Vilar*, 102.

⁴¹ Giovanna Montani, 'La Società degli Amatori e Cultori delle Belle Arti in Roma. 1829 - 1883' (Doctoral thesis, Roma, Università degli Studi Roma Tre, 2008), 395; on the review, see 'Esposizione d'opere di belle arti fatta nelle sale del popolo. Articolo II. Pittura di Paese (proseguimento)', *La Pallade. Giornale di belle arti* 1, no. 6 (23 March 1839): 41–42.

⁴² Anon., 'Situación de los artistas españoles en Roma', 1.

⁴³ Doc. 19, Rome, 9th December 1841, in Moreno, *El Escultor Manuel Vilar*, 120. The album of Infante Sebastián Gabriel of Borboun y Braganza with 29 drawings by Spaniards, French and Italian artists (1840s-1850s) was sold at Alcalá Subastas in 2016.

Spanish living artists years later, in 1847.⁴⁴ While away from Spain, the infante did not seem to be very interested in Spanish sculpture, likely due to a life spent on the run. He seemingly only commissioned the group *The Massacre of the Innocents* from Solá, which was reviewed by Salvatore Betti on *L'Ape italiana* in 1835 (Fig. 4.3).⁴⁵ The infante never truly owned this piece, as it remained in Solá's studio until his death and from there was taken to the Academy of San Jorge in Barcelona. Instead, when back in Spain, in 1858 the infante funded the Roman studentship, that of the sculptor José González y Giménez.⁴⁶ Furthermore, he commissioned two works from the sculptor Collado y Tejada: a Carrara marble bust of *Cervantes* (1862) taken to the Casa de Medrano in Argamasilla de Alba, and a *Saint John the Baptist* for the Chapter of the Knights Hospitaller.⁴⁷

4.1.2 Queen Mother Maria Cristina

Whilst his political beliefs made it hard for the infante to become a commanding figure in Rome, we need to better contextualise the few months that Maria Cristina (Fig. 4.4) spent in Rome, which proved particularly bitter for the Spaniards, whose hopes were high.

Like other members of the Royal family, the queen mother dedicated herself to the arts.⁴⁸ She was an amateur painter, regularly taking part in the exhibitions organised by the San Fernando Academy between 1838 and 1851, minus the years of her first exile (1841-1844).⁴⁹ Together with her husband, she promoted the education of young artists. In fact, Maria Cristina contributed to launching Federico de Madrazo's career while king Fernando VII was severely ill.⁵⁰ Madrazo was eighteen years old when he painted *The*

⁴⁴ Martínez Plaza, *El coleccionismo de pintura en Madrid durante el siglo XIX*, 190.

⁴⁵ Salvatore Betti, 'Scultura di scuola moderna', *Giornale arcadico di scienze, lettere ed arti* LXXIV (1838): 283.

⁴⁶ Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 309.

⁴⁷ Ossorio y Bernard, 143.

⁴⁸ Ossorio y Bernard, 83.

⁴⁹ Ossorio y Bernard, 84.

⁵⁰ Díez and Carmen Iglesias, *La pintura isabelina*, 24–25; Mark Lawrence, *Spain's First Carlist War, 1833-40* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

Illness of Fernando VII in 1833, in which Maria Cristina was depicted as an example of unfading love, marital tenderness, and devotion.⁵¹

In October 1840 Maria Cristina abdicated, and the regency passed onto the progressive liberal General Baldomero Espartero until 1843 when, although her thirteen year old daughter, Isabella II, was declared an adult. Maria Cristina was forced into exile, having lost the favour of her subjects due to her morganatic marriage to Agostino Fernando Muñoz, a bodyguard officer. Early in 1841, the queen mother travelled to Rome for a reconciliation with Pope Gregory XVI after ten years of tense relationships between Rome and Spain.⁵²

Her regency had had to face not only the Carlist war but also anti-ecclesiastical policies adopted by the liberal governments in power since the mid-1830s. Such policies entailed not only the confiscation of ecclesiastical goods and properties but also limited the power of the Church, and, in some cases, these liberal reforms had led to violence: convents being burnt down, and friars being murdered. In 1835, the year of the Desamortización under Mendizábal, Gregory XVI ordered Nuncio Luigi Amat di San Filippo e Sorso to withdraw from Madrid.

María Cristina's act of reconciliation with the pope took the form of a formal repentance in the Vatican on 24th February 1841.⁵³ Shortly afterwards she left Rome for Naples first and then Paris where she remained until her daughter was declared of age. Maria Cristina's departure was saluted with a farewell ball organised at the French embassy in Rome in late March. Among those attending the evening was Federico de Madrazo, who reported rumours that the relationship between the pope and Maria Cristina remained far from ideal, despite the official act of reconciliation. He was convinced of this because the pope never returned her visit or allowed her to fix her residence there.⁵⁴ In fact, during her brief sojourn, the queen mother purchased an estate

⁵¹ Díez and Carmen Iglesias, *La pintura isabelina*, 27.

⁵² On the relationship between Maria Cristina and Gregory XVI, see Vicente Carcel Orti, 'Gregorio XVI y España', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 12 (1974): 235–85; Vicente Carcel Orti, 'Un siglo de relaciones diplomáticas entre España y la Santa Sede (1834-1931)', *Anales de Historia contemporánea*, no. 25 (2009): 313–31.

⁵³ Vicente Cárcel Ortí, 'Gregorio XVI y Maria Cristina de Borbón, reina gobernadora de España', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 9 (1981): 321.

⁵⁴ Doc. 129, Rome, 16th March 1841, Madrazo, *Epistolario*, 1:336.

with which to gift her morganatic husband so that he would have a title: Palazzo Sciarra, a fief close to Rome belonging to the Borghese prince. Furthermore, she showed her intention to purchase a palace in Rome to settle; apparently, she also intended to buy Palazzo Mancini.⁵⁵

Her arrival was highly anticipated by the Spanish artists, who had hoped for new commissions to recover after a time of hardship. According to their testimonies, however, the queen mother did nothing, leaving artists in a profound state of disappointment. Vilar was quite vocal about his frustration in several letters to his brother. He believed she deliberately did not visit any of the Spanish artists' studios, in contrast to her entourage, and that she was unfazed by the economic difficulties Spanish artists suffered in Rome, and dared not to commission any artwork from them, despite the "22 million duros" she had available to spend on art commissions, or so he said.⁵⁶

Personal resentment surely motivated Vilar's words. When the queen mother's entourage visited his studio, he was working on the *Child with the Dog*, which was about to be displayed in Piazza del Popolo. The royal entourage appreciated the sculpture based on Hellenistic models and urged him to finish it so that Maria Cristina would be able to see it at the exhibition. Maria Cristina never made it to Piazza del Popolo, however, as she left for France, but Vilar was doubtful about her justification and said that if she had truly been interested, she would have found time to go.

What he perceived as an even greater affront was the commission of a *Holy Family* that she extended to the acclaimed Roman painter Vincenzo Camuccini at the end of his career. Vilar was, however, poorly informed. The work she actually commissioned from Camuccini was inspired by the life of Amadeus IX and was the last work by the Roman painter before his death in September 1844.⁵⁷ A monograph on Camuccini published in 1875 has described the sketch on the blessed Amadeus IX, a symbol of charity and forgiveness.⁵⁸ According to Vilar, the queen mother also commissioned a

⁵⁵ Doc. 128, Rome, 13th February 1841, in Madrazo, 1:335.

⁵⁶ Doc. 17, Rome, 16th May 1841, in Moreno, *El Escultor Manuel Vilar*, 116.

⁵⁷ Ulrich Hiesinger, 'The Paintings of Vincenzo Camuccini, 1771-1844', *The Art Bulletin* 60, no. 2 (1978): 313.

⁵⁸ Carlo Falconieri, *Vita di Vincenzo Camuccini e pochi studi sulla pittura contemporanea* (Roma: Stabilimento tipografico italiano diretto da Francesco Giliberti, 1875), 271-72.

copy of Baldassarre Peruzzi's fresco in Santa Maria della Pace from Overbeck. Only after the German painter declined her commission did she ask Arbós to paint it for 160 duros.⁵⁹ Even the commission of a copy of Michelangelo's *Moses* from the Catalan sculptor Luis Vermell turned out to be a cause for criticism, as he said that she originally wanted it to be in ivory, but eventually opted for a less expensive material.⁶⁰

4.2 The exceptional case of the diplomat Julián Villalba García, 1840–1843

After a career in administration, in 1839 Julián Villalba García was appointed chargé of correspondence and of the Agencia general en comisión at the Spanish Embassy to the Holy See.⁶¹ Eventually, however, he acted as the delegate of Rome's Spanish legation.⁶² Villalba's primary task was to restore Spanish relations with the Vatican, which were deeply damaged by the anti-clerical policies adopted during Maria Cristina's reign. According to words written twenty years after his death in Rome: "After infuriating actions, the Government decided it was time to recover the relationship with the Holy See [...] Giuliano Villalba was sent to Rome and, having brought to an end the civil war between [Baldomero] Espartero and [Rafael] Maroto, souls turned to religious affairs, and it seemed peace could rule again".⁶³ As mentioned in the introduction, the two – Espartero for the Isabelines and Maroto for the Carlists – were the protagonists of the Convention of Vergara (31st August 1839), the treaty that brought the First Carlist War to an end. In Rome Villalba should have negotiated the recognition of Isabella II's reign with the Holy See but Gregory XVI was firm in denying such recognition before Austria did.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Doc. 139, Rome, 30th November 1841, in Madrazo, *Epistolario*, 1:369.

⁶⁰ Doc. 17, Rome, 16th May 1841, in Moreno, *El Escultor Manuel Vilar*, 116.

⁶¹ José Luis Sampedro Escolar, 'Un retrato inédito de Julian de Villalba Garcia', *ARAMHG* XXIV (2021): 245–70.

⁶² Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid - Embajada de España ante la Santa Sede – M^o exteriores_SS, Leg. 716: de "He dado cuenta a la Reina" a "legación de S. M. en Roma"

⁶³ Biagio Cognetti, *Pio IX ed il suo secolo. Dalla Rivoluzione francese nel 1789 alla proclamazione del Regno d'Italia*, vol. 1 (Napoli: Stabilimento tipografico di P. Androsio, 1867), 85.

⁶⁴ Sampedro Escolar, 'Un retrato inédito de Julian de Villalba Garcia', 256.

4.2.1 The collector

Villalba's period was set between the departure of most of the San Fernando Academy's students (1837) and the arrival of the new cohort from Madrid (1848). Within a short period of time, Villalba won Spanish artists' sympathies, so much so that the 1842 article portrayed him as a friend to, and the only protector of, the young Spanish artists in Rome (Fig. 4.5).⁶⁵ The article juxtaposed what the Spanish government, the queen mother, and more generally Spanish clients did, with Villalba's conduct, which makes us suppose the author had to be a former Rome-goer. It presented Villalba as the magnanimous patron that all Spanish artists wanted and deserved, and whose merits should have been recognised back home.⁶⁶

The diplomat pulled strings for them when needed, it seems, and undertook one-day excursions in their company, such as those to ongoing excavation sites, which were a passion for Villalba, who was not only an art *aficionado* but a lover of archaeology and an avid reader of the classics.⁶⁷ He also liked to engage himself in a very Roman practice, that of the studio tour. For instance, he was part of the group of Spaniards who visited Overbeck's studio in June 1840 when *The Triumph of Religion in the Arts* was finally revealed to the broader public.⁶⁸ Also, thanks to his friendship with Ingres, Federico obtained permission for his Spanish friends, including Villalba, to be among the first to see *Antiochus and Stratoniche* at the Villa Medici.⁶⁹ In fact, the diplomat was part of their informal and vibrant group of friends, as proven by the officer's intimate pencil-drawn portrait by Federico de Madrazo, a sign of evident affection (Fig. 4.6). However, according to Vilar, Villalba did not welcome the homage paid to him in the *Gaceta de Madrid* because of the negative comments it contained concerning Maria Cristina's and other Spaniards' conduct in Rome. His reaction denoted both the diplomat's

⁶⁵ Anon., 'Situación de los artistas españoles en Roma', 1-2.

⁶⁶ Doc. 20, Rome, 19th November 1842, in Salvador Moreno, *El Escultor Manuel Vilar* (México: Instituto de investigaciones estéticas, 1969), 121; Doc. 143, Rome, 9th April 1842, in Madrazo, *Epistolario*, 1:381.

⁶⁷ José del Castillo y Ayensa, *Historia crítica de las negociaciones con Roma desde la muerte del Rey D. Fernando VII*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Imprenta de Tejado, 1859), 229.

⁶⁸ Doc. 120, Rome, 4th June 1840, in Madrazo, *Epistolario*, 1:311.

⁶⁹ Doc. 122, Rome, 18th July 1840, in Madrazo, 1:318.

modesty but also his ethics, as a man of the institution he did not want to raise doubts about his countrymen.⁷⁰

Villalba commissioned at least one artwork each from his friends, thus assembling a small collection of canvases, drawings for his album, and sculptures, which helped to build the Spaniards' argument that this enlightened official was a true art patron. His taste embraced portraiture, genre sculptures, small historical canvases, as well as religious, probably devotional, commissions. The most revealing document about the diplomat's commissions is a letter written by Vilar in 1843.⁷¹

The paucity of information regarding his life before Rome makes it difficult to speak of a development in his taste. We do not know whether the contemporary pieces he purchased there formed part of a larger collection he kept in Spain, and with which they would have been reunited once his mandate had ended. Similarly, it is impossible to determine whether they were only one part of his Roman purchases. Consequently, it is hard for us to identify any single impulse which might connect all of Villalba's eclectic purchases. Surely, his actions were motivated by friendship, and potentially a pinch of patriotism, however there may also be a philanthropic motive behind the diplomat's commissions, such as the engraving of the statue of Saint James by Jacopo Sansovino (1517), now in the church of Santa Maria in Monserrato, from the Valencian engraver Alcayde. The latter had been in Rome since 1822 thanks to a studentship by Carlos Fitz-James Stuart y Silva, the duke of Alba.⁷² According to Vilar, the engraver had not been working for some time when this commission was received in August 1843, and in 1890 the work was described as the last by the prolific Valencian engraver before his death.⁷³

One of the first documented commissions from the diplomat was the full-length body portrait by Espalter, which is the last known portrait of him to

⁷⁰ Doc. 21, Rome, 15th August 1843, in Moreno, *El Escultor Manuel Vilar*, 123.

⁷¹ Doc. 17, 16th May 1843, in Moreno, *El Escultor Manuel Vilar*, 115-7.

⁷² Doc. 21, Rome, 15th August 1843, in Moreno, 122.

⁷³ Carlos Frontaura and Manuel Ossorio y Bernard, *Diccionario biográfico internacional de escritores y artistas del siglo XIX*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Imprenta y Librería de Miguel Guíjarro, 1890), 31; Rincón García, 'Ponciano Ponzano', 223. Rincón García, 223.

have been painted in Rome (Fig. 4.7).⁷⁴ The commission came the same year that Espalter triumphed in Rome with his *Dante* in the exhibition on Piazza del Popolo. While Espalter's portrait evokes an amicable and intimate atmosphere, the oil portrait of Villalba painted by Federico in 1842 was more austere, in line with it being an official commission, as manifested by the different costume.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, Federico refused to accept any payment for this work, therefore Villalba respectively gifted him and his wife Luisa with a gold and turquoise tie pin and a brooch.⁷⁶ Both artists had been triumphant on the Roman scene, thus these portraits illuminate the diplomat's desire to not just help struggling artists at hard times in their career, but also to possess artworks by emerging, internationally acclaimed talents who could boast the Roman seal of approval. Besides, in Madrazo's case, Villalba was already an admirer of his work before meeting in Rome. The painter and the diplomat did not know one another. Villalba knew José instead, who described the diplomat as an admirer of his young son's talent.⁷⁷

The names of Madrazo and Clavé were linked to other commissions from Villalba. Clavé painted *Tobias and the Angel Raphael*, which he exhibited in Milan in September 1843, whereas the complement by Madrazo is unknown.⁷⁸ But it does not appear to be the commission Madrazo discussed in a letter sent in April 1842, where he mentioned having accepted Villalba's request to paint a scene inspired by an episode of Spanish national history. Villalba had apparently agreed that Madrazo would complete the work once back in Spain, as he and his family were soon to leave Rome. While the diplomat seems to have been vague regarding the choice of subject to depict, Villalba was clearer about the technical criteria that the painting had to meet.

⁷⁴ Elisabeth Kashey, Robert Kashey, and Shepherd Gallery, eds., *Nineteenth Century European Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture: Fall Exhibition, November 29th, 1994 to January 14th, 1995* (New York City: Shepherd Gallery, 1994), 17; this portrait appeared on the New York market in 1994, and was presented by professor Stefano Cracolici: Stefano Cracolici, 'Hieroglyphs of Providence: Pelegrín Clavé and Isabella I of Castile' (Conference, Canons and Repertoires: Constructing the Visual Arts in the Hispanic World, Durham University, 20 June 2019).

⁷⁵ Díez, *Federico de Madrazo*, 64. In 2001 a smaller portrait of Villalba by Madrazo, but at the time attributed to Vicente López Piquer and the sitter identified as Agustín Argüelles, was sold. Sampedro Escolar, 'Un retrato inédito de Julian de Villalba Garcia', 269.

⁷⁶ Doc. 148, San Sebastián, 27th July 1846, in Díez, *Epistolario: Federico de Madrazo*, vol. 1, 391.

⁷⁷ Doc. 139, Madrid, 3rd January 1840, in Madrazo, *José de Madrazo*, 389–90.

⁷⁸ Doc. 21, Rome, 15th August 1843, in Moreno, *El Escultor Manuel Vilar*, 122.

It should be a small-format composition featuring two or three people.⁷⁹ As in the prior case, this subject is also unknown, and the work was possibly not even painted. If finished though, this work would have entered the limited production of historical paintings inspired by Spanish history made in Rome during the first half of the century, and which were the fruit of a Spaniard's private commission. The precedent was the unfinished canvas celebrating the Alba lineage commissioned from Ingres by Benoit-Guillaume-Ange Poublon, on behalf of the 14th duke of Alba in 1815.⁸⁰

A portion of Villalba's commissions also entailed small copies of works by Italian painters. Arbós, whose specialisation was watercolours, copied a detail from the fresco by Domenichino in the monastery of Santa Maria di Grottaferrata. As Vilar told us, before his death Villalba commissioned a watercolour by Arbós that represented Raphael's *The Foligno Virgin*.⁸¹

Reasons of portability might justify the small format of most of the sculptures owned by Villalba. A unique case in Rome was represented by the small clay sculpture of two Andalusians dancing the bolero by Juan Amettler, the only known reference to a Spanish genre scene ever commissioned by the diplomat and represented in Rome.⁸² Perhaps new in Rome, such terracotta groups were quite popular souvenirs among tourists visiting Spain, particularly Andalusia, ever since the early nineteenth century. They were vectors for the diffusion of a foreign image of Spanishness, since foreign travellers purchased such souvenirs as representations of "Spanish types".⁸³ From Vilar the diplomat purchased two marble sculptural groups of *Children Playing with a Little Dog*, one of which was the model that Maria Cristina's

⁷⁹ Doc. 143, Rome, 9th April 1842, in Madrazo, *Epistolario*, 1:380.

⁸⁰ Doc. 56, *Ingres in Italia (1806-24; 1835-41)*, 80–81.

⁸¹ Doc. 21, Rome, 15th August 1843, in Moreno, *El Escultor Manuel Vilar*, 122. In Madrid a watercolour by Arbós representing *The Foligno Virgin* (which the painter not only signed but also dated 1843 and indicated the origin, 'ROMA') was auctioned in 2007. This appearance makes me suppose it may be Villalba's commission, but unfortunately, I was unable to find more information regarding the auction.

⁸² Doc. 21, Rome, 15th August 1843, Moreno, 122.

⁸³ Francisco Javier Mora Contreras, 'Sounds of Spain in the Nineteenth Century USA. An Introduction', *Música Oral Del Sur: Revista Internacional*, no. 12 (2015): 333–62; Maria Sierra Alonso, 'Estereotipos gitanos del siglo XIX: Un invento romántico', *Andalucía en la historia*, no. 55 (2017): 20–23; Rocio Plaza-Orellana, 'Bailes boleros y flamencos en la pintura costumbrista sevillana', *Bailes boleros y flamencos en la pintura costumbrista sevillana*, no. 31 (2019): 537–60; Hopkins, 'Inventing And Popularising the Spanish Pictoresque', 105, 112.

entourage saw in his studio (Fig. 4.8, Fig. 4.9), and that were inspired by Hellenistic sculptures.⁸⁴ The sculpture of the *Little Girl Playing with a Dog* appears on the background of Espalter's portrait of Villalba. After his death, Vilar bought the two pieces back from one of Villalba's cousins, paying 500 duros for both, the same price the diplomat had originally paid.⁸⁵

In 1842, Villalba commissioned a marble *Pietà* of almost natural dimensions from Ponzano, who drew inspiration for the figures' expression and draperies from Overbeck while being supervised in his modelling by Tenerani. A surviving drawing by Ponzano is preserved at the Prado, which shows a *Pietà* (Fig. 4.10). The iconography of the Virgin resembles that of Our Lady of the Pillar, patroness of Aragón and Zaragoza, the latter being the city from which both Villalba and Ponzano came.

Villalba did not live to see the *Pietà* finished, as he died on 23 November 1843; his body lies in a sober tomb, also designed by Ponzano, in the Chapel of the Annunciation of the Church of Santa Maria in Monserrato degli Spagnoli (1844).⁸⁶ Ponzano's *Pietà* was eventually acquired by Maria Cristina and taken to the chapel of the Virgen de Riansares in Tarancón, the hometown of her second husband. In 1873 the *Pietà* was placed on top of Fernando Muñoz's crypt, but in 1937 it was severely damaged.⁸⁷

In 1842, Ponzano is said to have worked on the sepulchral monument of the Lugros y Bogaraya family, including the marble bust of the marquis and the relief of his wife. However, the authorship of the monument is not documented.⁸⁸ According to Vilar's own testimony, Villalba commissioned from him a marble bust of Francisco de Paula Mora Chirino de la Cueva y Gutiérrez de los Rios, the twenty-four-year-old son of the marquis of Lugros, who had died prematurely in January 1842 in Naples, and had been a pupil of

⁸⁴ Doc. 2, Rome, 4th October 1834, in Moreno, *El Escultor Manuel Vilar*, 103.

⁸⁵ Moreno, 69.

⁸⁶ Wilfredo Rincón García, 'Ponciano Ponzano. Un escultor aragonés en la corte (1813-1877)', in *El siglo XIX el arte en la corte española y en las nuevas colecciones peninsulares*, ed. Maria Carmen Lacarra Ducay (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico; Excma. Diputación de Zaragoza, 2020), 223.

⁸⁷ Leticia Azcue Brea, 'La melancolía de Roma: la escultura religiosa académica en la Corte alfonsina. Ecos puristas en la obra de Martín Riesco, los hermanos Vallmitjana o Samsó', in *Symma Studiorum Scvltoricae II Congr. Inter. escult religiosa, Crevillent, Inst. alicantino Cultura*, ed. Alejandro Cañestro Donoso (Alicante: Instituto Alicantino de cultura, 2019), 66.

⁸⁸ Reyero Herмосilla, *La escultura del eclecticismo*, 42.

Espalter.⁸⁹ Vilar used as his model, the portrait of the deceased by the Sicilian painter Natale Carta that Villalba gave him.⁹⁰

After 1843, Villalba became the benchmark that Spaniards in Rome used to evaluate their countrymen's behaviour, to such an extent that, before leaving Rome for Mexico, Vilar portrayed his successor Hipólito Moyos as a cold and mean man.⁹¹ In his life, Villalba had instead proved to be a man with a rare sensibility to the arts. He was the first to restore the network of solidarity between diplomats and painters. He stood out for being the sole Spaniard who was truly interested in supporting contemporary art and responsive to the stylistic changes that occurred in those years. In fact, he was the first patron to show interest in the new aesthetics. Until now, scholars have considered Francisco de Asís the most sensitive to the new aesthetics within the Royal court, purchasing Madrazo's *The Three Marys to the Sepulchre*, financing the Roman scholarship of Palmaroli, and commissioning a Sacred conversation from him, as discussed in chapter 3.

A document written by Moyos, dated Rome, 31 May 1844, gives us some insight into what happened to Villalba's goods after his death.⁹² This, compared with the small amount of information found in Vilar's letters, suggests that Villalba's contemporary collection was intended to be private, aside from a few purchases made with funds from the lugares píos, such as the drawing he commissioned from Cabañas.⁹³ According to the cited document, Ignacio Licobar, Villalba's valet, possessed assorted items from the diplomat's personal belongings, as outlined in his will. It was his wish to give them to Esteban Azpeitia, who Villalba wanted as the executor of his will but who refused. This posed the problem of what to do with them. It was decided that they should be inventoried and taken to the Spanish Embassy where they would have been housed in a secure space. The archivist would have kept the key until the belongings were given to the heirs, among whom

⁸⁹ Doc. 21, Rome, 26th November 1842, in Moreno, *El Escultor Manuel Vilar*, 122.

⁹⁰ Moreno, 69.

⁹¹ Moreno, 35.

⁹² AHN, Madrid - Oficio de la embajada - M° Exteriores, 31 May 1844: 'Testamentaria de Villalba. De "Despacho n° = 31 de mayo 1844" a "fines que puedan convenir"'.

⁹³ Enrico Keller, *Elenco*, 114; doc. 21, Rome, 15th August 1843, Moreno, *El Escultor Manuel Vilar*, 122.

was Bernardino Villalba, the diplomat's brother. Other documents needed to uncover the next part of this story have not yet been located; however, Vilar mentioning that he re-purchased his sculptures from one of Villalba's cousins suggests that at least part of the diplomat's belongings arrived in his family's hands.

4.2.2 Madrazo-Villalba: an unrealised nazarene purist fresco for the Spanish church of Santa Maria in Monserrato in Rome

Chronologically located within the Spaniards' nazarene purist phase, this section enters into dialogue with the first part of chapter 3. It concentrates on the unrealised project for a fresco in the Spanish church of Santa Maria in Monserrato by Federico de Madrazo and Villalba. The richest source of information on this is the published correspondence between Federico and José de Madrazo. No other testimony of Spaniards practicing a fresco has been found during their time in Rome, nor did they receive any commission for a fresco decoration to be completed back in Spain during their studies. This makes the commission an interesting, and unique, case in the Spanish nineteenth-century recovery of fresco technique.

A few months after his arrival in Rome, Federico de Madrazo began his tour of the Roman galleries, palaces, and museums. Among the places he visited were the Casino Massimo and Zuccari Palace, whose fresco was painted by the Germans.⁹⁴ Thus, Federico's enthusiasm for the fresco project he elaborated with Villalba in Santa Maria in Monserrato emerged from his response to the artists that fascinated him the most at that point in time. Only in 1853, over ten years after these events, did he express any objections to the German aesthetics.⁹⁵

The first mention of this fresco in our possession is a letter from Federico to his father, dated 26th August 1841, in which we learn that it was Villalba's

⁹⁴ Carlos Reyero Hermosilla, "‘Pero qué guapucos son los alemanes’". El imaginario artístico germánico en la correspondencia de Federico de Madrazo', in *Spanien und Deutschland. Kulturtransfer im-19. Jahrhundert / España y Alemania. Intercambio cultural en el siglo XIX*, ed. Karin Hellwig (Frankfurt am Main-Madrid: Vervuert Iberoamericana, 2007), 182.

⁹⁵ Reyero Hermosilla, 185.

idea for Federico to paint the fresco with the six lunettes.⁹⁶ There is reason to believe that the project was yet another of Villalba's attempts to promote Spanish talents and celebrate the purist aesthetic doctrine. However, what appears to be an individual proposition is nuanced in the light of a careful reading of Federico's correspondence. One letter reveals that Villalba could not undertake this initiative alone; he needed authorisation from Madrid to execute the project in Spain's national church in Rome, for which he had prepared a (thus untraced) letter that Federico himself had read. However, the painter was confident that if Villalba wanted it to be done, and was unwilling to wait for the bureaucracy, he could make the necessary arrangements himself.⁹⁷ In fact, Villalba's plan for the whole church seems to have been grander. Apparently, he also approached Vermell for a different decorative scheme for the Forty Hours' Devotion.⁹⁸

The diplomat commissioned from Federico de Madrazo a medium-scale fresco cycle in the peristyle of the sixteenth-century church. The peristyle would have hosted the paintings taken from the Church of San Giacomo degli Spagnoli in Piazza Navona, and a vault was being constructed to protect and better illuminate them. The decoration would narrate the lives of the Virgin of Montserrat, Cataluña's patron, and of Saint James, Spain's Patron Saint.

One small preparatory oil on canvas painted by Federico de Madrazo around 1841, which narrates an episode of the Reconquest, is the only known surviving testimony of the project (Fig. 4.11). The oil depicts an episode of the battle of Clavijo (844 CE), when, according to legend, the Apostle James appeared to the Asturian king Ramiro I, leader of the Christian army against the Umayyad Emir of Córdoba and his army. For this reason, Reyero has considered Federico's small painting as a commentary on the power of divine providence in history.⁹⁹ It was Madrazo's attempt to present "the civic world as spiritual at heart" according to a definition given by Grewe to German artists' similar paintings. In the Spanish context, Saint James at Clavijo was

⁹⁶ Doc. 136, Rome, 26th August 1841, in Madrazo, *Epistolario*, 1:357.

⁹⁷ Doc. 136, Rome, 26th August 1841, in Madrazo, 1:358.

⁹⁸ Forty hours of continuous prayer before the Blessed Sacrament. Unfortunately, gaps in the transcription of this letter makes it harder to know what the work concerned, and it has been impossible for me to reach the parish. Doc. 21, Rome, 15th August 1843, in Moreno, *El Escultor Manuel Vilar*, 122.

⁹⁹ Reyero Herмосilla, 'Mirar Italia con ojos franceses', 273.

a long-standing subject, which also infiltrated contemporary battle scenes. Madrazo used this legend to reflect upon the place of the Catholic faith in Spain's nation-building process, having already worked on such a character in the religious painting discussed in the previous chapter.¹⁰⁰ Madrazo's composition seems to own a debt to Raphael's Vatican frescos, which were previously studied by Clavé, who had adopted a similar composition in 1837 for his academic canvas *The Dream of Elijah* (Fig. 4.12).

The decoration was never realised because Madrazo eventually declined the commission. The interesting letters exchanged between father and son explain why this decision was taken, and further illuminate José de Madrazo's position on nazarenism. Federico de Madrazo was convinced that this represented an outstanding opportunity: "any artist who aspires to immortality and hopes to leave a public work made by him in the Capital of the arts, and such occasions happen very rarely in the nineteenth century".¹⁰¹ He was thrilled at the idea of directing the works and of experimenting with fresco, a technique that he had learned to appreciate through his contact with German artists in Rome. Even if he did not have any prior experience, he was confident that his brushwork skills would stand him in good stead to also paint a fresco, arrogantly asserting that it was a skill he could acquire in just four days.¹⁰² Furthermore, he hoped that the planned modification of the peristyle would give the building the appearance of a chapel, a more prestigious repository for the artwork it would contain.¹⁰³ On the downside, Federico de Madrazo estimated that completing the work would have required an additional year of residence in Rome with his family, and wondered whether this delay would translate into new commissions.¹⁰⁴

As well as missing his son and wanting him to return to Madrid, José de Madrazo was instead unimpressed by this commission, and asked his son: "What greatness does this work bring you?" He queried the value of painting "six lunettes in a church [which is] extremely remote and infrequently

¹⁰⁰ Grewe, *Painting the Sacred in the Age of Romanticism*, 2009, 52. Doc. 15, in Díez, *Federico de Madrazo y Kuntz, 1815 - 1894*, 175–7.

¹⁰¹ Doc. 165, Madrid, 10th September 1841, in Madrazo, *José de Madrazo*, 475.

¹⁰² Doc. 136, Rome, 26th August 1841, in Madrazo, *Epistolario*, 1:358–59.

¹⁰³ Doc. 136, Rome, 26th August 1841, in Madrazo, 1:357.

¹⁰⁴ Doc. 136, Rome, 26th August 1841, in Madrazo, 1:359–62.

visited”.¹⁰⁵ In other words, he questioned the value of such a work for a space with only limited visibility, as it was not located in any emblematic area of Rome. José was sceptical about whether such work would help his son to establish a reputation on the international market and whether his traineeship would have benefitted from one more year in the city dedicated to completing this commission. He believed that not only had the fresco technique lost its prestige in Europe, but that it no longer represented a sustainable mode of painting, as was once believed. Although he does not elaborate further, he simply stated that it was a weakness corroborated by the poor state of frescos scattered throughout Europe.¹⁰⁶ José de Madrazo also alluded to the recent politics of secularisation in Spain and the decline in the Spanish Church’s demand for sacred artworks, claiming that frescoes were best suited to church domes, which were no longer being built but rather destroyed in Spain.¹⁰⁷ In reality, in addition to what will be said in chapter 5 regarding the provinces’ commissions for mural decorations, the study by González Navarro on fresco decorations in Madrid during the second half of the century proves that José de Madrazo was wrong regarding the future of the technique in Spain.¹⁰⁸

In response to his father’s misgivings, Madrazo conceded that on reflection, the church was unfortunately located.¹⁰⁹ He was ambitious and feared that his father was right in saying that the location would prevent his work from being seen by the large numbers of visitors who entered other, more central churches in the city.¹¹⁰ He refused, however, to consider fresco an old-fashioned technique with no potential in Europe, as his father did. In

¹⁰⁵ ‘Cuál es pus la gran perspectiva que esa obra te presenta? ¿Pintar seis lunetos en una Iglesia sumamente retirada y poco visitada?’ Doc. 165, Madrid, 10th September 1841, in Madrazo, *José de Madrazo*, 476.

¹⁰⁶ Doc. 165, Madrid, 10th September 1841, in Madrazo, 476.

¹⁰⁷ ‘Habiendo desaparecido en el día de Europa el gran prestigio que hasta hace poco ha tenido la pintura al fresco; 1º porque ya no se construyen templos, antes se derriban como sucede en nuestra desgraciada España pues su aplicación más propia y oportuna era en las cúpulas; 2º porque se ha visto no ser la pintura más duradera como se creía en el siglo XVI, lo que puede atestiguar con las cámaras de Rafael en el Vaticano, con la famosa Cena de Leonardo en Milán y con tantas otras obras esparcidas en toda Europa [...]’ Doc. 165, Madrid, 10th September 1841, in Madrazo, 475.

¹⁰⁸ On fresco decorations in Madrid, see Carlos González Navarro, ‘Del reinado de Isabella II a la crisis del fin de siglo. Panorama de la pintura decorativa madrileña’, in *Pintura mural en la Comunidad de Madrid*, ed. Santiago Manzarbeitia Valle (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 2015), 419–47.

¹⁰⁹ Doc. 136, Rome, 26th August 1841, in Madrazo, *Epistolario*, 1:362.

¹¹⁰ Doc. 136, Rome, 26th August 1841, in Madrazo, 1:363.

support of this claim, he gave the example of German painters who had succeeded in renewing the prestige of the technique and was very much aware of the works being conducted in Munich.¹¹¹ He recognised, however, the difficulties of being asked to do a fresco commission once back in Spain, where oil was generally preferred for institutional decorations. This preoccupation with the limited commercial benefits of the fresco technique in Spain appears to be the main reason for Federico's decision to eventually decline the commission.

Villalba's commission, rather than simply promoting the talents of a young artist (Federico de Madrazo was only 26 years old at the time) could have hidden a patriotic motive. If realised, the national church of Spain in Rome would have been decorated with the latest pictorial technique by an established artist. By the time Madrazo was in Rome, he had already made a name for himself in Spain, and within international circles (and in Rome) his *Three Marys* had received huge acclaim. Nonetheless, there is no doubt that this commission was unique at the time and found no parallel in future diplomats' commissions in Rome. To understand this point, it is worth looking briefly at the commissions promoted by a young Antonio Cánovas del Castillo for the church and Spanish Colegio Eclesiástico in Rome during the 1850s (Fig. 4.13).

Cánovas del Castillo was agente de Preces in Rome, for the Colegio Eclesiástico Español, located just behind the church of Santa Maria in Monserrato and the church itself. Cánovas del Castillo was on his first diplomatic appointment abroad, a position that he held for two years, which for the first time opened his eyes to the arts, as he himself said.¹¹² It was the prelude to his artistic interests, which would lead him to be the politician with the second largest art collection.¹¹³

At the time of his Roman commission, Cánovas del Castillo said that he was studying different artistic theories and educating himself and his eyes in the company of *pensionados*. Remembering those days, he claimed to have

¹¹¹ Doc. 136, Rome, 26th August 1841, Madrazo, 1:362.

¹¹² Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, *Discursos Leídos En La Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando* (Madrid: Imprenta de A. Pérez Dubrull, 1887), 2,

¹¹³ Martínez Plaza, *El coleccionismo de pintura en Madrid durante el siglo XIX*, 496.

“converted himself into a *pensionado*” because he spent his time by “visiting museums and the ruins, attending artists’ studios and living for the arts in their eternal metropolis”. Moreover, even if he did not paint, sculpt, or design architectonic buildings, he “saw, felt and managed to develop his aesthetic sentiment by means of a constant contemplation of immortal models”.¹¹⁴ In particular, the diplomat claimed that it was in Rome where he developed a preference for the antique over the modern, in both sculpture and architecture. An interest in the antique was not completely absent among the diplomat’s young acquaintances either, who he admitted “preferred the relics of the Pantheon”.¹¹⁵ This led him to consider Solá the heir of Canova, Milizia, and Azara.¹¹⁶

In 1855 Isabella II funded the construction of the Hospital de Santiago y Montserrat, now the Colegio Eclesiástico Español, directly behind the church of Monserrato. In his role as governor of the royal sites in Rome, Cánovas del Castillo commissioned the decoration of the ceiling in the great hall on the college’s main floor from Isidoro Lozano and Germán Hernández Amores, whose works featured in the diplomat’s will.¹¹⁷ Lozano and Hernández Amores were still *pensionados* when the official appointed them to this commission in 1855. The commission kept them busy between October 1856 and June 1857, ultimately prolonging their sojourn and giving the artists a source of income after their funding had ended.

¹¹⁴ Cánovas del Castillo, *Discursos Leídos En La Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*, 2.

¹¹⁵ Cánovas del Castillo, 5.

¹¹⁶ Cánovas del Castillo, 5. On the diplomat Nicolas de Azara in Rome, see Javier Jordán de Urríes y de la Colina, ‘La embajada de José Nicolás de Azara y la difusión del gusto neoclásico’, in *Roma y España un crisol de la cultura europea en la Edad Moderna: (actas del Congreso Internacional celebrado en la Real Academia de España en Roma del 8 al 12 de mayo de 2007)*, ed. Carlos José Hernando Sánchez, vol. 2, 2 vols (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior, 2007), 951–74.

¹¹⁷ Angela Windholz, ‘Der Salone Rosso im spanischen Priesterkolleg von Santa Maria di Monserrato: Religiöse Kunst zwischen Nationalismus und Romischer Tradition’, in *Fictions of isolation. Artistic and Intellectual exchange in Rome during the first half of the nineteenth century*, ed. Lorenz Enderlein and Nino Zchomelidse (Roma: L’Erma di Bretschneider, 2003), 172. On Amores and the diplomat, see: Martínez Plaza, *El coleccionismo de pintura en Madrid durante el siglo XIX*, 498.

Rather than opting for a ceiling fresco decoration, the painters worked on the *quadri riportati*.¹¹⁸ They produced seven large canvases representing the Cardinal (4) and Theological (3) Virtues, plus lunettes celebrating the works of the spiritual mercy and the evangelists' attributes. The rest of the decorations would have been gilding and tempera. While allegories were not infrequent in sculptures, they were hardly ever represented by *pensionados* in painting at the time. By contrast, they were one of the most familiar iconographies for the decoration of public spaces in Madrid and elsewhere in Spain. Thus, this commission, despite being embedded in the diplomat's Roman education, reflected what was being done in Spain, as opposed to the Villalba-Madrado project that instead looked at the European novelties that Rome proposed. Nevertheless, the diplomat succeeded where Villalba failed, namely to leave a permanent trace of nineteenth-century Spanish art in Rome in a building linked to his nation.

Cánovas del Castillo also contracted de Vilches to work on the four monumental sculptures to decorate Santa Maria in Monserrato's façade between September 1856 and May 1863. Only a few decades earlier, the façade had been described as in a severely deteriorated state and in need of urgent restorations.¹¹⁹ While de Vilches was busy with the statues of the two Catholic Monarchs, Isabella II, and Francisco de Asís, he received a visit from Pius IX in 1863. Concurrently, Cánovas del Castillo signed another contract with the young sculptor José Bellver, once his studentship had ended, for the marble crest for the Colegio; the work was finished in 1862.¹²⁰ In this way, before the generally scarce royal patronage that was unknown to the neoclassical generation, the diplomats' projects for the church of Monserrato converted it into an ongoing project throughout the century, bringing splendour to their country while helping their compatriots.

¹¹⁸ 'Quadro riportato is a term applied to a ceiling picture that is intended to look as if it is a framed easel picture placed overhead: there is no illusionistic foreshortening, figures appearing as if they were to be viewed at normal eye level. Mengs' *Parnassus* (1761) in the Villa Albani (now Villa Torlonia), Rome, is a famous example—a kind of neoclassical manifesto against Baroque illusionism.' From the definition of 'Quadro Riportato', in *The Oxford Dictionary of Art and Artists* (Oxford - New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

¹¹⁹ Gianluigi Lerza, *Santa Maria di Monserrato a Roma. Dal Cinquecento al Purismo dell'Ottocento* (Roma: Edizione Librerie Dedalo, 1996).

¹²⁰ Reyero Hermosilla, *La escultura del eclecticismo*, 48.

4.3 Patronage network, 1856–1873

In the early 1850s, Arbós still complained about the poor market in Rome, but the situation was soon to be changed.¹²¹ Even though Brook has dismissed de Vilches' directorship of the *pensionados* as a “transition period” before the creation of the Academia Española, his six years of directorship in reality coincided with a greater dynamism born of increased interest in Spanish life in Rome. The aforementioned Cánovas del Castillo's episode is just one example of this change in direction. This section will explore the Spanish history of exhibition, patronage, and the art market during the nineteenth century and relate these aspects to the Roman context in which young Spaniards operated by showcasing relevant examples.

The first to take into consideration are instances of private philanthropy. Private philanthropy had been sporadic in the first half of the century until 1848, when the Comisario General de Cruzada Manuel López Santaella funded the first years of Felipe Moratilla in Rome.¹²² The sculptor then received the support of the government and of Queen Mother Maria Cristina.¹²³ During de Vilches time, such forms of generosity grew. Agreements between the sponsor and the recipient were privately reached, but in practice sponsorship was a form of patronage that did not imply exclusivity, as we have already seen in chapter 3 with the examples of Soriano Murillo and Vallés. Another example comes from Mariano Téllez Girón y Beaufort, the 12th duke of Osuna, who gave funding to the traineeship of Marcos Hiráldez Acosta.¹²⁴ The duke did not purchase the grand historical composition *The Pledge in Saint Gadea* (“M. HIRALDEZ ACOSTA/ROMA 1864”), which the painter brought back from Rome and displayed at the exhibition in 1864 (Fig. 4.14). A part of the Spaniards' new way of representing the Reconquest in Rome, the work won the second-class

¹²¹ Doc. 143, Rome, 9th April 1842, in Madrazo, *Epistolario*, 1:381.

¹²² On Alange's ideas revealed in his article ‘A la aristocracia española’, see Calvo Serraller, ‘Las academias artísticas en España’, 228.

¹²³ Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 64; Carlos Reyero Hermosilla, ‘Del Gianicolo al Champ de Mars. Los escultores pensionados en Roma y las Exposiciones Universales de Paris (1855-1900)’, *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte*, no. 14 (2002): 278.

¹²⁴ Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 337.

medal.¹²⁵ The government purchased it, but not for its laudable style, but rather for the historiographic importance that the jury attributed to the painting – it belonged to the cycle of El Cid, whose exploits “defined the Spanish character”.¹²⁶ The story was first, then the composition – this was the justification behind the purchase, in line with what Vázquez has codified to be the purchasing criteria generally adopted by the government and private individuals: the historical significance of the piece, its importance, the esteem in which it was held, or the name of the artist.¹²⁷

It was not only members of the aristocracy but also the *nouveaux riches* who were involved in sponsoring scholarships. Alongside the powerful banker and art amateur José de Salamanca and Heredia, two more Spanish entrepreneurs were associated with the Roman scholarship.¹²⁸ In 1860 the banker José Miranda, a collector of contemporary art, financed the sojourn of the painter Alejo Vera y Estaca.¹²⁹ In 1862 the Andalusian entrepreneur Manuel Domingo Larios, second marquis of Guadiario, funded a two-year studentship for painter and fellow citizen José Denis, which suggests that the roots of his patronage were deeply entangled with the city of Malaga.¹³⁰

The second example pertains the growing level of involvement of central and local administrations in financing studentships, appointing commissions to artists, and organising exhibitions. Arrivals from the San Fernando Academy were more frequent than in the 1830s and 1840s, and there were more occasions for former *pensionados* to be appointed to important commissions. For example, in Madrid the Palace of the Congress of Deputies’ palatial decorations became a collaborative venture for many former *pensionados*, including Joaquín Espalter, who decorated the vault of the President’s office, or José Pagniucci, who finished the Carrara marble statue of Isabella the Catholic.¹³¹ In 1861 the sculptor wrote to Montañés that he was

¹²⁵ Guillermo Solana, in *El arte en el Senado*, ed. Pilar de Miguel (Madrid: Departamento de Publicaciones, de Estudios y Documentación de la Secretaría General del Senado, 1999), 264–65.

¹²⁶ Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 338.

¹²⁷ Vázquez, *Inventing the Art Collection*, 2.

¹²⁸ Vázquez, 193–99.

¹²⁹ Pedro Naascues Palacio, *Arquitectura y arquitectos madrileños del siglo XIX* (Madrid: CSIC, 1973), 113.

¹³⁰ Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 160.

¹³¹ Agulló y Cobo, *Madrid en sus diarios. II. 1845-1859*, 2:248.

returning to Rome to search for the right piece of Carrara marble for his sculpture.¹³² The crown itself thus entrusted former *pensionados* with commissions.¹³³

As far as exhibitions were concerned, in 1856 the first state-funded biennial National Exhibition was inaugurated in Madrid, eclipsing other forms of exhibitions both in the capital and the provinces.¹³⁴ These exhibitions were “a public phenomenon organised by the state, and as such reflected and conformed to the leading tastes, which created the ideal space for the development of the historical genre”.¹³⁵ The main purchaser at these events was the government, in particular the Ministry of Development opened in 1833, which “extended its dominion to academies, schools of arts, art exhibitions and awards’ and purchased most works created in Rome, especially but not exclusively history paintings for the National Museum”.¹³⁶ Governmental, royal and private *pensionados*, as well as independent students, could all take part, since the goal was to foment Spanish art, in particular art by the younger generations.¹³⁷ The participation of the government ensured not only that award winners at national shows tended to receive the greatest official honours, but also that the events did not preclude smaller works from being purchased by private clients, as chapter 5 will indicate.¹³⁸ All of this created a competitive environment, as Martín Rico recalled, which made him wish to return to a period at the San Fernando Academy when artists did not have to stress about winning medals or prizes.¹³⁹

As far as the patronage of the royal family goes, Agustín Fernando Muñoz y Sánchez, duke of Riánsares andmorganatic husband to Maria Cristina,

¹³² Doc. 1, Rome, 4th September 1861, in Hernández Latas, *Recuerdos de Roma*, 233.

¹³³ Reyero Hermosilla, *La pintura de historia en España*, 27.

¹³⁴ On the topic, see Bernardino de Pantorba, *Historia y crítica de las exposiciones nacionales de bellas artes celebradas en España* (Madrid: Jesus Ramon Garcia-Rama J., 1980).

¹³⁵ Reyero Hermosilla, *La pintura de historia en España*, 44.

¹³⁶ Vázquez, *Inventing the Art Collection*, 103, 118; on the National Museum as part of genesis of the Prado, see Javier Portús Pérez and María de los Santos García Felguera, eds., *Museo del Prado, 1819-2019: un lugar de memoria* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2018).

¹³⁷ Vázquez, *Inventing the Art Collection*, 59.

¹³⁸ Vázquez, 63.

¹³⁹ Rico y Ortega, *Recuerdos de mi vida*, 18.

commissioned several decorative works from young Spanish artists, for the decoration of the couple's small urban palace on Avenue des Champs-Élysées and the château of Malmaison (sold to Napoleon III in 1861). He made contacts with Fortuny (who had to represent the queen regent cheering the national army in Madrid against the threat of the Infante Sebastian Gabriel de Bourbon), as well as from José Casado del Alisal, Lorenzo Vallés (a sketch of *Allegory of Queen Maria Cristina Issuing the Amnesty Decree in 1834*, private collection), and from Raimundo de Madrazo.¹⁴⁰ The duke was determined to support his wife through the elaboration of an iconographic programme that celebrated Maria Cristina as queen regent and the legitimacy of Isabella II's reign. José Gaye del Río, the duke's secretary in Rome, presumably arranged the commissions on behalf of the duke himself. As a sign of gratitude towards Gaye's work, the duke paid for Fortuny's portrait of Gaye's second wife, which featured in a European exhibition for the first time in 2017.¹⁴¹ The sitter has been identified as Miropo Savati (*Lady Gaye*) thanks to the Rome-based Swiss banker Walther Fol's documents, and the portrait was commissioned for their wedding in 1865.¹⁴²

The final example looks at public commissions from former *pensionados* sponsored by local councils, which likely encouraged young artists about prospective offers once their time in Rome was over.¹⁴³ Aside from this, the following examples also prove that José de Madrazo was wrong to claim that there was minimal opportunity for painting frescos back in Spain. For example, immediately after his return from Rome in 1856, the little-known painter Eugenio Azcue was asked to paint six walls of the parish in Tolosa with Christological and Old-Testament themes, which has undergone a restoration in recent years. The commission for this came from the Council of Tolosa. In the 1860s, the Basque painter Miguel Azparren – who studied in Rome with Silvagni in 1841 – was entrusted with the ceiling decoration of

¹⁴⁰ Doc. 25 in Barón, *Fortuny (1838-1874)*, 148–52.

¹⁴¹ Cronología biográfica in Barón, 431.

¹⁴² Doc. 22 in Barón, 139.

¹⁴³ Navarrete Martínez, *La academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando y la pintura en la primera mitad del siglo XIX*, 293.

the throne room of the Navarra council building.¹⁴⁴ Azparren elaborated an allegorical image of Navarra accompanied by Justice, Prudence, Fortitude and Temperance. The palace's throne hall also featured works by Espalter and Aznar, among others.¹⁴⁵ In 1867 Montañés – who had been in Rome with Luis de Madrazo, taught at the San Fernando Academy and only later returned to his native Zaragoza – decided to go back to Rome. Entrusted with the decoration of the dome of the main altar at the Basilica del Pilar, he believed that in Rome he would have found inspiration for his new pictorial task.¹⁴⁶ In fact, for many Spaniards, the relationship with Rome did not end with their scholarship – it was nourished and often remembered in their correspondence with other *Romistas*, as well as being the destination for future travels. All of this shows that Rome was indeed perceived as a common experience, a home country to return to as it was capable of providing them with the skills they needed and of igniting their creativity.

¹⁴⁴ Carlos Reyero Hermosilla, *Monarquía y Romanticismo. El hechizo de la imagen regia, 1829 - 1873* (Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores, 2015), 63. On Azparren and Silvagni, see Mazzarelli, *Dipingere in copia*, 1:248.

¹⁴⁵ Reyero Hermosilla, *La pintura de historia en España*, 26.

¹⁴⁶ Hernández Latas, *Recuerdos de Roma*, 18.

CHAPTER 5

PAINTING FOR THE MARKET

While chapter 4 explored the various forms of patronage available to Spaniards, chapter 5 *Painting for the market* focuses on the very specific, cosmopolitan, market-oriented genre of the People of Rome that can be often found in Spaniards' Roman oeuvre after 1848.

Europeans had been long familiar with depictions of Italian popular traditions. The exhibition catalogues *Maestà di Roma* and *Le peuple de Rome* have transversally talked about the fascination that Italian people exercised on foreigners during the nineteenth century by showcasing a selection of paintings. As a long-standing destination for young male artists' training from Europe and the Americas, the peninsula attracted visitors, who came not only for Italy's artworks and architecture but also for the Italian people themselves. Men and women of all ages became a recurring subject in paintings and literary texts on an Italian and international level. In the nineteenth century, depictions of the People of Rome even interested the jewellery market. Stereotypical depictions of lower class Italian people in traditional clothing could be admired around tourists' wrists or necks, on their fingers or pinned on their clothes as bracelets, necklaces, rings, and broaches.¹

Spaniards are part of this international group of artists. Their genre scenes of the People of Rome are not entirely an understudied genre in scholarship on the history of nineteenth-century Spanish art, but it has been studied mostly in relation to the entrance of realism within the Spaniards' Roman oeuvre in the second half of the nineteenth century.² This chapter instead chronologically explores the gradual affirmation of the genre and the commercial possibilities that it possessed and concludes with a brief coda on

¹ The Victoria and Albert Museum shows a small collection of this set of jewelry donated by Sir Arthur Gilbert and his wife to Britain in 1996. For example: Unknown artist, *Brooch with peasants*, 1825-1850, micromosaic, malachite and gold, diameter 3.4 cm. London, V&A. no. GILBERT.145-2008. Unknown artists, *Necklace with the People of Rome*, 1850, micromosaic, gold and blue glass. London, V&A, no. GILBERT.150:1,2-2008.

² Díez, 'Eduardo Rosales y la conquista del realismo por los pintores españoles en Roma (1855-1875)'.

how the fortunes of the genre changed how Rome was shown by a younger generation of Spanish artists born after the 1840s.

5.1 A Roman repertoire

In 1830 Keller listed three categories of Italian and foreign painters active in Rome: historical painters, landscapists, and genre painters. In 1843 there were 160 resident painters in Rome, of which the majority were historical and genre painters, with the latter an essential component of the city's artistic environment.³ *El Artista* observed the co-existence of these genres, and ten years after Galofre's publication, the painters' different expertise also emerged from the Bonfigli guide.

The composite nature of this artistic genre – that of being an academic exercise but a genre appealing to the market – clearly emerges from Galofre's *El Artista* who dedicated chapter XIV entirely to genre painting. It was, he claimed, a readable type of art that gave artists creative freedom as they drew inspiration from traditional or customary events, full of people in rural clothes and families.⁴ While they prepared to create a piece of high art, they also had to face the reality of Rome as a highly competitive market, in which large commissions were either assigned to established artists or through personal relations among compatriots. Hence, artists needed to learn how to sustain themselves, and the way to do this was by diligently attending nocturnal academies, as described in chapter 1, where artists learnt all the aspects that were crucial to the creation of genre scenes.⁵

The subordination of this genre to history painting clearly emerges from the Spaniards' choice of terms. Throughout the forty-year period, Spaniards referred to depictions of the People of Rome as “cuadritos” (when scenes featured more than one figure) or “figuritas” (when featuring a single figure), a diminutive that indicated both the reduced dimensions of these works (as

³ *Il Mercurio di Roma ossia Grande raccolta d'indirizzi e notizie de' pubblici e privati stabilimenti: dei professori di scienze, lettere ed arti; de' commercianti, degli artisti ec. ec.*, 194 (Roma: Tipografia delle Scienze in Via delle Convertite, 1843).

⁴ Anna Ottani Cavina, 'The Tessin Lecture: Inventing the Landscape. The Origin of Plein-Air Painting in Italy in the Early 19th Century', *Art Bulletin of Nationalmuseum Stockholm* 26, no. 2 (2019): 61–68.

⁵ Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 19.

opposed to the “cuadro grande”) and the less erudite content typical of high art. Starting as a genre with commercial potential but viewed as inappropriate for Rome as a school of meaningful art, such pictures became a fashionable commodity that appealed to European “circuits of distribution” (such as the Salons, national or regional exhibitions, and commercial galleries).

Pius IX’s return to Rome coincided with Spaniards’ change of perspective. Between 1867 and 1874, a period that coincides with the years of Fortuny’s international market success, Rome became the place where a younger generation of Spanish artists born after the 1840s mostly worked on genre scenes inspired by the Italian folklore and appealing to the international market. For example, when he moved to Rome in the 1860s, Josep Tapiró, one of Fortuny’s friends, was quite prolific in painting watercolours of Roman types – preferably but not exclusively women.

More significant is what Victor Manzano’s biographer wrote in 1866, regarding the painter’s time in Rome. He claimed that both the academic school and the romantic school gave younger artists the basis for their “complete development”.⁶ Yet when Manzano arrived in Rome, having studied with Espalter and Federico de Madrazo in the early 1850s, he understood that his interest in nature could not be cultivated through the preponderant study of the “grandes obras” and “the Florentine school”.⁷ After only six months in Rome, Manzano reversed a long-standing aspiration and returned home with only his *Ciociarellò*, painted in Hernández Amores’ studio.⁸ In Spain it was deemed to be pleasant for the picturesque model, rather than for the artist’s interpretation– so much so that Manzano inaugurated a new course in his life: he worked on both the historical genre and portraits.⁹

5.1.1 Popular subjects

⁶ Mérida, ‘Victor Manzano’, 114.

⁷ Mérida, 117.

⁸ Possibly this is the *Pifferaio* in a private collection in Madrid, as discussed by Díez: Díez, ‘Eduardo Rosales y la conquista del realismo por los pintores españoles en Roma (1855-1875)’, 84.

⁹ Mérida, ‘Victor Manzano’, 117.

This section looks at the types of Italian people that captured the Spaniards' attention, suggesting there might have been ethnographic interests behind their choices, and how such choices were determined by the artists' own displacements within and away from Rome.

In chapter XIV, Galofre briefly traced the history of this genre, born among Flemish artists but also widespread in Spain, citing the example of Murillo's painting *The Young Beggar* in Paris.¹⁰ But he explained the character of modern genre scenes through the People of Rome. Galofre indicated types of paintings, what to paint, and even how to combine characters to create a multi-figure scene.¹¹ His favoured protagonists were women (he explicitly referred to them as *Albanesas*, or women from Albano), children, soldiers, friars, shepherds, and monks, to name the most recurring characters. The scene was set inside a church, during a harvest, at a stream or fountain, or under a tree. Although Rome's insalubrious atmosphere may have brought Spaniards to the countryside, the underworld and diseases did not seem to interest Spanish artists, unlike foreign artists like Frenchmen Ernest Hébert, a pensioner in Rome between 1840 and 1844 who painted *The Mal'Aria*.¹² Among Spaniards the most frequent iconographies concerned jollier subjects, such as musicians, in particular flautists and pipers. José de Madrazo had already worked on a group of three flautists (*pifferai*) twice during his Roman sojourn. In the chronology considered, a similar topic was then essayed by Espalter.¹³

Galofre wrote that modern painters had been able to idealise a rural group and to give these "insignificant themes" a poetic meaning and "ideal beauty" by taking up convenient themes in order to stir the artists' poetic imaginations and brushstrokes.¹⁴ However, Spanish artists were only initially interested in

¹⁰ Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *The child beggar*, 1645-1650, oil on canvas, 134x110 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 127.

¹¹ On the topic of the People of Rome, see the essays in the two catalogues of the *Maestà di Roma* and the exhibition catalogue Olivier Bonfait, ed., *Le peuple de Rome - représentations et imaginaire de Napoléon à l'Unité italienne* (Montreuil: Gourcuff Gradenigo, 2013).

¹² Ernest Hébert, *The Mal'Aria*, 1848-1849, oil on canvas, 135x193 cm. Paris, Musée d'Orsay. On the figure of the bandit, see the latest publication by Giulio Tataschiere, *Briganti d'Italia. Storia di un immaginario romantico* (Roma: Viella, 2022).

¹³ Doc. III.8, in *Maestà di Roma. Da Napoleone all'Unità d'Italia*, ed. Sandra Pinto, Liliana Barroero, and Fernando Mazzocca (Roma: Electa, 2003), 131.

¹⁴ Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 129-30.

the atemporal, uncorrupted, or even hieratic beauty of Roman people, who seemed oblivious to the industrial revolution and chaotic world around them.¹⁵ During the papacy of Pius IX, and particularly during the 1860s, Spaniards began more decisively experimenting with the genre's natural representation. Such experimentation, however, did not coincide with a change in representations.

Throughout the decades, most works were representations of single figures, mostly painted in a studio setting rather than in plausible real-life moments, such as scenes at the tavern, times of work, or acts of Catholic devotion. Regarding the latter, for example, Bushell y Laussat painted *Good Friday Procession at the Colosseum in Rome* one year after his arrival as a *pensionado* of the Alicante council; Luis Álvarez Catalá painted *The Penitent Cardinal in the Basilica of Saint John in Lateran*¹⁶ and, as we shall see below, Mercadé painted a funeral scene at La Cervara.¹⁷ This context was likely functional to the artist's conception of his *Saint Therese of Jesus*, which he signed "B. MERCADE/ROMA 1868".¹⁸ As opposed to the Scottish Presbyterian painter David Roberts, whose depictions of Catholic Spain "signalled Spain's cultural difference" for him,¹⁹ we cannot disregard the possibility that Spanish artists – most of whom received a Catholic upbringing – actually took part into the Roman liturgical calendar. By consequence such themes should not necessarily be interpreted as a sign of the city's cultural difference but as rather as sign of the artists' participation in the cultural life of the city and their identification with it.

For Spaniards, the recurring protagonists however were women, captured in different moment of their life. The link between water and women – which

¹⁵ Liliana Barroero, 'La 'naturale' nobiltà e bellezza del popolo romano', in Pinto, Barroero, and Mazzocca, *Maestà di Roma. Da Napoleone all'Unità d'Italia*, 207–22.

¹⁶ Luis Álvarez Catalá, *The Penitentiary Cardinal in the Basilica of Saint John in Rome*, 1864, oil on canvas. Private collection

¹⁷ Francisco Bushell y Laussat, *Good Friday procession at the Colosseum in Rome*, 1864, oil on canvas, 120x88 cm. Alicante, Museo de Bellas Artes Gravina.

¹⁸ Benito Mercadé y Fábregas, *Saint Therese of Jesus*, 1868, oil on canvas, 300x412 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

¹⁹ Doc. 3.23 David Roberts, *Altar Boys in Seville Cathedral*, c. 1833-37. Watercolour over pencil heightened with touches of body colour on buff-coloured paper, 204x162 mm. Instituto Ceán Bermúdez, Madrid, in Claudia Hopkins, ed., *Romantic Spain: David Roberts and Genaro Pérez Villaamil* (Madrid: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando - CEEH - Instituto Ceán Bermúdez, 2021), 168.

in Galofre was represented by the fountain – was treated by Luis de Madrazo in the form of the woman with a jar, which he painted in Subiaco in 1850 (Fig. 5.1). Female models were often portrayed on their own or also with an animal, the most popular being a goat, which bridged the activities of painters in the 1830s and 1840s with what was done in the 1860s. An early testimony comes from a specific idyllic scene that Galofre described, which was that of a young girl giving a kid a flower wreath.²⁰ In another example, in 1867 Agrasot presented his *Two Friends* to the universal exhibition in Paris (Fig. 5.2). Despite the similarities between their iconographies, Agrasot paid close attention to the naturalist elements in his piece, such as the girl's dirty feet and wrinkled clothes, and gave a more detailed rendering of the landscape. On the Madrilenian contemporary market, a painting by Palmaroli (Fig. 5.3) emerged in 2021, showing a peasant woman with a goat standing in front of the Neapolitan gulf, with the Vesuvius volcano visible in the background.

5.1.2 Italian ethnography

Galofre's definition of genre scenes interestingly introduced a precise ethnographical element that consistently returned to the Spaniards' treatment of the genre. The People of Rome they portrayed were peasants from the Roman outskirts, and this provincial provenance was often acknowledged in the title that artists gave to their work. As a result of this, we know that sitters came from Albano, Ciociaria (the area approximately around Frosinone, whose women inspired Gisbert and Rosales), and Cervara. In their letter, Spaniards often mentioned those places as destinations where to go for diversion, and for avoiding the infamous Roman summer heat which sometimes made it challenging for them to work on their artworks.²¹

While in Rome, Federico de Madrazo worked on two genre scenes that he presented at the 1842 academic exhibition in Madrid. These were listed as the “two studies of clothing” that Federico presented at the 1841 exhibition on Piazza del Popolo: *An Albanesa in Elegant Clothing Entering a Church for*

²⁰ Galofre y Coma, *El artista*, 129.

²¹ Doc. 122, Rome, 18th June 1840, in Madrazo, *Epistolario*, 1:319.

Holy Water, which was reminiscent of Delaroche's way of painting portraiture (Fig. 5.4), and *The Peasant from Mora de Gaeta in her Beautiful Clothes*, for which he used a model from Capua. Federico, who was planning on displaying his *The Three Marys to the Sepulchre* at the Popolo exhibition, believed it was prudent for him to display these "two modern figures", for he knew the appeal of the genre in Rome.²²

Displayed first in Rome and then in Madrid, the *Albanesa* was sent to the Parisian Salon in 1844 and was purchased by King Louis Philippe.²³ Madrazo's painting was not mimetic, as Reyero has highlighted, and reveals its debt to the colouring of Delaroche's portraits, which Madrazo saw in Paris.²⁴ The whereabouts of Madrazo's second painting are currently unknown, but both pictures were reproduced by his pupil Manuel de León y Falcón in versions preserved in Gran Canaria.²⁵ Given that I have been unable to find any reference to canarios in Rome during the period under investigation, I believe that the two *Albanesas* brought by the painter Manuel Ponce de León to the 1862 public exhibition in the Canary Islands should be interpreted as proof of the didactic use of Madrazo's origins.²⁶ This was not the first time that Spaniards had sent the People of Rome to academies. Based in Rome at the time, the painters Carlos de Paris and Miguel Azparren were the network through which the genre of the People of Rome were exported to Mexico.²⁷ Jumping to 1849, Benito Soriano Murillo took an *Albanesa* to the exhibition of the Liceo Artístico in Madrid.²⁸ At the Dublin International Exhibition in 1865, the painter entered with *The Sorrento Woman*.²⁹ All of

²² Doc. 139, Rome, 30th November 1841, in Díez, *Epistolario: Federico de Madrazo*, vol. 1, 367.

²³ Reyero Hermosilla, 'Mirar Italia con ojos franceses', 270.

²⁴ Doc. 70, Paris, 18th January 1839, in Díez, *Epistolario: Federico de Madrazo*, 182.

²⁵ María de los Reyes Hernández Socorro, 'La influencia de los Madrazo en la pintura gran Canaria del ochocientos', *Norba: revista de arte*, no. 9 (1989): 191–200.

²⁶ Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 130.

²⁷ Angélica Velázquez Guadarrama, 'El pueblo de Roma en las exposiciones de la Academia de San Carlos, 1848-1869,' in *Roma en México, México en Roma: las academias de arte entre Europa y el Nuevo Mundo, 1843 - 1867*, ed. Giovanna Capitelli and Stefano Cracolici (Roma: Campisano Editore, 2018), 113.

²⁸ Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 229.

²⁹ *Dublin International Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, 1865, under the Special Patronage of Her Majesty the Queen*, 2nd ed. (Dublin: John Falconer, 53 upper sackville-st., 1865), 163.

this means that when Galofre published his handbook, the Spanish audience was already familiar with the genre of the People of Rome.

From the 1860s, Spaniards collaborated with models from other southern Italian regions. For example, in 1863 Rosales created *A Calabrese Boy* (Fig. 5.5), thus a boy from Calabria. At the 1866 National Exhibition, Agapito Francés presented *A Calabresa*, a woman from Calabria.³⁰ Meanwhile, Benito Mercadé y Fábregas presented two paintings inspired by the Roman borgo of Cervara.³¹ These were *Church of Cervara (Roman States)* (Fig. 5.6), which Díez has also related to the historical composition *The Translation of Francis of Asís* (1866), and *The Kitchen at the Pellegrini's Tavern at Cervara*.³² The borgo was an extremely popular destination among nineteenth-century artists, who went there both to study artistic traces of the Middle Ages, as well as to find new models. We have proof of this in Joseph Anton Koch's *La Cervara, Views of Rome* (1810), or in Ernest Hébert's *The Women of Cervara* (1859). Mercadé y Fábregas' examples show that, in addition to typified single-figure paintings, the Spaniards also dedicated themselves to what Palmaroli described in 1872 as the novel traits of contemporary genre scenes, and what distinguished them from Flemish and Dutch precedents: "a trait of self-denial, a heroic sacrifice, a display of Christian charity, a scene of sorrow, a representation of any of the feelings of the soul or a scene of life in which the most sublime sentiments of the heart are depicted".³³

5.1.3 Life models

The Spaniards took their time portraying the People of Rome during their excursions, since it was not infrequent for artists to travel to the Roman outskirts to escape hot summers in the city, for fun, to experiment with open-air painting, and to study artworks in churches.³⁴ Alongside such purposes,

³⁰ Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 254.

³¹ On Valdivieso, Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 2: 260.

³² Benito Mercadé y Fábregas, *The translation of Francis of Asís*, 1866, oil on canvas. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

³³ Palmaroli, *Discursos*, 24.

³⁴ On the Roman fevers, see Richard Wrigley, *Roman Fever: Influence, Infection, and the Image of Rome 1700 - 1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

these travels might have also had an ethnographic motive. For example, when the painter Francisco Sainz died in 1853, he left an unfinished costume book, where he collected clothes, costumes, portraits, and views of Pompeii, Anallí, Capri, and Ischia.³⁵ Such a motive could also justify the presence of various photographs featuring Roman people alongside pictures of the city's monuments, views of Rome and the city's outskirts in the artists' hands.

However, it was far more common for artists to find their models on the streets of Rome or at its nocturnal academies, a condition that created a sense of familiarity between the painter and the model, as the title of canvases that include the model's name would suggest. We know of Catalan artists attending the (unlocated) Demachinaro academy in Rome in October 1834. Vilar claimed there were twenty artists in total: nine Spaniards, a few Russians, and a couple of Italians.³⁶ The Spaniards attending were Cerdá, Milá, Clavé and Vilar himself, who was the only sculptor, along with Palmarola, López, and Jimeno.³⁷ In 1841, Federico de Madrazo sent his father the collection of Italian costumes destined for his mother, which he said he painted while attending a costume academy in 1840.³⁸

Besides, models were also an active part of the art business, creating further occasions for encounters. They rented easels, tables, stoves etc. to artists, but this was possible only once these men had found a studio to furnish.³⁹ Federico de Madrazo rented from a model named Pietro a stove, a platform where models would pose, and a mannequin, while Federico purchased a pine-wood table, four chairs and an easel.⁴⁰ Models also ran academies – the city's most famous nocturnal academy was opened and run by a former model from Anticoli Corrado, a village on Rome's outskirts. Luigi Talaraci, better known as Giggi, opened his academy in Via Margutta (a side street connecting Piazza di Spagna to Piazza del Popolo, known as the

³⁵ Mercedes Agulló y Cobo, ed., *Madrid en sus diarios. II. 1845-1859*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Instituto de estudios madrileños, 1965), 255.

³⁶ Doc. 2, Rome, 4th October 1834, in Moreno, *El Escultor Manuel Vilar*, 103.

³⁷ Barrio, *Relaciones culturales*, 34.

³⁸ Unfortunately, there is no other information regarding this academy, which makes the identification impossible. Doc. 129, Rome, 16th March 1841, in Madrazo, *Epistolario*, 1:337.

³⁹ Doc. 113, Rome, 7th January 1840, in Diez, *Epistolario: Federico de Madrazo*, 292.

⁴⁰ Doc. 108, Rome, 12th November 1839, in Diez, 278.

street of the artists) in 1856/1857, where the Spaniards became regulars, as chapter 7 will show.⁴¹

5.2 Spanish exhibitions

Over the forty years under examination, Spaniards' approach to this genre changed: from a genre to create for international clientele in Rome, as it was for Galofre, through being an academic exercise, to being a genre that Spanish artists displayed once in Spain and even sold there when they did not export it to Paris. In the late nineteenth century, Ossorio diligently recorded the pieces that the Spaniards sent from Rome to feature in National Exhibitions, along with their rate of success in securing a medal or acquisition during Isabelline Spain. It is clear that the real turning point for the People of Rome were the exhibitions following 1862. People from Albano, Ciociaria, and Cervara caught the attention of both male and female Spanish collectors, who purchased such canvases by emerging talents, because they sponsored their Roman sojourns and careers, for the paintings being a novelty from Rome, or an overall interest in the naturalist turn in the arts.

At the 1862 National Exhibition, Roman peasants were presented by both Palmaroli and Rosales.⁴² In the summer of that year, when the Madrilenian exhibition was almost at the door, Rosales received a visit by the sculptor José Piquer at his Roman studio. Piquer motivated him to send something to the exhibition that year. Until that point Rosales had never sent anything to Madrid's National Exhibitions and had yet to present any grand composition; as seen in chapter 3, he signed his *The Queen Isabella the Catholic Dictating her Will* in 1864. For the exhibition, Piquer helped Rosales to pick *Nena*, a figurative study he had just finished, and which represented a child model sitting on a chair with a cat at her feet. The painter was not convinced that such a hastily painted "figurita" (95x75,5 cm) could be exhibited alongside the "cuadros grandes"; nevertheless, he signed it, dated it, and identified it as

⁴¹ On Accademia Giggi and the studios there, see Valentina Moncada di Paternò, ed., *Atelier a Via Margutta. Cinque secoli di cultura internazionale a Roma* (Torino: Umberto Allemandi & C., 2012).

⁴² Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 91.

a Roman work. In October 1862 the painting, together with a letter for his friend Palmaroli, was sent to Madrid. The work was a success and gained an honorific mention at the 1862 exhibition (Fig. 5.7). *Nena* was then purchased by Josefa Marín, a widowed countess de Velle, as a painting by an emerging artist, and she commissioned him for a pendant, which he finished in 1863: *Angelo* or *A Calabrese boy*, brother of the model Pascuccia.⁴³ As a sign of appreciation, Rosales also gifted the countess with a study of Pascuccia herself, whose resemblances had to be familiar to the countess, as Palmaroli had presented *A Peasant from Neapolitan Outskirts Named Pascuccia* – a result of the time he spent in Naples – together with the Sacred conversation *The Saints* at the National Exhibition in 1862. *Pascuccia* was purchased by the Duke of Fernán-Núñez, who paid “more than the asked price”.⁴⁴

The Madrid house of Josefa Marín in calle Atocha welcomed established literati and artists of the time as well as young artists, among whom numbered Rosales and Palmaroli when they were in the capital.⁴⁵ Marín is remembered for being one of the finest collectors of contemporary art in the Isabelline age.⁴⁶ Martínez Plaza has highlighted that she read Spanish realist novels.⁴⁷ Perhaps speculatively, this interest of hers may have informed her interest in genre paintings. Ossorio reported that she purchased a painting by Victor Manzano exhibited at the 1858 exhibition in Madrid.⁴⁸ Regarding other Spanish painters in Rome, her name is associated with the People of Rome via Palmaroli, from whom she purchased a study for *An Italian*.⁴⁹ In total the countess, whose picture gallery contained many contemporary Spanish works, possessed three genre paintings, all made in Rome. One was the

⁴³ Luis Rubio Gil, *Eduardo Rosales* (Barcelona: Ediciones del Aguazul, 2002), 67.

⁴⁴ Vígara Zafra, ‘New Strategies in Art Collecting amongst the Spanish Nobility in the Later Nineteenth Century: The Case of the 3rd Duke and Duchess of Fernán Núñez’, 425.

⁴⁵ Pedro Martínez Plaza, ‘La colección artística de Josefa Marín (1807-1871), condesa viuda de Velle’, *Ars bilduma: Revista del Departamento de Historia del Arte y Música de la Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitateko Artearen Historia eta Musika Saileko aldizkaria*, no. 7 (2017): 153–66.

⁴⁶ Martínez Plaza, *El coleccionismo de pintura en Madrid durante el siglo XIX*, 461.

⁴⁷ Martínez Plaza, ‘La colección artística de Josefa Marín’, 155.

⁴⁸ Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 22.

⁴⁹ Ossorio y Bernard, 92.

aforementioned canvas by Álvarez Catalá⁵⁰, another was by Palmaroli, and four were by Rosales.⁵¹

Ignacio Muñoz de Baena Goyeneche, the seventh marquis of Villar del Ladrón, ninth marquis of Ugena, and seventh count of Gausa, paid for Manuel García y García to remain in Rome.⁵² According to Ossorio, from there the painter sent a combination of historical canvases, portraits, and genre scenes to the National Exhibitions. To the 1864 exhibition, which should be considered a triumph for the genre considering the number of paintings presented, the painter sent two canvases inspired by the people in Rome: *The Cry of an Orphan Girl* and *The Portrait of a Cicciarello*, which helped him to win a third-class medal. At the 1866 exhibition, he presented *A Portrait of a Roman Woman*, *A Portrait of a Capuchin Friar*, and the historical canvas *The Appearance of St. Agnes to her Father*, with which he won a third-class medal, and which was purchased by the National Museum.

José Armet also brought *A Roman Peasant* to the 1864 National Exhibition, receiving an honorific mention. The canvas was purchased for the National Museum.⁵³ That year, Valdivieso brought *A Ciociara Named Stella* to the same exhibition.⁵⁴ Francisco Díaz Carreño won a third medal with his *Ciociara at the Window* (untraced) en pendant with *Ciociara at the Fountain*. Agrasot, meanwhile, brought *Rural school in Papal States* (Fig. 5.8) and *A Washerwoman from Scarpa* (Fig. 5.9), which was displayed at the 1865 International Exhibition in Dublin.⁵⁵ This participation in the 1864 exhibition introduces us to the genre scenes in a display setting, and corroborates the passage from graphic lines to spots of colours.

The Roman life eventually interested members of the Spanish Royal family too. The consort king purchased the *Sistine Chapel* (1865-1866) from Palmaroli, a scene of a liturgic celebration inside the Sistine Chapel, halfway

⁵⁰ Carlos Reyero, 'Taxació i compravenda de pintures a mitjan segle XIX', in Bonaventura Bassegoda and Ignasi Domènech, eds., *Mercat de l'art, colleccionisme i museus. Estudis sobre el patrimoni artístic a Catalunya als segles XIX i XX* (Barcelona: Memoria Artium, 2014), 190.

⁵¹ Martínez Plaza, 'La colección artística de Josefa Marín', 157.

⁵² Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 274.

⁵³ Ossorio y Bernard, 47.

⁵⁴ Ossorio y Bernard, 261.

⁵⁵ *Dublin International Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, 1865, under the Special Patronage of Her Majesty the Queen*, 164.

between a contemporary historical painting and a genre scene. However, the canvas was likely a proof of the artist's purist study, which fit within the consort king's collecting interests, as discussed in chapters 3 and 4. What is certain is that in 1872, Palmaroli spoke of Michelangelo's *Final Judgement* as a dramatic epic, a synthesis of the Greek beauty of shapes and the artist's Christian sentiment.⁵⁶ But Palmaroli also stated that artists had taken a step forward by returning to contemplating "reality" with a new conception of genre which had no parallel in prior centuries.⁵⁷ They were "the real progress in our days and they will honour contemporary art".⁵⁸

5.3 *The corpse of Beatrice Cenci exposed on the Sant'Angelo bridge* by Lorenzo Vallés: a case of Roman people in a historical painting

Palmaroli's painting is the second example of a new direction for Spanish artists, namely the genre infiltrating other artistic genres, above all historical canvases. Palmaroli's work had a precedent in Madrid, where in 1860 Manzano painted *The Catholic Monarchs Administering Justice*, where the scene is stolen by the multitude of people and micro-histories on the canvas' foreground.⁵⁹ In Rome the precedent was Vallés' *The Corpse of Beatrice Cenci Exposed on the Sant'Angelo Bridge*, which he presented to Madrilenian audiences in 1864, and is the object of discussion in this section, alongside a reconstruction of his creator's little-known life.

Encountered already in chapters 2, 3 and 4, Vallés arrived in Rome in 1853 thanks to the generosity of José Isidro Osorio y Silva-Bazán, duke of Sesto and marquis of Alcañices; however, what he did until 1864 is vague.⁶⁰ What

⁵⁶ Palmaroli, *Discursos*, 13.

⁵⁷ 'Los cuadros modernos de género se inspiran en la realidad, ofreciendo a nuestra vista un rasgo de abnegación, un sacrificio heroico, una muestra de la caridad cristiana, una escena de dolor, una representación en fin cualquiera de los sentimientos del alma o una escena de la vida, en la cual se dibujaban los más sublimes sentimientos del corazón que sólo un error vulgar ha podido reservar a la tradición legendaria o la fábula mitológica.' Palmaroli, 23–24.

⁵⁸ '[...] el progreso verdadero de nuestros días y por el cual cabrá mayor honra al arte contemporáneo es la creación de esa clase de pintura, a que rutinariamente hemos dado de llamar de género.' Palmaroli, 24.

⁵⁹ Víctor Manzano, *The Catholic monarchs administering Justice*, 1860, oil on canvas, Madrid, Palacio Real de Madrid.

⁶⁰ Osorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 264.

is certain is that Vallés' arrival in Rome preceded that of Fortuny and Rosales by a few years, after which they settled in Rome and became points of reference, and friends, of the painter. For example, in 1863 Vallés was among the group of Spanish artists appointed by Agustín Fernando Muñoz y Sánchez, duke of Riánsares, for the decoration of the couple's small urban palace on Avenue des Champs-Élysées and the château of Malmaison (sold to Napoleon III in 1861).

Amongst Spaniards, Vallés was surely the one who showed the greater interest in Italian culture. In line with the purist education that he received in his early years, he painted a scene inspired by Dante's *Vita Nova*. More eccentric is Vallés' *Niccolò de Lapi before Dying Forgives his Daughter Lisa* (unknown location), which he showed at the exhibition in Piazza del Popolo in 1866, together with Dante's *Vita Nova*.⁶¹ The source for Vallés' second painting was the historical romance by the Turin politician Massimo d'Azeglio, published in 1841: *Niccolò de' Lapi, ovvero I Pallechi e I Piagnoni*. The romance was inspired by the vicissitudes of the old Florentine merchant Niccolò de' Lapi, a supporter of Savonarola, when the city had been besieged by the emperor Charles V to facilitate the return of the Medici family to the city (1529-1530). In the romance, Niccolò's daughter Lisa was to be wed to Lamberto with her father's approval. However, she was fooled by Troilo, a supporter of the Medici's cause, who staged a fake marriage, got her pregnant, and left her. A furious Niccolò was about to force her to leave his house, but she eventually obtained his forgiveness, and this is the scene that Vallés represented.

In 1864 Vallés sent *The Conversion of Marquis Lombrai, Saint Francis of Borja*, purchased by his patron, and *The Corpse of Beatrice Cenci Exposed on the Sant'Angelo Bridge*. Vallés was the second Spaniard to treat the story of Beatrice Cenci while in Rome.⁶² According to Beatrice Cenci's story, in 1599 Guido Reni visited her while she was imprisoned and painted her portrait (Fig. 5.10). This work was acquired by the Barberini family in 1818

⁶¹Montani, 'La Società degli Amatori e Cultori delle Belle Arti in Roma. 1829 - 1883', 419.

⁶²Juan R. Moreno, 'Ecos de la pintura boloñesa en España: dos copias de la Sibilla de Ginevra Cantofoli en la colección de la Región de Murcia', *Argus-a. Artes & Humanidades* 4, no. 15 (2015).

and housed in their gallery, which was much visited by tourists, propelling Beatrice to an internationally successful fictional character. In 1819 Percy Bysshe Shelley composed his verses *The Cenci. A tragedy in five acts* while in Italy; a few years later it was the turn of the Frenchman Alexandre Dumas and Stendhal. Scholarship has now attributed the Barberini portrait to the painter Ginevra Cantofoli, though at the time when the painter Hernández Amores painted his *Sybil*, it was still believed to be by Reni (Fig. 5.11).

Whether Hernández Amores painted this painting to be Beatrice's portrait or because it was Guido Reni's portrait (thus a copy of a canonical master) has yet to be established. This and the fact that Vallés' painting was instead inspired by a moment of her life, makes us count his painting as the first certain representation of the story of Beatrice Cenci ever painted by a Spaniard.

Beatrice, an early modern martyr, perfectly fit the ingredients that Reyero has identified as the fundamental emotional elements of nineteenth-century Spanish history paintings, with their tendency towards tragedy, incest, and patricide.⁶³ In the sixteenth century Beatrice, a Roman noblewoman, had freed herself from her father's abuse by orchestrating his death in alliance with her step-mother, her siblings, Olimpio Calvetti, and two vassals.⁶⁴ In the end, the plot was discovered and the participants were all killed in 1599. Vallés chose to depict the presentation of Cenci's corpse on the Sant'Angelo bridge. With precedents in Horace Vernet's *Raphael at the Vatican* (Fig. 5.12), it is Vallés' composition – the sapient typification of the People of Rome – that steals the scene from Cenci's body, which lies still on the right of the painting. The painter incorporated elements of naturalism that he could have seen in his Roman everyday life, such as the children playing on the column, the cardinal, or the friars, as well as the two peasant women.

After 1864, Vallés tackled the story of Beatrice Cenci several times. The Museo Nacional del Prado owns the work that Vallés displayed at the 1864

⁶³ Reyero Hermosilla, *La pintura de historia en España*, 122.

⁶⁴ Melvin R. Watson, 'Shelley and Tragedy: The Case of Beatrice Cenci', *Keats-Shelley Journal* 7 (1958): 13–21; Louise K. Barnett, 'American Novelists and the "Portrait of Beatrice Cenci"', *The New England Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (1980): 168–83; James W. Mathews, 'The Enigma of Beatrice Cenci: Shelley and Melville', *South Atlantic Review* 49, no. 2 (1984): 31–41.

National Exhibition: *The Corpse of Beatrice Cenci, Exposed at Sant'Angelo Bridge* (though it was severely damaged by a fire in 1972).⁶⁵ The work appeared in the 1865 National Museum's catalogue, indicating that it was purchased in March 1865 for 12,000 *reales*.⁶⁶ The Williamson Art Gallery and Museum also owns a replica, and a sketch recently appeared on the Italian private market. The last two paintings may be the two canvases inspired by Beatrice's story, which Montani linked to Vallés' participation in the exhibition on Piazza del Popolo for two years in a row (1864, 1865).⁶⁷ Currently on display at the Museo del Prado is a copy of Vallés' painting by Pradilla, made when the painter had not yet reached Rome.⁶⁸ In the future, this will need to be further contextualised, as it may shed light on both the Spaniards' practice of copying contemporary artists and the fortune of Vallés' works in Spain.

Despite the scarcity of information about Vallés' activity in the 1860s, we know that Fol (Fig. 5.13) believed him to be among the Spanish artists who rescued Spanish painting from the mediocre state in which it was found, and some of his pieces were collected by Stewart, the US capitalist, a friend and collector of Mariano Fortuny.⁶⁹ After Fortuny's premature death, Vallés became a new prominent figure in Rome, becoming president of the Associazione artistica internazionale in Via Margutta in the 1870s and one of the most recurrent and acclaimed Spanish names in Roman newspapers. For instance, in 1895, in Vallés' biographic profile, Giulio Marchetti praised his originality in picking subjects.

The connection between the critic and the painter has yet to be explored; what seems clear is that the critic admired Vallés' work. For example, concerning *The corpse of Beatrice Cenci exposed on the Sant'Angelo bridge*,

⁶⁵ Giulio Marchetti, 'Profili d'artisti. Lorenzo Vallés', ed. Angelo de Gubernatis, *La vita italiana. Rivista illustrata* III (May 1895): 62.

⁶⁶ Gregorio Cruzada Villaamil, *Catalogo provisional historial y razonado del Museo Nacional de Pinturas formado de orden del Excmo. Sr. Ministro de Fomento Marqués de la Vega de Armijo* (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel Galiano, 1865), XLVII.

⁶⁷ Montani, 'La Società degli Amatori e Cultori delle Belle Arti in Roma. 1829 - 1883', 416.

⁶⁸ Francisco Pradilla, *The corpse of Beatrice Cenci*, copy after Lorenzo Vallés, 1871, oil on canvas. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

⁶⁹ Walther Fol, *Catalogue descriptif du Musée Fol, Peinture, artistique et industrielle, troisième partie* (Genève: H. Georg, Cherbuliez, libraires, 1874), 241; *Catalogue of the A. T. Stewart Collection of Paintings, Sculptures and Other Objects of Art* (New York City: American Art Association Inc, 1887), 69.

the first canvas Vallés ever painted according to Marchetti, the latter wrote: “Very young, he presents a historical painting which, in conception and painting, was judged – rightfully so – as a masterpiece: *The body of Beatrice Cenci displayed after her supplice* [This is the title given by Marchetti, but undoubtedly he was speaking of *The corpse of Beatrice Cenci, exposed at Sant’Angelo bridge*]. [...] Beatrice may seem to us – sons of a different epoch – far from contemporary sentiments and still full of the conventions which were considered the ingredients for a majestic and beautiful historical painting. However, the originality of that first work – true originality – lay in the idea, rather than the painter’s quality”.⁷⁰

5.4 Going to Rome to paint the genre

The chapter has shown that before 1848 it was rare for Spaniards to arrive in Rome with the intention to train as genre painters. The People of Rome were an iconography born within their traineeship: artists needed to practice the depiction of draperies and folds, human emotions, the human figures, and colouring. In fact, as seen in chapters 2 and 3 it was a consolidated topos that Rome was the place to produce grand art, the “cuadros grandes”. This claim remained true until at least the 1860s; by then the People of Rome stopped being merely a subsidiary genre, a means for progress in their art practice⁷¹ and began being a source of income.

This turn of events also coincided also with a generational turn: it mostly was a younger generation of artists, born after the 1840s who went to Rome to paint genre scenes which they would sell later in the French capital. In this context the presence of Fortuny must be considered. His name and international fame for his genre scenes were hinged on the city of Rome where he kept returning to after his travels or long stays abroad (Morocco, Paris, Madrid, Andalusia and finally Naples) as it will be discussed in chapter 7.

Encouraged by Fol, Fortuny brought the second version of *The Print Collector* to the Parisian Salon. The work attracted the attention of French

⁷⁰ Marchetti, ‘Profili d’artisti. Lorenzo Vallés’, 62–63.

⁷¹ Rubio Gil, *Eduardo Rosales*, 2011, 49.

merchant Adolphe Goupil. After signing the contract, the first for a Spaniard, the artist was linked to Goupil for seven years. The merchant converted him into an artist whose paintings inspired by orientalist subjects, invented elegant scenes from the eighteenth century, and genre scenes of various nature, were internationally coveted by western collectors.⁷² Fortuny's first commissions for Goupil entailed a group of small-format paintings, watercolours, and etchings.⁷³ He paid Fortuny 200 francs for each watercolour.⁷⁴ Another part of the production sold by Goupil entailed the repetition of a subject, not always in the form of replicas, which he sold to western magnates and entrepreneurs.⁷⁵ For 4,000 francs, Goupil commissioned from Fortuny a third version of *Antiquaries*, which he signed as follows: "FORTUNY/ROMA 1867" – with this, Fortuny connected his name to Rome. In Paris, this third *Antiquaries* was sold for 9,000 francs to A. T. Stewart.⁷⁶ Goupil commissioned a third version of his *Arabic fantasy*, which Fortuny signed as "FORTUNY/ROMA 1867", for 4,000 francs and sold it for 5,000 to W. H. Stewart on July 5th 1867.

The plethora of clients called to Rome were attracted by the Catalan's talent and the success that he and other Spaniards (mostly Fortunystas, Fortuny's followers), were gaining in Paris with genre scenes largely inspired by what Fortuny did (e.g. Italian and Spanish life, orientalist pictures and an elegant scene from an invented eighteenth century).⁷⁷ By extension, Rome became the city where collectors went to visit the Catalan master, and where young artists went to learn how to become successful on the market. It would, however, be wrong to consider all of Fortuny's visitors in Rome to be only

⁷² Mercè Doñate, 'Fortuny y la pintura de género', in *Fortuny, 1838-1874. Museu Nacional d'art de Catalunya, Barcelona, del 17 de octubre de 2003 al 18 de enero de 2004*, exh. cat., ed. Mercè Doñate, Cristina Mendoza, and Francesc M Quilez i Corella (Barcelona: MNAC, 2003), 35.

⁷³ Torres González, 'Mariano Fortuny y Marsal. Un pintor entre el coleccionismo y el mercado', 324. On Goupil and Italy, see Paolo Serafini, ed., *La maison Goupil et l'Italie: le succès des peintres italiens à Paris au temps de l'impressionnisme. Exposition, Rovigo, Palazzo Rovella, 23.02-23.06.2013 / Bordeaux, Galerie des beaux-arts, 24.10-02.02.2014* (Milano: Silvana editore, 2013).

⁷⁴ Cronología biográfica, in Barón, *Fortuny (1838-1874)*, 431.

⁷⁵ Torres González, 'Mariano Fortuny y Marsal. Un pintor entre el coleccionismo y el mercado', 337.

⁷⁶ Torres González, 334.

⁷⁷ Stéphane Guégan, 'Fortuny y los fortunystas: ¿una consagración francesa?', in *Fortuny (1838-1874)*, ed. Javier Barón (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2017), 83–97.

thanks to Goupil. As Fortuny himself admitted, despite his initial enthusiasm at the idea of being paid twice the price for his works, in 1869 he began having second thoughts regarding his contract with the French dealer, fearing it would exclude him from his Roman circle of international art-lovers.⁷⁸

In 1874, Ricardo de Madrazo complained about this direction taken by his contemporaries in Rome. His family had lived in Rome when the city produced meaningful art, purchased by the state or the royals. By contrast, Fortunystas, Madrazo complained, worked on superficial genre scenes because they sold, not because they offered their creators any higher reflection upon art. Madrazo only registered their preoccupation with selling a piece for a good price. They just wanted “to quickly complete a piece without thinking that it is necessary to work in order to do something [meaningful]” which in turn had been the main goal for most Spanish artists going to Rome until that point.⁷⁹ In 1874 they were instead more worried about how many canvases were sold on the Parisian market, and at what price, since they no longer sold as well as in 1873. For this reason, he explained, he was sure that many would leave Rome for Paris.⁸⁰ There, other Spaniards such as Ignacio León Escosura were successfully active, with pieces being sold in Paris, London, and the United States.⁸¹

In conclusion, originally, the People of Rome were a genre that Spaniards worked on to integrate their studentship, and to better their colouring and their command of life drawings. But between 1865 and 1885 single-figure canvases and scenes were no more a source of income but became indeed the currency of Spaniards’ international success, which converted them into Rome’s “arbiters of [Western] taste”.⁸² If we accept that “art was the mirror of the society in which it was made”, the inclusion of Italianness (translatable as *lo italiano* in Spanish) can be read as a sign that something was changing

⁷⁸ Doc. MA 13., Rome, 4th February 1869, in Gutiérrez Márquez and Martínez Plaza, *Cartas de Mariano Fortuny, Cecilia, Ricardo, Raimundo e Isabel de Madrazo*, 16.

⁷⁹ Doc. RI. 75, Rome, 30th April 1874, in Gutiérrez Márquez and Martínez Plaza, 246.

⁸⁰ Doc. RI. 78, Rome, 20th May 1874, in Gutiérrez Márquez and Martínez Plaza, 249.

⁸¹ Amaya Alzaga Ruiz, ‘Ignacio León Escosura: París, Londres y el mercado artístico norteamericano’, in *Colecciones, expolios, museos y mercado artístico en España en los siglos XVIII y XIX*, ed. María Dolores Antigüedad del Castillo Olivares and Amaya Alzaga Ruiz (Madrid: Editorial Universitaria Ramón Areces, 2011), 287–315.

⁸² Diego Angeli, *Le cronache del Caffè Greco* (Milano: Fratelli Palombi editore, 1930), 75.

for Spaniards in their approach to Rome but also, with their scenes of Italian peasants, in their entrance to European modernisation.⁸³

In 1861 the Italian politician Massimo d'Azeglio is said to have declared: “Italy has been done, now we have to create Italians”. The nineteenth century corresponds to the unification of Italy and thus to when the notion of Italianness began coming into action.⁸⁴ Foreigners contributed to the creation of this national image, by exporting snippets into Southern Italian cultures, selling them as Italian and fairly common traditions to Northern European and US clients, who looked at Southern Europe with exoticism and sensuality in its eyes.

While critical of foreigners’ clichéd ideas of an exotic Spain,⁸⁵ Spaniards’ picturesque image of (Southern) Italy and its people contributed to the creation of a stereotyped idea of Italian beauty (and lifestyle) in Spain and abroad. Any exercise or ethnographic motive – which had inspired their works in the initial period under investigation – was gone. Josep Yxart, who authored a monograph on the Catalan master, noted this when claiming in 1888 that “the Roman peasant [was] a recurring type until the mannerism”.⁸⁶

⁸³ Romero Tobar, ‘Realismo y otros ismos’, 82.

⁸⁴ Stéphane Mourlane et al., ‘So Many Italies in so Many Suitcases’, in *Italianness and Migration from the Risorgimento to the 1960s*, ed. Stéphane Mourlane et al. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 2.

⁸⁵ Hopkins, ‘Inventing and Popularising the Spanish Pictoresque’, 126.

⁸⁶ ‘A ella pertenecen la Campesina romana, el tipo repetido después hasta el amaneramiento, el Posta-estandarte, el Viejo romano, sentado sobre derruido capitel, de excelente dibujo, de venerable rostro, melancólico y pensativo, cual si coronara su frente un resto de la antigua grandeza de sus antepasados y le abrumara el pensamiento de su presente abyección.’ José Yxart, *Fortuny. Noticia biogràfica crítica* (Barcelona: Biblioteca Arte y Letras, 1881), 76.

CHAPTER 6

THE GREAT EXHIBITIONS' ARENA

So far, this dissertation has discussed the cosmopolitan space of Rome as a place of creation, and the national space of Spain as both the place where Spaniards in Rome wished to display and which they wished to celebrate. Starting from the visibility of these canvases in Rome (which seems to have been quite scarce, given the limited number of Italian sources discussing these works) and back in Spain, this chapter, *The Great Exhibitions' Arena*, brings the international space of universal exhibitions into the argument. In the world arena, nations curated a journey through spaces and times by displaying their political, manufacturing, industrial, and cultural individuality.¹ It was their opportunity to reflect upon the future but also to look back to the roots of their history.²

Circumscribed to Isabelline Spain, this chapter synthesises what we have seen in previous chapters; it does not seek to study the reception of Spanish art abroad, but rather to explore how Spain presented itself at international events by focusing on the Roman element, so far minimally considered by scholarship which has reflected upon the economic, societal, monarchical, and imperial history of Spain from an agricultural, artisanal, and artistic perspective.

During the Isabelline government, Spain participated a total of five times in such grand events, which were ephemeral in character but long-lasting in their effects: the Great Exhibition in London (1851); the Exposition Universelle in Paris (1855); the International Exhibition in South Kensington, London (1862); the International Exhibition in Dublin (1865); and the Exposition Universelle in Paris (1867). Given that this chapter is focused on the arts, and that in the 1851 Crystal Palace exhibition fine arts had only a

¹ Elfie Rembold, 'Exhibitions and National Identity', *National Identities* 1, no. 3 (1999): 222.

² On countries investigating their national character, also in relation to others, see David Raizman and Ethan Robey, eds., *Expanding Nationalism at World's Fairs: Identity, Diversity and Exchange, 1851-1915* (New York City: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017).

very minimal place within the Spanish section, this is excluded from the chapter.³ As for Dublin, this exhibition is not included as I consider the art on show a precursor of Paris in 1867, in terms of both the trends and the artworks on display.

The 1855 exhibition became the first real occasion for Spanish contemporary artworks to be seen internationally. Prior to 1855, foreigners would only have seen individual works by contemporary artists if the latter participated in foreign exhibitions (such as Parisian salons or at exhibitions held not only in Rome, but also in Florence, Milan, or Venice), or opened their studios in Paris or Rome. Following the Parisian example in 1855, organisers in London decided that the 1862 exhibition would have a Fine Arts section in the principal building at South Kensington. The 1867 exhibition, meanwhile, was the last Universal Exhibition organised in the Paris of Napoleon III, the last Universal Exhibition held during the reign of Isabella II, and the last exhibition in which the Rome of Pius IX took part as the capital of the Papal State.

Once one of the three dominant global European empires of the early modern world, the nineteenth-century Isabelline empire was weak. It was an empire which was losing the American territories, a monarchy under the threat of Carlism, and a liberal government which suffered from frequent

³ According to the catalogue, the country participated only with examples of human craftsmanship, which were the pieces on sale in the Class XXX *Sculpture, models plastic art, etc.* (namely busts of the royal couple, bronze, terracotta, wooden sculptures, and a model of the bull-fighting circus in Madrid): 'THE FACTORY OF THE ROYAL ORDNANCE, A bust in bronze of her Majesty the Queen of Spain, Trubia, Ovideo and A bust in iron of his Majesty the King of Spain as taken from the mould; D. J. B. NAURI, Group of gilt bronze figures, representing an incident at a bull-fight, Madrid, Bronzed group, representing the same, and Bronze figure representing a picador; D. A. PENA, Terracotta figures representing an Andalusian smuggler, Madrid; D. R. GUTIERREZ DE LEON, Three terracotta figures, Malaga; PEREZ & COMPANY, An octagonal table of inlaid wood, the top consisting of various designs and the arms of Spain and England. It contains 3,000,000 pieces, the arms of England alone, in a space of 3x2 inches, consisting of 53,000; D. M. MEDINA, Secretaire with inlaid ornaments and arabesques of natural wood but the green, Madrid; D. M. JIMENEZ, Two wooden mosaic pictures, Madrid; THE FACTORY OF THE ROYAL ORDNANCE, Four lithographic prints made in the manufactory of Trubia, representing some parts of the building, waterwheels. These samples show the success obtained by the lithographic press established in the aforementioned factory; D. R. CONTRERAS, Arabesque details from the Alhambra at Granada, Aranjuez; D. J. MATA AGUILERA, Model of the bull-fighting circus representing it nearly full of spectators with 4,000 wooden figures exhibiting in the arena different incidents in a bull fight.' *Catalogue of the Spanish Productions Sent to the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations* (London: printed by Schulze and co., 1851), 50–55.

internal disruption.⁴ However, this was not the national image that Isabelline Spain wanted to visually promote abroad. From a reading of exhibition catalogues, the Spanish fine arts section was dominated by three thematic clusters that were functional to Spain's narrative.

The first cluster, the Spanish history, spoke of the past, retreating to a golden monarchical and imperial past and finding confirmation of the solidity of Isabella II's reign.⁵ These canvases had been made either in Spain, in Paris or in Rome.

The second cluster, a commercial Spanish-ness (consisting of portraiture, landscape, and *costumbrismo*), consisted of portraiture and of a touristic image of Spain, made of Spanish landscapes and people which foreigners first and then Spaniards themselves helped constructing and canonising precisely through texts and pictures during the nineteenth century. What it presented were depictions of Spain that were a remunerative avenue for both Spanish and foreign artists since it was a genre that was highly coveted by British and French collectors. For example, the Spanish landscapist Jenaro Pérez Villaamil began taking his works to England in the early 1840s.⁶ In building this romantic image of Spain, it was important the decision taken by Isabelline Spain's committee in 1855, namely that of including provincial committees when selecting the pieces to be sent to Paris as Peist has pointed out.⁷ After all, as Vázquez has noted in his study of the Spanish nineteenth-century art market, the provincial system was a key element of the Isabelline administration for exalting the national identity.⁸ However, the pieces were

⁴ Between the two Parisian exhibitions the government changed three times: the bienio progresista (1854-56), the gobierno largo (1858-63), and the final crisis of her government (1863-68).

⁵ On the historicised image of Spain between 1855 and 1867, see Sergio Fuentes Milà, 'La construcción identitaria española en el Segundo Imperio y las exposiciones universales de 1855 y 1867', *Acta/Artis. Estudis d'Art Modern*, no. 4-5 (2017 2016): 77-87. On the current curatorial problematisation of the term 'Golden age', see the activity of Amsterdam-based curator Tom van der Molen at the Amsterdam Museum.

⁶ Hopkins, *Romantic Spain*.

⁷ Núria Peist, 'Las exposiciones universales y la definición del objeto artístico español', in *Nuevas contribuciones en torno al mundo del coleccionismo de arte hispánico en los siglos XIX y XX*, ed. Inmaculada Socias Batet and Dimitra Gkozkou (Gijón: Trea, 2013), 339.

⁸ Vázquez, *Inventing the Art Collection*, 99.

thus not meant to exalt Spain's provincial diversity.⁹ This element would appear later in the century, as Storm has reconstructed.¹⁰ According to Álvarez Junco instead, such provincial depictions on international display at world exhibitions during Isabelline Spain fed the supposed backwardness that Anglophone and French empires perceived as being inherent to the Spanish people.¹¹

As for the third cluster, the cosmopolitan cross-genre pieces made in Paris and Rome, in 1867 Caveda y Nada claimed that “everywhere art is proclaiming the same principles, showing the same character and corresponds to the same civilisation” and that it has “a cosmopolitan and eclectic aesthetic [that] has the same proprieties, especially among Latin races”.¹² This remark was aimed at Spain's previous participations. Chapter 6 focuses on the third cluster by looking into the Roman works that consistently represented 30% of works in the exhibitions (in percentage terms, the number of works made in Rome almost matches that of Spanish artists who had studied in Rome). Following the logic adopted in previous chapters, chapter 6 considers academic canvases with a religious content, historical canvases made in Rome and the People of Rome. Canvases of former Rome-goers not made in Rome were displayed in the events under consideration, but they will not be discussed, among them for example there was Galofre, in Paris in 1855 with a portrait and an episode of the conquest of Granada.¹³

⁹ Carlos Reyero Hermosilla, “‘No hay todo sin partes’: El reconocimiento visual de la provincia en el siglo XIX”, in *La provincia: realidad histórica e imaginario cultural*, ed. Jesús María Barrajón Muñoz and José Antonio Castellanos (Madrid: Silex, 2016), 253–92.

¹⁰ On painting Spanish regions, see Eric Storm, ‘Regionalism in History, 1890-1945: The Cultural Approach’, *European History Quarterly* 33, no. 2 (2003): 251–65; Eric Storm, ‘Painting Regional Identities: Nationalism in the Arts, France, Germany and Spain, 1890-1914’, *European History Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (2009): 557–82.

¹¹ José Álvarez Junco, *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 468.

¹² Caveda, *Memorias*, 156.

¹³ Manuel Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX* (Madrid: Imprenta a cargo de Ramon Moreno, 1869), 263.

***Romistas* in the international exhibitions during the Isabelline age**



Chart 3

This chapter is organised into four sections. The first three look at the Roman inflection of Spanish sacred art at the Parisian exhibition (1855), the romantic historicism made in Rome at the Great Exhibition in London (1862), and the Roman genre and the Spanish sculptures made in Rome at the Parisian exhibition (1867). The fourth section reflects upon the symbolic message advocated by the display of avowedly cosmopolitan works of art. In doing so, the chapter proposes a reconsideration of the failure associated with their participation. It attempts to go beyond the fact that the pieces were penalised by logistical problems, leading to criticism in the press at home, in particular what happened to the 1862 exhibition. Emblematic of this was Ponzano's *Ulysses recognised by Euricles* in London.¹⁴ The sculptor moulded it in Rome back in the 1830s, where it became popular with the newspapers.¹⁵ The plaster was then brought to Spain, where it arrived in a terrible state. Restored by José Pagniucci, it featured at the 1838 academic exhibition and then left the San Fernando Academy for its fateful dispatch to London. Having made it to London, it was discovered that the sculpture had broken into pieces during the move, and it was subsequently thrown into the Thames.

Taking into consideration the reception of the Roman oeuvre in Spain, this chapter argues instead for the Roman works at those international events to

¹⁴ Wilfredo Rincón García, 'Ponciano Ponzano. Un escultor aragonés en la corte (1813-1877)', in *El siglo XIX el arte en la corte española y en las nuevas colecciones peninsulares*, ed. María Carmen Lacarra Ducay (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico; Excma. Diputación de Zaragoza, 2020), 218-9.

¹⁵ Brook, 'Storia di una presenza', 28.

be functional to the exaltation of Rome as *magistra artium*. The universal participation spoke of the importance of Rome in Spanish art practices in the age of the growing modern art market. In doing so, this chapter proposes reconsidering certain French claims, which proposed that the arts created in Spain and Italy after the Napoleonic fall had nothing to communicate to the world. For example, in 1855 Théophile Gautier had famously claimed that Italy laid down its sceptre, and Paris picked it up and raised it.¹⁶ Similarly, Du Camp bluntly commented that Italy and Spain no longer had anything new to communicate to artistic nations.¹⁷

6.1 1855: The cosmopolitan sacred and the Spanish baroque betrayed

In 1855 Spain was among the twenty-eight countries taking part in the Exposition Universelle in the Paris of the Second Empire. Born in response to the 1851 Great Exhibition in London, the first Exposition Universelle in France is credited with having introduced the fine arts section, an implicit statement on Paris' pretensions to be "the pre-eminent artistic centre".¹⁸ Nations participated with oils, watercolours, drawings, prints, sculpture, engravings of metals and precious stones, and architecture, creating a dialogue between the event promoters and the wider audience.¹⁹ However, the number of visitors to the Palais des Beaux-Arts, now lost, was lower than the attendance to the machine hall, full of the marvels of new technology (3,626,934 people).²⁰

As at the British show in 1851, the fine arts section was divided into two halves, one devoted to the host country, and the remaining space was divided among the other participating countries.²¹ The Parisian exhibition was the first occasion for the French school to be "experienced as a whole" across its

¹⁶Annegret Höhler, 'Le "storie dell'arte" e la pittura italiana dell'Ottocento: mutamenti e dibattiti', in *Pittura italiana nell'Ottocento*, ed. Martina Hansmann and Max Seidel (Venezia: Marsilio, 2005), 89–97.

¹⁷Fuentes Milà, 'La construcción identitaria española', 81.

¹⁸Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas. The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1855 - 1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 13–14.

¹⁹Greenhalgh, 198–99.

²⁰Greenhalgh, 198.

²¹Greenhalgh, 199.

different artistic movements.²² Napoleon III’s French government wanted it to be a display of the French school’s eclecticism and towering individual talents.²³ They were the schools of David, of Ingres and of Delacroix.²⁴ In this way, visitors could appreciate and praise “the individual and contradictory qualities within the [French] schools”. Ingres, Delacroix and Courbert were represented with forty, thirty-five and eleven works, respectively.²⁵

The Spanish fine arts section at the 1855 Exposition Universelle

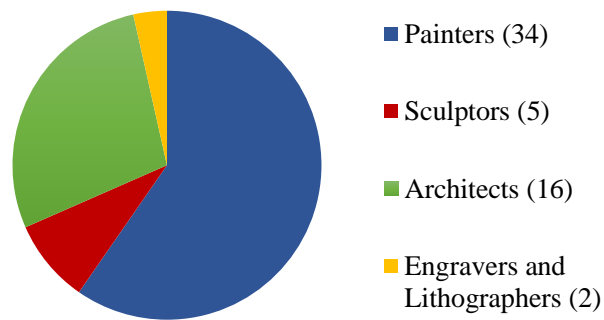


Chart 4

Painters and sculptors at the 1855 Exposition Universelle

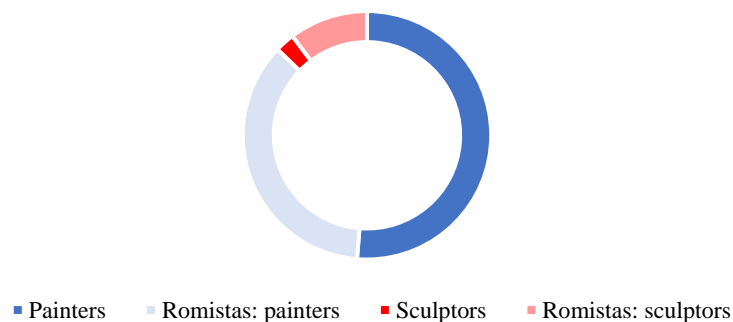


Chart 5

²² Patricia Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 66.

²³ Mainardi, 67.

²⁴ On this point, see Mainardi’s words at Mainardi, 69.

²⁵ Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 201.

At the exhibition, the overall number of Spanish artworks (122), including lithographs, engravings, and architectural projects, was higher than those at subsequent exhibitions (57 in 1862, and 90 in 1867).²⁶ The artworks were distributed adjacent to the stands of France, Belgium, and Prussia. The grand format works (oil paintings and sculptures) were located on the ground floor, while the first floor held works on paper (watercolours, drawings, lithographs, etchings, topographies, and architectural plans).²⁷ If we accept Mainardi's take on eclecticism (namely the diversity of schools within the French national school), then the Spanish stand was also a display of eclecticism.

The section included 57 artists in total, made up of thirty-four painters, five sculptors, sixteen architects, and two between lithographers and engravers, as shown in chart 4.²⁸ Chart 5 shows that the majority of painters and sculptors had studied in Rome. Fourteen former *Romistas* (painters and sculptors) were displayed at the exhibition, mostly from the first group of *pensionados* sent from Barcelona, and many were represented by a piece from their juvenile production, through which Spain proposed a cosmopolitan narrative of its art and creators.

Most of the canvases discussed in chapter 2 ended up on display in 1855, which provides us with a new angle from which to view the reception of Roman sacred art in Spain, and thus internationally. From the first cohort, alongside Madrazo's *The Three Marys to the Sepulchre*, Spain brought Espalter's *Saint Anne Teaching to the Virgin* (which had been taken to the fine arts exhibitions in Madrid in 1842), and *The Virgin, Baby Jesus and Saint John*. Clavé's academic paintings *The Dream of Elijah*, and *The Good Samaritan*, seen in chapter 1, were also sent.²⁹

The French critic Lavergne praised Espalter's *Saint Anne Teaching to the Virgin* for "its naïve and sincere rendering" and recognised in the colouring

²⁶ *Catalogue des produits naturels, industriels, et artistiques, exposés dans la section Espagnole de l'exposition universelle de 1855* (Paris: Imp. de A. Pinard, 1855), 64–67.

²⁷ Ana Belén Lasheras Peña, 'España en París. La imagen nacional en las Exposiciones Universales, 1855-1900' (Doctoral thesis, Santander, Universidad de Cantabria, 2010), 491.

²⁸ For a list of Spanish artists, see *Exposition universelle de 1855. Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, gravure, lithographie et architecture des artistes vivants étrangers et français exposés au Palais des Beux-Arts. Avenue Montaigne, le 15 Mai 1855* (Paris: Vnchon, imprimeur des Musées Impériaux, 1855).

²⁹ Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 141.

and style Espalter's Italian education.³⁰ The Italian training, the critic reasoned, was visible every time a painter wanted to pass beyond local influences and elevate art from the label of "national".³¹ By contrast, he said nothing of Clavé's religious pieces, and instead complained about the painter's historical: "Clavé represented by a [small format] episode in the life of Isabella the Catholic. Figures are mediocre; the archaeological exactitude which dictated the choice of costumes and of other accessories, and the pleasant colours represent the greatest merit of this work".³²

For the second cohort, the artists had recently returned from Rome when canvases were shipped to Paris. The group was represented by Montañés and Luis de Madrazo. Gautier dismissed *The Burial* by Luis de Madrazo as "a recurring painting this year", but admitted that "the artist compensated for the lack of originality in the subject with good technique".³³ After all, the Roman catacombs were placed in the international spotlight that year, given the large number of canvases inspired by the Roman catacombs painted by the French pensionaries.³⁴ This was the prelude to the 1867 exhibition when, as remembered above, the Papal State created the pavilion as a facsimile of the catacombs. Lavergne had more celebratory words for Luis, claiming that he was the heir of his father and as an excellent artist as his brother was.³⁵

Montañés took part with *The Appearance of Samuel's Ghost to Saul*.³⁶ Unfortunately, the current damaged state of the canvas does not allow us to make further claims, other than that the painting sat within the rubric of academic subjects that were common at the Academy of Saint Luke.³⁷ Montañés represented the moment in which Samuel revealed to Saul that the next day the Philistines would beat Israel and that he, along with his children,

³⁰ Claudius Lavergne, *Exposition universelle de 1855. Beaux-Arts. Compte-rendu extrait du journal l'Univers* (Paris: Imprimerie bailly divry et Co, 1855), 54.

³¹ Lavergne, 53.

³² Lavergne, 53.

³³ Théophile Gautier, *Les beaux arts en Europe. 1855* (Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1855), 233.

³⁴ Capitelli, 'Redescendons aux catacombes', 51.

³⁵ Lavergne, *Exposition universelle de 1855. Beaux-Arts. Compte-rendu extrait du journal l'Univers*, 55.

³⁶ Manuel Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX* (Madrid: Imprenta a cargo de Ramon Moreno, 1869), 61.

³⁷ Melchior Missirini, *Memorie per servire alla storia della Romana Accademia di San Luca fino alla morte di Antonio Canova* (Roma: Stamperia de Romanis, 1823), 303.

would die in battle. The painter seemingly treated this biblical episode by organising the figures into two groups. On the left, Samuel's intimidating ghost turns to king Saul on the right, who has asked the witch of Endor to summon the ghost. At the time it was deemed as "of an inestimable quality".³⁸

A British traveller in the *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* expressed not only their sense of dismay at the small number of paintings included in the Spanish stand (perhaps they compared the Spanish stand with the British one, which had a total of 1511 works according to the catalogue),³⁹ but also their disappointment at seeing only one truly worthy work, which was by Federico de Madrazo:

Spain gives us more pleasure, although her contributions are insignificant in point of number. Her most prolific artist is Federico Madrazo. He exhibits fourteen portraits and one religious picture, well worth the fourteen. Its name is 'The Holy Women at the Sepulchre,' and its great beauty is the 'auréole' or glory which is a soft supernatural light of its own kind, and could not, like most of those represented, have proceeded from earthly illumination. It is so to speak a holy phosphorescence.⁴⁰

In 1855 the display of Spanish cultural and natural heritage was an important ally for both the image that Spain wanted to present to the world and the image that Spain knew the world expected from the country. Fuentes y Milá has described this exhibition as reaffirmation of the Spanish stereotype.⁴¹ It was this stereotyped image of the country, the "unreal Spain" as Viera has called it, anchored in its exoticism and the Black legend, and the Spain of the seventeenth-century artists, that France used as the yardstick for evaluating the Spanish stand at International Exhibitions.⁴² As a result of this,

³⁸ Etienne J. Delécluze, *Les Beaux-Arts dans les deux mondes en 1855* (Paris: Charpentier Libraire-Editeur, 1856), 59.

³⁹ *Paris Universal Exhibition, 1855. Catalogue of the Works Exhibited in the British Section of the Exhibition, in French and English; Together with Exhibitors' Prospectuses, Prices Current, &c.*, 3 p. L., 101, [383] p. incl. illus., plates (1 fold.) (London: Chapman and Hall, 1855), 74–94.

⁴⁰ 'Universal Exhibition of Paris', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* LXXVIII, no. CCCCLXXXI (1855): 611.

⁴¹ Fuentes Milá, 'La construcción identitaria española', 79.

⁴² On exotic Spain and national stereotypes, see Luis Sazatornil Ruiz and Ana Belén Lasheras Peña, 'París y la españolada Casticismo y estereotipos nacionales en las exposiciones universales (1855-1900)', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 2, no. 35 (2005): 265–90;

Frenchmen looked at the cosmopolitan sacred with less favourable eyes. In studying Gautier's judgement on Spanish art, Mejorada has identified the ingredients of Spanish art as being catholic, romantic, and naturalist.⁴³ According to the scholar, for French critics, the Spanish sacred had always mixed Christian idealism and naturalism. The latter, the scholar believes, was associated by Gautier with suffering and horror, and indicates as an example Jusepe de Ribera's *The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* (1644).⁴⁴

The fascination with Spain's supposedly distinctive character explains the indifference or criticism of works painted in a more international style, especially those produced in Rome. They did not accept this cosmopolitan way of viewing nineteenth-century Spanish art because it contrasted with the seventeenth-century Spanish school, which had started to appear in French and British public and private collections such as the already mentioned Galerie Espagnole of Louise Philippe.⁴⁵ As a result of this, Gautier notoriously proclaimed that Spanish contemporary artists were losing out against the great names of the seventeenth-century school.⁴⁶ He was not alone; Henri Moulin, in his *Impressions de voyage d'un étranger à Paris*, wrote that "the Spanish school does not exist anymore. It is eclectic and cosmopolitan".⁴⁷ Ernest Gebaüer expressed a similar opinion when stating "Spain, home country to Murillo, Velázquez, Ribera, Zurbarán, no longer has artists."⁴⁸ Cosmopolitanism was considered a betrayal of the authentic Spanish, a Spanish-ness that extended beyond the issues of folklore and tradition to touch history and the making of art.

Manuel Viera, *El imaginario español en las Exposiciones Universales del siglo XIX: exotismo y modernidad* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2020), 341.

⁴³ Santiago Mateos Mejorada, 'La Pintura Española En La Obra de Théophile Gautier', *Revista de Filología Francesa*, no. 8 (1995): 106.

⁴⁴ Mejorada, 109.

⁴⁵ On this topic, see Glendinning and Hillary Macartney, eds., *Spanish Art in Britain and Ireland, 1750-1920: Studies in Reception in Memory of Enriqueta Harris Frankfort* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2010); Ilse Hempel Lipschutz, *Spanish Painting and the French Romantics*, Harvard Studies in Romance Languages (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).

⁴⁶ Gautier, *Les beaux arts en Europe*. 1855, 8.

⁴⁷ Henri Moulin, *Impressions de voyage d'un étranger à Paris: visite à l'Exposition universelle de 1855* (Mortain: Typographie d'Auguste Lebel, 1856), 51.

⁴⁸ Ernest Gebaüer, *Impressions de voyage d'un étranger à Paris: visite à l'Exposition universelle de 1855* (Paris: Librairie Napoléonienne des arts et de l'industrie, 1855), 262.

6.2 1862: A hard-to-find romantic historicism on display

Sponsored by the Royal Society of Arts, Manufacturing and Trade, the second, and last, great London Industrial Exhibition opened in May 1862. The building in South Kensington was an impressive ephemeral structure made of glass, iron, brick, stone, and timber, which hosted thirty-six countries. The fine arts section showed “the progresses and present condition of Modern Art, the period to be represented being left to the choice of any country, each of them being the best judge of what may best fit their own peculiar condition.”⁴⁹ The fine arts section occupied three sides of the quadrangle while the ground floor hosted the agricultural and manufactural stands.⁵⁰ Unfortunately, the exhibition – which was meant to be on a grand scale – had yet to be entirely finished before opening, which also coincided with the tragic news of Prince Albert’s death.

In the agricultural and manufacturing section, there were 300 Spanish exhibitors showing approximately 2000 objects, according to sources.⁵¹ The country participated with a combination of craftsmanship and agricultural products (i.e., cotton and silk goods, wax flowers, wine, and cheese) displayed in a Spanish area adjacent to that of Portugal, as described in the guidebook *The Popular Guide to the International Exhibition of 1862*.⁵² Furthermore, in the gallery of the Spanish Industrial Court, the catalogue indicated that twelve oil paintings were included (which comprised copies, still lifes, fruits or flower compositions, and genre scenes).⁵³

⁴⁹ ‘Fine Arts’, in *The International Exhibition of 1862: The Illustrated Catalogue of the Industrial Department* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 112.

⁵⁰ Edward McDermott, *The Popular Guide to the International Exhibition of 1862* (London: W. H. Smith and Son, 186), 205.

⁵¹ Benjamin Pierce Johnson, *Report on International Exhibition of Industry and Art, London, 1862* (Albany: C. Van Benthuysen, 1863), 113.

⁵² McDermott, *The Popular Guide to the International Exhibition of 1862*, 191–92.

⁵³ *International Exhibition 1862. Official Catalogue of the Fine Art Department* (London: Truscott, Son & Simmons, 1862), 241–44.

Painters and sculptors at the 1862 exhibition

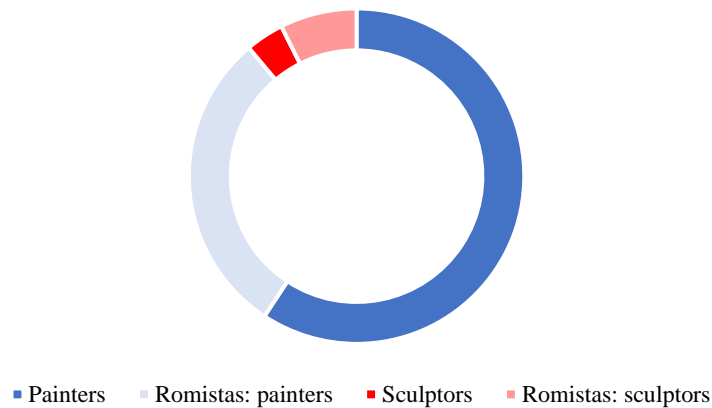


Chart 6

For the Spanish fine arts section, the organisation was left in the care of Antonio Gisbert, who went to London both in the official capacity of organiser, as nominated by the Spanish government, and as one of the artists exhibited therein. According to both the English and the Spanish official catalogue, the total Spanish participation counted thirty-two original paintings, three sculptures, and eleven works on paper, which were all shown together at the Principal Gallery and North-West Gallery.⁵⁴ Unofficial sources such as the critic McDermott spoke of thirty artworks distributed between oils, sculptures, and engravings by twenty-three artists of the “Spanish school”.⁵⁵

Despite the limited number of Spanish artworks that Spain took to London in comparison to Paris, the selection showcased the “fecundity in genres of the Spanish school of painting”, as the critics De Castro y Serrano admiringly noted.⁵⁶ The variety of genres on display entailed historical canvases, religious subjects, genre scenes, still lifes, and landscapes, which formed the remaining part. Fuentes Milá spoke of 1867 as the moment of affirmation of

⁵⁴ The works on paper were all reproductions after Velázquez (2), Murillo (5), Guercino (1) plus part of the choir in the Toledo Cathedral, Carderera’s *Iconografía Española* and Luis Marquier’s *Specimens of photographs on stone*. *International Exhibition 1862. Official Catalogue of the Fine Art Department* (London: Truscott, Son & Simmons, 1862), 243–4.

⁵⁵ McDermott, 205, 185.

⁵⁶ José de Castro y Serrano, *España en Londres. Correspondencias sobre la exposición universal de 1862*. (Madrid: Imprenta de T. Fortanet, 1863), 87.

Spanish history painting.⁵⁷ After all, three of the great Spanish painters of the historical genre – Cano de la Peña, Casado del Alisal, and Gisbert – came together in this exhibition.

As it will be seen later in the chapter, Reyero has studied the display of sculptures by Spaniards while in Rome for their training in the Parisian Universal Exhibitions in 1855 and 1867. The scholar has justified such presence with the prestige associated with a Roman education in the central decades of the nineteenth century, but he also admitted that the novelty of such works implied that they did not have a specific destination and were thus easier to move.⁵⁸ Such considerations should be extended to paintings and applied to the London case too. But in thinking about their presence, we must also acknowledge that the curatorial choice for this event fell on the younger generation, many of whom were *pensionados* and friends with Gisbert.

Unfortunately, disorganisation, delays in the arrival of artworks, and breakages, caused many problems, as noted above regarding Ponzano's piece. As a result, Spain ended up not having all its artworks displayed in its own section, and they were scattered across various national spaces.⁵⁹ However, they did not feature in the lists of artists presented in the stands hosting them, leading visitors to believe that Spain had not participated at all within fine arts.⁶⁰ The exhibition catalogue map indicated that the Spanish artworks could be found in the Spanish corner, located near Portugal and the French gallery. Switzerland, Rome, and Italy also shared their space with Spain.⁶¹ Guidebooks have been an invaluable source for identifying where the pieces were. In particular, De Castro y Serrano managed to find most of the paintings in the nearby stands of Russia and Rome, but there remained some others "somewhere else that we have not found."⁶² According to my readings, the

⁵⁷ Fuentes Milà, 'La construcción identitaria española', 84.

⁵⁸ Reyero Hermosilla, *La escultura del eclecticismo*, 276.

⁵⁹ Alcolea Albero, *Pintores españoles en Londres (1775-1950)*, 53.

⁶⁰ Manuel Ovilo y Otero, *Guía del viajero español en Londres. 1862* (Madrid: Imprenta de Luis Beltrán, 1862), 59–60.

Mariano Carderera, *La pedagogía en la exposición universal de Londres de 1862* (Madrid: Imprenta de D. Victoriano Hernando, 1863), 125.

⁶¹ *International Exhibition 1862. Official Catalogue of the Fine Art Department* (London: Truscott, Son & Simmons, 1862), 241–44.

⁶² de Castro y Serrano, *España en Londres. Correspondencias sobre la exposición universal de 1862.*, 94.

Spanish canvases were scattered across three stands: the Spanish stand, the Papal States' stand, and the Swiss-Italo-Roman-Spanish corner.

6.2.1 The Spanish stand

Contrary to Paris, religious canvases were less present in London but the few artworks on display at the Spanish pavilion may have wanted to fill the imaginary that associated Spain with Catholicism. In fact, De Castro y Serrano explicitly stated that *The Burial of Saint Cecilia* was one part of the religious paintings in the Spanish stand.⁶³ Considering that the exhibition catalogue mentioned other religious subjects, and that I did not find references to these in other stands, it seems plausible to presume that *The Appearance of Samuel's Ghost to Saul*, *The Forty Martyrs* and *Saint Paul Surprised by Nero in the Act of Converting Sabina Poppea* by Lozano hung in the Spanish section.

The discourse on the assimilation of the cosmopolitan sacred into Spanish academic practices are corroborated by their reappearance at international shows. After 1855, the presence of Montañés' *The Appearance of Samuel's Ghost to Saul* and *The Burial* by Madrazo in 1862 in London, and then in 1865 in Dublin, would suggest that only the cosmopolitan sacred was believed to be visually innovative in Spain.⁶⁴ In Dublin in 1865, the grouping of the scenes from the catacombs was enriched with Alejo Vera's *Burial of Saint Lawrence*, which was the first (but not the last) time this canvas would feature at an international show.⁶⁵

6.2.2 The Papal States' stand

This exhibition enriches our understanding of the place of Rome in Spain's visual storytelling since part of these historical canvases had been done by *pensionados* during the 1850s. De Castro y Serrano found the paintings that

⁶³ José de Castro y Serrano, *España en Londres. Correspondencias sobre la exposición universal de 1862*. (Madrid: Imprenta de T. Fortanet, 1863), 87, 94-5.

⁶⁴ Alcolea Albero, *Pintores españoles en Londres (1775-1950)*, 55.

⁶⁵ *Dublin International Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures, 1865, under the Special Patronage of Her Majesty the Queen*, 181.

the Papal States' stand hosted to help with Spain's problems of space, which were: (1) *The Comuneros of Castile* by Gisbert, also discussed in chapter 3, (2) *The Last Moments of King Fernando IV* by José Casado del Alisal, and (3) *Socrates Reproving Alcibiades in the House of the Courtesan Teodata* by Germán Hernández Amores, plus (4) the genre scene *Forever Goodbye* by Victor Manzano.

In 1862 the Papal States had reclaimed the city's intrinsic cosmopolitanism by choosing to participate with artworks by foreign artists who were active in Rome, which included works by two Spaniards: Carlos de Paris with *Moses Crossing the Red Sea* and Arbós, by then a famous watercolourist, with some watercolours.⁶⁶ Both artists became part of the group dubbed 'romanizzati' (Romanised) for having settled in Rome and became part of its institutional fabric.⁶⁷ De Paris had made Rome his elective homeland, while Arbós divided his time between Madrid, Barcelona (which he personally preferred to Madrid), and Rome. Documents regarding how Spanish artworks ended up in the Papal States' stand have yet to be identified, but an involvement of these two artists cannot be excluded.

In my opinion, in addition to being an emergency solution, by displaying works in the Roman section, Spain made an even stronger statement than in 1855. It advertised the technical advantages of a Roman education, celebrated the Roman origin of the pieces, the curator's training, the Roman education of the artists displayed therein, and the place of Rome in the wider Spanish nineteenth-century school. They must have succeeded, because in reference to this location in the Papal states' submission, De Castro y Serrano wrote "[the visitors] believed that what they so highly admired was an artwork by a Roman painter, such as the Carvajales, *Socrates the Alcibiades*, and *Forever Farewell*."⁶⁸

⁶⁶ *International Exhibition 1862. Official Catalogue of the Fine Art Department* (London: Truscott, Son & Simmons, 1862), 267.

⁶⁷ Michela Gianfranceschi, *Carlos de Paris*, in Tiberia Vitaliano, Adriana Capriotti, and Paolo Castellani, eds., *La collezione della Pontificia Insigne Accademia di Belle Arti e Lettere dei Virtuosi al Pantheon. Dipinti e scultura* (Roma: Scripta Manent Edizioni, 2016), 184–87.

⁶⁸ Note to the reader: the titles are kept the way the author wrote them. José de Castro y Serrano, *España en Londres. Correspondencias sobre la exposición universal de 1862*. (Madrid: Imprenta de T. Fortanet, 1863), 94.

Painted in Rome in 1860, Casado's *The Last Moments of King Fernando IV* (Fig. 6.1) is a visual proof of all the references a Spanish artist in Rome might have been exposed to, and of what artists were expected to send to Madrid. Practically at the end of his traineeship, Casado del Alisal chose an episode meant to give proof of erudition. In 1830 Telesforo de Trueba y Cossío – a liberal exile native from Santander who, educated in France and Britain, contributed to the English literary scene with his novels and plays during the 1820s and 1830s⁶⁹ - had published *The Romance of History of Spain*, later translated into French and Spanish.⁷⁰ Among the stories told was the tragic legend of the Carvajales brothers, who died unjustly on the orders of Fernando IV. In 1837 the drama *Don Fernando el Emplazado* by Manuel Bretón de los Herreros, played at the Teatro Príncipe in Madrid.⁷¹ Finally, in 1860 the story of Ferdinand IV was made known through a dedicated publication, *Memorias del reinado de don Fernando IV de Castilla*.⁷² Not only could visitors know the story, they might also have recognised the Roman sculpture *Sleeping Ariadne*, made popular in the portraits of eighteenth-century grand tourists, and in the king's resemblances. Casado had various versions to rely upon, and seemingly picked the Florentine one; after all, Spaniards were expected to stop in Florence at some point in their Roman training (Fig. 6.2). He was also likely familiar with the Roman version and that by Velázquez (Fig. 6.3), part of the sculptural collection of the Royal Museum at the time.

⁶⁹ Daniel Muñoz Sempere, 'Aben Humeya and the Journey of Historical Myths: On Telesforo de Trueba's *The Romance of History: Spain (1830) and Its Spanish Translation (1840)*', in *Otherness and National Identity in 19th-Century Spanish Literature*, ed. Marieta Cantos Casanave and Daniel Muñoz Sempere (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 44–51.

⁷⁰ Aurelio Valladares Reguero, 'La muerte de los hermanos Carvajales y Fernando IV fortuna literaria de un tema de ambientación jiennense', *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses*, no. 157 (1995): 229–32.

⁷¹ Valladares Reguero, 233–41.

⁷² The canvas tells a story of vengeance with which he won the first-class extraordinary prize, and which was purchased by the state. Similarly, to what Gisbert did with *Don Carlos*, Casado created a composition of very few characters with a minimal spatial characterisation, emphasising his study of draperies, and the brilliant palette. The two brothers, Juan Alfonso, and Pedro de Carvajales, who belonged to the Orden de Calatrava, which Casado alluded to by painting the red cross on their white drapery, were sentenced to death by Ferdinand IV (identified by the towers painted on the wall and crown on the bedside table). Years after the death of the royal vassal Juan Alonso de Benavides (in 1309), the king held the two brothers responsible for that murder; upon their execution, they summoned Fernando to appear before God for his crime within thirty days. Ferdinand died in Jaén in 1312. Reyer Heramosilla, *La pintura de historia en España*, 188; Díez, *La pintura de historia del siglo XIX en España*, 35.

Moreover, as Reyero has noted, the canvas was intended to be a late example of a nazarene conception of history in a Christian reading key.⁷³ The artist went beyond the classical emphasis on composure in death in favour of the terrified reaction of the king upon seeing the Carvajales (Fig. 6.4). It is the gesture of Carvajales, which prophetically announces the king's pending death, that Reyero has identified as the purist dimension of the canvas, revealing how divine will affects history. To represent them as prophets of history, Casado del Alisal likely looked at the statues adorning the Immaculate Conception column by Luigi Poletti and Giuseppe Obici, erected in Piazza di Spagna on 8th December 1857 (the dogma of the Immaculate Conception had been adopted in 1854 with Pius IX's papal bull *Ineffabilis Deus*). Alternatively, the painter may have seen Domenico Fontana's funerary monument for Bagni, these were artists and artworks that Reyero has identified as models for Spanish sculptors between the 1840s and 1860s.⁷⁴

The second example, *Socrates Reproving Alcibiades in the House of the Courtesan Teodata*, was Hernández Amores' *envío de pensionado* in 1858 (Fig. 6.5). For its technical requirements, the canvas won a second-class medal at the 1858 National Exhibition and enjoyed a great reputation during the nineteenth century.⁷⁵ The work hung on the wall of the Ministry of Development, as recalled in an article in *El Museo Universal*.⁷⁶ The canvas metaphorically represented the importance of virtuous behaviours and the consequent reprimand in the case of misconduct. The painting was a synthesis of the painter's studies in Rome, embedded within a profound classical tradition rooted in archaeological study.⁷⁷

Once again visitors would have been able to identify classical references, that assessed the author's Roman traineeship. Classical references have been identified in the *Antinous* in Villa Albani and the *Socrates* at the Vatican Museums, but we can also appreciate references to contemporary art. John

⁷³ Reyero Hermosilla, 'Mirar Italia con ojos franceses', 273.

⁷⁴ Reyero Hermosilla, *La escultura del eclecticismo*, 27–29.

⁷⁵ Martín Paez Burruezo, *El clasicismo en la pintura española del siglo XIX: Germán Hernández Amores* (Murcia: Editora Regional de Murcia, 1995), 140–1.

⁷⁶ Nemesio Fernández Cuesta, 'Revista de la quincena', *El museo universal* 2, no. 8 (30 April 1858): 64.

⁷⁷ Paez Burruezo, 226.

Gibson's very famous *The Sleeping Shepherd Boy* was possibly one, since the plaster was visible at Gibson's Roman studio until 1866.⁷⁸ As for the setting, it was a syncretic synthesis of Roman, possibly Pompeian, and Greek houses, decorated with floral and decorative motifs.⁷⁹ But rather than Rome, Paez Burruezo has seen in such choices proof of the author's engagement with the Neo-Greek style that the painter was likely exposed to in Paris, where he studied (1850-1853).⁸⁰ Nevertheless, it was not in Paris that Hernández Amores referenced when he reclaimed the painting as a Roman composition through the signature "GERMAN/HERNANDEZ/ROMA. 1857".⁸¹

6.2.3 Swiss-Italo-Roman-Spanish corner

In 1855, the historical canvases created a narrative centred around the historical territorial unity of Spain through pictures of the Catholic monarchs. As we will see shortly, in 1867 the country proposed a nostalgic narrative about the Spanish Empire. For the 1862 International Exhibition, the selection of canvases suggests that Gisbert had another agenda. These were: *The Burial of Don Álvaro de Luna, Beheaded in Valladolid on 2nd June 1453* by Eduardo Cano, *The Death of Ferdinand IV* by Casado del Alisal, *The Death of Don Carlos* and *The Comuneros*, both by Gisbert, and *Queen Joanna Embracing the Coffin of Philip the Fair* by Gabriel Maureta.⁸² These pieces discussed the threats posed by unregulated political power and the risks of internal strife.

⁷⁸ John Gibson, *Sleeping shepherd boy*, 1818, plaster, 110,5x47,94 cm. London, Royal Academy of Arts

⁷⁹ Doc. 149, Javier Barón, *Germán Hernández Amores*, 370.

⁸⁰ Martín Paez Burruezo, *El clasicismo en la pintura española del siglo XIX: Germán Hernández Amores* (Murcia: Editora Regional de Murcia, 1995), 138; on the topic of Pompeii in Spanish paintings between the 18th and the 19th centuries, see Estefanía Alba Benito Lázaro and Rubén Montoya González, 'Pompeya imaginada: la pintura española de tema pompeyano de los siglos XVIII y XIX', in *Estudios arqueológicos del área Vesubiana II*, by Macarena Calderón Sánchez, Sergio España Chamorro, and Estefanía Alba Benito Lázaro (Oxford: British Archaeological Records, 2016), 125–34.

⁸¹ Doc. 149, Javier Barón, *Germán Hernández Amores*, in P. Cabrera, P. Rouillard, and A. Verbanck-Piérard, eds., *El vaso griego y sus destinos* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 2004), 370–1.

⁸² José Luis Díez, ed., *La pintura de historia del siglo XIX en España*, (Madrid: Consorcio para la Organización de Madrid Capital Europea de la Cultura, 1992), 52.

These political fables, drawn from Spanish history, often had fatal consequences, and led themselves to morbid conclusions.⁸³

According to McDermott, with the exception of *The Death of Ferdinand IV* and *The Comuneros*, the other three canvases had been grouped together in the Swiss-Italo-Roman-Spanish corner. The overall numbering of the canvases was: (1) Eduardo Cano de la Peña's *The Execution of Don Alvaro de Luna* (since the figure might have not been familiar to a non-Spanish audience, the catalogue explained that Don Álvaro was 'the favourite of king Juan II of Castille'); (2) Gabriel Maureta y Aracil's *The Queen Johanna Embracing the Coffin which Contains the Body of her Husband*; (3) Victor Manzano's *The Catholic Monarchs Administering Justice*; (4) Juan José Martínez Espinosa's *A Group of Galicians at the Virgin del Puerto*, an award winner at the 1856 National Exhibition and the sole work in this small group which was not a historical subject; and (5) *The Death of Don Carlos* by Gisbert, the only Roman canvas on display in the corner, which was already discussed in chapter 3.⁸⁴

6.3 1867: The Empire and the People of Rome

The 1867 Parisian exhibition on the Champs de Mars was the second, and last, Universal Exhibition organised in Second-Empire France. Thirty-two countries took part and eleven million visitors attended Champ de Mars, where nations innovatively built their own pavilions, inaugurating a new practice for displays.

For its second appearance in Paris, Isabelline Spain presented a nostalgic narrative with which it proclaimed its right to remain an empire by focusing

⁸³ Viera, *El imaginario español en las Exposiciones Universales del siglo XIX: exotismo y modernidad*, 302.

⁸⁴ Eduardo Cano de la Peña, *The execution of Don Alvaro de Luna*, 1858, oil on canvas. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado; Gabriel Maureta y Aracil, *The Queen Johanna embracing the coffin which contains the body of her husband*, c. 1858, oil on canvas. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, Victor Manzano, *Ferdinand and Isabella administering Justice*, 1860 oil on canvas., Madrid, Palacio Real; Juan José Martínez Espinosa, *A group of Galicians at the Virgin del Puerto*, 1856, oil on canvas. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado. Note to the reader: I have kept the English titles as they appeared in the primary source I analysed. McDermott, *The Popular Guide to the International Exhibition of 1862*, 205–6.

international attention on a time when the county was a world power.⁸⁵ In the quartier allemande of Champ de Mars, Spain built its own pavilion in neo-plateresque style, designed by the former *pensionado* in architecture, Jerónimo de la Gándara, complete with a Valencian horchatería (Fig. 6.6). For his ephemeral creation, the architect relied upon a vernacular architectural style, inspired by the Spanish renaissance palace of Monterrey in Salamanca, one of the most prominent university cities of the Spanish Empire.⁸⁶

The fine arts commission was once again formed by Antonio Gisbert, along with José Casado del Alisal, “professor of painting”, José Pagniucci, “professor of sculpture”, and Vicente Palmaroli, all of whom were appointed by the Ministry of Development and all former Rome goers.⁸⁷ Fifteen of the painters were Rome goers, among whom seven participated with works conceived in Rome.⁸⁸ This Spanish Royal commission selected sixty three oils by forty four artists and nine sculptural works (divided between statues and medals) by eight sculptors.⁸⁹ Additionally, there were six drawings and architectonic models and one etching. The sculpture section was numerically superior than in the prior two exhibitions, and almost entirely taken up by works done in Rome.

⁸⁵ On the globalised Spanish empire in the early modern age, see Yun Casalilla, *Los imperios ibéricos y la globalización de Europa (siglos XV a XVII)*.

⁸⁶ Fuentes Milà, ‘La construcción identitaria española’, 82.

⁸⁷ Lasheras Peña, ‘España en París’, 496.

⁸⁸ References to these artworks are contained in the catalogue *Exposition universelle de 1867 a Paris. Catalogue Général publié par la commission imperiale première partie contenant les oeuvres d’art*, 1: 136–39.

⁸⁹ References to these artworks are also contained in the catalogue *Exposición Universal de 1867: catálogo general de la sección española* (Paris: Imprenta general de Ch. Lahure, 1867), 117–22.

Painters and sculptors at the 1867 exhibition

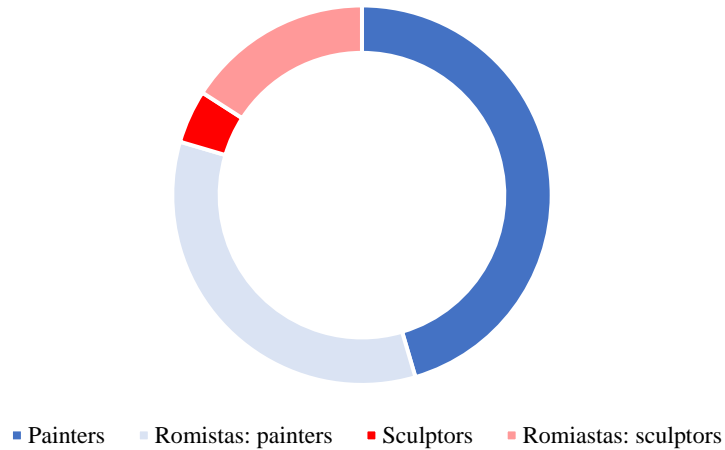


Chart 7

The Spanish pavilion in the 1867 French catalogue

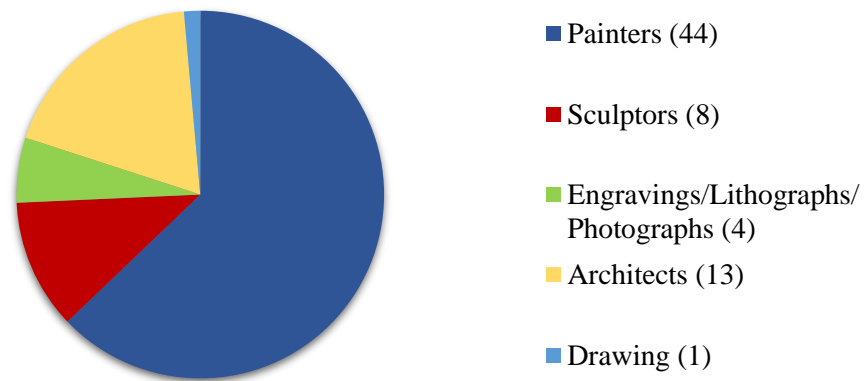


Chart 8

6.3.1 The decline of Roman grand compositions

In Paris, Spain brought only three historical scenes painted in Rome, but they nonetheless made an impression on viewers. They consisted of a sacred history, a literary subject, and a historical canvas inspired by Spanish history. These were, respectively, Alejo Vera’s *The Marriage Between Saint Cecilia and Saint Valeriano* (Fig. 6.7), Rosales’ *Isabella the Catholic Dictating her Will*, seen in chapter 3, and Vallés’ *The Corpse of Beatrice Cenci Exposed on the Sant’Angelo Bridge*, seen in chapter 5. Curiously, that year another

painting inspired by Italian culture featured at the pavilion, which was indeed a novelty given that, excluding Dante, Italy was seldom treated in the Spanish repertoire: *Torquato Tasso Retired in the Convent of Saint Onofrio on the Janiculum* by Gabriel Maureta (1864). Rosales, Vallés or Alejo Vera had all attended other International Exhibitions. *Isabella the Catholic Dictating her Will*, and *The Corpse of Beatrice Cenci Exposed on the Sant'Angelo Bridge* were already known to an anglophone audience, having previously featured in Dublin, where Alejo Vera also participated with the *Burial of Saint Lawrence*.⁹⁰ The artworks did not leave a great impression on critics, however, as the lack of mentions suggests.

In 1867 Paris ended a ten-year practice of Isabelline Spain participating in International Exhibitions with scenes from the catacombs. Such an absence was even more curious as in that year the Papal State pavilion had proclaimed Rome the city of martyrs, with the ephemeral pavilion reproducing the catacombs of Saint Callixtus in facsimile. As mentioned in chapter 2, the popular cult of Saint Cecilia had had deep roots in Rome and in Spanish practices since Luis de Madrazo. But considering what was said in that chapter, we can conclude that *The Marriage Between Saint Cecilia and Saint Valeriano* broke with the dominant iconography of Roman martyrs. The painter opted to represent the reason for the martyrdom, rather than its consequences. Set in a Pompeian interior – something already seen in the Great Exhibition in London with Hernández Amores and Lozano – Alejo Vera painted the marriage between Cecilia, already a devoted Christian, and Valeriano, a pagan who, by marrying her, converted to Christianity. Cecilia's guardian angel symbolised their union. For their devotion, Valeriano and his brother were sentenced to death; afterwards, Cecilia buried their bodies on the Appian Road. In 1867 *Las Bellas Artes en España* celebrated Alejo Vera's *The Marriage* as a fortunate example of the artist's religiosity and ability to express sentiments, despite some lapses in the composition and draughtsmanship.⁹¹ José García wrote: “[Alejo Vera spent] four years of constant work in a capital such as Rome, such a pure artistic environment and

⁹⁰Alcolea Albero, *Pintores españoles en Londres (1775-1950)*, 54–55.

⁹¹José García, *Las Bellas Artes En España. 1866* (Madrid: Imprenta de D. Ernesto Ansart, 1867), 37–41.

where there is the concentration of elements necessary for the development of genius.”⁹²

While a dialogue with the martyrological side of Rome was lost, Spain gained an unexpected interlocutor in the new-born Italian kingdom’s pavilion. In Paris, Rosales’ *The Queen Isabella the Catholic Dictating her Will* won the cross of the Legion of Honour and 800 francs, while the Florentine elder painter Stefano Ussi won a gold medal for his *Expulsion of the Duke of Athens* displayed at the Italian pavilion.⁹³ The work by the Italian painter had already won first prize at the 1861 National Exhibition in Florence; several Spaniards may have seen it there, since they visited the exhibition, as we saw at the end of chapter 3. While praised by the international jury, Ussi’s work had not been positively welcomed by French critics, who interpreted it as an Italian betrayal of the classical tradition in a similar way to what happened to Spain’s cosmopolitan sacred in 1855.⁹⁴

The fact that Rosales received a prize at the same exhibition as Ussi was proudly remembered by Ossorio.⁹⁵ In turn, Rosales’ work did not make an impression on Francesco Dall’Ongaro who wrote that it was the painting by Gisbert (alongside that of Ussi) that captured his attention: *The Landing of Puritans in the Americas* (1863).

The work told of the arrival of Puritans with the Mayflower in 1620, for which he likely used Spencer as his reference. This work was successfully displayed in Madrid in 1864 and then in Paris in 1865. Dall’Ongaro echoed nineteenth-century critics who read Gisbert’s painting as a symbol of liberty, which contributed to the image of Gisbert being the painter of the Spanish liberals. Dall’Ongaro wrote: “It is the only painting that for the theme, and the treatment, seems to depart from the tradition of Catholic Spain.”⁹⁶ He considered it the highest and most complete subject in the entire exhibition for ‘expressing the faith of an emancipated humanity’ and for “bridging two hemispheres.” But with a biased image of what Spain was, he believed that a

⁹² Garcia, 37.

⁹³ Martín Rico y Ortega, *Recuerdos de mi vida* (Madrid: Imprenta Ibérica, 1906), 44.

⁹⁴ Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire*, 159–61.

⁹⁵ Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 178.

⁹⁶ Francesco Dall’Ongaro, *Scritti d’arte* (Milano-Napoli: Ulrico Hoepli, 1873), 275.

painting that interpreted Puritans' decision to abandon their country and move to the Americas as an act of civic and religious freedom did not sit well in Spain. Hence, he called Gisbert a "prophet of the current revolution who expressed [...] the enthusiasm of new martyrs, who embraced the safe asylum for their belief from the other side of the Atlantic."

However, according to Reyero such interpretations completely miss the context in which Gisbert received the commission for this painting. The Cuban landowner, Miguel Aldama, commissioned two paintings, respectively inspired by the English and Spanish empires. The former was that by Gisbert, the latter was done by Francisco Sans y Cabot, *Hernán Cortés Burning Down the Ships* (unlocated), a romanticised episode in the history of the Spanish empire which took place in 1519.⁹⁷ The canvases are an example of what Reyero has called the wealthy bourgeoisie's interests in Spanish history.⁹⁸ After having belonged to the marquis of Azpezteguía, who brought it to Cuba and to the marquis of Salamanca, who bought it for 120,000 *reales*, the painting arrived at the Spanish Senate in 1907. The story of the commission has persuaded Reyero that the overall commission should be interpreted as an apology for the history of empires, rather than a counter-narrative of liberty.⁹⁹ It seems that the pavilion tried to recreate such a dialogue by pairing Gisbert's canvas with Dióscoro Puebla's *Columbus' First Arrival in the New World*.¹⁰⁰

6.3.2 The People of Rome

All in all, there were almost no historical compositions made-in-Rome at the Universal Exhibition of 1867 Paris. Instead Spain decided to take a genre that had gained popularity at the Madrilenian National Exhibitions, that of the People of Rome. All the canvases on display have been mentioned in chapter 5: Agrasot's *Two Friends*, García Hispaletto Manuel's *The of the Orphan Girl*,

⁹⁷ Reyero Hermosilla, *La pintura de historia en España*, 31.

⁹⁸ Reyero Hermosilla, 31.

⁹⁹ Reyero Hermosilla, 'La pintura de historia', 260–64.

¹⁰⁰ Dióscoro Puebla, *Columbus' first arrival in the New World*, 1862, oil on canvas. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado. Fuentes Milà, 'La construcción identitaria española', 86.

and Palmaroli's *Pascuccia*. But there were also everyday life scenes from the Roman outskirts, such as Mercadé's *The Kitchen at the Pellegrini's Tavern at Cervara*.¹⁰¹ Other scenes were inspired by the city's religious culture, such as Luis Álvarez Catalá's *The Penitent Cardinal*, Vicente Palmaroli's *Sermon in the Sistine Chapel*, whilst Domingo Valdivieso, for his second participation in a Universal Exhibition (after having participated in Dublin with *The Descent from the Cross*), submitted his *First Communion*.¹⁰²

As another facet of Roman cosmopolitanism, the presence of such canvases enriches what Díez has defined as "Spanish painters' conquest of Realism in Rome". To paraphrase Peist's comments for the Spanish genre, the changing Roman element at the three exhibitions (1855, 1862 and 1867), shows the passage from "narrative and anecdote" to "expressivity and pictoriality", although we might even see this as a passage from graphic linearity to brushstrokes.¹⁰³

In their studies both Peist and Fuentes Milá have viewed the incorporation of Spanishness into International Exhibitions as part of the government's strategy to use these shows as moments when nations came together to help encourage the commercial success of its artists abroad. The French audience were seduced by some characteristics that foreigners, not only the French, attributed to Spain and which they considered responsible for the country being kept at the margin of European modernisation.¹⁰⁴ Such elements were mostly anchored in Spain's medieval heritage and multicultural past (Al-Andalus), Andalusian exoticism, and Spanish folklore (flamenco dancers, bull fighters etc). Peist has considered such genre scenes, alongside history and religious paintings, to be active part of the strategy adopted by nations to codify the national characteristics and present them internationally.¹⁰⁵ But such choice did not come without complaints. Fuentes Milá has noted the unhappy Spanish comments concerning the display of the Spanish picturesque from those who believed there was more to Spanish art.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ Ossorio y Bernard, 1: 49.

¹⁰² Alcolea Albero, *Pintores españoles en Londres (1775-1950)*, 55.

¹⁰³ Peist, 'Las exposiciones universales', 342.

¹⁰⁴ Fuentes Milá, 'La construcción identitaria española', 78.

¹⁰⁵ Peist, 'Las exposiciones universales', 337.

¹⁰⁶ Fuentes Milá, 'La construcción identitaria española', 80.

In conclusion, if we apply these considerations to the case of the People of Rome, it emerges that what has been originally done as a pictorial experiment – proof of the artists’ ability to diversify genres, and as pieces to sell in order to fund the artists’ path out of financial misery – was in 1867 displayed as a Roman product that succeeded on the national market and was growing on the international market.¹⁰⁷

6.3.3 Sculpting imperial narratives in Rome

Roma, magistra sculptorum

Nineteenth-century Rome continued to be a mandatory passage for sculptors who learnt their profession by studying classical and modern models. Early in the century the studios of Canova and Thorvaldsen first, and then of their pupils among whom Tenerani, created this aura of prestige around the sculptural production done in Rome and from there internationally exported, even across the Atlantic with commissions from privates and governments.¹⁰⁸ This situation was functional to the mythopoesis of Rome as the *magistra sculptorum*. Younger generations of sculptors from Northern Europe, the Iberian peninsula, the British isles and even the Americas were motivated to move to Rome and open their studio there. The Eternal City was fertile ground for dialogue between ancient and modern models, especially carved in marble, which resulted in a modern production of artworks that ranged from the mythological to the national, through the literary subject, proving that they had assimilated the Romantic sensibility of the Age of Nations.

¹⁰⁷ Antonio Gisbert, *The Landing of Puritans in the Americas*, 1863, oil on canvas, 294x395 cm. Madrid, Senate; José Casado del Alisal, *The two leaders*, 1866, oil on canvas, 256x382 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

¹⁰⁸ On this vast topic see Gerhard Bott, and Heinz Spielmann, eds. *Künstlerleben in Rom, Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770-1844); der dänische Bildhauer und seine deutschen Freunde* (Nürnberg and Schleswig: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 1992); Elena Di Majo, Bjarne Jørnaes, and Stefano Susinno, eds., *Bertel Thorvaldsen 1770 - 1844: scultore danese a Roma* (Roma: De Luca Editori d’arte, 1989); Grandesso, *Pietro Tenerani (1789-1869)*; Grandesso, ‘Il classicismo more romano alla scultura romantica come natura, sentimento religioso e impegno civile’; Grandesso, *Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770-1884)*; Francesco Leone, *Antonio Canova: la vita e l’opera* (Roma: Officina Libraria, 2022).

Isabelline Spain promoted such massage at Universal Exhibitions, displaying sculptures made by *pensionados* even though – it has to be acknowledged – this choice was also dictated by necessity and availability. According to Reyero in 1855 and 1862 the selection of sculptures was “lowly” and minimal.¹⁰⁹ Not only the pieces were not satisfactory, but the creators were not representative of the highest achievements produced up to that point, as some of them were quite mediocre.¹¹⁰ Especially in 1855, the selection was governed by necessity, although similar conclusions can be drawn for London too. Most contemporary works were the fruit of public commissions and were thus an unmovable corpus of works. By contrast, the *pensionados*’ works did not yet have a final location,¹¹¹ which made them easier to transport. For this reason, the small format was preferred over monumental works, after all Spaniards had already experienced the risks of damages during transports with the shipments from Rome to Spain.¹¹² Moreover, in London, sculptures were difficult to find, since Spanish sculptures were disseminated in gardens, parks, and throughout indoor avenues.¹¹³

Imperial narratives

¹⁰⁹ Reyero Hermosilla, *La escultura del eclecticismo*, 63.

¹¹⁰ Reyero Hermosilla, ‘Del Gianicolo al Champ de Mars’, 278.

¹¹¹ In 1855 the two 1848 *pensionados* Pagniucci and Rodríguez participated instead with two statues inspired by Greek history: *Penelope Taking the Bow to Ulysses* and the small plaster *Lycurgus Presenting his Laws to Spartans*, both exhibited at the 1856 National Exhibition and, the latter was purchased by the state after winning a gold medal. Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 89. In 1862 the selection was not satisfactory either. It included only a few pieces, three out of the four sculptors were by former *pensionados*, and the subjects were limited. These were José Bellver with *Dead Christ* (plaster), which had been taken to the 1860 National Exhibition; Felipe Moratilla with *A Faun* (bronze), which won a third-class medal at the 1862 National Exhibition; and Manuel Moreno with *Venus and Adonis* (marble). Regarding Moratilla’s *A Faun*, see Leticia Azcue Brea, ‘La escultura española hacia el cambio del siglo y algunos de sus protagonistas en el Museo del Prado: Felipe Moratilla y Agapito Vallmitjana’, in *Del realismo al impresionismo*, by Francisco Calvo Serraller and Agapito Vallmitjana (Madrid: Fundación de Amigos del Museo del Prado, 2014), 369.

¹¹² Vilar participated with the two small sculptural groups of children playing with dogs, similar to those purchased by Villalba. Ponzano participated with five busts he sculpted in Madrid (of the duke of Gor, of the count and countess of Quinto, of doctor Eusebio Lera, and of Doctor Pedro Castelló). Reyero Hermosilla, *La escultura del eclecticismo*, 61.

¹¹³ Lasheras Peña, ‘España en París’, 495; Reyero Hermosilla, *La escultura del eclecticismo*, 66.

The number of sculptures at the exhibitions in 1855 and 1862 makes it easy to understand why Reyero considered the 1867 Parisian exhibition as the turning point for the sculptural selection displayed by Isabelline Spain in the four great exhibitions it participated into (in 1855 Paris, in 1862 London, in 1865 Dublin and in 1867 Paris). With eleven sculptural works in total that spanned bronze, marble and plaster, Spain showed five sculptures, four busts, one bas-relief, and one medal. Furthermore, the 1867 selection also offered the better chronological overview and genres (from the 1830s to the 1860s).¹¹⁴ The subjects ranged from mythology to allegory, from literature to religion.

The Basque Marcial Aguirre, who was at that point in Rome, was present with a man playing with a ball (plaster).¹¹⁵ The precedent set by Vilar's two sculptural groups of a child playing with a dog in 1855, shows that such light-hearted themes were not entirely unusual. Nevertheless, it remained something of a rarity, as opposed to its frequency in painting.

While Rodríguez brought two busts, Felipe Moratilla, also in Rome at the time as shown in the catalogue, was again selected with *A Faun* (bronze). Jeroni Suñol, who was also based in Rome at the time, was meant to participate with *Dante* (plaster) but the commission eventually changed its mind and selected *Hymen* (plaster), the ancient god who protected happy marriages.¹¹⁶ Ossorio also indicated that Suñol took part in this exhibition with his *Petrarch*, but Reyero believes the historian was confused.¹¹⁷

Unlike the previous events in Paris and London, in 1867 Spain also brought a small nucleus of three sculptures representing religious themes. Pagniucci was present with his *Cain*, a plaster statue he sent from Rome to the San Fernando Academy's 1851 exhibition. The Parisian exhibition should originally have hosted José Bellver's bas-relief *The Descent from the Cross*, already displayed in Dublin.¹¹⁸ However, it was eventually replaced by his plaster of the Old Testament priest *Mattathias*, another work in which any Rome-goer at the time would have been able to appreciate the Roman

¹¹⁴ Reyero Herмосilla, *La escultura del eclecticismo*, 65.

¹¹⁵ *Exposición Universal de 1867: catálogo general de la sección española*, 120.

¹¹⁶ Reyero Herмосilla, *La escultura del eclecticismo*, 69.

¹¹⁷ *Exposición Universal de 1867: catálogo general de la sección española*, 121; Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 2: 234.

¹¹⁸ Reyero Herмосilla, *La escultura del eclecticismo*, 67.

influence.¹¹⁹ Last but not least, halfway between a civic and a religious sculpture was the *Indian [Indigenous American] Woman Embracing Christianity* by Juan Figueras y Vila (Fig. 6.8) which is the focus of this section's last part.

After studying in Barcelona and Madrid, Figueras arrived in Rome as one of the San Fernando Academy's *pensionados* in 1858, where he remained until around 1862-1863, and worked prolifically.¹²⁰ In 1862 he took part at the National Exhibition with five works, two of which had a direct imperial connection: *Doña Marina (Malinali) Interpreter for Hernan Cortés*, *The Bride*, a bust, the bas-relief *Attila*, and an *Indian Woman Embracing Christianity*. The Spanish government purchased it after the work won a second-class medal.¹²¹

By the time Figueras worked on his *Indian Woman Embracing Christianity*, the representation of Indigenous people in the Americas was not unusual in the Eternal City. In his Roman studio, the North American neoclassical sculptor Thomas Crawford relied on the classical canon – considered universal, normative, and moral by nations commissioning a form of civic art – not to depict classical gods and goddesses or allegories but to represent Indigenous communities in the Americas. The application of such a classical language served what Dippie has defined as “the myth of the vanishing American”, represented by a series of dying Native North American chiefs sculpted in prestigious Italian marble.¹²² Alongside them, Crawford also authored the marble *Mexican girl dying* between 1846 and 1848 (Fig. 6.9). The sculptor emphasised the element of the conversion as a moment of annihilation. For the American sculptor the conversion is a moment of triumph, albeit tragic. There is no surety regarding the identity of this woman, but she might be Malintzin, otherwise known as Doña Marina, the Nahuatl woman who was used as interpreter to Hernán Cortés. Possibly inspired by Prescott's *History of the conquest of Mexico* (1843), the work was

¹¹⁹ *Exposición Universal de 1867: catálogo general de la sección española*, 120; Reyero Hermosilla, ‘Del Gianicolo al Champ de Mars’, 278; Reyero Hermosilla, *La escultura del eclecticismo*, 69.

¹²⁰ Ossorio y Bernard, 1: 250.

¹²¹ Ossorio y Bernard, *Galería biográfica de los artistas españoles del siglo XIX*, 1: 249.

¹²² Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1991).

the second commission from Henry W. Hicks, who visited Crawford's studio in 1842 and became a collector of his work.¹²³

As it is with Crawford's sculpture, the identity of Figueras's model is unknown, but she may represent Malintzin, the historical figure associated with Hernán Cortés. Interestingly, though, while Crawford clearly relied on the classical canon of the Laocoon for representing her appearance, Figueras – a Spaniard with no direct connection to the Americas – treated her exterior more verisimilarly. He adopted an almost ethnographic approach, by perhaps studying the depictions of North American people in certain works at the Lateran Museum.¹²⁴ The German sculptor Ferdinand Pettrich, who studied in Rome with Thorvaldsen before moving to the United States and then to Brazil, had obtained permission from Pius IX to display portraits of North-American Indigenous people at the Lateran Palace,¹²⁵ which had formed part of the Vatican collection since 1856. They converted the space into a unique ethnographical museum in Europe, and the possibility that Figueras visited the space and studied the physiognomies of the sitters in these portraits for his own sculpture cannot be disregarded.¹²⁶

Educated in a nazarene purist environment, Figueras opted for an intimate interpretation for his *Indian Woman Embracing Christianity*, which did not culminate with the woman's annihilation as opposed to Crawford's *Mexican girl dying*. For the Catalan, the theme of religious conversion is more subtle; he sculpted a simple cross and placed it in the woman's right hand (although

¹²³ Albert Teneycke Gardner, ed., *American Sculpture: A Catalogue of the Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York City: The Met, 1965), 11; Thayer Tolles, ed., *American Sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. A Catalogue of Works by Artists Born before 1865*, vol. 1 (New York City: The Met, 1999), 37–38.

¹²⁴ On the "Otherness" in the narrative of Spanish culture, see Marieta Cantos Caseneve and Daniel Muñoz Sempere, 'Introduction: Otherness and National Identity in 19th-Century Spanish Literature - Spaniards on the Margins', in *Otherness and National Identity in 19th-Century Spanish Literature*, ed. Marieta Cantos Casanave and Daniel Muñoz Sempere (Amsterdam: Brill, 2022).

¹²⁵ For an iconographical analysis of the European imaginary of the Americas, see Hugh Honour, *The European Vision of America* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1975). Antonio Bresciani, Antonio Bresciani, *Opere del P. Antonio Bresciani della Compagnia di Gesù*, vol. 5 (Roma: Ufficio della civiltà cattolica, 1866), 336–46. On Pettrich, see Hans Geller, *Franz und Ferdinand Pettrich: zwei sächsische Bildhauer aus der Zeit des Klassizismus* (Dresden: Jess, 1955); Katharina Bott and Gerhard Bott, 'Die Indianer von Ferdinand Pettrich (1798-1872) Im Vatikan', *In Medias Res*, 1995, 379–402.

¹²⁶ 'La galleria dei ritratti de' selvaggi in Laterano', *La civiltà cattolica* 1, no. 4 (1859): 340–549.

the damaged condition of the sculpture makes it difficult to appreciate such details now).

To further enhance the devotional aspect of the sculpture, Figueras likely borrowed from nineteenth-century sculptors such as Tenerani (Fig. 6.10) and Bartolini, both names known in Spain.¹²⁷ In choosing such references,¹²⁸ Figueras seemingly gambled on a composition that proved his assimilation of the Roman language of style, which could potentially bring success in Spain and that had actually been chosen before. Inspired by both Tenerani and Bartolini, Sabino Medina translated into marble his *Eurydice* from the plaster version he sent from Rome as his *envío de pensionado*, after having been successful on the Roman scene in 1836.¹²⁹

Chapter 3 has shown on one hand that nazarene purism was slowly abandoned by painters in the second half of the century, and on the other that they hardly ever touched an imperial narrative. It is unclear why Spaniards in Rome generally preferred to focus on themes connected with the history of the Iberian peninsula rather than with that of the Spanish Empire, since they were free to choose the subject to treat. But it is important to highlight that such approach was in line with the Spanish intelligentsia which began incorporating the history of the Spanish Empire in their national history mostly after 1874.¹³⁰

During the Isabelline age, though history painting flourished, Roman artworks with “clear religious-nationalist intentions” were rare; they mostly consisted of unfinished projects created between the 1830s and 1840s and largely focused on Spain’s middle ages.¹³¹ An imperial narrative was surely implied in the canvases inspired by the Catholic Monarchs, in particular Isabella the Catholic, but it was almost never explicit. As the publication of

¹²⁷ Azcue Brea, ‘Bartolini and Collectors in Spain [Alba Family] and Portugal’.

¹²⁸ Before Figueras other Spaniards looked at these artists. In 1865 Madrid Sabino Medina’s *Eurydice* (Fig. 6.11), based on Bartolini’s work. Doc. 101, in Leticia Azcue Brea, ‘Escultura del siglo XIX fichas de la exposición “El siglo XIX en el Prado”’, 2007. José Ginés, José Álvarez Cubero, José Piquer, Sabino de Medina, Camillo Torreggiani, Jerónimo Suñol, Agapito Vallmitjana, Agustín Querol, Mariano Benlliure, Josep Llimona’, in *El siglo XIX en el Prado*, ed. José Luis Díez and Javier Barón (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2007), 404–7; Reyero Hermosilla, *La escultura del eclecticismo*, 68.

¹²⁹ F. Ranalli, ‘Tavola XXX - Euridice di Sabino de Medina’, *L’Ape Italiana* III (1837): 55.

¹³⁰ Alda Blanco, *Cultura y Conciencia Imperial En La España Del Siglo XIX* (Valencia: U. Valencia, 2012), 16.

¹³¹ Reyero Hermosilla, *La pintura de historia en España*, 26.

her will reveals, Isabella the Catholic hoped for the evangelisation of the native people in the territories found during the Atlantic expeditions and in fact had the conversion of Native American populations, as well as their well-being, at her heart when she died.¹³² This implies that the vocational reasons were central in Spain's Atlantic expansion.

Within this cultural framework this aspect was explored in Rome by Dióscuro Puebla's painting *Cristopher Columbus' First Landing in America* ("DIOSCORO. / ROMA 1862"),¹³³ also celebrating a figure that was a sign of the shared heritage between Spain and Italy whilst directing the viewers' attention to the element of the cross, and Figueras' sculpture. Thus, the presence of Figueras' *Indian Woman* at the 1867 Universal Exhibition squarely fit in the decision of hosting the Spanish national pavilion in a neo-plateresque construction, that commemorated "the sixteenth-century imperial age, led by the Reign of Castille" and consequently of marginalising the neo-Islamic style, popular in 1855 Paris.¹³⁴

6.4 A cosmopolitan failure reconsidered

These universal displays can be interpreted as Spain's intention to give an essay of its internationally educated generation's talent, while concurrently to celebrate the academy, thus the establishment's intentions by displaying quality works. Moreover, the pieces were a representation of statal and royal collecting practices. For example, in 1862 the catalogue indicated that the pieces belonged to Isabella II, the queen's brother-in-law the Duke of Montpensier, the Congreso de Diputados, the Museo Nacional de la Trinidad, the San Fernando Academy, and private individuals such as Valentín Carderera.

As a first consideration pertains the importance of nazarene purism in Spanish art practices, which opens and closes this analysis, respectively with the celebration of the language in painting (1855) and in sculpture (1867).

¹³² Felipe Niño Mas et al., *Testamentaría de Isabel la Católica* (Barcelona: s.n., 1974).

¹³³ Dióscoro Teófilo Puebla y Tolín, *Cristopher Columbus' First Landing in America*, 1862, oil on canvas, 330x545 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

¹³⁴ Peist, 'Las exposiciones universales', 82.

González Navarro has proposed that the 1855 exhibition was the high point in the reception of purism in Spain.¹³⁵ If we accept this consideration as valid, we must note that it is applicable solely to painting. In fact, according to Azcue Brea, Spanish sculptors “embraced the nazarene ideas” much more strictly and for longer than painters.¹³⁶ As a result of this slower process, Reyero has argued that Spanish sculpture’s modernisation in Rome was belated in comparison to painting.¹³⁷ And in fact Paris in 1867 closed the nazarene purist loop.

However, even if Reyero justifies the presence of Roman works at these shows for reasons of logistics, they became a way to show the world that Spain was not an enclosed country but one whose younger artists travelled and created art pieces that could enter into dialogue with the greatest novelty that Europe had to offer. It was an element with which to deconstruct the idea of Spain as an isolated backward country and to be a display of Spanish artists’ skills.

Critics variously welcomed such reading key. Generally, reviews of the former *pensionados*’ works spoke of good composition and executions but for example the French critics at the 1855 exhibition considered the nazarene purist interpretation of the sacred at the Spanish pavilion a betrayal of the Spanish baroque, because the canvases subverted their expectations. Was this really the case, or merely nostalgia for a past that Europeans had just discovered that made them unable to understand Spain’s cosmopolitan message? While there was surely a desire to affirm the country’s Catholic identity, this group of cosmopolitan pieces wanted to make a statement about art history (even if this was not appreciated at the time). Heir of the prestigious and acclaimed seventeenth-century school, the prevalence of sacred subjects presented Spain as a country still able to paint touching religious canvases while showing technical skill and the receptiveness to an international language of art.

¹³⁵ Carlos González Navarro, ‘La Arqueología Sagrada y los pintores españoles pensionados en Roma durante el pontificado de Pio IX’, *Ricerche di storia dell’arte*, no. 110–111 (2013): 76–7.

¹³⁶ Azcue Brea, ‘La melancolía de Roma’, 61.

¹³⁷ Reyero Hermosilla, ‘Del Gianicolo al Champ de Mars’, 276.

By contrast in London, cosmopolitanism does not seem to have been a problem, as both foreigners and Spaniards complained more about the problems of invisibility and lack of representation, suffered by the Spanish fine arts section. De Castro y Serrano did not appreciate what appeared to be a display of only the rising generation's successes: "Spain needed to display, alongside the fruits of the younger generation, also that of their masters, as other nations did."¹³⁸ But other sources inform us that even the younger Spanish artists' artworks were hard to find, as a result of the poor curatorial decisions and managerial problems that the Spanish Fine Arts sections suffered from, which caused visitors to complain about the lack of representation. Illustrative of their vulnerability are the vicissitudes suffered by Ponzano's *Ulysses Recognised by Euricles*. As shown in the dedicated section, the Roman canvases were not treated as a group but were rather scattered across the stands. The overall result of this invisibility caused De Castro y Serrano – who was concerned about the failed display, which he considered detrimental to the artworks involved – to wonder: "if few and poorly located works were so much appreciated, what would have happened if more were reunited and adequately displayed?"¹³⁹

While in 1855 the monarchical image that Spain presented did not gain foreign critics' favour, in 1867 it was their imperial image that failed to find admirers.¹⁴⁰ The choice left Spanish visitors perplexed; Orellana, a Spanish visitor in 1867 Paris, accused the building of being too austere and aristocratic, reminiscent of a time that "it would have been better it had not existed." From what Orellana considered an unhappy period, he only positively evaluated Spain's artistic accomplishments during the so-called Golden Age of Spanish architecture, literature, and painting, embodied by Herrera, Cervantes, and Murillo.¹⁴¹ Not only was Orellana critical of the pavilion's imperial message, but also of the fine arts exhibition overall, and he felt obliged to admit that Spain occupied a secondary place behind other

¹³⁸ Alcolea Albero, *Pintores españoles en Londres (1775-1950)*, 53–54.

¹³⁹ de Castro y Serrano, *España en Londres. Correspondencias sobre la exposición universal de 1862.*, 88–89.

¹⁴⁰ Fuentes Milà, 'La construcción identitaria española', 83–84.

¹⁴¹ Francisco José Orellana, *La Exposición Universal de Paris En 1867: Considerada Bajo El Aspecto de Los Intereses de La Producción Española En Todos Sus Ramos de Agricultura, Industria y Artes* (Barcelona: Librería de Manero, 1867), 45.

nations.¹⁴² However, he was positive about the future, having seen “signs of progress” from the young Spanish artists on display.¹⁴³

What he meant is unclear, but possibly he smiled at the favourable comments received by former *pensionados*, such as Gisbert, Casado del Alisal, Rosales, and Palmaroli, with canvases created either in Paris or Rome.¹⁴⁴ Furthermore, considering what was said in chapter 5 regarding the success of the genre among Spaniards, it is possible that Orellana’s comment also referred to the presence of genre scenes, which were nationally and internationally coveted. After all, the number of Roman people in Paris was without precedent and was possibly intended to reflect what was happening in terms of the reception of the Spaniards’ Roman works, but also to show the new direction undertaken in their canvases, namely a more decisive abandonment of conceptual art in favour of more naturalistic productions.

To conclude, the decision to participate with Roman canvases and sculptures inaugurated a practice that would last for the rest of the century, transforming the Isabelline and Pius IX years into the prelude to a new chapter for artistic relations between the two countries.¹⁴⁵ Isabelline Spain made a decision ahead of its time, because as Reyero writes, the presence of historical canvases at universal exhibitions only became common during the 1870s and 1880s.¹⁴⁶ This means that the aforementioned angle might open the door to future interpretations concerning the presence of Isabelline Roman pieces in International Exhibitions after 1868.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴² Orellana, 7.

¹⁴³ Orellana, 45.

¹⁴⁴ Julián Gállego, ‘1855 - 1900: artistas españoles en medio siglo de exposiciones universales de París’, *Revista de ideas estéticas* XXII, no. 88 (1964): 303.

¹⁴⁵ Reyero Hermosilla, ‘Del Gianicolo al Champ de Mars’, 275. On the Spanish participation in Universal Fairs in the second half of the century, see some titles by Maria José Bueno Fidel, *Arquitectura y Nacionalismo : Pabellones Españoles En Las Exposiciones Universales Del Siglo XIX* (Malaga: Colegio de arquitectos, 1987); Reyero Hermosilla, ‘Del Gianicolo al Champ de Mars’; Sazatornil Ruiz and Lasheras Peña, ‘París y la española Casticismo y estereotipos nacionales en las exposiciones universales (1855-1900)’; Fuentes Milà, ‘La construcción identitaria española’; Lasheras Peña, ‘España en París’; Peist, ‘Las exposiciones universales’; Viera, *El imaginario español en las Exposiciones Universales del siglo XIX: exotismo y modernidad*.

¹⁴⁶ Reyero Hermosilla, ‘El reconocimiento de la nación en la historia’, 1206.

¹⁴⁷ Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich, eds., *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850 - 1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

CHAPTER 7

THE COLONY OF ARTISTS

The history of Spanish official art during the nineteenth century, is not understood in all its facets, without considering how the Roman - and Parisian – apprenticeship developed in relation to the academic system (and its theoretical foundation) and the government’s participation and involvement. This dissertation contributes to studies about Spanish nineteenth-century art by looking at the relationships between Spaniards and Rome, both from an art historical and a socio-cultural perspective.

The study has examined the artists’ Roman journey through romanticism to early naturalism by analysing the works that painters and sculptors created in Rome between the 1830s and 1870s in chapters 2, 3 and 5. Canvases that can be ascribed to purism are concentrated in the first half of the century (as opposed to sculptures, as we saw in chapter 6), and were mostly religious subjects. As a style, the Spaniards did not appear to be entirely convinced that purism was suitable for painting national subjects. This lack of favour may have resulted from a lack of national references, for example the unrealised fresco project by Federico de Madrazo that was discussed in chapter 4. Other foreign influences were more convincing when the Spaniards painted their national canvases. The cosmopolitan nature of Rome, along with its geographical disposition – which favoured the artists’ travels throughout the peninsula – made it possible to nourish such studies. National art benefited from the international encounters that Rome, as well as Italy as a whole, provided those who went there, as well as their studies of the Spanish school and Spanish collections, which never ceased to be a reference for Spanish artists.

This study has also shown that Rome was an investment that many in Isabelline Spain were willing to make, by viewing the various forms of patronage, market opportunities, and the exhibition history in chapters 4, 5, and 6.

Traineeship, public and private patronage, the art market, and exhibitions are all recurring concepts in the dissertation. These are explored through the lens of the formation of a Spanish colony, their vindication as artists, and their increased visibility within the city and beyond. This final chapter, entitled *The colony of artists*, concentrates on Rome as the place where the Spaniards wrote their story of cosmopolitan emergence and artistic recognition, which makes it possible to reflect on the role of Rome in preparing new generations of artists.

7.1 The construction of a cosmopolitan community

The protagonists of this dissertation were the Spanish artists born between 1810s and 1830s, and for many of them Rome was a long-term commitment: they made Rome their second home, and in some cases even their permanent residence. This first section expands on what an academic outsider like Galofre said and looks into how Spaniards overcame the problem of a colony with no academic representation, such as Villa Medici (as described in the dissertation's introduction), thus more or less consciously transforming a cause of distress, as mentioned in the introduction, into a source of opportunity.¹

Berardi has claimed that the Spaniards' "colony of Rome" settled there from the 1860s.² But the prior chapters show that a colony in Rome predated the 1860s, in fact going back to the 1830s, when this dissertation began with Galofre's description of Rome as a great place to study, but difficult to live in and to emerge without a safety net – essentially, a network of contacts.

Building on the difficulties that Spaniards faced to emerge as a colony as discussed in chapter 4, this section proves that the colony's formation coincided with the Spaniards' path towards visibility, consisting of academic, official, and extra-institutional channels that Galofre had already identified as

¹ Azcue Brea has spoken of a relentless trial with reference to the sculptors' traineeship in Rome, although painters could also relate, as in the article in the bibliography by Leticia Azcue Brea, 'Roma y la escultura del siglo XIX en el Museo del Prado. La odisea de los pensionados hasta 1873', in *I Encuentro Europeo de Museo con colección de escultura* (Valladolid: Museo Nacional de Escultura de Valladolid, 2012), 73–108.

² Berardi, 'Fortuny, Portici y la pintura italiana', 66.

how to achieve visibility. To do so, it will map the Spanish presence in Rome by looking at their studios, gathering spaces, exhibitions, and the Spanish Embassy, given the diplomat's prominent role in setting up the Roman academy.³

7.1.1 The studio of Antonio Solá

After the traineeship was restored, Solá tried to make up for the absence of an academic venue by converting his studio into a point of reference where newcomers went for help in settling down. They were also asked to present, once a month on a Sunday morning, a composition of their own invention on a theme that Solá set in advance.⁴ Between the 1830s and 1850s, Solá followed the *pensionados* in their exercises, gave suggestions about their work, and signed off the permissions that allowed students time to copy at churches, museums, and galleries.⁵

Solá's studio was rich in materials. He had a heterogeneous collection of paintings (from oils to watercolours to etchings) and sculptures (plaster cast models, bas-reliefs, medallions, and busts) most of which were linked to his own production. He also owned a rich library. Federico de Madrazo was the most informative artist regarding Solá's studio and house. He claimed that in his house, Solá had a small collection of old masters, among which were a Bellini and a Titian.⁶ He also mentioned having seen "a portion of a fresco by Annibale Carracci translated onto a canvas."⁷ The director had supervised the translation of this work by Carracci from the church of San Giacomo degli Spagnoli by the hand of the restorer Pellegrino Succi in the 1830s (1833-1835).⁸ In 1843, the frescoes would have been sent to Madrid, but the Roman

³ This idea has been derived from a reading of John Milner, *The Studios of Paris: The Capital of Art in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich, 'Local/Global: Mapping Nineteenth-Century London's Art Market', *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 11, no. 3 (2012).

⁴ Brook, *Gli artisti spagnoli a Roma*, 165.

⁵ On Preciado, see Canovas del Castillo, 'Artistas españoles en la Academia de San Luca de Roma. 1740-1808', 153–210. On Solá, see Mazzarelli, *Dipingere in copia*, 1:248.

⁶ Doc. 108, Rome, 12th November 1839, in Madrazo, *Epistolario*, 1:279.

⁷ Doc. 107, Rome, 29th October 1839, in Madrazo, 1:276.

⁸ Andrés Úbeda de los Cobos, 'Annibale Carracci restaurado la capilla Herrera de Santiago

administration prohibited the exportation of artworks by classical artists. News of such work reached the Spanish press in 1850, which described it as a translation, and the shipping as an act of preservation.⁹ From Solá's studios where they were displayed, they were taken to Barcelona.¹⁰ The Prado, the MNAC, and the church of Monserrato in Rome now preserve these various pieces.

Solá tried to make life for his students as easy as possible. Upon their arrival, he offered practical help and assistance in finding a suitable place where they could live, as well as an appropriate studio space – not an easy task in Rome, where demand was high and availability scarce. Solá also made sure that *pensionados* made the most of their time in Italy, by ensuring there was financial support for their trips across Italy before they returned to Spain. He informed the San Fernando Academy that artists from the second cohort needed to receive an allowance to enable them to visit the cities he believed to be of great interest: Florence, Parma, Bologna, Venice, and Milan. Solá was successful in his petition. In April 1852, the *pensionados* were given an amount of 17,000 *reales de vellón* to sustain their travel expenses outside of the Papal States.¹¹

The director also knew that the Spaniards' path towards recognition required them to become more entrepreneurial. Having possibly learnt from Canova, the media coverage that Spanish artists received during Solá's directorship of the *pensionados* was without precedent, before or since.¹² Solá was in the foreground, actively working towards the promotion of their careers by asserting their presence within Roman newspapers and on the

de los Españoles de Roma', in *Maestros en la sombra*, ed. Francisco Calvo Serraller and et al. (Madrid - Barcelona: Fundación Amigos Museo del Prado; Galaxia Gutenberg D.L., 2013), 207–23. Currently the work is on display at the Museo del Prado in a dedicated exhibition, *Annibale Carracci. Los frescos de la capilla Herrera* (08.03.2022-12.06.2022). On the genesis of the church, see Stefania Albiero, 'La iglesia de Santiago de los españoles en Roma y su entorno entre los siglos XV y XIX. Una historia a través del dibujo' (Doctoral thesis, Madrid, E. T. S. Arquitectura (UPM), 2016).

⁹ *El balear: periódico de la tarde*, 30 September 1850, n/a.

¹⁰ Úbeda de los Cobos, 'Annibale Carracci restaurado la capilla Herrera de Santiago de los Españoles de Roma', 216.

¹¹ Barrio, *Relaciones culturales*, 94.

¹² On Canova, see Giorgio Marini, 'La "calcografia canoviana" e il problema della riproduzione grafica dell'opera scultorea in epoca neoclassica', in *Il primato della scultura: fortuna dell'antico, fortuna di Canova*, vol. 2 (Bassano del Grappa: Istituto di Ricerca per gli studi su Canova e il Neoclassicismo, 2004), 5–12.

exhibition scene, as pointed out by Brook.¹³ In particular, we find reviews by Betti in newspapers such as *La Pallade. Giornale di belle arti* or *L'Ape italiana delle belle arti*. For example, Betti authored the review of Vilar's lost sculptural group *Nexus and Dejanira*; the artist was, alongside Ponzano, one of Betti's students at the Academy of Saint Luke (Fig. 7.1).¹⁴

Solá also encouraged their participation in the exhibitions in Piazza del Popolo between the 1830s and 1850s, and it is also possible to reconstruct their participation in exhibitions in other Italian states, as well as throughout Europe. The end of Solá's directorship of the *pensionados* coincided with a period of crisis of the Società degli Amatori – the papal administration no longer wanted to invest in it, as because they believed a tour of the Roman studios was sufficient for artists. In fact, according to Montani's data, the Spaniards' attendance at exhibitions in Piazza del Popolo dropped in the second half of the century.¹⁵ However, this new condition does not seem to have damaged them; they found other ways to make their presence known in Rome.

7.1.2 The diplomat and the Spanish academy

As discussed in the introduction, the unrealised promise of a 'casa de *pensionados*' was a cause of both distress and frustration for the *pensionados*, whose five-year traineeship (1832-1837) was plagued by many other logistical problems, including covering the costs of the students' necessary materials and finding the funds to pay for their studentships.¹⁶

After arriving in 1839, the second item on Julián Villalba's agenda was the job of overseeing the reform of the "Academia de *pensionados*", as emerges from the correspondence between José and Federico de Madrazo.¹⁷ Aside from describing him as a very knowledgeable man and an art enthusiast, José

¹³ Brook, 'Storia di una presenza', 28.

¹⁴ Salvatore Betti, 'Tavola XXXIII - Dejanira e Nesso di Emmanuele Vilar Spagnuolo', *L'ape italiana di belle arti. Giornale dedicato al loro cultori ed amatori* 5 (1835): 60–61.

¹⁵ Montani, 'La Società degli Amatori e Cultori delle Belle Arti in Roma. 1829 - 1883', 93.

¹⁶ Barrio, *Relaciones culturales*, 63.

¹⁷ Doc. 139, Madrid, 3rd January 1840, in José Luis Díez, ed., *José de Madrazo. Epistolario* (Santander: Fundación Marcelino Botín, 1998), 389–90.

de Madrazo – then professor of painting at the San Fernando Academy and its adjunct director – revealed that he was confident that the diplomat would do everything in his power to finally put in order the Spanish Academy in Rome. However, by the time Villalba set foot in Rome, there were no longer *pensionados* there – their funding had expired, and those who were still there were all trying to make a living from their art.

Villalba adopted a different approach to that of Labrador, proving that José de Madrazo's confidence in him was well placed. He first restored the Spanish embassy building from the dilapidated state it had fallen into after its use by French officials during the Napoleonic occupation.¹⁸ In fact, after he returned to papal Rome, the Spanish ambassador Antonio de Vargas y Laguna swiftly informed Madrid that, despite some French interventions, it would be economically prudent to sell the Monaldeschi palace because renovation costs would have been too high. Ferdinand VII refused, and in the early 1820s some small interventions were ordered to consolidate the structure.¹⁹ Nonetheless, in 1828 the ambassador Pedro Gomez de Labrador again complained about the decayed state that the palace was in. He ordered restorations, including the music room, and paid Luigi Cini to decorate some ceilings with neoclassical mythological scenes.²⁰

Villalba then enhanced the role of the Spanish embassy as a provisional proto academy in the mould of Villa Medici, by converting some rooms into artist studios and creating spaces to house their works. When he arrived in 1840, one of the corridors already housed a plaster relief by Ponzano representing a scene of the *Flood* (now missing), and in other corners of the palace casts and models were found, including Álvarez's *The Defence of Zaragoza*, the original of which entered the royal collection in 1827.²¹ In 1841 a green room was set aside in the embassy for the fifteen-day preview of Federico de Madrazo's *The Three Marys to the Sepulchre* before it was taken

¹⁸ Alessandra Anselmi, *Il palazzo dell'Ambasciata di Spagna presso la Santa Sede* (Roma: Edizioni De Luca, 2001), 171–93.

¹⁹ Anselmi, 150–52.

²⁰ Anselmi, 152–53.

²¹ Azcue Brea, 'La melancolía de Roma', 66.

to Piazza del Popolo.²² Villalba also had Spanish artists' drawings framed in the principal room as if it were a gallery, where he also placed sculptures.²³

The conversion of rooms into studios was a point briefly touched upon in the article that appeared in the *Gaceta de Madrid*, which further contributed to the idealised image of Villalba as a friend to the Spanish artists. Villalba converted the entire second floor of the embassy into artist studios on the condition that they kept working in the new premises, likely aware of Solá's personal efforts to allocate his pupils a studio.²⁴ The choice was likely inevitable, since the embassy's upper floor was the area of the building that was in the best condition, as ten rooms on that floor had been restored and re-decorated in 1806 on the order of the ambassador Antonio de Vargas y Laguna, who commissioned the work from Felice Giani's workshop.²⁵

Villalba's concession spared the Spanish artists from having to rent a studio, which for an artist in financial difficulties was a significant advantage and gave Villalba the opportunity to enjoy observing them at work. This is another indication that promoting the arts was not merely a duty for the diplomat, but something he enjoyed doing as an art enthusiast. The possibility to take a room in the embassy was given to all Spanish students, former *pensionados* and independent students as long as they kept working. True to his word, Villalba removed the privilege from Galofre when his creativity dried up in 1843.²⁶ However, the only surviving *Real Orden*, dated January 1840, that has been identified regarding Villalba's concession of a studio to a named artist is that of Federico de Madrazo.²⁷

After Villalba's death, and despite all the best intentions on paper, the project for an academy continued to be a failure; in 1873, the new director of the Academia Española also found himself in the position of having students

²² Doc. 131, Rome, 25th May 1841, in Díez, *Epistolario: Federico de Madrazo*, 344–6.

²³ Doc. 143, Rome, 9th April 1842, in Madrazo, 1:381.

²⁴ Doc. 113, Roma, 27th January 1840, in Madrazo, 1:292.doc. 120, Rome, 4th June 1840, in Madrazo, 1:312.

²⁵ Anselmi, *Il palazzo dell'Ambasciata di Spagna*, 121–22.

²⁶ Doc. 22, Rome, 23rd September 1843, in Moreno, *El Escultor Manuel Vilar*, 124.

²⁷ Leg. 713, 1840. *Facilitar al pintor Federico de Madrazo, hijo de D. José Pintor de la R. Cámara una pieza de este palacio de la Embajada*, *Archivo de la Embajada de España cerca de la Santa Sede. Índice analítico de los documentos de la primera mitad del siglo XIX*, ed. José Pou y Martí, vol. 4 (Madrid: Imprenta de Galo Saez, 1935), 129.

arriving and no venue in which to welcome them.²⁸ What Villalba succeeded in doing, however, was to convert the Spanish Embassy into a point of reference for the Spanish artists' Roman community. Artists still installed themselves in studios in the Embassy, which they opened to visitors, as confirmed by a Roman city guide of 1860, which lists Arbós' studio as located on the site.²⁹ Moreover, Barrio has found a letter from Solá to the San Fernando Academy's authorities in which he describes the decision taken by Vincente González Arnao, secretary at the embassy, to show pieces by the San Fernando Academy's second cohort of *pensionados* at the embassy so his friends could see them and, possibly exaggerating, claimed that 'everybody in Rome, artists and connoisseurs, came to see their works.'³⁰

7.1.3 The benefits of being without an academy

The situation began to change for Spaniards in the 1850s. The Spanish presence in the city kept growing thanks to the greater number of scholarships available, as well as the visibility they gained on the market, as described in chapters 4 and 5. This visibility meant that the lack of a Spanish academy in Rome was no longer a problem, according to their writings.

Spanish artists managed to build a collective identity in Rome, relying on individual actions as well as circles of sociability. We have an early taste of this in a group of photographs owned by the Prado Museum, which were taken on the roof terrace of the photographer Giacomo Caneva's studio in Via del Babuino (although the attribution to Caneva is sometimes disputed), demonstrating that they were interested in creating a group.³¹ The Spaniards either befriended Caneva at Caffé Greco, where he and the other photographers gathered and where Spaniards were regulars, or Pompeyo Molins facilitated the encounter.³² Molins had Basque-Spanish origins, was

²⁸ Brook, *Gli artisti spagnoli a Roma*, 163.

²⁹ Bonfigli, F. S., *Guide to the Studios in Rome with Much Supplementary Information* (Roma: Tipografia legale, 1860), 41.

³⁰ Barrio, *Relaciones culturales*, 90.

³¹ These photographs came from Bernardino Montañés' own collection and the Madrazo collection.

³² Marina Miraglia. 'La fotografia', in Bonfait, *Maestà di Roma. Da Ingres a Degas: artisti francesi a Roma*, 565.

one of Minardi's former students and, at the time, worked with Gioacchino Altobelli in his photographic studio in Via di Fontanella Borghese (Fig. 7.2, Fig. 7.3, Fig. 7.4).³³

The prominence of Spanish names in the city's guides and their visibility on the streets of Rome grew. According to the guides, they gathered in the area around Piazza di Spagna, the centre of the art market and tourism in Rome, and conveniently the site of their embassy.³⁴ In line with most foreign artists, the Spaniards were concentrated throughout the three neighbourhoods of Trevi, Colonna, and Campo Marzio.³⁵ Here they were regulars at the local cafes and taverns, which were important points to assess their presence within the city.

During the 1830s and 1840s, they were regulars at *Trattoria del Lepri* (also referred to as *Trattoria Lepre*). Early mentions of the Spaniards attending this tavern date back to the days when Luis Vermell, Vilar and their friends went there on their first night out in Rome. Vilar once said that it was so common to hear Spanish spoken there that he could believe he was in Spain, rather than in Italy.³⁶ In the garden, Palmarola had an unsettling argument with two young Spanish artists, as Arbós recalled in a letter dated 13th of August 1847.³⁷ Montañés went there with his peers during his time in Rome as a *pensionado* of the San Fernando Academy's second cohort.³⁸ In 1860 Alarcón identified *Trattoria del Lepri* as one of the taverns regularly attended by the *pensionados*. The location was presented as one of the main gathering points for artists in Rome in the Spanish journal *La Época* (31.10.1862), further proving that what occurred in Rome attracted significant coverage, and what the Spaniards did was of interest to the Spanish public.³⁹

³³ Hernández Latas, *Recuerdos de Roma*, 39; *Roma 1850: il circolo dei pittori fotografi del caffè Greco* (Milano: Electa, 2003).

³⁴ On the importance of the art market and sociability, see Fletcher and Helmreich, 'Local/Global'; Anne Helmreich, 'The Art Market and the Spaces of Sociability in Victorian London', *Victorian Studies* 59, no. 3 (2017): 436–49.

³⁵ For the distribution of Spanish studios in Rome, see Appendix 2

³⁶ Doc. 1, Rome, 28th May 1834, in Moreno, *El Escultor Manuel Vilar*, 101.

³⁷ Manuel Arbós, *Cartas del pintor Manuel Arbós a Pablo Milá y Fontanals 1847-1850*, vol. 1 (Vilafraca del Panadés: Artes Gráficas - Fuente, 19th cent.), 2.

³⁸ Hernández Latas, *Recuerdos de Roma*, 16.

³⁹ Rubio Gil, *Eduardo Rosales*, 2011, 105.

Other taverns that recurred in the artists' correspondence include the brewery *Osteria del Gambero* in Via del Gambero, a street crossing both Via Condotti and Via della Vite, which was attended by the Spaniards in the 1830s, as well as, apparently, a café in Via Felice, the building in which Clavé lived in 1841.⁴⁰ They were also regulars at the central Caffé Greco in Via Condotti, which had been associated with artists active in Rome since the beginning of the century. In the 1850s, regular Spanish customers included Gisbert, Casado del Alisal, and Hernández Amores. There, Alarcón spent a night in 1860, in the company of de Vilches, Fortuny (who he already knew from their time in Morocco), the painter Dióscuro Puebla, the sculptor Figueras, the painters Palmaroli and Alejo Vera, as well as the sculptor Marcial, the painters Francés and Rosales, and other artists whose names he said he had forgotten.⁴¹ Presumably on the night that Alarcón attended Caffé Greco, Caneva took a picture of Alarcón and his Spanish friends on the photographer's studio roof: Palmaroli, Dióscuro Puebla, Soriano Fuertes, Velasco, Molins, Escalante, Caballero, Ramón Pujols, Figueras, Vilches, and Alarcón himself.⁴²

Seeing the Spaniards at nocturnal academies was not a novelty, as we saw in chapter 1. However, from the late 1850s they were associated with Via Margutta, which grew the artists' visibility within the city. In 1858, Via Margutta was partially redeveloped by the marquis Francesco Patrizi. He transformed two apartments at no. 53 and 54 into artistic studios.⁴³ After the *accademia Giggi* opened, as recalled in chapter 5, it began to be associated with Spaniards because Fortuny attended the space. The Catalan initially paid a monthly sum, as did his friends, but as Fortuny's fame grew stronger, Giggi cleverly opted to present his latest creations at the academy in return for classes.⁴⁴ As Reyero has noted, Fortuny treated his drawings as "exchange

⁴⁰ Salvador Moreno, *El pintor Pelegrín Clavé* (México: Instituto de investigaciones estéticas, 1966), 25.

⁴¹ Tommaso Giacalone-Monaco, 'L'Ing. Vilfredo Pareto nella società delle strade ferrate romane (1870-1873)', *Giornale degli Economisti e Annali di Economia* 22, no. 7/8 (1963): 541.

⁴² Hernández Latas, *Recuerdos de Roma*, 39.

⁴³ Augusto Jandolo, *Studi e modelli di Via Margutta: 1870-1950* (Milano: Ceschina, 1953), 60.

⁴⁴ Jandolo, 60.

currency.”⁴⁵ The Spaniards, many of whom were Catalans, who attended academia Giggi were Fortuny, Tapiró, Agrasot, Moragas, Pradilla, Suñol, Álvarez, Villegas, Fabrés, Tusquets, Peralta, Vallés, Rosales, Palmaroli, and the Aranda brothers. Palmaroli was recorded in Via Margutta no. 1-9B in 1860 while busy working on a large religious picture, with a subject taken from the Old Testament; he was also about to complete a painting depicting *Two Brides-To-Be from Monticelli Receiving a Marriage Gift*, and a series of copies of Murillo’s and Velázquez’s paintings in the Prado.⁴⁶

7.2 The Roman studio of Mariano Fortuny y Marsal

The previous section has described the early phase of the Spaniards’ cosmopolitan visibility, which leads us from the academic space of Solá’s studio to informal spaces in the city, including cafes, taverns, and nocturnal academies in Rome’s touristic heart. The final phase in the construction of their cosmopolitan image was anchored in the visibility of Mariano Fortuny and in his Roman studio. This second section discusses the Roman studio of Fortuny y Marsal, whose skyrocketing career really helped the Spaniards to consolidate their presence in the city and increase their visibility. As the years went by, the concentration of Spanish artists who gravitated around the Catalan master contributed to the inauguration of a “new international season” for the arts in Rome.⁴⁷

As opposed to his peers, Fortuny never had a studio in Via Margutta. In his early years, he resided around Piazza di Spagna. In 1858 he settled at Palazzo Giorgi, in Via del Babuino no. 51. After his return from Morocco, he rented a ‘smaller’ apartment on the third floor in Via di Ripetta no. 99. Just three years later, he shared a studio with Tapiró, Moragas, Agrasot and the Italian Attilio Simonetti in Palazzo Borromeo, in Via Flaminia no. 166. This was the only choice that went against to the current, since from the information in our possession, it was the first time in the century that Spanish

⁴⁵ Reyer Hermosilla, *Fortuny o el arte como distinción de clase*, 177.

⁴⁶ F. S. Bonfigli, *Guide to the Studios in Rome with Much Supplementary Information* (Roma: Tipografia legale, 1860), 25.

⁴⁷ The international season was proposed by Querci ‘Achille Vertunni e Mariano Fortuny’.

artists had opened a studio outside of Roman walls.⁴⁸ Fortuny returned to the city centre in July 1868 when he, his wife Cecilia de Madrazo, and his brother-in-law Ricardo de Madrazo, found a house after weeks of living in an hotel. They chose a first-floor apartment at Piazza di Monte d'oro no. 94, with a large room that they wanted to convert into Mariano's studio in winter so that he did not have to go to Accademia Giggi. By then, Cecilia recalled the numerous groups of visitors that had visited her husband's studio to see his *Vicaria* in April 1869, an unprecedented development for a Spanish artist (if we exclude the numbers given by Federico de Madrazo for the preview of *The Three Marys to the Sepulchre*).⁴⁹ Before Fortuny, only a few visits were paid to the Spaniards' studios by heads of state such as Pius IX, dignitaries, tourists (such as Sarmiento, who visited Galofre's studio), or clients, although this may have depended upon the studios' limited coverage in artistic guides. No real textual description has been found of these spaces, and very few visual testimonies can be found. By contrast, Fortuny's studio became a central point of attraction. The constantly growing number of visitors to his studio caused Fortuny to add benches to his furniture to allow seating for "those who waited for him."⁵⁰

A space of creation as well as the realm of his passions and interests, Fortuny's studio was essential to one of his many businesses in Rome, that of antiquity dealer. He sold plates on behalf of the antiquarian Diego de Astrúa in Córdoba, with whom the rest of the Madrazo family had business.⁵¹ Fortuny's interest in Arabic and Japanese culture is not new to scholars,⁵² and in Rome this introduced artists to a new world – they also began collecting antiquities.⁵³ For example Vertunni, one of Fortuny's Neapolitan friends, created an Arabic room on the streets of Rome.⁵⁴

⁴⁸Reyero Hermosilla, *Fortuny o el arte como distinción de clase*, 90, 95.

⁴⁹ Doc. CE 6., Rome, 21st April 1869, in Gutiérrez Márquez and Martínez Plaza, *Cartas de Mariano Fortuny, Cecilia, Ricardo, Raimundo e Isabel de Madrazo*, 46.

⁵⁰ Doc. MA 5., Rome, 9th July 1868, in Gutiérrez Márquez and Martínez Plaza, 8–9.

⁵¹ Doc. MA 6., Rome, 28th July 1868, in Gutiérrez Márquez and Martínez Plaza, 10.

⁵² Ricard Bru, 'Marià Fortuny and Japanese Art', *Journal of Japonisme* 1, no. 2 (2016): 155–85.

⁵³ See essays on Fortuny and genre paintings in the 2004 exhibition catalogue.

⁵⁴ See the essay by Colonna 'The Arab Room of Achille Vertunni. Islamic Art in the Streets of Rome'.

Over the years, Fortuny had decorated his studio with a heterogeneous collection of Islamic antiquities, curious singular objects, armour, carpets, drawings, and paintings (including copies) that he received from abroad, as well as those he purchased in Rome.⁵⁵ Pieces kept growing in Fortuny's studio, merging several worlds together, as we can see in Ricardo de Madrazo's famous painting of Fortuny's interior (Fig. 7.5).⁵⁶ In 1873, Cecilia de Madrazo wrote to Federico about Fortuny's desire to even call a photographer to take pictures of the studio.⁵⁷ It was the Catalan painter's plan to convert his studio into a museum, but the project never became a reality.⁵⁸

In addition to being a destination for clients, his studio attracted artists who wanted to better understand his lessons.⁵⁹ For as long as Fortuny remained in the city centre, most Spaniards concentrated in the area surrounding Piazza di Spagna and Via Margutta. However, in 1872 Fortuny and Ricardo moved first to Via Gregoriana no. 22, and the following year to Via Flaminia where he rented Villa Martinori, whilst Ricardo moved to a nearby studio with Luigi Amici, a friend of his father.⁶⁰ This choice definitively broke with the pattern of neighbourhood settlement that had characterised the colony of Spanish artists in Rome for over a century. Furthermore, it was a change in direction which had no precedent in the nineteenth century. It is telling that Pradilla, upon his arrival in the city in 1874, took the autonomous decision of settling his studio closer to Ricardo's and Fortuny's (who died in that year).⁶¹

To be close to Fortuny was not enough for many young artists who wanted to succeed on the Parisian market. They also decided to also imitate his stylish

⁵⁵ Carlos G. Navarro, 'La historia domesticada. Fortuny y el coleccionismo de antigüedades', in Barón, *Fortuny (1838-1874)*, 373–97.

⁵⁶ Reyero, *Fortuny o el arte como distinción de clase*, 276.

⁵⁷ Doc. CE 55., Rome, 15th September 1873, in Gutiérrez Márquez and Martínez Plaza, *Cartas de Mariano Fortuny, Cecilia, Ricardo, Raimundo e Isabel de Madrazo*, 84.

⁵⁸ Gianluca Berardi, 'Fortuny e Italia', in *Fortuny (1838-1874)*, ed. Javier Barón (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2017), 69.

⁵⁹ For a brief reconstruction of Mariano Fortuny's impact on the Roman market scene, see Eugenia Querci. 'Achille Vertunni e Mariano Fortuny: Roma tra arte e mercato nella nuova stagione internazionale', in Capitelli, Grandesso, and Mazzarelli, *Roma fuori di Roma*, 209–26.

⁶⁰ Doc. RI. 70, Rome, 7th June 1873, in Gutiérrez Márquez and Martínez Plaza, *Cartas de Mariano Fortuny, Cecilia, Ricardo, Raimundo e Isabel de Madrazo*, 240.

⁶¹ Doc. RI. 78, Rome, 20th May 1874, in Gutiérrez Márquez and Martínez Plaza, 250.

studio décor in an attempt to create a brand for themselves.⁶² Fortunystas converted Fortuny's individual taste and décor into a standard image for Spanish artists in Rome. Besides, many photos of Fortuny's studio circulated, and this only increased after the Roman auction of the Catalan master's belongings, which enabled Spaniards to have plenty of references from which to derive their inspiration.⁶³ Those who visited Spaniards' studios associated a supposed Spanishness with the décor. At least, this is what we can infer from Baldassarre Odescalchi when describing Casado del Alisal's studio outside Porta del Popolo, which he visited in 1876. Odescalchi saw a painting of an Odalisque by Casado del Alisal and left an interesting description of his work and his studio, stating that: "[Spanish] painters harmoniously combined bright colours, for which they were internationally praised,"⁶⁴ and that the large room was decorated with objects from Spain: rich fabrics, Hispanic-Moorish plates, decorated pieces of furniture, and all the "trinkets that decorate a painter's studio",⁶⁵ which the Spaniard had combined "in a harmonious fashion of light and colours, typical of the Spaniards".⁶⁶

Odescalchi's short description reminds us of Ricardo de Madrazo's painting of Fortuny's studio. But such a style can also be found in other pictures of interior signed by Spanish artists in the late nineteenth century, such as the Valencian painter Bernardo Ferrándiz Badenés. The latter met Fortuny in Paris (1866) and then re-connected with him in Rome where he stayed for two years (1873-1875). In the centre of a very colourful studio with tapestries, paintings and a mirror on the walls, carpets on the floor, lamps hanging from the high ceiling, feathers in vases, and several plates on cupboards, four of the six men therein studied an Arabic vase.⁶⁷ The vase was

⁶² Javier Barón, 'La personalidad artística de Mariano Fortuny', in *Fortuny (1838-1874)*, ed. Javier Barón (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2017), 35, 45.

⁶³ On Fortuny's will, see Antonio Matilla Tascón, 'Testamentaria del pintor Fortuny', *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología*, no. 45 (1979): 530-34; Carlos González Navarro, 'Testamentaria e inventario de bienes de Mariano Fortuny en Roma', *Locus amoenus*, no. 9 (2008 2007): 319-49.

⁶⁴ Baldassarre Odescalchi, *Gli studi di Roma. Ricordi artistici* (Roma: Francesco Capaccini, 1876), 49.

⁶⁵ Odescalchi, 51.

⁶⁶ Odescalchi, 52.

⁶⁷ Bernardo Ferrándiz Badenés, *The Connoisseur*, oil on canvas, 48,2x81,4 cm. Private Collection.

the iconic *Jarrón Fortuny* (Saint Petersburg, Hermitage Museum), one of the three Alhambra vases that Fortuny purchased while in Granada (1870-1872) and brought back to his Roman studio.⁶⁸

According to Odescalchi, the combination of objects created a harmony of colours and lights that was “typical of the Spaniards”.⁶⁹ At the time, there were few published accounts on Spain written by Italian travellers (for example, Edmondo de Amicis’ travelogue *Spain* was published in 1872); thus for many Italians, the colony of Spanish artists in Rome was an important direct experience of Spanish art and culture. It should be no wonder then that ideas of Spanishness were projected onto Fortuny and his circle. Fortuny’s influential style and his way of living gave a new visual identity to the Spanish cohort. Their collective image was no longer bounded to the academy of official circles but rather to a supposedly Spanish way of artistic practice.

In studying the French market, Quinsac has identified Fortuny’s market success, alongside the Maison Goupil, as a crucial element in the monopoly of Parisian contemporary art, which led many Spaniards in Rome to specialise in the subjects that Fortuny succeeded in.⁷⁰ Fortuny’s followers adopted orientalist subjects, everyday low life scenes, and elegant eighteenth-century scenes in Fortuny’s fashion. Late in the nineteenth century, many Spaniards accused Fortuny’s followers of having imitated his art superficially, producing a commercial art, with detrimental effects for the reputation of Spanish art.⁷¹ In 1892 Hernández Amores, who after Rome built his career as a history painter, wrote that followers of Rosales and Fortuny were “timid [artists who] follow the fashionable masters without thinking that those who follow are always left behind [...]” He accused followers of both artists to have no impact on society and more in general the art world, having just poorly imitated their predecessors’ footsteps and not innovated. He criticised

⁶⁸ The other two vases are in Washington at the Smithsonian Institute (Freer Gallery of Art) and in Granada at the Alhambra Museum.

⁶⁹ Odescalchi, *Gli studi di Roma. Ricordi artistici*, 51–52.

⁷⁰ Annie-Paule Quinsac, ‘Pittura italiana e situazione europea. Il secondo Ottocento e i rapporti con la Francia’, in *Pittura italiana nell’Ottocento*, ed. Martina Hansmann and Max Seidel, eds. (Venezia: Marsilio, 2005), 488.

⁷¹ Berardi, ‘Fortuny e Italia’, 62.

them for only concentrating on the production of marketable pieces, a criticism that had also been made by Ricardo de Madrazo.

Hernández Amores also complained that these followers had been incapable of conveying meaningful messages in the grand history paintings that Spanish artists kept painting until the end of the century. Hernández Amores's strongly criticized this genre. For him history painting had to communicate a message, a statement that is echoed in *El Artista* when Galofre said that history paintings had to convey meaningful messages. According to Hernández Amores, this necessity was lost among followers of both Rosales and Fortuny, who created art in which “the mythological ideal passed, the Christian ideal dimmed, the historical stopped moving our souls, and we blindly walk in the dark searching for an ideal that we do not find.” For Hernández Amores the roots of the problem were their market-driven approach to art making: “their preoccupation and activity is addressed at foreseeing the effect that the artwork will excite [...] all their attention is focused on technique, without a lively idea that stimulates our brain [...]”⁷² Similarly, in 1906 Rico, a close friend of Fortuny, succinctly described Fortunystas as a “true epidemic in Rome and away from Rome” and accused them of having done nothing to glorify Spain.⁷³

7.2.1 Fortuny's studio and the location of the Academia Española

In 1873 the republican government of Emilio Castelar, passionate about art and about collecting it, decided to open a Spanish academy in Rome with a new programme, which caught many Spaniards by surprise.⁷⁴ As stated

⁷²*Discursos leídos en la Real Academia de bellas artes de San Fernando en la recepción pública de excmo. sr. D. Germán Hernández Amores en el día de 29 de Mayo de 1892* (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1892), 6–7.

⁷³ Rico y Ortega, *Recuerdos de mi vida*, 68, 84.

⁷⁴ On the academy in Rome and modern Paris, see Esteban Casado Alcalde, ‘La academia española en Roma y los pintores de la primera promoción’ (Doctoral thesis, Madrid, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1987); Carlos Reyero Hermosilla, ‘La disyuntiva Roma-París en el siglo XIX: Las dudas de Ulpiano Checa’, *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte*, no. 2 (1990): 217–28; Carlos Reyero Hermosilla, ‘La Academia de Roma y la tardía modernización de la pintura en España (1900-1915)’, *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte*, no. 5 (1993): 143–58; Adrián Espí Valdés, ‘Notas y documentos sobre pensionados alicantinos de bellas artes en Roma durante el siglo

above, over the investigated forty years, Spaniards had become used to being a colony without an academy.

Once again there was no venue in which to welcome the new groups of *pensionados*, which would have required a space like the beautiful Villa Medici, but this remained merely a hope for several years.⁷⁵ Finding himself in the same position that Solá once was, the new director Casado del Alisal came up with three potential destinations that were meaningful to Spain. Bringing back memories from the past briefly discussed in the introduction, Casado del Alisal hoped to convert the church of San Giacomo into studios, as had been suggested back in the early 1830s, but the government was planning on selling the building.⁷⁶

The Spanish Embassy was brought up as a potential solution, though not for the first time in the century. However, in 1873 this could not be a long-term solution; both the first group of *pensionados* and Casado del Alisal himself lived there, but he could not find a studio for himself.⁷⁷ One thing that was certain was that in April 1874, Ricardo de Madrazo, along with other Spaniards, had watercolour classes in one of the great halls of the embassy upon payment of a sum.⁷⁸

The third possibility that he considered emerged from a letter to Federico de Madrazo, in which his son Ricardo said that Casado thought of converting

XIX', ed. Enrique Giménez López, Miguel Angel Lozano Marco, and Juan Antonio Ríos Carratalá (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 1996), 77–87; Carlos Reyero Hermosilla, 'Del Gianicolo al Champ de Mars. Los escultores pensionados en Roma y las Exposiciones Universales de París (1855-1900)', *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte*, no. 14 (2002): 275–88; Wilfredo Rincón García, 'Ponzano y Pradilla, dos artistas aragoneses pensionados, que se quedaron en Roma', in *El arte español fuera de España*, ed. Miguel Cabañas Bravo and José Manuel Prieto (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones científicas, 2003), 49–62; Carlos Reyero Hermosilla, *La escultura del eclecticismo en España cosmopolita entre Roma y París, 1850 - 1900* (Madrid: UAM ediciones, 2004); Esteban Casado Alcalde, 'Arquitectos de la Academia Española en Roma (siglo XIX)', *AEA LXXVII*, no. 306 (2004): 129–38; Carlos Reyero Hermosilla, 'Escultura decimonónica y gusto moderno', *Escultura decimonónica y gusto moderno Carlos Reyero Hermosilla Anales de la Real Academia Canaria de Bellas Artes de San Miguel Arcángel*: RACBA, no. 4 (2011): 65–78; Manuel J. López Pérez, ed., *Escuela de Roma. Pintores aragoneses en el cambio del siglo* (Zaragoza: Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 2013); Eugenia Querci, 'La pintura en Italia y en Roma en la época de Fortuny y Pradilla', *Escuela de Roma: pintores aragoneses en el cambio de siglo*, 2013, 47–60.

⁷⁵ Doc. RI. 72, Rome, 10th December 1873, in Gutiérrez Márquez and Martínez Plaza, *Cartas de Mariano Fortuny, Cecilia, Ricardo, Raimundo e Isabel de Madrazo*, 243.

⁷⁶ Doc. RI.75, Rome, 30th April 1874, in Gutiérrez Márquez and Martínez Plaza, 245.

⁷⁷ Doc. RI.74, Rome, 17th March 1874, in Gutiérrez Márquez and Martínez Plaza, 244.

⁷⁸ Doc. RI.75, Rome, 30th April 1874, in Gutiérrez Márquez and Martínez Plaza, 245.

the rooms at Villa Martinori in Via Flaminia into studios. Located near Fortuny's own house and studio, the Swiss sculptor Adèle d'Affry, duchess of Castiglione Colonna, friend of both Rosales and Fortuny, had once lived there.⁷⁹ When the prominent figures who had made papal Rome internationally renowned died, Fortuny was given the role of new master and catalyst for the Spanish colony. The attraction of having an academic space close to Fortuny suggests a possible answer to Giulio Carlo Argan's rhetorical question in the catalogue *Exposición antológica de la Academia Española de Bellas Artes de Roma (1873-1979)*: why open a Spanish academy of fine arts in Rome in 1873?⁸⁰

7.3 Towards artistic recognition

Having seen the steps taken towards the Spaniards' national visibility in the previous chapters and their acquired cosmopolitan visibility in the two sections above, we can now observe whether this passage influenced their own perception about their careers. The section focuses on the artists' portraiture, which enables us to study their aforementioned passage from students to artists in Rome.

As we learn from Galofre, Rome was a destination for the artist. Yet, during Solá's directorship of the *pensionados*, the Spaniards considered themselves as students under the sign of nazarene purism, who constructed the image of Rome as a place whose lifestyle was functional to the study and practice of art. This was also linked to the reform of the sacred, as described in chapter 2, and to the limited patronage and market opportunities, as described in chapter 4. Things changed during de Vilches' directorship of the *pensionados*, when they no longer portrayed themselves as students in Rome, but as artists who worked in Rome thanks to a multiplicity of factors, as explored in chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6. The Spaniards began perceiving themselves as artists in the second half of the century.

⁷⁹ RI.75, Rome, 30th April 1874, in Raffaele de Cesare, *Roma e lo stato del papa. Dal ritorno di Pio IX al XX settembre*, vol. 1 (Roma: Forzani e c. tipografi - editori, 1907), 216.

⁸⁰ *Exposición antológica de la Academia Española de Bellas Artes de Roma (1873-1979): Palacio de Velázquez, Parque del Retiro, Madrid*, 7.

This construction has been possible through the study of both renowned and little-known personalities. In fact, this dissertation has introduced us to these people's early lives, with the hope that those who are still little known will become the protagonists of monographies that will enrich the canon of nineteenth-century Spanish artists related to Rome. We have a taste of this with Galofre and Vallés, whose early Roman production was discussed in chapters 2, 3 and 5. Subsequently, in chapter 4 the dissertation investigated overlooked moments in the broader Spanish colony's history, such as the exile of Spanish royals, the Roman ambassadorial career of Villalba, and that of the far better known Cánovas del Castillo.

7.3.1 Students

Building on Reyro's observations about the portraits that Federico de Madrazo and Carlos Luis Ribera made of each other in Paris in 1839, this section argues that their Roman portraits and self-portraits should be tied to their place of creation, namely Rome. The (self-)portrait's Roman-ness was revindicated in the artists' signature, which indicated Rome as the place of creation. Sometimes Roman-ness was conveyed by symbolic objects or figures they added, such as the choice of clothing reminiscent of the nazarene artists' outfits, as shown in Claudio Lorenzale's self-portrait, or the presence of the director of the *pensionados*.⁸¹

During Solá's directorship of the *pensionados*, the Spanish artists identified themselves as pupils of Rome for a variety of reasons, but probably two were the main ones. First, their traineeship had just been restored, and they were exposed to the novelty of purism, whose phases we have seen in chapter 2, which was then enriched by the discussions in chapters 3 and 4. Second, the difficulties they had in finding a patron (which we saw in chapter 4) and thus to be financially autonomous in the first half of the century, did little to change Spaniards' perception of their status as students. This is at least what we can assume from the few portraits we have.

⁸¹ Reyro Herмосilla, 'Mirar Italia con ojos franceses', 260.

The first example to be considered is Claudio Lorenzale's self-portrait, known to us through the copy painted by Antonio Caba (Fig. 7.6).⁸² Lorenzale painted himself as a character from fourteenth- or fifteenth-century Italian frescoes.⁸³ More precisely, he is reminiscent of Dante, who had been venerated by both nazarenes and purists since the 1810s. As discovered by Cracolici, Arbós wrote to Milá that he did not forget Milá's kindness and personality, which he described with adjective such as "Giottesca y Beata y Angelical", making clear references to Giotto and Fra Angelico.⁸⁴ Following Minardi's suggestion, Milá and Espalter travelled to Florence to study the Italian fourteenth century.⁸⁵ But Lorenzale's choice of style may also have recalled the nazarenes' fashion choices. Travelogues, accounts, and correspondence – including Alarcón's account of the early 1860s – had made their clothing choices known internationally.⁸⁶ Such considerations, along with the pencil portrait by Madrazo in which Lorenzale wore regular clothes, suggest that Lorenzale's self-portrait was a statement (Fig. 7.7): he alluded to the nazarene purist education he received as a self-funded student in Rome.⁸⁷

The second example dates from 1848, shortly before the Roman Republic was declared, which forced the Spaniards to escape to Naples. Montañés painted a full-body portrait of his friend Mújica, who is depicted standing while resting his arm on a console, on top of which a small sculpture of *Cervantes* by Solá can be seen (Fig. 7.8). The presence of Solá's sculpture could therefore allude to Mújica's brief Roman sojourn even though, unlike Montañés, Mújica's studies were privately supported by Francisco Javier de Quinto y Cortés, the first count of Quinto, with a studentship he funded until at least 1848.⁸⁸ The presence of Solá's *Cervantes* behind him would thus

⁸² Benach i Torrents, *Pablo Mila y Fontanals, gran figura del romanticismo artístico catalán*, n/a.

⁸³ Reyer Hermsilla, 'Mirar Italia con ojos franceses', 264.

⁸⁴ Cracolici, 'Costoro non vogliono malinconie', 30.

⁸⁵ Brook, 'La fortuna dei Primitivi italiani nella cultura catalana dell'Ottocento: il caso di Pablo Milá y Fontanals', 343–257.

⁸⁶ Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, *De Madrid a Napoles* (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1932), 1425.

⁸⁷ 'Belle arti', *Diario di Roma. Osservazioni meteorologiche fatte nella specola del Collegio Romano*, no. 80 (6 October 1838): 2–3. Carolina Brook, 'Gli allievi catalani di Tommaso Minardi', in Capitelli, Grandesso, and Mazzarelli, *Roma fuori di Roma*, 335–48.

⁸⁸ Martínez Plaza, *El coleccionismo de pintura en Madrid durante el siglo XIX*, 304.

suggests Mújica's affiliation to the Roman traineeship and *pensionados* and is by extension a recognition of Solá's achievements in Rome and in Madrid from both the portraitist and the sitter.

7.3.2 Artists

During De Vilches' directorship of the *pensionados*, the visibility of Spaniards in Rome grew because of the increased investment in their education by the government as well as private individuals, as seen in chapter 4. Concurrently, they saw increased opportunities to be exhibited in Spain, and thus to be acquired by the state or private collectors, but also to be displayed internationally, as seen in chapters 5 and 6. This made it possible for them to be specialists in the administrative genre (for example the grand paintings created in Rome and bought by the government) as well as market professionals.⁸⁹

As a result of these circumstances, the Spaniards' portraits show an acquired awareness of their role as artists in Rome. They further communicate this position by signing their canvases with their name and year of creation and indicating Rome as the place of creation, as seen in chapters 3 and 5. In May 1858, Palmaroli portrayed his friend Pedro Collado in an oval bust portrait, identifying him as a sculptor (Fig. 7.9). The dedication was explicit "A SU QUERIDO AMIGO/ P. COLLADO, ROMA / MAYO 1858 / VICENTE": the portrait was for his beloved friend and was painted while both students were in Rome.

The colour scheme is very dark, the only points of light being Collado's face, his chisel, and the unfinished sculpture in the background. Eduardo Rosales adopted a similar choice for the small unfinished bust portrait of his Basque friend Marcial Aguirre, a sculptor in Rome, thanks to a scholarship from the council of Guipuzkoa, which is now at the Museo de San Telmo in San Sebastián.⁹⁰

Unlike the two prior examples, which are half-bust portraits, Fortuny opted for a full-length portrait of his friend Joaquín Agrasot leaning on a wall in his

⁸⁹ Pérez Viejo, 'Géneros, mercado, artistas y críticos en la pintura española del siglo XIX'.

⁹⁰ Reyer Heramosilla, 'Ideología e imagen', 134.

studio, while surrounded by various sketches on the stool and the wall, as well as the skull in his hand, which qualified him as an artist, a sculptor (Fig. 7.10).⁹¹ Agrasot was portrayed as a Catalan artist, given the red beret on his head. There is not an explicit link to Rome as there was for Palmaroli and Collado or for Rosales, however this portrait is relevant for thinking about Spanish artists' visibility in Rome. The inclusion of the Catalan beret, thus a regional symbol from their home, is unprecedented in Spaniards' portraiture production in Rome and can likely be traced to the introduction of the provincial scholarships for Rome. Unlike other examples, the Roman-ness in this portrait is not made explicit yet the portrait informs us about Spanish artists' changed conditions in the Papal city having included a spatial element (namely the studio) and the objects with which we can identify the sitter as a sculptor.

Similarly, the studio setting was chosen by Gisbert for the small portrait of his friend, the Mexican painter Santiago Rebull (Fig. 7.11). The latter has a fierce expression and leans on an armchair in an empty space, where the only visible elements define him as a student, an artist, and a painter.⁹² Rebull was a *pensionado* of the Mexican academy of San Carlos where he was one of Clavé's students. By the time Gisbert portrayed him, the Mexican was five years into his European traineeship.⁹³ The portrait invites an observation: as seen in chapter 1, the Spaniards were involved in the wider Spanish-speaking community that reached Rome in the nineteenth century; this characteristic would not change in decades to come. Thus, the portrait is yet another proof of the extended network that the Spaniards built during their time in Rome, which included German, French, Italian, and even British artists. They were able to create a network that has to yet be explored in all its multi-faceted aspects.

7.4 “Rome is the artistic brain and Paris is its heart”⁹⁴

⁹¹ Doc. 29, Francesc M Quilez i Corella, *Retrato del pintor Joaquim Agrasot*, in Doñate, Mendoza, and M Quilez i Corella, *Fortuny, 1838-1874*, 124–27.

⁹² Pérez Velarde, ‘El pintor Antonio Gisbert 1834 - 1901’, 191.

⁹³ Pérez Velarde, 47.

⁹⁴ Alfredo Escobar, ‘La Exposición Universal de París’, *La Ilustración Española y Americana* 12, no. 21 (8 June 1878): 367–70.

Both sources of cosmopolitan art during the nineteenth century, Rome and Paris were complementary (albeit different in nature) destinations on a Spanish artist's path towards artistic recognition, but also instrumental to Spain's nation-building process (see chapter 6).⁹⁵ However, artists had their preferences, which their correspondence suggests was mostly based on the different type of lifestyle, and overall experience, that each city offered. This section represents an epilogue to the age-long role of Rome as cosmopolitan *magistra atrium*, investigating an intangible element, namely Roman "well-being" (*benessere*), which convinced Spaniards that Rome was the place to study and create art, somehow responding to Aragan's aforementioned rhetoric question.⁹⁶

Wrigley has argued to see "the experience of the assembled set pieces and itineraries of Rome's antiquities, art and architecture as being intimately connected, both physically and conceptually to problems of cleanliness and hygiene."⁹⁷ Indeed, it was not infrequent for artists in Rome to describe the Roman landscape, and within these descriptions the theme of the insalubrious air ("aria cattiva") occurred. The Spaniards were no exception. As seen at the end of chapter 1, Galofre rhetorically wondered why somebody would leave for Rome when it was dirty and decaying. Other Spanish artists in Rome at the same time asked themselves the same question. Vilar and Federico de Madrazo often relied on their sensorial perceptions to describe their first encounter with the city. For example, Vilar wrote that "[Rome's] streets are dirty, Barcelona's tidiness is more valuable than the whole city of Rome."⁹⁸ However, Madrazo observed that the initial feeling of intolerance towards the city was soon abandoned by artists as they found themselves before its incredible artworks, and was replaced by a desire to remain and never return to Spain.⁹⁹ Thus, for Spaniards, problems such as Rome's infamous dirtiness

⁹⁵ On Spaniards in the Parisian academy, see Rejero Hermosilla, 'Pintores españoles del siglo XIX en la Escuela de Bellas Artes de París'.

⁹⁶ Fortuny spoke about the *benessere* of Rome (he used the Italian word) in the letter Doc. MA.1, Rome, 18th September 1866, in Gutiérrez Márquez and Martínez Plaza, *Cartas de Mariano Fortuny, Cecilia, Ricardo, Raimundo e Isabel de Madrazo*, 5.

⁹⁷ Richard Wrigley, "'It was dirty, but it was Rome": Dirt, Digression and the Pictoresque', in *Regarding Romantic Rome*, ed. Richard Wrigley (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007), 158.

⁹⁸ Doc. 1, Rome, 28th May 1834. Moreno, *El Escultor Manuel Vilar*, 102..

⁹⁹ Doc. 107, Rome, 29th October 1839: 'Nada me extraña el que los artistas que han estado aquí algún tiempo no tengan gusto en volver a España.' Madrazo, *Epistolario*, 1:275.

and “bad air”, which brought them to the countryside every once in a while, as seen in chapter 5, were not only a part of the experience but were also surmountable thanks to the city’s uniqueness, as addressed by Galofre in his handbook.

Federico de Madrazo was not alone in defending Rome’s unique experience, other names were those of De Vilches, Hernández Amores, Rosales, Casado del Alisal, as well as Fortuny himself, although Ginger has claimed that even though both Rome and Paris “figure in his career, they do not predominate.”¹⁰⁰ In his letters sent in the late 1860s, Fortuny – who travelled three times to northern Morocco, and to other places such as Barcelona, Madrid, and Paris, and lived in Granada between 1870 and 1872 (see Appendix 1) – appears to choose Rome over Paris. He found relief in the city’s calm, which was essential to reflect upon art, to nourish his mind, and to cultivate his art.¹⁰¹ This consideration helps to understand the importance of Rome in the life of Spain’s most internationally acclaimed artist in the period under investigation, who started off as a student of fine arts and whose career skyrocketed not only in Rome but also in Paris, the City of Lights.. Contemporary French and Spanish artists, the Spanish seventeenth-century school and Goya, as well as antiquarian studies, Islamic and Japanese art were as important to Fortuny as Italian art. According to Berardi’s research, Italy – here intended to be Italian contemporary art, landscapes, and colours – was important to Fortuny’s art, especially towards the end.

Fortuny did not appreciate that that the young Spanish artists did not value the artworks and antiquities that could be studied in Rome and in other Italian cities and began to show signs of worry in 1868. He noted that his brother-in-law Ricardo de Madrazo was alone in visiting Rome’s monuments and museums before approaching a canvas. Many other Spaniards – he said – were disinterested in “knowing Rome.”¹⁰² They no longer treated it as a space to reason about and cultivate art, but as a suitable place to stay as long as it made good commercial sense to getting their works on the bourgeois market.

¹⁰⁰ Andrew Ginger, *Instead of Modernity: The Western Canon and the Incorporation of the Hispanic (c. 1850-75)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), 215.

¹⁰¹ Doc. MA 1, Rome, 18th September 1866. Gutiérrez Márquez and Martínez Plaza, *Cartas de Mariano Fortuny, Cecilia, Ricardo, Raimundo e Isabel de Madrazo*, 5.

¹⁰² Doc. MA 5., Rome, 9th July 1868, in Gutiérrez Márquez and Martínez Plaza, 9.

According to Ricardo de Madrazo's complaints seen in chapter 5, the younger Spaniards became increasingly preoccupied with creating market-oriented art pieces rather than understanding what their path was. Mirroring his brother-in-law's comments, in 1872 Fortuny wrote to Federico de Madrazo that he cried over what he perceived as the city's "loss of its character." Since Rome no longer had these precious traits and was becoming more similar to Paris, Fortuny found life there intolerable and wished to flee back to quieter Andalusia.¹⁰³ The Parisian market fever might not be the sole aspect he was afraid would change Rome. Fortuny had hoped that the socio-political turmoil in Paris would not reach Rome.¹⁰⁴

The Catalan was not alone in his worries. Italian painters worried about the consequences that Spaniards' commercial art would have on the Roman arts. But they held Fortuny responsible for this twist, in what Berardi has called "a clear phenomenon of rejection and condemnation after Fortuny's post-mortem reception."¹⁰⁵ For example, the Roman Nino Costa threw himself against what he depreciatively called "the turbid Neapolitan-Spanish stream" whose productions only pleased "an uneducated public."¹⁰⁶ Besides, the Spaniards' new style was un-Roman, which by the end of the nineteenth century was disregarded as bad taste.¹⁰⁷ Baldassarre Odescalchi himself, who initially contributed to the Fortunystas' promotion, was ambiguous about the effects that foreign influences had on Rome.¹⁰⁸ The condemnation also came from Tuscany: in nineteenth-century Florence, the art critic and artist Adriano

¹⁰³ Cristina Mendoza, 'De Granada a Portici: un nuevo lenguaje artístico', in *Fortuny, 1838-1874. Museu Nacional d'art de Catalunya, Barcelona, del 17 de octubre de 2003 al 18 de enero de 2004*, exh. cat., ed. Mercè Doñate, Cristina Mendoza, and Francesc M Quilez i Corella (Barcelona: MNAC, 2003), 54.

¹⁰⁴ Doc. MA 18. Granada, 30th May 1871, in Gutiérrez Márquez and Martínez Plaza, *Cartas de Mariano Fortuny, Cecilia, Ricardo, Raimundo e Isabel de Madrazo*, 21.

¹⁰⁵ Berardi, 'Fortuny, Portici y la pintura italiana', 61.

¹⁰⁶ Nino Costa, *Quel che vidi e quel che intesi* (Milano: Fratelli Treves Editori, 1927), 123. On the relationship between Naples and Fortuny, see Gianluca Berardi's works Gianluca Berardi, 'Il primato di Napoli: i maestri partenopei dell'Ottocento tra innovazione e mercato internazionale', *Storia dell'arte* 15 (2006): 103–32; Berardi, 'Fortuny, Portici y la pintura italiana'.

¹⁰⁷ Mercè Doñate, 'Fortuny y la pintura de género', in Doñate, Mendoza, and M Quilez i Corella, *Fortuny, 1838-1874*, 43.

¹⁰⁸ Berardi, 'Fortuny e Italia', 67.

Cecioni condemned Fortuny's art for expressing no idea or concept and lacking composition.¹⁰⁹

Fortuny's international successes convinced many Spaniards that the city was a destination where to paint market paintings to sell in Paris thanks to the proximity to the Catalan master. But it was not sufficient to completely erase the image carefully crafted by the Spanish academy and the establishment for over two centuries, that Rome was the destination where to create historical compositions (consider, for example, Pradilla's famous *Queen Joanna the Mad*).¹¹⁰ After all, in Spain, there was still the belief that the historical genre consecrated an artist as great.¹¹¹ In fact, as recalled in chapter 3, the crisis of the historicist model in Spain began only until the late 1880s.

The Academia Española gave new impulse to Rome as the capital of grand compositions. This is the context in which, at the end of his experience as director of the Academia Española, Casado del Alisal reasoned that Paris and Rome were the best places to develop a young artist's career.¹¹² In his academic discourse of 1885, he claimed that Rome offered a calm atmosphere and an austere life where students could work on art for its own sake. For such an observer, Rome could still enable its residents to enjoy a more direct, intimate, contemplative, and even introspective relationship with art and sources; by contrast, Paris embodied the profit motive of the art market: "[Artists who] go to Rome prefer a tranquil and severe centre, where the necessary calmness reigns and helps meditation, an environment in which they can more intensively concentrate and translate into facts the thousands of fantasies that enrich an artist's soul; they who love art for the sake of art, they who see a perennial source of inspiration and poetry in Rome; and in its ruins, temples, and monuments they breath the eloquent testimonies of the

¹⁰⁹ Costa, *Quel che vidi e quel che intesi*, 123; Berardi, 'Fortuny e Italia', 61.

¹¹⁰ Francisco Pradilla y Ortiz, *Queen Joanna the Mad*, 1877, oil on canvas. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado.

¹¹¹ Reyero Hermosilla, *La pintura de historia en España*, 33.

¹¹² Reyero Hermosilla, 'Ideología e imagen', 130.

great civilisations that enrich Rome's soil and the whole of Italy, home country to artists of all times."¹¹³

¹¹³ José Casado del Alisal, *Discursos leídos ante de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando en la recepción pública del Excmo. Sr. D. José Casado del Alisal el día 15 de noviembre de 1885* (Madrid: Fortanet, 1885), 13.

Appendix 1: *Spanish painters and sculptors in Rome (1830-73)*

Note to the reader: information for creating this chart has been gathered from the reading of books listed in the dissertation's bibliography. Fundamental sources are *Galería biográfica* by Ossorio y Bernard (1869), and *Los pintores españoles del siglo XIX en Italia* by Casado Alcalde. Other sources are journal articles, which focus on individual personalities, or other nineteenth-century sources that enabled me to identify years/periods of time an artist was in Rome.

Academy of provenance	Funding	Artist	Discipline	Arrival in Rome	Departure from Rome	Verified disruptions*
Escuela de Bellas Artes (Barcelona)	Pensionado	Antonio Solá	Sculptor	1803	†1861	
San Fernando	Private studentship (10.000 reales) from Don Sebastián Gabriel	Luis Ferrant Llausás	Painter	1830	1842	
San Fernando	He receives help from his brother's studentship	Fernando Ferrant Llausás	Painter	1830	1843	
San Fernando 1 st group	Pensionado ordinario	Benito Sáez	Painter	1832	c. 1837/1838	
San Fernando 1 st group	Pensionado extraordinario	Paul-Césaire Gariot	Painter	1832	< 1840	
San Fernando 1 st group	Pensionado ordinario	Sabino Medina	Sculptor	1832	1837	

* For many of these artists Rome was the primary residence for the time they were away from Spain. However, they often travelled elsewhere during their Roman stay; these brief absences from the Eternal City are not acknowledged here. It seems that those who resided in Rome for longer periods of time went back to Spain or travelled to other place more often, with the exclusion of Antonio Solá and seemingly José de Vilches who both travelled back to Spain only once during their directorship of the pensionados. Among them there was Ponzano in the 1840s for example, but these dates of absences cannot be established with precision in most cases. An exception is Fortuny, whose sojourns away from Rome are well recorded and included in this chart.

San Fernando 1 st group	Pensionado ordinario, 1832-36) Two-year studentship from the count of Toreno	Ponciano Ponzano	Sculptor	1832	On and off until 1849	
San Fernando 1 st group	Pensionado extraordinario	Andrés Álvarez de la Peña	Painter	1832	1834	
San Fernando 1 st group	Funded by José Negrete y Cepeda, V Earl of Campo Alange	Manuel Arbós	Watercolourist Engraver	1832	On and off until at least 1850	
Escuela de Bellas Artes (Barcelona)	n/a	Ignacio Palmarola	Painter – Sculptor	1833	†1865	
Escuela de Bellas Artes (Barcelona) 1 st group	Pensionado of the Junta del Comercio	Pelegrín Clavé	Painter	1834	1845	
Escuela de Bellas Artes (Barcelona) 1 st group	Pensionado of the Junta del Comercio	Manuel Vilar	Sculptor	1834	1845	
Escuela de Bellas Artes (Barcelona)	Independent traineeship	Pablo Milá	Painter	1832	1841	
Escuela de Bellas Artes (Barcelona) 1 st group	Pensionado of the Junta del Comercio	Francisco Cerdá	Painter	1834	1840/1	
Escuela de Bellas Artes (Barcelona)	Independent traineeship	Joaquín Espalter y Rull	Painter, decorator	1833	1841	
n/a	Independent traineeship	Domingo Gallego y Álvarez	Painter	1835	1839	

José Aparicio and Saint Luke	n/a	Carlos de Paris	Painter	1836	† 1861	
Escuela de Bellas Artes (Barcelona)	Independent traineeship	Claudio Lorenzale Sugrañes	Painter	1837	< 1842	
n/a	Independent traineeship	José Galofre y Coma	Painter	c. 1837	1849	
San Fernando	Independent traineeship	Federico de Madrazo	Painter	1839	1842	
n/a	Future director of pensionados, possibly aided by the marquis of Salamanca and Manuel Agustín Heredia	José de Vilches	Sculptor	1840s	1876	
n/a	Independent traineeship	Juan Ametller	Sculptor	1842	>1843	
Escuela de Bellas Artes (Barcelona)	n/a	José Arrau	Painter	1834 1845	n/a	
n/a	Private studentship from Anselmo Zurutuza First pensionado of the council of Vizcaya	Martín Miguel Azparren	Painter	<1841 1847	1852	

n/a	12.000 <i>reales</i> studentship funded by Lorenzo Francisco Fernández de Villavicencio y Cañas, Duke of San Lorenzo de Vallehermoso	Benito Soriano Murillo	Painter	1847	< 1856	
The studio of Inocencio Borghini	Private studentship by Javier de Quinto, 1 st count of Quinto	Carlos Mújica y Pérez	Painter	1848	1849	
San Fernando 2 nd group	Independent student Pensionado ordinario	José Pagniucci	Sculptor	Early 1840s 1848	1854	
San Fernando 2 nd group	Pensionado ordinario	Bernardino Montañés	Painter	1848	1852	
San Fernando 2 nd group	Pensionado ordinario	Luis de Madrazo	Painter	1848	1852	
San Fernando 2 nd group	Pensionado extraordinario	Francisco Sainz	Painter	1848	1852	
San Fernando 2 nd group	Pensionado extraordinario	Andrés Rodríguez	Sculptor	1848	1854	
San Fernando	Private studentship by Manuel López Santella, Comisario de Cruzada Pensionado ordinario, from 1855	Felipe Moratilla	Sculptor	1848 1874	†1908/09	

n/a	n/a	Ramón Elorriaga	Painter	1850s	n/a	
n/a	Three-year royal studentship, 10.000 <i>reales</i> (pensionado extraordinario)	Vicente Valderrama Mariño	Painter	1851	< 1854	
Antonio María Esquivel	Private studentship of duke of Osuna	Marcos Hiráldez Acosta	Painter	1851	1883	
n/a	n/a	Eugenio Azcue	Painter	1853	1855	
San Fernando 3 rd group	Pensionado ordinario	Isidoro Santos Lozano Sirgo	Painter	1853	1858	
San Fernando 3 rd group	Pensionado extraordinario	Germán Hernández Amores	Painter	1853	1858	
n/a	Pensionado by the duke of Sesto	Lorenzo Vallés	Painter	1853	†1910	
San Fernando 3 rd group	Pensionado extraordinario	José Bellver	Sculptor	1854	>1858	
San Fernando 4 th group	< 1848 studentship by Comisario General de Cruzada Pensionado ordinario	Francisco Aznar y García	Painter	1854	1858	
San Fernando	n/a	Victor Manzano	Painter	1854	1855/56	

San Fernando 5 th group Studio of Giuseppe Obici	Pensionado ordinario	Francisco Moratilla Perreto	Sculptor	1855	< 1860	
San Fernando 5 th group	Pensionado ordinario	Antonio Gisbert Pérez	Painter	1855	1860/1	
San Fernando 5 th group	Pensionado extraordinario	José Casado del Alisal	Painter	1855	1862	
San Fernando	Independent student	Pedro Collado y Tejada	Sculptor	1855	1857-58	
Escuela de Bellas Artes de Barcelona	Pensionado of the diputación of Barcelona	Jeroni Suñol	Sculptor	1857	>1870	
San Fernando	Funded by Francisco de Asís	Vicente Palmaroli	Painter	1857	1866	
San Fernando	Independent student Pensionado extraordinario, 1862-65	Luis Álvarez Catalá	Painter	1857	1894	
San Fernando Studio of Joaquín Espalter	Independent student	Antonio Castillo Aguado	Painter	1857	1859	
n/a	n/a	Ramón Elorriaga	Painter	< 1858	n/a	
San Fernando 6 th group	Pensionado ordinario	Dioscoro Teofilo de la Puebla	Painter	1858	1862	
San Fernando	Funded by the Infante Sebastián Gabriel of Spain and Portugal	José González y Giménez	Sculptor	1858	< 1868	

San Fernando 6 th group	Pensionado ordinario	Juan Figueras y Vila	Sculptor	1858	1861-3	
San Fernando Studio of Federico de Madrazo	Studentship from the banker Miranda	Alejo Vera	Painter	1858	1869	

Escuela de Bellas Artes (Barcelona)	Pensionado by the council of Barcelona	Mariano Fortuny	Painter	1858	On and off until †1874	Feb-Apr 1860: first travel to Morocco May-Jul 1860: Madrid, Barcelona, and Paris Aug 1860-Sept 1862: Rome Sept-Dec 1862: Morocco Dec 1862-March 1863: Barcelona March 1863-Apr 1866: Rome Spring 1866: Paris Summer 1866: Madrid Sept 1866-June 1867: Rome June 1867 – June 1868: Madrid June 1868 – Aug 1869: Rome Aug 1869 – June 1870: Paris June-Jul 1870: Madrid, Cordoba, and Seville June 1870-Oct 1871: Granada
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						<p>Oct 1871: Morocco</p> <p>Oct 1871-Feb 1872: Granada</p> <p>Feb-Apr 1872: Seville, Guadix, Seville</p> <p>May-Oct 1872: Madrid, Rome, Granada</p> <p>Oct-Nov 1872: Madrid-Paris</p> <p>Dec 1872-May 1874: Rome and Naples</p> <p>May-June 1874: Paris and London</p> <p>June 1874: Rome</p> <p>July-Oct 1874: Portici</p> <p>Nov. 1874: Rome</p>
Escuela de Bellas Artes (Barcelona) San Fernando	n/a	Eusebio Valldeperas	Painter	1856	1858	
Escuela de Bellas Artes (Barcelona)	Independent student	Tomás Moragas y Torras	Painter	1858/59	< 1860	
Escuela de Bellas Artes (Barcelona)	Independent student	José Armet Pontanell	Painter	1858/59	>1863	

Academia de San Carlos (Valencia)	Government studentship	Antonio Muñoz Degraín	Painter	1858/59	n/a	
San Fernando	Independent student, aided by his friends Álvarez and Palmaroli Pensionado extraordinario, three-year scholarship of 8.000 reales (April 1859-62)	Eduardo Rosales Gallias	Painter	1857	1869	
Studio of Coghetti and Podesti	n/a	Agapito Francés Llamazar es	Painter	1860s	† 1869	
Escuela superior de pintura (Madrid)	n/a	Francisco Jover Casanova	Painter	< 1869	n/a	
San Fernando	Pensionado para el paisaje	Serafín Avendaño	Landscape painter	1861	1891	
n/a	n/a	Bernabé de Garamendi	Sculptor	c. 1860s	n/a	
n/a	Private studentship from Sebastián de Borbón	José González y Giménez	Sculptor	c. 1860s	n/a	
San Fernando	Studentship from Diputación of Murcia	Domingo Valdivieso y Henarejos	Painter	1863	1865	
San Fernando	Pensionado extraordinario	Francisco Díaz Carreño	Painter	1862	1864	
n/a	Private studentship, marquis of Guadiario	José Denis	Painter	1862	1864	

San Fernando	Pensionado ordinario	Elías Martín Riesco	Sculptor	1862	1868	
n/a	Independent student	Benito Mercadé y Fábregas	Painter	1863	1863/64	
San Fernando	Studentship from the four councils of Galicia	Juan San Martín de la Serna	Sculptor	1863 1870	1865 1882	
San Fernando	Studentship from the diputación of Alicante	Francisco Bushell y Laussat	Painter	1863	1867/68	
Escuela de Santa Isabel (Sevilla) San Fernando	Private studentship from Ignacio Muñoz de Baena	Manuel García García	Painter	1863	1868	
Academia de San Carlos (Valencia)	Studentship from the diputación of Alicante	Joaquín Agrasot	Painter	1863 1872	1870 1875	
Escuela de Bellas Artes (Barcelona)	Studentship from the diputación of Barcelona	Victoriano Codina y Langlin	Sculptor	1864	1865	
n/a	Two-year scholarship from the diputación of Guipuzkoa	Juan Marcial de Aguirre	Sculptor	1864	< 1874	
San Fernando	Studentship from the Ministry of development	Ricardo María Navarrete y Fos	Painter	1864	1868	
San Fernando	Studentship	Manuel Domínguez Sánchez	Painter	1864	>1866	
San Fernando	Pensionado ordinario	Miguel Navarro Cañizares	Painter	1864	>1866	

The studio of Ramón Martí Alsina	n/a	José Luis Pellicer Feñe	Painter	1865	1870	
Academia de San Carlos (Valencia) San Fernando	n/a	Francisco Amérigo y Aparici	Painter	1865	>1869	
n/a	Independent student	Raimond o Tusquets y Maignon	Painter	1865	†1904	
Escuela de Santa Isabel (Sevilla) San Fernando	n/a	Juan Antonio Vera Calvo	Painter	>1865	n/a	
The studio of Joaquín Bequer Escuela de Santa Isabel (Sevilla) Escuela superior de Madrid The studio of Leon Cogniet	n/a	Joaquín Martínez de la Vega	Painter	1866	n/a	
Academia de San Carlos (Valencia)	n/a	Juan Peyró Urrea	Painter	1867	1870/71	
Escuela de Santa Isabel (Sevilla)	n/a	Luis Jiménez Aranda	Painter	1867	1876	

Escuela superior de pintura (Madrid) The studio of Meissonier	n/a	Eduardo Zamacois Zabala	Painter	1868	1868/69	
Academia de San Carlos (Valencia)	Studentship from the council of Valencia	Francisco Domingo Marqués	Painter	1868	n/a	
San Fernando	n/a	Ricardo de Madrazo	Painter	1868	1874/75	
n/a	Independent student	José Villegas Cordero	Painter	1868	1901	
Escuela de Santa Isabel (Sevilla)	n/a	Francisco Peralta del Campo	Painter	1868	1897	
n/a	n/a	German Álvarez Algericas	Painter	1869	1876	
n/a	n/a	Manuel Garriga	Sculptor	1870	n/a	
Escuela de bellas artes (Barcelona) The studio of Federico de Madrazo	n/a	Josep Tapiró y Baró	Painter	1862	1871	

The studio of Federico de Madrazo, Luis Carlos Ribera, and Claudio Lorenzale	Studentship from the diputación of Barcelona Independent student	Antonio Salvador Casanova Estorach	Painter	1871 1873	1875	
n/a	Independent student	José García Ramos	Painter	1871	1881	
Academia de San Carlos (Valencia) San Fernando	Independent student	Bernardo Ferrandiz Badanes	Painter	1873	1874	
n/a	Independent student	José Miralles Darmanin	Painter	1873	1874	
Escuela de bellas artes (Barcelona)	Independent student	Roman Ribera Cirera	Painter	1873	1876	
Escuela de bellas artes (Barcelona)	n/a	Juan Roig Soler	Painter	1873	< 1881	
San Fernando	Pensionado by the Diputación of Badajoz	Nicolás Megía Márquez	Painter	1873	1880	
Academia de San Carlos (Valencia)	Fellowship from the diputación of Alicante	Lorenzo Casanova Ruiz	Painter	1874	c. 1882	

Appendix 2: *The Spanish colony in Rome, known home and studio addresses*

Artist	Year	Address
José Alcayde, engraver	1830	Via Borgognona
Innocencio Borghini Pectorelli, painter	1830	Via della Croce
Antonio Solá, sculptor	1830	Piazza dei Maroniti no. 22
Valentín Carderera	1830	Via Bocca di Leone
Antonio Solá, sculptor	1839-48	Via del Tritone no. 9 (house)
Federico de Madrazo, painter	1840	Via della Madonna dei Monti (studio)
Pelegrín Clavé, painter	1841	Via Felice no. 126
Ignacio Palmarola, painter	1842	Via Borgognona
Carlos de Paris, painter	1843	Via Bocca di Leone no. 25
Federico de Madrazo, painter	1843	Via del Tritone no. 9 (studio)
Antonio Solá, sculptor	1843	Vicolo della Frezza (studio)
Antonio Solá, sculptor	1843	Spanish Embassy to the Holy See (studio)
Agapito López, painter	1843	Via Sistina no. 101
Vicente Jimeno, painter	1843	Via Sistina no. 82
Agustín Gimeno y Bartual, painter	1843	Piazza Nova no. 101
José Galofre y Coma, painter	1847	Passeggiata di Ripetta no. 35
Manuel Arbós, painter	1850	Via dei Cappuccini no. 19 (house)
Andrés Rodríguez, sculptor	1855	Via del Corso no. 504
Manuel Arbós, painter	1855	Spanish Embassy to the Holy See
José de Vilches, sculptor	1855	Vicolo degli Incurabili no. 10
José Pagniucci, sculptor	1855	Vicolo degli Incurabili no. 11
Vincente Palmaroli, painter	1857	Via della Purificazione (house)
Eduardo Rosales, painter	1857	Via della Purificazione (house)
Luis Álvarez Catalá, painter	1857	Via della Purificazione (house)
Vincente Palmaroli, painter	1857	Vicolo del Basilico no. 11 (studio)
Eduardo Rosales, painter	1857	Vicolo del Basilico no. 11 (studio)
Luis Álvarez Catalá, painter	1857	Vicolo del Basilico no. 11 (studio)
Alejo Vera, painter	1858	Via della Purificazione
Mariano Fortuny, painter	1858	Via del Babuino no. 51
José de Vilches, sculptor	1858	Vicolo degli Incurabili no. 10
Mariano Fortuny, painter	1858	Via di Ripetta no. 99
José Tapiró, painter	1865	Via Flaminia no. 166 (studio)
Tomás Moragas, painter	1865	Via Flaminia no. 166 (studio)
Joaquín Agrasot, painter	1865	Via Flaminia no. 166 (studio)
José Tapiró, painter	1865	Via degli Avignonesi (apartment)

Tomás Moragas, painter	1865	Via degli Avignonesi (apartment)
Joaquín Agrasot, painter	1865	Via degli Avignonesi (apartment)
Mariano Fortuny, painter	1872	Via Gregoriana no. 22
Ricardo de Madrazo, painter	1872	Via Gregoriana no. 22
Mariano Fortuny, painter	1873	Via Flaminia (studio + house)
Ricardo de Madrazo, painter	1873	Via Flaminia (studio)
Francisco Pradilla, painter	1874	Via Flaminia (studio)

Figures



Fig. Intro. 1 Vicente Rodès, *Portrait of Damià Campeny I Estany*, 1838, oil on canvas, 136x105 cm. Barcelona. Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Jorge

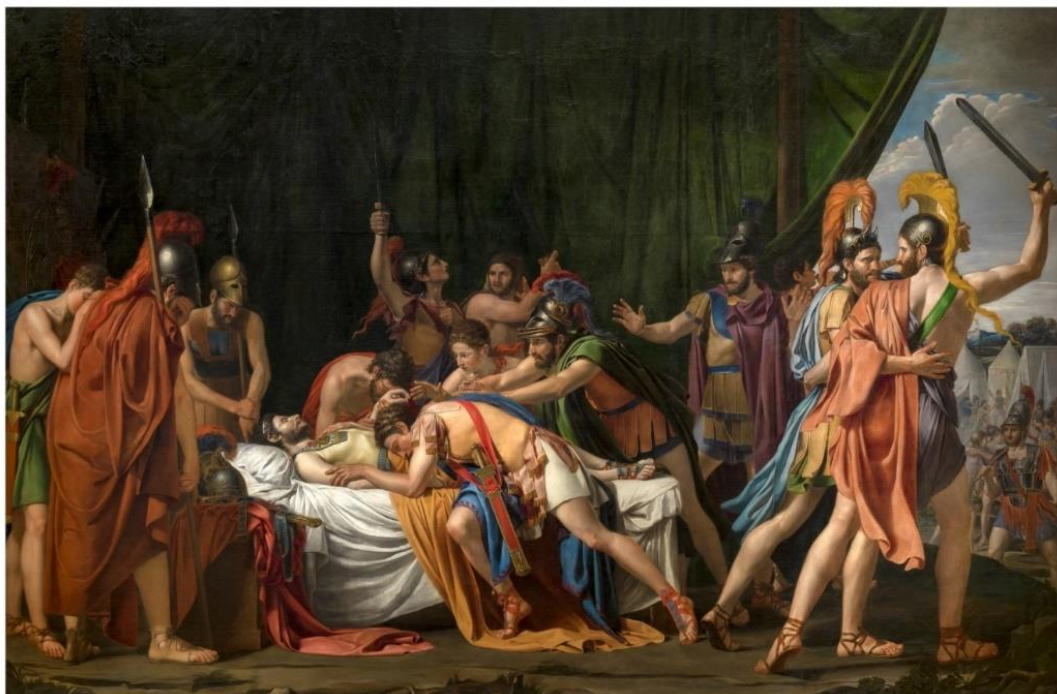


Fig. Intro. 2 José de Madrazo, *The Death of Viriatus, Chief of the Lusitanians*, 1807, oil on canvas, 307x462 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. Intro. 3 Juan Antonio Ribera y Fernández (attributed to), *The Sculptor Antonio Solá*, 1836, oil on canvas, 95x71 cm. Madrid, Museo Lázaro Galdiano



Fig. Intro. 4 Antonio Solá, *Roman Charity*, 1851, Carrara marble, 170x126x78 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. Intro. 5 Ignacio Palmerola, *Roman Charity*, 1851, oil on canvas, 196x149 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 1. 1 Johan Friedrich Overbeck, *The Triumph of Religion in the Arts*, 1829-1840, oil on canvas, 392x392 cm. Frankfurt, Städel Museum

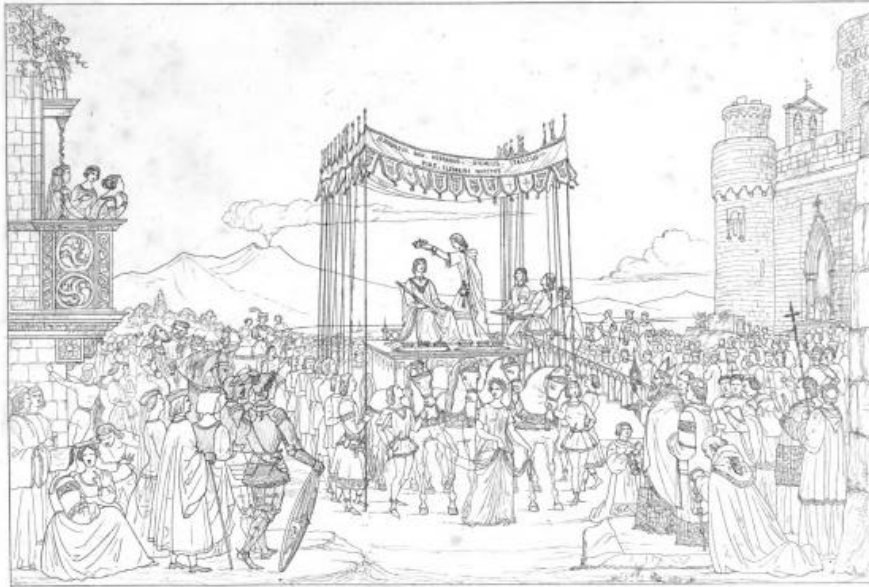


Fig. 1. 2 José Galofre y Coma, *The Neapolitan Incoronation of King Alfonso*, 1848-1851, etching from *El Artista en Italia y los demás países de Europa*



Fig. 1. 3 José Arrau i Barba, *Copy after Giuseppe Molteni's Portrait*, 1831-1832, oil on canvas, 53,5x41,5 cm. Barcelona, Museo Nacional de Arte de Cataluña



Fig. 2. 14 Pelegrín Clavé, *The Good Samaritan*, 1838, oil on canvas, 187x241 cm. Barcelona, Real Acadèmia Catalana de Belles Arts de San Jorge



Fig. 2. 22 Luigi Rubbio, *The Good Samaritan*, 1824, oil on canvas, 92,6x70 cm. Rome, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca



Fig. 2. 3 Joaquín Espalter, *Moses Carried by Angels*, ante 1840, oil on canvas, 131x187,3 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 2. 4 Henry Lehmann, *Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, 1839, oil on canvas, 152x262 cm. Montpellier, Musée Fabre



Fig. 2. 5 Federico de Madrazo, *The Three Marys to the Sepulchre*, 1841, oil on canvas, 238x204 cm. Sevilla, Reales Alcázares, Patrimonio Nacional



Fig. 2. 6 Federico de Madrazo, *The Three Marys to the Sepulchre*, 1829, grey wash on paper, 246x380 mm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. no. D006379



Fig. 2. 7 Germán Hernández Amores, *Journey of the Virgin Mary, and Saint John to Ephesus after the Death of Christ*, 1862, oil on canvas, 244x390 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 2. 8 Miguel Navarro y Cañizares, *Saint Catherine Carried by Angels*, 1866, oil on canvas, 249x345 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 2. 9 Jean Victor Schnetz, *Funeral of a Young Martyr in the Catacombs in Rome during the Time of Persecution*, 1847, oil on canvas, 338x382 cm. Nantes, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Nantes



Fig. 2. 10 Louis-Hector Leroux, *Funerals at the Columbarium of Casa dei Cesari in Porta Capena (Rome)*, 1864, oil on canvas, 141x101 cm. Paris, Musée d'Orsay



Fig. 2. 11 Luis de Madrazo, *The Burial of Saint Cecile*, 1852, oil on canvas, 302x252 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado

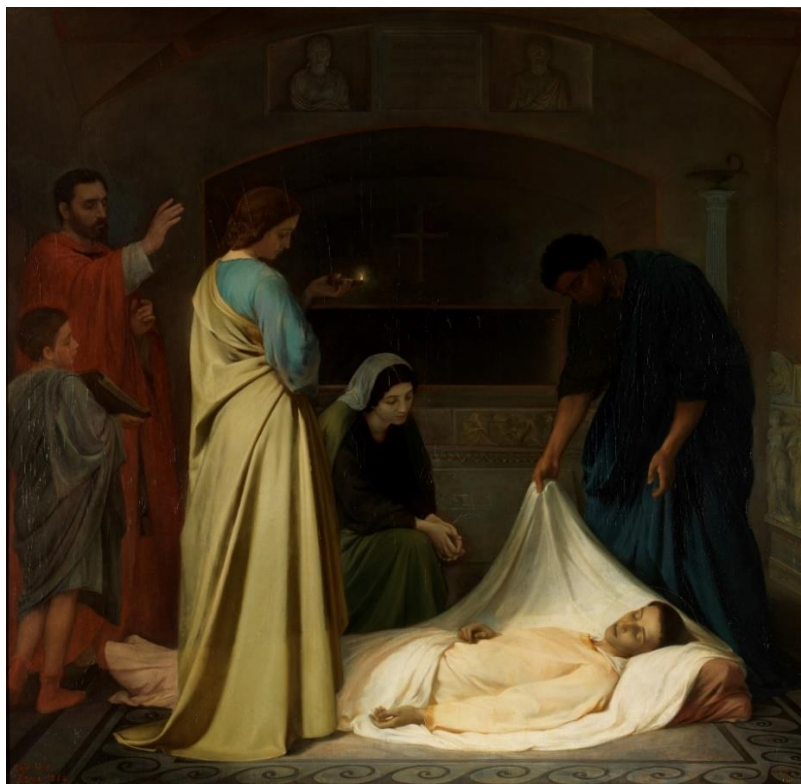


Fig. 2. 12 Alejo Vera y Estaca, *The Burial of Saint Laurence in Roman Catacombs*, 1862, oil on canvas, 223,6x232,5 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 2. 13 Jules-Eugène Lenepveu, *The Martyrs in the Catacombs*, 1855, oil on canvas, 170x336 cm. Paris, Musée d'Orsay



Fig. 2. 14 Eduardo Soler Llopis, *Saint Pope Stephen after his Martyrdom in the Catacombs*, 1875, oil on canvas, 100x115 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 2. 15 Francisco Aznar, *Saint Hermangild in Prison*, c. 1860, oil on canvas, 226x277 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 3. 1 Federico de Madrazo, *Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba at the Battle of Cerignola*, 1835, oil on canvas, 134,3x187,5 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 3. 2 Federico de Madrazo, *Don Pelayo after the Defeat in Covadonga*, ante 1842, gouache, ink on paper, 320x247 mm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. no. D007182



Fig. 3. 3 Luis de Madrazo, *Don Pelayo King of Asturias*, 1853-1856, oil on canvas, 224x140 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 3. 4 Luis de Madrazo, *Don Pelayo in Covadonga*, 1855, oil on canvas, 358,5x280 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 3. 5 José Pagniucci, *Don Pelayo*, 1855, marble, 220x120 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 3. 6 Federico de Madrazo, *Sacred Conversation with Saint James, Saint Ferdinand, Don Pelayo and Isabella the Catholic*, 1841, pencil, ink on paper, 330x255 mm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. No. D007002



Fig. 3. 7 Federico de Madrazo, *Sketch for the Sacred Conversation with Don Pelayo, Saint James, the Catholic kings, and Saint Ferdinand*, 1841, pencil, ink on paper, 265x210 mm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. No. D00719



Fig. 3. 8 Federico de Madrazo, *Immaculate Conception*, 1856, oil on canvas, 254,5x142,5 cm. Madrid, private collection

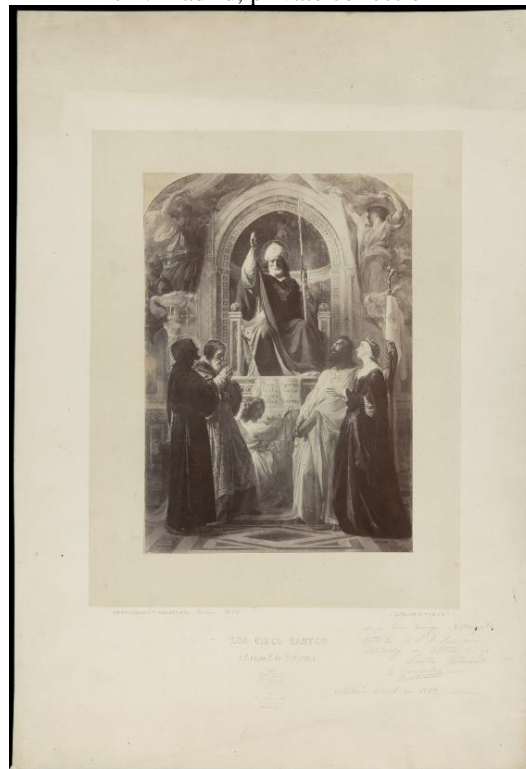


Fig. 3. 9 Juan Laurent y Minier, *The Five Saints (Santa Isabel, San Ildefonso, San Francisco de Asís, Santiago Apóstol, San Pío V by Palmaroli)*, post 1862. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 3. 10 Benito Soriano Murillo, *The Sigh of a Moor*, 1856, oil on canvas, 132x238 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado

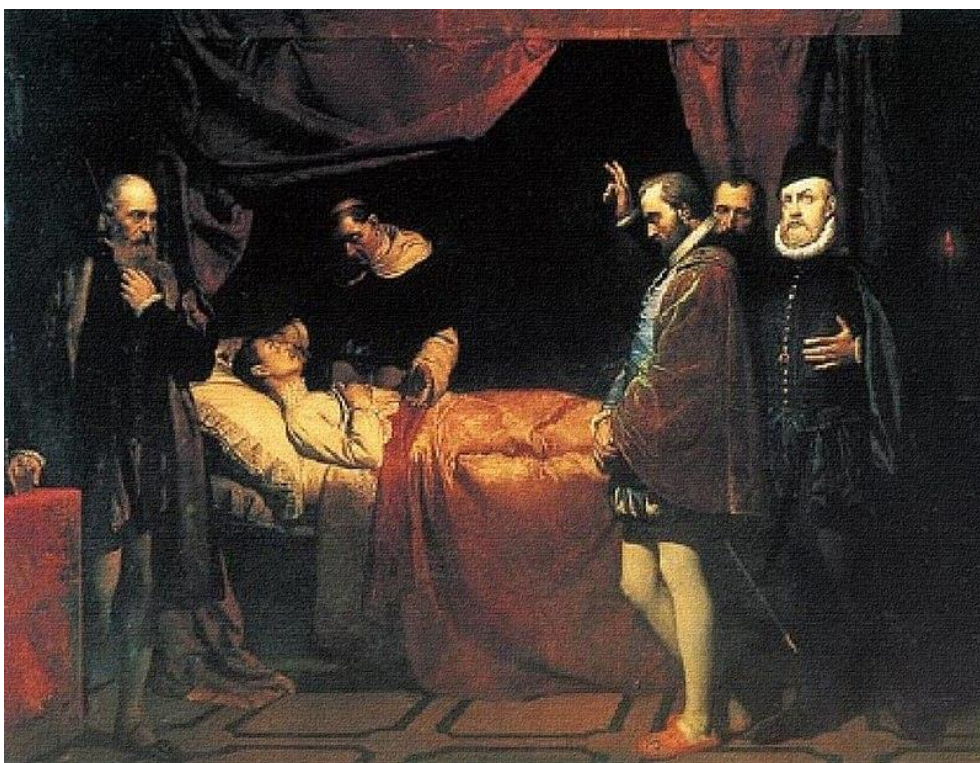


Fig. 3. 11 Antonio Gisbert, *The Death of Don Carlos*, 1858, oil on canvas, 172x123,2 cm. Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional



Fig. 3. ~~1212~~ Antonio Gisbert, *The Comuneros of Castile*, 1860, oil on canvas, 255x365 cm. Madrid, Congreso de los Diputados



Fig. 3. 13 Eduardo Rosales, *The Queen Isabella the Catholic Dictating her Will*, 1864, oil on canvas, 287x398 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 3. 14 Eduardo Rosales, *The Presentation of Juan de Austria to Charles V in Yuste*, 1869, oil on canvas, 76,5x123,5 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado

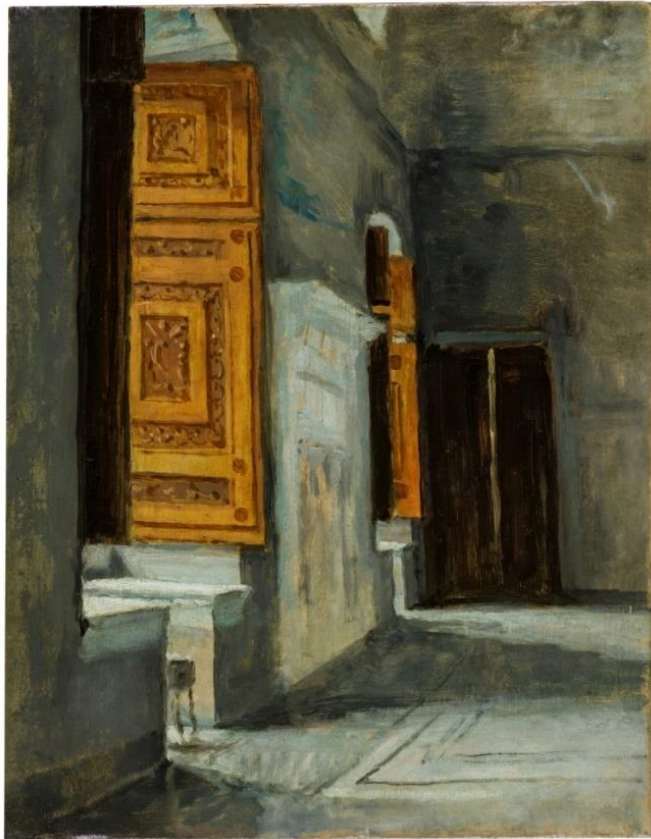


Fig. 3. 15 Eduardo Rosales, *The Room of Costantino (Vatican palace)*, 1869, oil on canvas, 40,5x31,5 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 3. ~~1616~~ Eduardo Rosales, *Monastery of El Escorial*, ca. 1864, oil on canvas, 37x46 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 3. 17 Lorenzo Vallés, *The Madness of Joanna of Castile*, 1866, oil on canvas, 238x313 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 4. 1 Luis Ferrant, *Portrait of Infante de España Sebastián Gabriel of Spain, and Portugal*, 1835, oil on canvas, 73x61 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Romanticismo



Fig. 4. 2 Don Sebastián Gabriel, *Roman Scene*, 1834, oil on canvas, 38x52 cm. Private collection



Fig. 4. 3 Antonio Solá, *The Massacre of the Innocents*, from *Ape italiana di Belle Arti*, 1835



Fig. 4. 4 Vicente López, *Maria Cristina of Bourbon, Queen of Spain*, 1830, oil on canvas, 96x74 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 4. 5 Federico de Madrazo, *Portrait of Julián de Villalba*, 1842, oil on canvas, 39,7x49,2 cm. Coruña, Fine Arts Museum of A Coruña



Fig. 4. 6 Federico de Madrazo, *Julián de Villalba*, 1842, pencil on paper, 225 x 180 mm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. No. D005387



Fig. 4. 7 Joaquín Espalter, *Portrait of Julián de Villalba y García*, 1840, oil on canvas, 74,6x57,5 cm. Private collection



Fig. 4. 8 Manuel Vilar, *A Child Protecting a Dove from a Dog*, 1847, plaster, 87x44x41 cm. Barcelona, Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Jorge

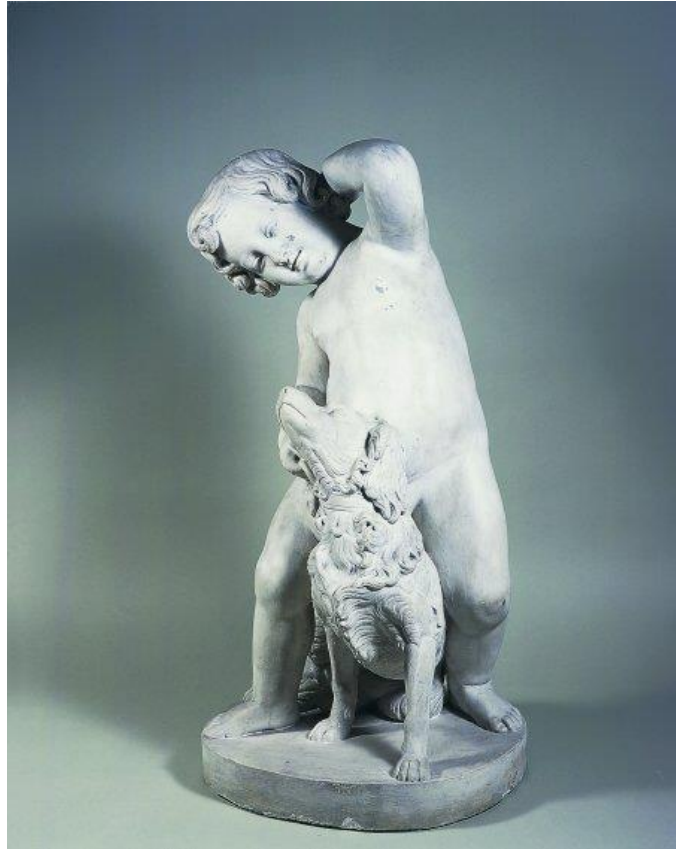


Fig. 4. 9 Manuel Vilar, *Child with a Dog*, 1847, plaster, 84x46x45 cm. Barcelona, Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Jorge



Fig. 4. 10 Ponciano Ponzano, *Pietà*, 1842, watercolour, pencil/paper, 578 x 450 mm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. no. D004957

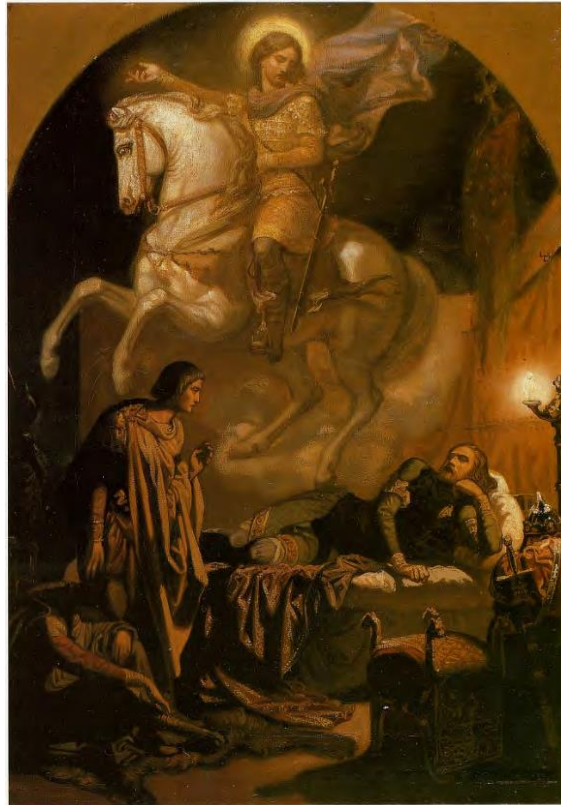


Fig. 4. 11 Federico de Madrazo, *The Apparition of Saint James Apostle to Ramiro I*, 1840-1842, oil on canvas, 45,5x32 cm. Madrid, Private Collection



Fig. 4. 12 Pelegrín Clavé, *The Dream of Elijah*, 1837, oil on canvas, 129x151 cm. Barcelona, Real Academia Catalana de Bellas Artes de San Jorge



Fig. 4. 13 Federico de Madrazo, *Antonio Cánovas del Castillo*, 1889, oil on canvas, 131x96 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 4. 14 Marcos Hiráldez Acosta, *The Swearing of Saint Gadea*, 1864, oil on canvas, 260x450 cm. Madrid, Senate



Fig. 5. 1 Luis de Madrazo, *A Peasant*, 1850, oil on canvas, 26x18,5 cm. Madrid, Colección 'Los Madrazo'



Fig. 5. 2 Joaquín Agrasot y Juan, *Two Friends*, 1866, oil on canvas, 100x145 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 5. 3 Vicente Palmaroli, *Neapolitan Peasant Woman*, ante 1862, oil on canvas, 180x90 cm. Private Collection



Fig. 5. 4 Federico de Madrazo, *A Young Girl from Albano*, 1841, oil on canvas, 99x75 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre

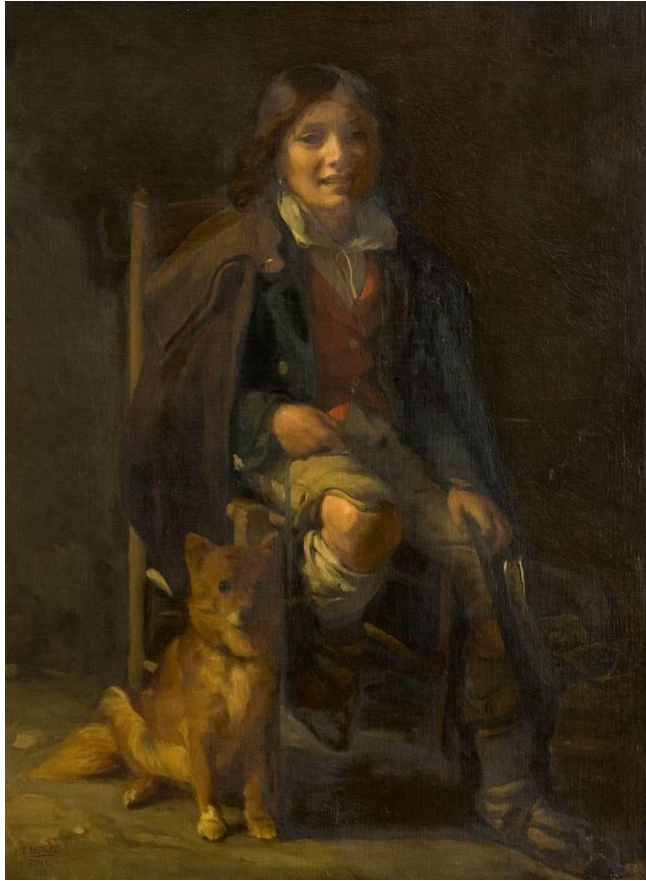


Fig. 5. 5 Eduardo Rosales, *A Calabrese Boy*, 1863, oil on canvas, 100x75 cm. Montevideo, Museo Nacional de Artes Visuales



Fig. 5. 6 Benito Mercadé y Fábregas, *The Church of Cervara*, 1864, oil on canvas, 150x280 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 5. 7 Eduardo Rosales, *Nena*, 1862, oil on canvas, 95x75,5 cm. Private Collection



Fig. 5. 88 Joaquín Agrasot y Juan, *Rural School in Papal states*, 1864, oil on canvas, 74x101 cm. Barcelona, Museo Nacional de Arte de Cataluña



Fig. 5. 9 Joaquín Agrasot y Juan, *The Washerwoman from Scarpa (Papal States)*, 1864, oil on canvas, 135x100 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 5. 10 Horace Vernet, *Raphael at the Vatican*, 1832, oil on canvas, 392x300 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre



Fig. 5. 11 Lorenzo Vallés (attributed to), *The Corpse of Beatrice Cenci Exposed on the Sant'Angelo Bridge*, oil on canvas, 43x62,7 cm. Rome, Private Collection



Fig. 5. ~~1242~~ Gernán Hernández Amores, *A Sybil*, copy after *Ginevra Cantofoli*, 1853, oil on canvas, 60,5x49 cm. Murcia, Museo de Bellas Artes de Murcia



Fig. 5. 13 Lorenzo Vallés, *Portrait of Walther Fol at Villa Spada, Rome*, 1860-1874, oil on canvas, 36x27 cm. Private Collection



Fig. 6. 1 José Casado del Alisal, *The Final Moments of Fernando IV el Emplazado*, 1860, oil on canvas, 318x248 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 6. 2 Roman workshop, *Sleeping Ariadne*, second half of the 2nd century CE, marble, 226x129x103 cm. Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi



Fig. 6. 3 Roman workshop, *Sleeping Ariadne*, 150-75 CE, white marble, 99x238x95 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado

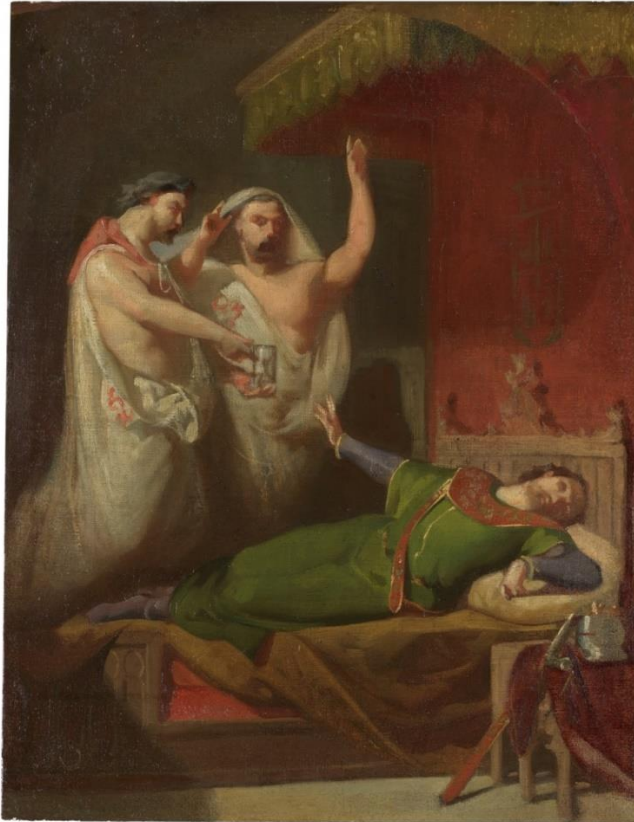


Fig. 6. 4 José Casado del Alisal, *The Last Moments of Ferdinand IV El Emplazado* (sketch), 1860, oil on wood, 41x32 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado

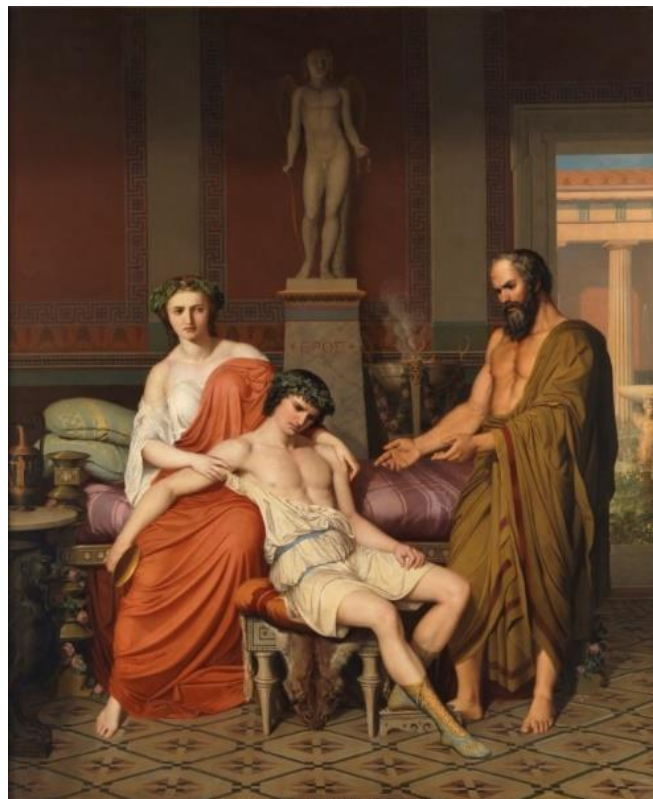


Fig. 6. 5 Germán Hernández Amores, *Socrates Reproving Alcibiades in the House of the Courtesan Teodata*, 1857, oil on canvas, 278x226 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado

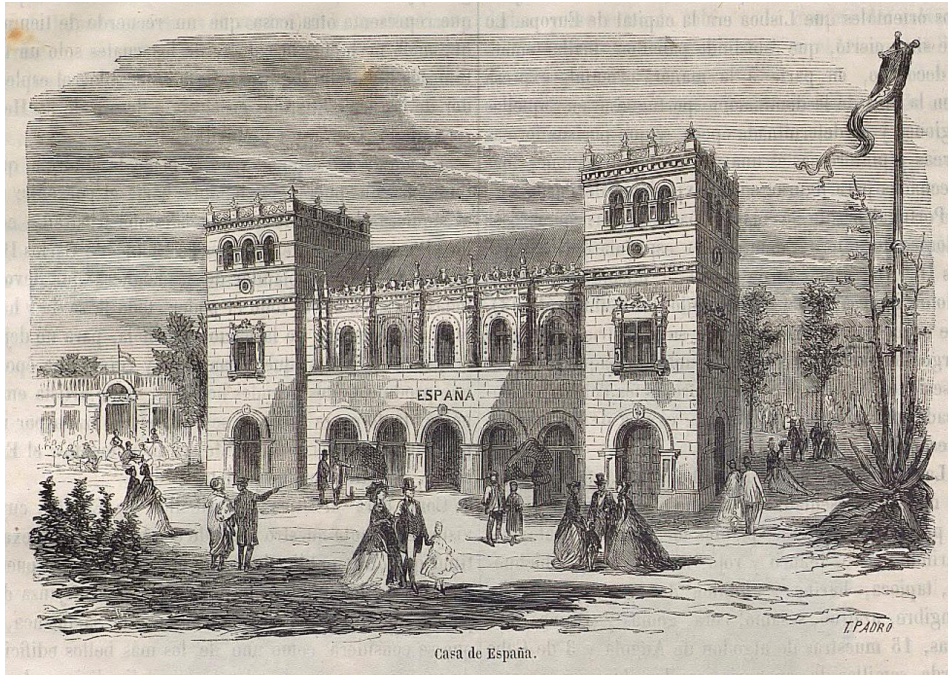


Fig. 6. 6 Tomás Pedró, *Casa de España*, etching, in *La Exposición Universal de París en 1867*, Barcelona, Librería de Manero, 1867, 46-47.

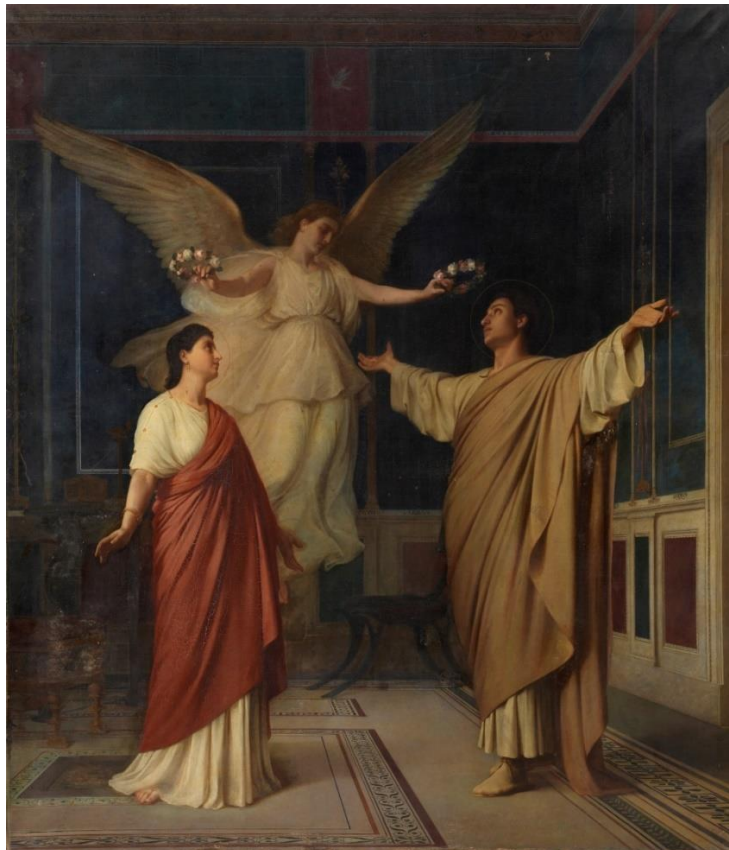


Fig. 6. 7 Alejo Vera y Estaca, *Saint Cecile and Saint Valeriano*, 1866, oil on canvas, 230x260 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 6. 8 Juan Figueras y Vila, *Indian Woman Embracing Christianity*, 1862, marble, 85x185 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 6. 9 Thomas Crawford, *Mexican Girl Dying*, 1846-1848, marble, 51,4 x 138,4 x 49,5 cm. NYC, The Met



Fig. 6. 10 Pietro Tenerani, *Abandoned Psyche*, 1835, marble, 43x60 cm. Private Collection



Fig. 6. 11 Felipe Moratilla, *Eurydice*, 1865, marble, 88x107 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 7. 1 Manuel Vilar, *Nexus and Dejanira*, engraving, in *L'Ape italiana*, issue 5, 1835, 60-61



Fig. 7. 2 Giacomo Caneva (attributed to), *Group Portrait of a Group of Artists in Rome*, 1848-1852, salt print on photographic paper. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 7. 3 Giacomo Caneva (attributed to), *Three Artists in Rome*, 1848-1852, salt print on photographic paper. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 7. 4 Giacomo Caneva, *Spanish Artists in Rome*, 1849, salt print on photographic paper. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 7. 55 Ricardo de Madrazo, *The Studio of Mariano Fortuny in Rome*, 1870-1874, oil on canvas, 100x75,4 cm. Barcelona, Museo Nacional de Arte de Cataluña



Fig. 7. 66 Antonio Caba, *Small copy of Claudio Lorenzale's Self-Portrait*, 1840-1860, oil on canvas, 46,5x37 cm. Barcelona, Museo Nacional de Arte de Cataluña



Fig. 7. [77](#) Federico de Madrazo, *Portrait of Claudio Lorenzale*, 1841, pencil on paper, 260x195mm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, no. inv. D005381



Fig. 7. 8 Bernardino Montañés, *The Painter Carlos Mújica*, 1848-1854, oil on canvas, 27x20 cm. Cáceres, Museo de Cáceres



Fig. 7. 9 Vincente Palmaroli, *The Sculptor Pedro Collado de Tejada*, 1858, oil on canvas, 60x47 cm. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



Fig. 7. ~~1040~~ Mariano Fortuny y Marsal, *Portrait of the Sculptor Suñol*, 1864, oil on canvas, 31,5x24,5 cm. Barcelona, Museo Nacional de Arte de Cataluña



Fig. 7. 11 Antonio Gisbert, *The Portrait of Santiago Rebull*, 1857-1860, oil on canvas, 23x15,6 cm. Berlin, Private Collection

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